

discussed among women scholars. It was also at this time that women's role in the government began to be considered, and specific goals and strategies, needed to be created were realized. After the Nairobi conference, Korean women's groups managed to receive some increased support from the government. How this came about is outlined below"

1. The government level : focusing on the law and institutions.

The Korean government proclaimed at the 1980 world conference that institutions would be created with the purpose of improving the role of women in the Korean society. On March 14, 1983, the Institute of Korean Women's Development was inaugurated and supported the improved role of women through education, training and research. On December 8, 1983, the Committee of Policy concerning Women was inaugurated by the President. This committee has little real administrative influence concerning women's policy, due to its sole role of investigation and proposing adjustments of policy. Its sole institutional role is in investigating laws before being enacted into the law. The Korean government added into the law, an act making sexual discrimination illegal on January 26, 1985. In April 1988, the Korean government passed a law called the "Employment Equality Act", which forbids all discrimination on the basis of gender when employing, retiring or firing workers.

More however, need to be done. For example, making a new clause to prohibit sexual harassment in the workplace, specifying equal pay for equal wages, extending the law to all work places, and strengthening the punitive provisions of existing laws.

The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) was established in February 1988, and a female Minister was appointed. This ministry has the function of studying and researching government policy concerning women and carries out surveys in an effort to more fully appreciate the concerns about women in the Korean society. The greatest barrier to this ministry in increasing the role of women in the society is that the ministry has no power to legislate and promote policies through administrative means. The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) needs to be reformed so that it has the judicial means, an adequately staffed workforce and a large enough budget to more positively influence the role of women.

The Act of Public Servant Employment, revised in June 1989, enlarged the opportunity for women to take part in the government. With the aid of this legislation, the percentage of women passing the civil servant exam increased to 30 percent in 1990 from a traditional rate of 10 percent. The previous practice of restricting the percentage of women passing the exam was also terminated during the ninth administration.

The Bureau of Family Welfare was created and offices were opened in all major cities in 1988. The directors of these offices were women. In 1991, offices in smaller cities were open, with women, again, were selected as directors of these offices. These directors served as the link between local concerns and the central government.

Traditional Korean family law, which encouraged continued sexual discrimination against women, was revised

in 1989 by the National Assembly and has been enforced since 1990. The revised family law ended some patriarchal elements of the old law. However, ending the prohibition of marriage between two people with the same family name, due to continued Confucian ideology, had yet to be revised.

The law stipulating the punishment for sexual violence and protection for victims was legislated in December 1993, and has been enforced since 1994. Sexual violence is one of the most serious social problems and public institutions need to be created to help combat this problem. Sexual violence must be publicized. Codifying the guaranteed privacy of rape victims in an ensuing trial, needs to be enacted and is currently being considered by the National Assembly.

The Women's Development Act legislated by the Globalization Committee has been in effect since July 1, 1996. According to this law, state and local governments are responsible for making all legal and institutional resources available to women. Also, these resources are to be funded to a level where they are effective. The law stipulates that the goal will be to end all sexual discrimination in existing laws, increasingly fund women's groups, prevent sexual and domestic abuse and end sexual discrimination in the mass-media.

It is worthwhile to examine the results. Instead of the name desired by women (Equality Act between Men and Women), the law was named the Women's Development Act. The Law is ambiguous as to which department of government is actually responsible for enacting the law and thus the law seems to be more of a declaration. The Federation of Women's Groups stated their displeasure openly and encouraged the public to immediately demand changes.

The budget in 1995 gives only 0.05 percent of its resources to women's concerns, which most strikingly shows the long road ahead for women in Korea. Furthermore, the political participation of women has no guarantee in Korean political institutions. The gap between the ideals put forth in the United Nations' women's conferences and the reality in Korea is still great. Greater help from the government and increased ties between women's groups in Korea and international women's groups need to be forged.

2. The Level of Development of Women's NGOs

The role and contributions of NGOs has increased recently in the international society. Universities, including Ehwa Women's University in Seoul opened Women's Studies lecture in the Mexico Conference. Improving the consciousness of the importance of the role of women in society brought about by the increased role of Women's Studies had helped the realization of the sexual discrimination problem present in the society. This meeting was a turning point in the war against sexual discrimination. Groups increasingly volunteered to participate in an effort to eradicate this problem. International groups increasingly mobilized and sought resources not only from their governments, but from private sources.

The biggest Korean NGO effort is the movement to revise the Family Law, which around 100 groups worked

for after the Nairobi conference. Revising the Family Law was an issue on which progressive and conservative forces agreed. This effort shows the potential of a large umbrella alliance coming about in Korea.

The Pan Women's Meeting for Political Participation was established in 1991. These women's groups petitioned the government to help them with securing physical and human resources and to revise the election laws. At the same time, the Korean League of Women Voters (KLWV), the Center of Korean Women and Politics (CKWP), the Korean Institute for Women and Politics (KIWP), the Federation of Women's Groups and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) met to increase fundraising efforts for women running for political office.

The policy forum concerning the presidential election by KLVW was considered a success. Many groups and women scholars participated and it was the first women's forum concerning the presidential in Korea's history.

The Pan-Women's Solidarity Meeting for Revising the Election Laws was formed in November 1993. It submitted a petition to the government that new committees be created concerning women's concerns, that elections be held under public supervision, that civil groups have greater official access in election campaigns, that redistricting take place and that more power be given to the local government. These views were reflected in the unification election law, local self-government law, and political funding law that were passed in the 166 special session of the National Assembly in March of 1994.

Many women, buoyed by recent successes in petitioning for policy reform, became increasingly active in election politics. Under the slogan "change the world with one vote" and "cast the vote rightly" recent elections have seen the highest levels of participations by women in politics in Korean history. After the election women's groups urged that the central government ensure free and fair local elections and that local concerns be increasingly heard in the National Assembly.

Women's groups also petitioned the government to institute a quota system, stipulating that 20 percent of political appointees be women, both nationally and locally. This demand originated with a 10 percent demand in 1988. In 1994, various women's NGOs established the Women's Solidarity for the Introduction of Quotas. The Women's Solidarity movement also demanded that the government adopt the 20 percent quota system of women for high level civil servants and a 10 percent quota for representation in the local government. As a result, the Democratic Liberal Party and the Democratic Party promised to allot 20 percent of all political office nominations to women. However, it should be noted that this is below the United Nations recommendation of 30 percent female representation.

Just as Korean Women's NGOs played an important role in increasing the women's role in domestic politics, Korean women's NGOs have founded an enlargement plan for the participation of women in international conferences. The Seoul Manifesto by the CKWP in 1992 and the seminar, "Improvement Quality of Life in the Asian Pacific Area and the Role of Women as Political Leaders" gave support to women to participate in an international discussion. The "Public Hearing of Each Party's Women's Policy" in preparation for the 15th

national election urged women to vote not by character but by political party. Two important problems for women's groups to be solved are the Japanese Comfort Women controversy and sexual violence.

Looking over the NGO situation, the time to focus on women's social-economic position was from 1975 to 1985. The focus has strongly diverted to the political position of women since 1985. The participation of women in the economy was 48 percent in 1996, but women's participation in politics was only 2 percent. This fact is likely the largest motivator for changing the direction of concern of the international women's movement.

As the above shows, the success of the women's movement largely depends on the level of government and NGO support. However, even when there has been law reform favoring women, Korea's experience is that increasing the role of women in politics has been extremely slow, and achieving "Equality, Development and Peace" is extremely difficult.

In comparing each country's women's rights index, which measures political participation, Sweden experienced the highest degree of female participation, followed by Norway, Finland and Denmark. These countries, not by coincidence, practiced sexual equality under the law and greatly helped women through welfare. It is very shameful for Korea to rank 90th out of 116 countries, lower than China, Indonesia, the Philippines, North Korea and Bangladesh and all Asian countries that have a much lower level of economic development than Korea.

The following section more closely analyzes the role of women in the political process. The first role to be observed in legislature, followed by past participation of women in political movements and concluding with the behaviour of women in political movements, and concluding with the behaviour of women as voters. Following this analyses are enlargement plans and proposals for the new code of conduct.

III. The Situation Korean Women's Political Participation.

In this chapter, I'm going to analyze the performance of women as members of political parties, and the behaviour of female Korean voters, especially their behaviour over the 15th National Assembly elections and local elections. Following the historical analyses, a vision and proposal for the code of conduct are proposed.

1. Historical analyses of the National Assembly and local government election.

The historical average female representation of women in Korean legislative bodies has been 2 percent. Most recently, in the 15th general election, the number of women representation in legislative bodies increased to 3 percent, which amounted to 9 out of a total 299 representatives in the National Assembly. Table 1 shows all of the women candidates and appointees in the history of the National Assembly.

<Table 1. Female candidates and winners in Korean National Assembly >

Election	Female candidates	Elected	Percent
1st	nLocal-18	0	0
Special Re-election	Local-3	1	0.5
2nd	Local-11	2	1.0
3rd	Local-10	1	0.5
4th	Local-5	3	1.29
5th	Local-8	1	0.4
6th	Local-4	1	0.8
	National-3	1	2.3
7th	Local-4	1	0.8
	National-4	2	4.5
8th	Local-2	0	0
	National-7	5	9.8
9th	Local-2	2	1.4
	National-10	9	11.5
10th	Local-5	1	0.7
	National-7	7	9.2
11th	Local-10	1	0.6
	National-3	8	8.8
12th	Local-7	2	1.1
	National-9	6	6.5
13th	Local-14	0	0
	National-13	6	0.8
14th	Local-21	1	0.4
	National-16	4	6.5
15th	Local-20	2	
	National-37	7	

According to table 1, only 0.5% of women entered the National Assembly through election. Although the number of female candidates have been increasing since the 11th election, the number of candidates winning the election has not increased.

<Table 2. The results of local elections>

Year	# of Local Officials	Female Candidates	Elected Female	Autonomous l City Officia	Fenale Aut City Cant	Elected Female Can
1992	4540		40	816		8
1996	4541	206	71	972	39	58
1995	Out of 230 candidates for local office, 1 woman was elected as head of local council, and 15 women were elected head of autonomous city councils.					

As shown in table 2, the number of women candidates and candidates being elected have increased in the recent local elections. However, only one woman has been elected to lead a local council.

The results have also shown that the larger the district, the lower the level of women being elected. In spite of this fact, it should be worthwhile for women to participate in local politics, because of the importance of local politics to women's daily lives. Also, women can play a role in beginning a grass-root democratic movement.

The United Nations recommends that countries should attempt to achieve a 30 percent participation of women in elected offices by 1995. However, Korea is far away from this goal, with only 3 percent of elected National Assembly officials, 0.4 percent of leaders of local assembly, 5.76 percent of local council officials and 1.56 percent of local assembly officials being women. Not only is Korea far behind the United Nations goal of 30 percent female participation, but it is also far below the world average of 11 percent.

Resulting from the influence of women's groups supporting the Women's Solidarity for Quotas movement, political parties allotted 25-60 percent of candidates to be women in the June 27, 1995 elections. This shows the result of the influence of NGOs as a political power and the political parties growing awareness of women voters.

However, in the 15th general election, each party promised to guarantee the nomination quota and that at least 20 percent of these nominated women would be elected. However, this promise was not kept, with the political parties claiming that voter support for women was lacking or that no competent female applicant came forth. Since women lacks funds and viable networks, despite their talent, they need some support of existing institutions to be elected, such as increased government funding, quotas and fairer elections. Additionally, more talented women need to come forth and enter the arena of politics.

Few women attain jobs in the most important portions of the central government. In addition to the lack of support to women from the government and political parties, women also face the widely held belief that the most important role of women is in the home as a part of the family. This seems to lead manu noters and legislators to believe that they can not trust women to manage affairs outside the home, such as business, international relations, and law.

2. Women in Political Parties

Since democracy is largely based on participation politics taking place within political parties, the role of political development relies heavily on these political parties. Although women make-up from 40 to 70 percent of members of political parties, few women hold any position of responsibility or influence. According to a research in 1985, each party had only 6-10 percent of women in positions of influence or responsibility. The amount of women participating in actual party politics traditionally increased during elections, but then this surge in female involvement immediately regressed after elections. Women who are named to official positions within political parties, usually receive little publicity and are still kept far from the core of political power. Traditionally, the largest aid women were allowed to provide political parties was one of low level human resource during elections, canvassing, office help and the like. Rather than educating women and improving their abilities to foster potential political resources, political parties have recently coopted many women's political slogans. Political parties have frequently proclaimed their awareness of the importance of women and have stated their intention to increase female participation in political party forums. Most of these slogans are a result of the influence of the female NGOs. What this result show is that if more viable, politically astute women candidates can be fostered, women will see a greater opportunity in politics. Thus, women need some institution to help them in developing the needed political skills and create the needed political networks.

3. Women as Voters

Voting is the most desirable way to change and develop a political system. Women voters in Korea outnumber men by 400,000. However, the rate of female participation is slightly less than that of the men. In 1992, the percentage of men voting was 72.2, while women's was 70.9, while 82.6 percent of eligible men voted while 80.9 percent of women did. However, the local elections of 1991 show that 1.2 percent more eligible women voters participated than men and that women participated at a higher rate than men in local council elections. This shows women's greater interest in local elections compared to men's interest in central elections. Most women see local elections as more germane to their life and thus, local elections is the most auspicious locale for women to improve their political situation.

Research has shown that female voters cast their vote based more on a candidate's school, career, character and most importantly, the regional background of the candidate, but do not base their decisions on political party affiliation. According to research done during the most recent National Assembly election, the voting behaviour of women mirrors that of men. This differed from the perception held at the time that women would vote for the party with views most favorable to their needs.

Part of the reason for women to not base their voting decision more commonly on political party affiliation is

that Korean political parties' political platforms do not greatly differ from one another, making voting on policy preferences impossible for voters. This is another reason that women have not been able to vote for policies favorably disposed to female political development.

In order to increase women's political participation, women's political consciousness and desire to organize must be heightened. The following section describes steps needed to be taken to achieve these goals through participation enlargement plans and codes of conduct for female political involvement.

IV. Conclusion: The Enlargement Plan and Code of Conduct

The most important thing in reforming women's political involvement is to set clear goal, which sets an obvious destination. A movement without any decisive ideology can not attain any goal. Also very important is not only the strong confidence of the leaders in the goal but also the confidence of all members of the movement in the goals.

Enlargement Plan

1. Theory of creating a political scenario proper for Korean Women

It seems false that the government's behaviour is conducive for the political liberation of women. The government's slogans and institutions' claims to aid women are only to gain popular support, and ignore the real needs of true female political liberation. This has resulted in little progress in female political empowerment.

Korean women should develop political theories for themselves rather than accept Western political development theory or Western-based feminism. Korean women should develop theories that men and women can both agree on.

2. Increasing female political participation in local elections.

Local government provides women with many issues they can relate to and easily become actively involved. Due to the background of Korean women's existence, local government provide close relationship with every-day life which more likely appeals to Korean women's interests.

In welfare states in Northern Europe, women occupy over 70 percent of local government positions and over 40 percent in the central government. This has been a result of the women's political movement beginning at local level. Through beginning their participation at the local level, women gained confidence, experience and knowledge. As women participated more effectively in local government they were increasingly able to then challenge male dominance in the central government. In order to follow such a plan, the following code of

conduct is needed.

Code of Conduct

It is necessary to recognize not only how to set goals, but how to implement them. To translate the above set goals into practice, the following codes of conduct are suggested for the ensuing 10 years.

1. Establish theoretical development institution for women's political development. Theoretical development must be in relations with the situation, and the obstacles to development should be examined empirically and scientifically. The foundation of this theoretical development will help civil research groups, which consist of government funding and human resources from women's groups. This is the new type of institution which will most aid Korean women's liberation, especially through building political theory for Korean women.

2. Develop women's political movement according to regional characteristics. According to the analysis of successful female candidates in local elections, the main reason for success is based on activities in local societal functions. Such a strategy shows how cooperation and linking with women's groups allows the exchange of political information and strengthens and invigorates the movement. Such a process excites and interests women in local politics.

3. Build Political Funds for Female Politician. "Money is Power" means that funds are the lifeblood of political and social movements. Women give up running for political office due to lack of funds and these funds also control the actions of elected officials in office. Ways of raising funds need to be studied and solutions implemented.

4. Educate Women who Choose Politics as a Profession. First of all, women who show ability, competence and potential need to be selected from each regional area. Then, education for female politicians, which instill knowledge of electoral strategy, organization, confidence building and fund-raising need to be created.

Since the 21st century will be the time for computer politics, political power will be a function of computer knowledge. Women should be trained to take advantage of this future when massive amounts of information are available via computers.

Women who enter these political training institutions should be free to join the party which they like. This will allow various parties to recruit more easily the most qualified women and will foster women's solidarity within this educated and competent group, rather than dividing women according to political ideology.

Through mastering all of the courses of such an institution, women can make themselves qualified in any

political organization. Such a goal can only be accomplished through government funding.

This strategy would contribute to political party development through forcing parties to go beyond mere slogans in its support of women's causes, end the practice of employing women only during election periods, and the practice of only giving women low-skilled positions where no valuable skills are gained by female party workers. Once women are employed for a long period of time, and gain useful skills and develop strong networks, political parties will more likely to support their candidacy for office and for higher-level political appointments.

5. Strengthen the Political Network in the Level of International Cooperation. We should ensure that the government cooperates with the NGO and the United Nations' programs that support the political development of women. The government should be pressured to accept the United Nations goal of 30 percent participations of women in political office.

These plans and codes of conduct can succeed when the United Nations, the Korean government and Korean women's groups cooperate and link together. The political power of women that has barely developed during a long oppressive Korean history can be greatly improved if the steps outlined above are followed and implemented. This would cause a initiative movement towards equality and peace. What a fantastic world it would be!

"Women in Politics"

J. Zanna

LEOS Deputy Chairperson

The LEOS was founded by the initiative of 7 women in 1993. The main objective of LEOS is "Women in Politics" and "Women in Social Progress". 11 reports have been produced, 7 national seminars have been held since that time. There is a conceptual difference between Women in Politics used prior 1990 and after 1990. Over 70 years of the communist regime, Mongolian women have acquired good education, but lack consciousness and courage of civic right.

50.4% of the population are women including 70-80% working in education and health care sectors, 70% in the legal organization, 80% in the trade and service areas 49.5% of total working population, 60% of unemployed are women.

There are the official data on women political participation and in the last State Great Hural there are 3 out of 76 members are women (3.9%). This is 8 times less than the previous Great Hural.

In the old socialist regime, in order to increase the women's political participation, the party issued a resolution which provided a quota for herdsmen, workers, intelligentsia and women. In 1940, women candidates reached 2697. In 1990, 9 out of 426 members (2.1%) were women, but all the deputies were nominated. All election up to 1990, the candidates were chosen by the party. In 1990, the democratic revolution took place in Mongolia which provided an opportunity to bring Mongolia into the world community, but over these 6 years the one-party parliament, one-party government, one-party court, thus eliminating the opportunity to develop the real democracy, to dominate in all levels of politics, economy, social development, The unhealthy atmosphere has been persistent due to corruption and plot, unfair distribution of people's wealth.

There has been only one women's organization in the socialist society, staff of which got salary from the state. It operated like a government organization and lacked a genuine interest to represent women's interests. Since 1990, the organization stopped to be financed from the state budget and declared to be a NGO, but continued to operate in the old way. The local coordinators of branches of this organization do still have job position in the

local government.

The government lacked policy on women and their rights have always been violated to some extent that have led to the emergence of 24 women volunteer organizations over the last 3 years including the organizations which support some political parties, like Social Democrat Women's Movement, Women for Democracy Movement, Mongolian Women Federation, Women for Justice etc., and members of these organizations are members of one particular party. Also, there are Women Headed Family Association, Mongolian Association of Women Victims of Political Repression, Women Lawyers Association, Women's Foundation for Rural Development and etc., organizations based profession and social issues in addition; 9 organizations that unite women in business, trade and manufacturing and one women's religious organization.

The Liberal Women's Brain Pool(LEOS) has branched in all 21 provinces and 50 somons(the smallest administrative units) with 5000 members, 20% are members of the Mongolian National Democratic Party, 10% - the Mongolian Social Democratic Party, over 10% - Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and other non-party members. Thus, the LEOS has become the largest and strongest NGO over the last 3 years.

As follow-up of the national seminar "Women in Politics", organized by the LEOS in September 1995, participants from 15 women's organizations agreed to set up "Coalition Agreement. This temporary coalition has the objective to increase women's representation in the parliament and put pressure to and lobbied MPs with the aim to approve the proportional system. For this purpose, we had meeting and discussions with the leaders of the ruling party, its leader in the parliament, parliament speaker, heads of the permanent committees and also leaders of 6 political parties with the request to include many women in the list of candidates running in the parliamentary election. We collected 7000 signatures and presented to the parliament speaker supporting 20% quota who replied that quota has no success to approved in the parliament. In February 1996, the Coalition of Mongolian Women organized a round table meeting involving 120 people consisting of MPs, political parties and all 24 women organizations. During this round table meeting followed by lunch talking, a promise was made to support women's representation in the decision-making level on the part of MPs. Nevertheless, following the discussions on changes and amendments to the electoral law, all MPs voted against the provision to increase women representation except 6 MPs from the opposition and 7 from the ruling party - the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Therefore, we resumed meetings with leaders of political parties with the request on at least 10% quota for women candidates and leaders of 6 political parties expressed their consent. But no political parties except Democratic Coalition of MNDP-MSDP issued official statement on this promise.

With the purpose to increase women's political participation and to introduce the qualitative changes in their understanding of politics, LEOS conducted during April-June seminars-training of trainers, in 21 provinces and 30 somons to increase political awareness and consciousness of women during April-June and used the manual prepared by APWIP. 1882 trainers were involved in this training on civic education in a democratic society. These seminars have had also the objectives to prepare women in the local election, to increase their political

consciousness, to understand the importance of being united, to mobilize women themselves without waiting directions and help from the outside. As a result of this, women started to express their courage and willingness to run in the local election. 5 coordinators of LEOS branches requested to conduct training to prepare women who will run in these local elections. The final result of the seminars were to introduce changes in the public conception of women's political participation.

The LEOS new area of activity is gender issues. 2 people from LEOS participated in the seminar on gender organised by the UN. 3 delegates took part in the workshop on Gender Equality in Asia and the Pacific through the Women's Convention, in Jakarta, 3-6 July 1996, Mongolia ratified the CEDAW in 1981 but did very little to advocate this convention among women and general public, and take measures to implement its provisions over 15 years and to decrease the cases of discrimination against women.

The constitution declares the equality of women but this equality remains on paper. The attitude of the mass media, parliament members and local government is sometimes anti-women and they do not support women's organizations, particularly, in the local level, they are treated as anti-government organization. As an example, the governor of Bayanhongor province prohibited to conduct any kind of training and locked the door of the room where the LEOS was conducting the seminar. The governors of many provinces regarded the training on civic education conducted by the LEOS before the parliamentary election as the opposition coalition measures and exerted psychological pressure on women participants. But the LEOS was determined to complete these seminars on civic education which conducted by no other organizations including political parties. The LEOS conducted seminars despite all the difficulties.

Nowadays, the conditions are being created for real implementation of democratic norms. The LEOS will continue to work in order to ensure women's equality in all spheres. In 1990 LEOS will convene the Forum of Mongolian Women and conduct seminars to prepare women in the local election, to train women-leaders, to set up Women's Convention watch group, etc. Our organization is non-partisan and will continue to work hard in order to secure women's rights and be a major part in the movement of Mongolian women. and to cause a change in the thinking of society. Some people consider that domestic violence is closely connected with this custom, tradition.

Domestic Violence

In many families men violate women as an everyday occurrence of life. this unequal behavior is the effect of the stereotypic roles of men and women. There is a proverb "Beat a goat and a wife once in a month, they know themselves why they are beaten". There is a need to speak about creating a person centered society, recognizing that human rights are violated within the family. The victims of violence are mainly women and children.

Violence exists in every level of society regardless of age, education, wealth.

Becoming free from the belief that violence is a private matter between husband and wife; and considering violence as a crime committed against human rights, and being in the attention of the UN, the struggle in every country of the world against violence help to reduce it. While the issues of protecting women and children from the violence is considered within the Government Policy in the highly developed countries, in our country it is spoken by the NGOs. In June 1995 three Mongolian NGOs LEOS, Women for Social Progress Movement and Women Lawyers Association had initiated a project to reduce domestic violence against women and children in Mongolia, and set up a Center Against Domestic Violence. The main objectives of the Center are;

1. To change the social perception of the violence, thus make amendments in the Family Codes;
2. To provide victims of violence with the psychological and legal counseling, if necessary to house them for 7-14 days free of charge.

Though the Center was established not so long ago, we have been publicizing the causes and prevailing forms of domestic violence in Mongolia. As a result of this the issues addressed on the domestic violence, was included in the Programme of Action, implemented during the National Forum conducted by the Government in March 1996. We consider this as our first step to influence the Government.

One feature of our organization is the workers of the Center as the survivors of violence,, who come to stay in the Shelter House, keep in secret the location of the Shelter House and the matters of other victims. Women who come to us become very happy, finding out that there are many women, with the same problems all over the World not only in our country, and they can unite to struggle against violence. Although we have been working hard for one year, we could not achieve our goals as well as we wanted, but our struggle is like declaring a war of consciousness and there is no way to go back.

Looking at the survey we have made between the women, clients of the Shelter House, it is clear that most of them live under the violence of their husband; do not have rights to work; have to live in house arrest under the husband's suspicious, separated from the friends and relatives. There are a lot of men wanting to make his wife as an obedient slave. In this situations women survive under the violence for many years and at last they got exhausted, decide to put an end to this life and come to us looking for whom to address. The legal institutions, law courts insufficiently understand the problems of women and make wrong decisions. This means that the social protection of women is not satisfactory. For instance, a women named D. wrote us a letter and we went to see her as she asked in her letter. 12 years ago because of her husbands violence she got blind, her husband threatened his 2 daughters and raped them for many years. However, the court decided to divorce the family, but let a violent husband to share a flat with the women and they still in danger. Another example is, a husband, has been beating his wife for many years and when she got a defect in her brain cerebrum, thus having nervous disorder,, husband just took their 2 children and left her. There was a woman, who lived under the constraint pressure for many

years, asking us to help to emigrate abroad, as her husband always threatens her to find her kill anyway, if she divorces him. The most contemptible case, that father, stepfather, brother, grandfather or one of relatives rape their daughters, young girls happening in hide.

This way the time for the legal institutions to give attention that the number of homeless people-women, going with their children is increasing, has come.

The main reason of increasing of the domestic violence is the conditions to protest it in the legal and moral standards is not is not formed yet. Domestic violence is like a crime committed with the force, and the outcomes reveals in the next generation. There are many forms of violence, but in Mongolia the most common forms of violence are the following;

1. Physical violence; beating, health damage, murder
2. Emotional violence; insult with words, suspect, threaten
3. Sexual assault; to treat like an objective to meet his wishes

It is hard to reveal the exact number of women, who suffer from the violence, in our condition, but to find out the understanding of people of the violence, what forms of violence is dominated in the society, what kind of people become the victims of violence we made a survey in a capital city and in 21 provinces. From 4100 pages we distributed, 3300 pages were valid. 57.6% of the people involved in the survey were female, 26.4% male, 17% were schoolchildren. 62% believe that violence is a rape. 70% of women who are under the violence live under the physical and emotional pressure; 20.9% under the economic pressure; 9.1% under the sexual violence. Men who are over 20 years violate their wives physically and mentally all the time; the wives of men who are 18-25 ages got under the pressure of relatives, because of not having their own flats. We also tried to find out how women overcome the violence and save their children; 44.6% are tolerant, 22.1% seeks for others help and leave their home for a few days; 14.8% argue and fight with their husbands, 30% of women who get patient during the violence are young women (17-25 ages), 54.5% are women over the 36 years, 21.9% of women indicated that there appeared blue spots on the body; 14.6% got a damage in cerebrum; 8.8% remained scars on the body, 14.6% got in the sexual relation unwillingly; got fired from the jobs. To the question how they concern about the violating and beating their wives, 40.8% of men answered that it is possible to be within the family.

There are many reasons of women tolerating their husbands violence, they;

- love her husband
- afraid to lose her reputation
- afraid children to be orphan
- don't have a place to go
- think this is what they deserve
- threatened

- hope her husband to keep his promise and change
- because of economic crisis
- because of stereotypical perception in the society.

Political Empowerment for Women in the 21st Century

Background

Background

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'Political Empowerment for Women in the DPP'

Women's Development and Action Committee, DPP, TAIWAN

In this paper, we shall briefly describe the political status of women in Taiwan, and explain the significance of the DPP for women's political participation. We describe how the Women's Development and Action Committee considers the quota system as a strategy to empower women in the Democratic Progressive Party, a political party with a vision, in the hope this will stimulate other parties to pay attention to this issue and encourage more women to stand out.

Background

Taiwan's development experience is widely recognised as an "economic miracle". It ranks as the second largest holder of foreign exchange reserves and the 14th most important trading nation in the world. It boasts of a 93 literacy rate and a GNP per capita of US\$12,000. What most people do not realise is the other side of the "miracle", a political environment which suppresses the people's rights to self-determination.

The Democratic Progressive Party, the first and largest opposition party in Taiwan, has been the main force behind the peaceful revolution which transformed Taiwan from authoritarian rule to democracy. Along with the abolishment of the martial law in 1986, the complete re-election of parliament in 1992 and the election of the President by a direct popular vote for the first time in 1996, the foundation for democracy has been established. At the same time, a political system involving three major political parties has been formed.

Women and Politics in Taiwan: The Perspective of the WDAC

Although Taiwanese people have gained the freedom to participate in politics, it is still hard to hear women's

voices in the political arena. In comparison with women's participation in other spheres, the proportion of women in the civil service remains very low. For example, the ratio between men and women with a college education is 6:4, and the percentage of women who participate in the labour force is 45. By contrast, the percentage of women in the parliamentary body is no more than 15. In other words, although Taiwanese women have never restrained themselves in the home, and have somewhat have a social status, they still do not have the opportunity to acquire critical positions to express their opinions and safeguard their rights. Moreover, in regards to the formulation and implementation of state policy, male decision-makers seldom take women's experiences and interests into account.

Since the formation of a pluralistic political scene, it is very clear that only do partisans have the chances to get political positions. In terms of the access to the political arena, it is the time for women to struggle in political parties. On this account, the Women's Development and Action Committee WDAC, re-organised as the Department of Women's Development in July, 1996, as a unit of the DPP headquarters, decided to take actions to increase women's influence in the DPP.

The DPP is the first party rooted on the grassroots level and grew out of social forces and movements of Taiwan. In late 1980s, the DPP expanded with Taiwanese people's awareness of injustice under KMT authoritarian rule. The burst of social movements regarding such issues such as environmental, labour, consumer and women's rights, stimulated people's yearning for democratic reform. These social forces brought about the birth of the DPP. However, despite the close relationship between the DPP and social movements, women's status has not yet improved in this party.

Before the establishment of the DPP, "widow politics" forced quite a lot of women standing on the political stage to represent their jailed male relatives especially their husbands in their direct appeals to the public. At the same time, the pioneer of the Taiwan women's movement, Lu hsiu-lien, considered that democratic reform was a pre-condition of social movements, and devoted herself to the struggle for political rights. There are some other women political prisoners, like Lu, have been the representation of Taiwan's historical sadness. These women have gained respect and status in the party.

By contrast, despite the fact that the DPP has obtained more resources for further development, there are fewer opportunities for women to reach higher positions. Though the percentage of women members have risen from 14.3 to 28.35 in the past two years, in the top decision-making institute, the National Party Congress, there are 78 women among 520 congress representatives, amounting to only 15. Concerning the Legislative Yuan, women occupy just 6 seats out of 53 DPP seats, amounting to 11. Since Taiwan's basic democracy has been achieved, "widow politics", a unique scene from unusual times, is no longer an effective way to increase the number of women in the parliament. Furthermore, women now have to make use of factors which influence masculine political culture, such as financial, organisational, familial resources, but not political views and personal abilities, to win a position on the party nomination list. As described above, women lack access to these political resources.

Women are either defined as non-political/domestic or excluded from male-dominated/male-bonding resource networks when they want to compete with men. It is indeed difficult for women to survive in the political sphere without being able to explore and develop their own resources. However, there are too few women to form women-bonding social networks.

Nevertheless, as the most progressive political party, the DPP is still significant for women's political participation. In comparison with the two other major political parties, the DPP has the lowest proportion of votes from women. This has stimulated some male leaders to reflect on the masculine political culture. The DPP's violent image, formed in the earlier stage under KMT authoritarian rule and emphasised by the KMT propaganda, holds back most people, especially women, from understanding and supporting the DPP, even though the DPP has been a strong voice for equal opportunity, pension and childcare policy, etc.. The DPP have to win over women's support in order to increase the votes and fulfill its goal of becoming a ruling party. To nominate women, who are not traditionally political leaders, and to begin to organise local women supporters, may change the violent stereotype the DPP suffers from. The DPP offers a primary election system is more democratic and fairer for women. Moreover, it will be easier for women to gain the support of men in the DPP than the counterparts of other parties, if women really take some actions to empower themselves in such a context.

The Proposal for the Political Empowerment for Women in the DPP

To offer women a chance to become more politically-active under unfavourable circumstances, and to increase women's participation as well as cultivate grassroots women's organisations, the WDAC put forward a proposal to modify the Party Constitution as follows:

1 compelling local party offices to set up women's development sections in order to enhance grassroots women's organisations;

2 the quota of women in every level of civil servant nominations should reach at least 25;

3 the quota of women in every level of Party decision-makers should reach at least 25.

To allow the party to foster qualified women, the clause 2 and 3 will be effective two years later.

The percentage of the DPP women legislators and National Assembly Deputies are total nearly 20, so the WDAC pragmatically decided on setting this rate of 25, which may be more acceptable for men who constitute overwhelming predominance of 30 to 40. Passing the modification of the Party Constitution needs the support of two-third of National Party Congress representatives present. The WDAC hoped that changing in the quantity of women in higher party positions can influence the quality of decision-making, so that the party would pay more attention to women's opinions and women's organisation.

To promote this proposal, the WDAC lobbied all important party persons leaders, and contacted National Party

Congress representatives requesting them to approve in the proposal. It won the support of 217 congresspersons. The WDAC also held a press conference to appeal to the women's activists and raised the public attention on the issues, expecting that public support would urge the representatives to the Congress to consider the significance of the proposal.

In the names of democracy and progressiveness, the promotion of the quota system will fostered the DPP women's awareness. At the same time, this proposal has raised suspicion and opposition.

Why Does the DPP Have to Empower Women

The supporters agreed with the WDAC's reasons for promoting the quota system, as published in the official press "Democratic Women". For further development of the DPP in the transitional Taiwan society, this modification of the Party constitution is very urgent. The reasons are:

1. The advances of women's movement in recent years has affected younger generations of women. They are quite conscious of their rights, bolder to express their opinions, and more independent in thinking and in decisionmaking. The DPP cannot just formulate unrealistic policies to attract women voters. Only with feasible practices in promoting women's status will young women voters give support to the DPP.

2. Women constitute half of the population. The silencing of women's voices in most of the political institutions implies fragmentary democracy. To realise complete democracy, an important aim of the DPP, the quota system can act as the first step for women's mass political participation.

3. Women compete with men on unequal basis. This condition discourages excellent women who have no political resources. The quota system will rectify the rules of the game, and encourage them to devote themselves to the DPP as nominators, decision-makers and organisers.

4. The result of the presidential election testifies that the DPP has dropped behind this rapidly-transforming society. Women as non-traditionally-defined political participants, will strive for new resources and votes that traditional politicians cannot grasp for the DPP.

5. The policies of the state and the party seldom take women's needs into account. Women's life experiences are different from men's. However, the decision-makers are men, who do not really understand women's needs, and they usually intentionally or unintentionally ignore women's issues and suppress women's opinions. If 25 or more representatives are women, this situation will be improved.

6. Most of women are earnest and down-to-earth, and have potential to today's the corrupt political conditions.

Suspicion and Opposition

The opponents' arguments are summarised as follows for further discussion:

1. Women are not interested in politics. The low proportion of women in the decision-making level in the party and the government is the evidence.
2. Women are not willing to be in power. Especially in rural areas, it is hard to find a capable woman who would like to participate in the party affairs.
3. Women do not understand the rule of politics. They do not know the art of consultation and conflict, so they will destroy the political environment.
4. The quota system will guarantee positions to those women who are contribute to the party. Some devoted men will lose chances to get political positions that they deserve. This is unfair.
5. The quota system will guarantee those women who are unqualified and inappropriate. Some excellent men will lose chances to get appropriate positions. This is unfair.
6. Since there are few active women in the party, most womenselected through the quota system will represent their fathers, husbands or brothers. They will not speak for women's interests but for their male relatives. Why should we reserve the seats for these women
7. Women are equal to men nowadays, and they should not ask special protection or they admit their weakness.

The WDAC submitted the proposal to the Central Standing Committee. This proposal raised a heated debate as expected. The Committee decided to submit another proposal in addition to the National Party Congress: reserving at least 10 of the seats for women. This proposal only confirmed the regulation of the Constitution, and made no progress for women.

In the National Party Congress, while many congress representatives argued in favour of the WDAC's proposal, this proposal did not pass with a margin of only 28 votes.

There are some phenomena worth noting:

1. Congress representatives who are civil servants were more inclined to support the proposal than others.
2. Congress representatives who are civil servants in the national institutions were more inclined to support the proposal than others.
3. Congress representatives from urban areas were more inclined to support the proposal than those from non-urban areas.
4. Congress representatives from the northern part of Taiwan were more inclined to support the proposal than those from southern part.
5. Women account to just 15 of the total Congress representatives, so the argument that the proposal would revitalise the party appealed to both sexes more than the argument that it would promote gender justice.
6. For reformers, the problem was not those who opposed in public but those who boycotted the proposal by

indifference.

On the one hand, we can find that there is an urban/rural difference in values. On the other hand, some of the fractions' leaders, famous for their insights, actually refused to support this reformist proposal just for the protection of their vested interests.

The Prospects

Nevertheless, the political empowerment for women has become a significant issue in the DPP. Some of the WDAC members suggest that we should unite women from different political parties and women's groups to raise the issue on the Constitutional level, and propose that the quota of either sex should not be less than 40 of the seats.

The political empowerment for women is the issue that any woman will support, regardless of her stand point in relation to the women's movement. The WDAC will try again to promote this issue, and further mobilise women civil servants and party supporters in order to press the party members and leaders to confronting the question of women's rights to participate in politics.

Power Sharing and Participation in Policy-Making by Chinese Women

Li Xiaoxing

Chinese Women's Delegation

In the human history of China and the world, women political participation is a hard historic process. The 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing, China has aroused the great interest of the world in the situation of Chinese women. As one may aware that China has a history of feudalism for more than 2000 years. Before 1949, the traditional thinking of man superior to women was deeply rooted. After 1949, new China was established. With the economic development and social advances, the status of women has been improved. Women have emerged in large numbers, taking leadership positions in various government departments and assuming responsibilities of state affairs and those of local governments.

I. Present Situation

In implementing the Nairobi Strategies, continued progress has been made in participation by the Chinese women in state affairs. The proportion of women in power organs is an important indicator of the political status of women. To the 8th National People's Congress(NPC), there were 626 women deputies, accounting for 21.03% of the total. In the Standing Committee of NPC, the number of women increased from 14 in 1985 to 19, with its percentage up from 9% to 12.26%.(see the table below)

Women Deputies in NPC and Women Members in its Standing Committee

Year	NPC	Total(NPC)	Women	%	Total(ST)	Women	%
1983	6th	2978	632	21.2	155	14	9
1988	7th	2970	634	21.3	155	16	10.3
1993	8th	1978	626	21.03	155	19	12.3

Women deputies to the NPC actively participate in the policy-making and legislation process. They go to grass-roots units for facts-finding, inspection and listening to the opinions of citizens. On that basis, they have proposed many valuable bills for the improvement of government work and the safeguard of women's rights and interests. For example, women deputies proposed a bill on social compensation for lying-in women workers, which serves as the basis for Measures (for trial implementation) for Child-Bearing Insurance of the Staff and Workers in Enterprises issued by the Ministry of Labor. Another bill by women deputies on safeguarding the rights and interests of women has also been adopted and implemented.

In government departments, the number of women assuming high leading posts has increased as well. The State Council has one woman state councillor. Women ministers and vice ministers have increased from 11 in 1985 to 18 now, with the percentage up from 5.2% to 6.6%. The Minister of Chemical Industry, Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation and Minister in charge of State Family Planning Commission are all women. In the provinces, women governors and vice governors have increased from 9 to 17, with the percentage up from 5% to 12.26%. In 517 cities throughout the country, 308 women assumed the post of mayors and vice mayors in 1993. At present, 23 provinces, 244 prefectures and 2,106 counties have women in the Party or government leadership, a general improvement as compared with 1985.(see the tables below)

Women Ministers and Vice Ministers under the State Council

Year	Women Ministers and Vice Ministers	%
1985	11	5.2
1995	18	6.6

Women Governors and Vice Governors in the Provinces

Year	Women Governors and Vice Governors	%
1985	9	5
1995	17	12.26

Moreover, women's participation in decision making has also increased in various parties, NGOs, large-scaled enterprises and academic and research institutions.

II. Features

The Chinese women's political participation has its features due to its own social development and economic situation. First, as a developing country, China is moving fast in the advancement of women's political participation. At present, China ranks the 12th in the world in its record of women in politics. Generally speaking, women's political participation is subject to the social advances and cultural tradition. Why China is moving fast, where it is still a developing country with over 2000 years of feudal history? Looking back through the history, Chinese women were oppressed under the feudal, semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Women were struggling to get free by taking part into the revolution. Many women political figures were emerging. Since its founding, new China declared that women enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, social and family lives. Women have been widely employed, which allow full play to their intelligence and talents. In the spirit of heroines, women have been taking an active part in the production of industry, agriculture, science, culture, education and public health, making important contributions to the state construction. The economic participation such as these has also speeded up the improvement of women's political status.

Secondly, women's participation in politics is advancing continuously. After new China was found, especially under the implementation of the Nairobi Strategy, Chinese government has promulgated a series of legislation related to the protection of women's rights and interest and promotion of equality of women and men. With the economic development and the effect of social publicity, people become more aware of the importance of the equality and have gradually had the gender sense. Some favourite social circumstances have been created to allow a continue progress in women's political status. As it is mentioned before that there witnessed an upraise in the proportion of women's involvement in various government departments and power organs.

Thirdly, women's political participation is extensive. From a general view, women take part in NPCs and government works women are also seen in

decision-making positions in a wide range of areas such as parties, NGOs, large enterprises, institutions of higher learning and researches.

Finally, Chinese women has its own national organization—the All-China Women's Federation(ACWF). Since its founding in 1949, ACWF have been constantly engaged in its course of protecting women's rights and

interests and promoting equality of men and women. Women's political participation is on top of it's agenda. Taking the advantage of its abilities in social publicity, organizing and mobilization, ACWF takes an active part in making recommendations to legislation concerning women and children, implementation of such legislation and supervision. ACWF is making its best endeavours to the building of a favourite society and the improvement of it for women's political participation.

III. Present Challenges

First, women's sense of political participation will be further improved. Although we have it in laws that women enjoy equal rights with men for voting and being elected, harder efforts are still needed to strengthen the sense of political participation among the masses of women, as well as women executives. Generally speaking, women receiving higher education are more aware of their political life. These women show more concerns on communities, surroundings and the society. On the other hand, women with less education, especially those living in the remote and poor areas show little interest in politics. Moreover, some women intellectuals are not very active in their political life for their laying emphasis on the professions. Causes behind are different, where social culture and tradition play a major role. Deep in the inner part of those women, there still exist a thinking that women are not born for politics or politics are the matter of men.

Secondly, the proportion of women's political participation is low with less on the top and more with deputy heads. Recent censurs show that women population account for 48.48%, almost half of the population. But there are not many women in politics. The proportion is low and uneven throughout the country. The proportion is only 11% in some backward areas. Women's political participation takes the shape of a pagoda with less on the top. Among women in leadership positions in different social sectors, many assume deputy positions. There are only a few of them at the first positions. Among different social sectors, there are more women heads in culture, education, health, commercial, textile and light industry whereas less in the non-traditional sections. Although women constitute half of the population, they form small numbers in the leadership positions in the society. In terms of population, the proportions of women and men are more or less the same. But in terms of leadership and management, differences are big. Of course, it is not realistic to request equal members in the leadership bodies. But it is unfair to allow such big difference continuous. Great efforts will be needed for gradual changes of these existence.

VI. Measures for Improvement

1. Government measures: 1) mechanism: In February 1992, the National Working Committee for Women and Children of the State Council was set up. The Committee is responsible for co-ordinating with different government departments on works related to the protection of women's rights and interests, working out plans for women's development and supervising the implementation of laws and policies in relation to women by various government departments and local governments. 2) policy: As the follow-up of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of the 4th World Conference on Women, a Program for the Development of Chinese Women has been worked out by the said Committee. In the Program, it is defined as the target to enhance the degree of women's participation in decision-making and management of state and social affairs and to have women in government leading posts at all levels. The Program also requests the government of all levels to become more aware of women's needs and their rights, while formulating policies and programs, listen to suggestions and demands of women's organizations and work out plans for training and selecting women cadres.

2. NGO measures: As the All-China Women's Federation, first, to strengthen its publicity work, further arouse the awareness of gender sense in the society and win the social recognition of women's political participation and its significance. Women's political participation is not a matter of individual women. It is a matter of all women as a whole. It is a matter of the whole society for it requires common efforts and co-operation from both women and men. It is with these efforts that a favourable social and cultural conditions can be established and improved for the advancement of women's political status and grows of more women talents. Secondly, to call on the government of all levels to work out long-term and policy consistent plans for training and promoting women cadres; the ACWF will continue to play its role of the training base, establish data bases for women candidates, make recommendations to personnel departments on a regular basis and release the related information. Thirdly, to open various kinds of training, such as lectures, classes and seminars tailored to the needs of women executives, as well as the social needs and to strengthen exchanges of women executives with the purpose to improve their professional levels and management ability.

3. Women as individuals: A final liberation of women depends on women themselves. Women should gradually establish the sense of the mission and challenge bravely the traditional concept of men superior to women. Women should improve their own competence continuously through education on various kinds of subjects, such as new technology and laws so as to be able to fulfil their obligations and exercise their rights. It is only with the ability building of this kind that can women win the recognition and confidence of the society. Secondly, the advancement of political status depends very much on economic independence. Women are encouraged to participate in the economic constructions to get economically independent and get away from

subordinate positions so that they will have more say in family affairs, and later, community affairs and then the state affairs. Finally, individuals are too small and weak. Women must get organized to be stronger and influential in the process of the advancement of women's political status.

Women and Politics: A Voice from Japan

Etsuko Sekiguchi

During the workshop for "Women and Politics" held at our First East Asian Women's Forum in Japan, it was noted that despite out various differences, there rang a similar note striking all our chords. As we acknowledge the predicament which our sisters from East Asia have all had to adhere to, we view the reality of what it has meant for us to maintain our identity "under" the traditional values of Asia's patriarchal Confucian-oriented system. The advancement of women in society, much less in politics, has definitely been a great struggle with this type of social structure. A common issue consistently pointed out was the "political lag" created by such repressing factors, inevitably leading to comparisons between ourselves with our sisters in Europe and North America. This lag applies to the women of Japan as well. According to last years data from IPU, within the House of representatives, we ranked as no. 145 among the 172 countries participated, giving us a grand total of a 2.3% participation factor in the political arena. In the House of Councillors we ranked in 20th place (that's 13.9%). The past 50 years in Japan witnesses a very slow growth rate in terms of women participating in politics. Despite anticipated excitement which followed the break up of the 40 year regime of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), it appears that the various parties able to evolve from this "revolutionary" change neither offered the people new hope or new options. One thing which can be said, however is that we did finally arrive at gaining a seat for our first chairperson in the cabinet.

With the past few years, Japan has witnessed incredible changes in the world of politics. Rapid and numerous turnover rates of Prime Ministers and heretofore unheard of political lies...i.e., parties traditionally known to be adversaries actually joining forces to create a new cabinet; parties diametrically opposed to each other in terms of policies and beliefs (such as the former LDP and the Socialist Party)merging together to be what is now known as our present day cabinet. Such unprecedented events have more than created a stir among our people. Nonetheless, parties with such opposing beliefs will inevitably disintegrate (by the coming autumn) as many seem to predict nowadays.

Since 1993, we are witness to a political coalition: a new electoral system which will be applied for the very first time. The system consists of combining two residing elements: 1) the number of seats allotted to the Diet based on each party's proportion of votes through the proportional representational system and 2) one candidate per constituency. This will be put into effect with the next voting season.

Juxtaposed against these issues, we find ourselves looking back at all that has taken place since the Beijing conference and strive, more than ever, to grasp that chance of getting one more sister's foot inside that door. For starters, we look towards the regional councils as we work our way into the system. We see the growth factor rise in manifolds, slowly, but surely. As witnessed with last year's regional campaign held throughout the whole country, we are definitely gaining strength, for sure. Wish us luck!

Workshop 2
Religion and its Culture

Since 1993, the election system will be applied for the very first time. The election system of each party is based on the number of seats allotted to the Districts. The election system of each party is based on the number of seats allotted to the Districts. The election system of each party is based on the number of seats allotted to the Districts.

Women and Politics: A Voice from Japan

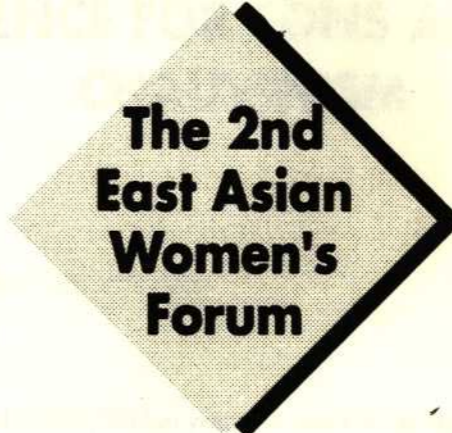
Just as we have seen in the past, we find ourselves in a similar situation. We find ourselves in a similar situation. We find ourselves in a similar situation. We find ourselves in a similar situation. We find ourselves in a similar situation.

It was in 1993 that the Japanese government passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. This act was a landmark in the history of women's rights in Japan. It was a landmark in the history of women's rights in Japan. It was a landmark in the history of women's rights in Japan.

There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics. There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics. There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics.

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PREFERENCE FOR WOMEN AND ABLE



Workshop 2 Religion and Its Culture

There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics. There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics. There are many reasons why women are not more active in politics.

PREFERENCE FOR SONS AND MALE CHAUVINISM

Yi, Jeung-seun

Chairwoman, Committee for War Comfort Women

Daegu Women's Association

Korea's per capita GNP reached US\$10,000 last year, as a result of the rapid industrialization and development drive which began in 1960s. Birth control was the core of the family planning policy which was carried out in parallel with the industrialization by the Korean government. A family with one or two children is the most common type than six babies in average back in the 1960s, but the number dropped to 1.6 children in 1991.

Some 10 percent of married, young Korea couples these days have no intention to have a baby, recent survey results by the Korean Society and Public Health Institute showed, while 20 percent said they were going to have just one baby. Family with lesser children is one of the major trends you can see in Korean society, just like the urbanization and a tendency for nuclear family. Male chauvinism based on the tradition putting emphasis on the paternal line, however, still prevails, worsening the imbalance in the ratio of new born baby boys vs. girls.

The nature has it that the birth ratio of baby boys is from 102 up to 106 to 100 baby girls. In Korea, the birth ratio of baby boys to girls was 107:100 in 1983. It grew to 112:100 in 1988, 115.4:100 in 1994, setting the world record in this field. The disgraceful world record means the world's highest abortion ratio of female fetuses. Among those abortions are some cases terminating unwanted pregnancies from rapes, but most of the abortions done here are of female fetuses following a "sex test". The Sisa journal magazine reported in 1993 that some 620,000 babies were born every year in Korea, while 1.6 million fetuses or 2.5 times larger number were killed by abortion here. The number of abortions is now estimated at 2 million per year now, which breaks down to 6,000 per day.

The balance of male vs. female babies began to be broken in the mid-1980 when ultrasonography was introduced for health checkup of fetuses. Now, the ratio of boys to girls is 106:100, in case the baby is the first



Workshop 2

Religion and Its Culture

child. The ratio sharply grows to 113:100, if it's the second, and 196:100, if it's the third child. This reflects the growth in "sex test" and abortions of female fetuses, technically assisted by modern medical equipments.

The Korean government took the increase in abortions of female fetuses seriously. A few years ago, a medical doctor was suspended from professional practice under a Health & Social Welfare Ministry regulation, in case he or she was uncovered for illegal practice of fetus sex test for the first time. If he or she was found doing such practice for the second time, his or her license was canceled. Now the ministry stepped up its efforts to counter such practice. From July 1, this year, any medical doctor who is found doing fetus sex test is subject to immediate cancellation of his or her medical license.

It has been some 10 years that the imbalance in the birth ratio of male vs. female fetuses began to be problematic. Experts now warn against a catastrophe this imbalance might bring about in the future Korean society.

What made Koreans defy such government slogans encouraging married couples to have lesser children, like "Raise Two Kids Well, With No Discrimination" or "A Good Daughter Is Better Than Ten Sons" and stick to the notion of preferring a son to a daughter? Some attribute it to the "military culture" which prevailed for more than 30 years since the May 16, 1961 coup, in Korea, disseminating the male-centered organizational, rank order-mind values in Korean society, combined with patriarchal familism. As a matter of fact, preference for sons is more deeply rooted and going serious as ever, compared to any other countries with similar Confucian background. Was discrimination of daughters against sons essential part of traditional Korean values? Researches show that there had been not much discrimination of paternal line against maternal line back from the ancient times down to the mid-Choson Dynasty(1392-1910). The Silla Kingdom(57 B.C.-935) saw three queens, while kings were from three different surnames Park, Sok and Kin, reflecting that there had not been any particular discrimination of paternal lineage against maternal one, surrounding succession of the throne to either sons or sons-in-law. The Koguryo Kingdom (37 B.C.-668) of this period had a tradition of "wedding and staying at wife's house" for years. Under this practice, a man had a wedding at his bride's house, and lived there for years before he returns to his own house with his wife and children whom they raised at his wife's house. This shows the common perception of the Koguryo people who regarded sons-in-law and grand children born between daughters and their spouses as members of their own families. During the Koryo Dynasty(1392-1392) daughters were not discriminated against sons in succession of family titles or properties. Neither were grand children born from daughters against those born from sons. The tradition of a married man staying at his wife's house until their children are fully grown was still in practice. Sons and daughters even alternated in offering rites for ancestor worship.

Patrilineal system took shape later in the Choson Dynasty(1392-1910). The Neo-Confucian Code of Ethics was introduced from China during the late Koryo Dynasty and in early Choson period, specifically 1485, the Code of National Administration was declared, which, however, was not seriously taken enough to influence the then prevalent family lifestyle until mid-17th century. In the process of propagating and settling Confucian ideology, ancestor worship was given a greater emphasis than ever before. The importance of providing descendants who offer rites for ancestor worship with stable standing within family and properties necessitated the change in family system, naming the eldest son of a family as the person in charge of offering rites for ancestors. There was no equal rights any more in succession between sons and daughters within a family. The conception of family began to mean the paternal line only. The length of time a married man spent at his wife's houses before he returns to his own house was shortened. A lineal family with the first son with his wife, and the first grandson with his wife was regarded as an ideal. Families with daughters but without sons began to adopt a son from households which hold the same surname, mainly to serve the role of ancestor worship rites offerer. The notion that "a married daughter is left out of her own family bond" began to take root, reflecting the settlement of lineal patriarchy. For women, marriage draws distinction between the family she came from and the one she belongs to. A married woman is a member of her husband's family, not of the one she was born into. The discrimination of daughters against sons, first sons against second sons, and direct lineal succession to first son, and later to first grandson, reinforced the idea of excluding married women from the families they were born into. This still persists as you see in a widely-held preference for sons.

Taegu-Kyongbuk region now sees the worst case of birth ratio imbalance throughout Korea. In 1984 when the birth ratio of boys to girls was below 110:100 in other parts of the country, Taegu-Kyongbuk alone recorded 113:100. From 1985-91, figures in Taegu-Kyongbuk show the ratio of over 120 to 100. Figures in 1992 showed that in the case of the first child, the ratio is 107:100. But the ratio soared to 132:100 in the second child, 334:100 in the third child, and even 443:100 in the fourth child, indicating the worsening trend of preference for sons.

Why does this happen in Taegu-Kyongbuk region? What causes the worst imbalance of birth ratio of boys to girls in Taegu, one of the biggest cities of Korea, but remains most conservative and patriarchal? A recent study shows the phenomenon has nothing to do with the number of obstetricians or extensive use of ultrasonography. Some have come up with an analysis of "power-seekers" tradition of the region. Three presidents came out of Taegu-Kyongbuk during the past 30 years, and the "power motivation" to send sons to central government offices is behind widespread preference for sons, according to this interpretation. What is more important, however, is the Confucian aristocrat tradition which once engineered the settlement of Confucian ethics and reform drive back in the mid-Choson Dynasty, and still persists. Taegu-Kyongbuk still remains the base for those reform-minded "yangban" aristocrats who, based on their own economic power as "bourgeois" landlords, led the van of

disseminating Confucian values and order. In Korea, still the word, "yangban" reminds you of the city of Andong, Kyongbuk, and the Yangdong folk village in Kyongju.

Despite the insemination of Western individualism in the process of industrialization from the 1960s and structural changes in Korean families that followed, familism still works in Korea. So does preference for sons. As long as the headship of a Korean family is carried on by the paternal line, the absence of a son means the end of a family.

Discriminatory social systems and customs still prevail, blocking highly-educated women from entering job market. Even employed women face discrimination in promotion, placement and on-the-job education and training. Early retirement and forced retirement upon marriage are part of what is widely in practice against employed women. Raising daughters in this male-centered society is having your money invested with smaller chances for the future.

There are signs of change and measures to overcome the situation, however, in this transition of lineal familism to nuclear familism. And there are a lot of discussion and efforts being made. Emphasis seems to be shifting from the paternal line to both paternal and maternal lines, and from married women's in-law families to their own families. The notion of "married women left out from the families they were born into" seems to be weakening. Filial piety is not regarded as absolute value as it used to be in old times Korea.

The role of family has also changed. The major emphasis used to be placed on raising sons to carry the family name on and worship ancestors, but is now on bringing up, educating and socializing children. Korean women today see bigger opportunities for employment and self-fulfillment.

The enforcement of employment policy for women is vital in this stage, and the revision of the equal employment law should be made in a way to achieve realistic outcomes. Supplementary measures have to be taken to handle those who violate the law, and watch the enforcement. Efforts should also be made to resolve various problems facing working women in their work environment. One of the major tasks of the Korean government is to deal with and ease the burden of child raising and caring for the elderly from married women (especially daughters-in-law) who have so far entirely shouldered the job. Child raising and caring for the elderly should be the subject of social welfare policy instead of becoming individual burden for married women.

The Task of Religious Women for Transformation to Equal Culture

Han, Kuk-Yom

Director of Institute for Asian Feminist Theology

I. Religion and Sexism

We have discussed the problem and the reality of son-oriented ideology in Korea. The root of this ideology comes from the idea of predominance of men over women. After the ending of maternal society, social production system changed to paternal society, and the male oriented ideology became popular. The male-oriented ideology is not only deeply rooted in general Korean society, but also, it is in the religion. All religions have their basic principle in liberalizing and recovering the humanity for all oppressed human beings from injustice and inequality in the world. However they lost their original intention and became an ideological excuse to sustain male oriented patriarchal ideology when they cooped with the system.

Religions in Korea today generally are more conservative and sexist than general Korean society. For example, when women had actively participated in the movement to revise the Domestic Relation Law in Korea, the Confucian leaders were up against the movement in the name of the tradition and absolute ethic. The Confucian ideology is the central ideology in forming male centered family system. The language in the Domestic Relation Law was based on this ideology: Only men had the right to succeed as the head of the household. When women actively participated in revision movement like the equal employment law and special law on sexual violence against women in pursuing for the egalitarian society, the religious leaders were against this movement.

Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity are 3 biggest religions in Korea. Even though these religions emphasize on the equality between men and women, in reality they promote the idea of predominance of men over women and, hence, the idea of giving sons more importance than daughters. Confucianism reinforces the ethic structure of 'a wife should follow her husband' and the doctrine of three values to obey from the idea of predominance of men over women in Yin and Yang theory. Buddhism reinforces the idea of male superiority

through the idea that women cannot be a Buddhist, though only male body can be a Buddhist, therefore the only way a woman can be a Buddhist is through changing her physical body to man form.

Base on this thought the status of female monks is inferior than male monks. Christianity reinforces the patriarchal order in the name of God's order. In fact the Christianity has changed women's status significantly in earlier days in Korea, however, it sustains and continues the sexist order in the church nowadays. The influence of religions were very strong under the name of truth. The model woman is viewed through her role as a good wife and a good mother, not as an autonomous human being. The reason we are questioning the patriarchal culture of religion is because it becomes a part of culture and distorts what should be women's role in the society. Therefore it is important for us to change the patriarchal religion to egalitarian for the liberation of women.

II. Activities of Religious NGO women in Korea for equal culture and religion.

We the progressive religious NGO women recognizing the evil influence of patriarchal religion have embarked in religious women movement for the recovering of the humanity. Especially we organized a religious NGO women committee and set out our manifesto.

1. Because of the basic principal of religion as human liberation, we oppose the actions which create barriers between religions
2. We join the movement for abolishing patriarchal social systems.
3. We vow to work for growth of women's power with faith as women are the subject for realizing equal society where all women will be liberated.
4. Regardless of differences in religious background, we will fight to the end.
5. We will work hard to create an environment, so people can live in a harmony.
6. We will actively participate in the movement of democratization of society and reunification of Korea.
7. Each religious sector will work hard to promote activities on research, education, and study of feminist theology.

Now I would like to introduce Korean Religious NGO Women activities after Beijing Women' Forum.

1. Dialogue between religions

Building a wall within religious groups ultimately weakens the women's power. Korean religious NGO

women have recognized our differences, and decided to share our sisterhood and support one another's activities. We had decided to exchange ideas and communicate with each other to seek an alternative way to build a more egalitarian religion by examining Korean indigenous religions, like Wonbuddist, Jungsankyo which emphasizes the idea of gender equality or idea of superiority of women. But this Korean Religious NGO women meeting haven't had a meeting after Beijing Forum.

2. Struggle for abolition of patriarchal system

Korean Religious NGO women have been involved in many projects: revision movement of the Domestic Relation Law, movement against sex tourism, movement against sexual violence, movement for repatriation to women suffered from Japanese military sex slavery, movement to stop crimes committed by US military-servicemen stationed in Korea, and movement on reducing the national military budget.

3. Struggle for empowering of women

Generally Korean churches still don't permit women's ordination, and religious communities don't recognize women's leadership and authority. Even though 70% of religious membership are women, women are not allowed to participate in leadership role in church. In the religious community, all of the decisions are made by men. Only Wonbuddist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Church of ROK had permitted women to ordained. Women in Korean church are working for the right for women's ordination, and the right to participate in decisionmaking bodies. After Beijing Women's Forum, PCK, the biggest church in Korea, has granted women's ordination. The permission of women's ordination is the result of women's solidarity. For women's ordination of PCK 4 denominations and feminist theology organizations were gathered together and have fought 10 years for the right for women's ordination. This show us the effect of the women solidarity.

4. Struggle for sharing life in community

The religious women are very active for relief-work and charity activities. However intention of most of these activities are not for betterment of life of community but it is for the salvation in the world after death. The total of Korean religious population is by far greater than the Korean national population; If these religious population have an interest in their community and contribute to justice and peace of the community, Korea would become a peace land in short time, and even can contribute more to the world peace. After the Beijing Forum the Korean religious sectors have started the sharing movement between North and South Korea and women in church are participating in this program also.

5. Struggle for democracy and reunification of Korea

Catholic and Protestant church women have been actively involved in this movement. Last year a 'Meeting

between North and South Korean Women' was held during the Beijing NGO Forum initiated by Korean religious NGO women committee. And in October, 'A Korea Women's Forum of North, South, and Overseas' held in Seoul by the '95 Jubilee. In June of this year, women of Democracy Republic of Korea in Japan, Women's Organization for Democracy, Korean church women in Japan, Korean member of women's committee of national council of churches in Korea and women's committee of J.N.C.C. got together in Japan to discuss the role of women in Korean reunification movement. In that conference, we have decided to work together to achieve reunification in Korea with the principle of life, peace, justice and community from the feminist perspective.

6. Struggle for Feminist Theology and Concentration

Catholic and protestant church women have worked to the change the church to egalitarian community. We are continuously active in Bible study, concentration work through feminist theological worship, study on feminist theology and its education. Particularly the year of 1988-1998 is the ecumenical Decade of churches in solidarity with women. Women's committee of NCKK had a middle period evaluation meeting on the ecumenical decade. The theme was 'How much do we move the rock of patriarchal structure in the church in Korea.' The patriarchal character of Korea church was too obvious. The participant percentage reached less than 20% in spite of the 50% the guide line of world council of churches. At the meeting, the participants decided to struggle to increase the participation women in church to 30% in decision making bodies in the church in Korea.

Confucian women started to study the Scriptures of confucianist from the women's eye with critic about the patriarchal idea of confucianism. The real idea of confucianism has a harmony and integration rather than sexism, and the Confucian women are trying to spread this message. Last year an article written about the positive perspective an confucian thought for women.

After Beijing Forum Buddhist women's association in Korea began attempting the education program with seminars and forum targeting Buddhist Women. They had lectures on "viewpoint of a Buddhist women", "the contribution of women monks", and "women's problem today" Also they are trying to strengthen the local Buddhist women's organization, and through this process, male monks gained more awareness and they have permitted the establishment of Buddhist women's organizations.

All religious women organizations are working hard for transformation of parochial system within their religions. However their activities didn't reach beyond great deal to the changing of society. Because there hasn't been much progression after the Beijing Forum, a serious evaluation on the future task is greatly needed.

III. The task of religious women for transformation to equal culture

I would like to emphasize that it is my limitation as a christian to discuss this topic when there was not a single meeting after the Beijing Forum. The most important reason that there was no after-meeting is because the committee was organized not out of necessity from Korean religious community. At this point, I think it is necessary that all religions should affirm common tasks and show their will. For this reason I would like to add the aim of the Ecumenical Decade proclaimed by W. C. C. as the task for all religious women. Of course the active principle of '95 religious NGO women's committee' are still effective, because I think that the aims of Ecumenical Decade can be aims of all religions. (Here I use the word 'church' is the same meaning as 'religion'.

1. The aims of the activity of the religious women.

- (1) empowering women to challenge oppressive structure in their church, their country, and the global community.
- (2) affirming (in shared with leadership and decision making, theology and spirituality) the decisive contributions women are already making in churches and communities.
- (3) giving visibility to women's perspective and actions in the struggle for justice, peace and the integrity of creation.
- (4) enabling churches to free themselves from racism, sexism and classism and teachings and practices that discriminate against women.
- (5) encouraging churches to take actions in solidarity with women.

2. It's mid point for transformation to the equality

- (1) women's full and creative participation in the life of the church and society.
The churches are challenged to affirm women's contributions, to unveil women's history and to explore new ways of exercising power. With all that, it is hoped that equal place will be given to women so that the churches may open up to fresh approaches in their life and mission.

- (2) Women's dedication to the realization of justice, peace and integrity of creation (in areas related to reunification, environment)

Women are discriminated and oppressed because they gave the birth only women and they are marginalized in the society. This marginalized life of women disturb the development of not only for women but also their home and society. Therefore we promote women to activity for justice, peace and integrity of life and environment.

(3) Women's independent theology and sharing of spirituality

In the world women read the scripture from the feminist perspective and women reapproach the religious traditional viewpoint. Women must newly manifest the women's faith and spirituality. Women have to reinterpret the symbol, make new symbol and challenge to the patriarchal tradition.

Bible studies and theological reflections by women based on their life experiences, hymns, songs, and literatures by women.

Gender Preference and Its Impact on Fertility and Women's Development

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In Chinese traditional thoughts, gender preference is deeply rooted. Women's development is limited by regarding men as superior to women. Chinese women's fertility behaviour was also strongly influenced by the traditional thoughts, that is, son preference.

The tradition of son preference may related to two considerations, one is culture and tradition, another is economy. In the male centered feudal society of ancient China, the most important filial behaviour was having at least one son to carry the family were male centered, son was the natural heritor, daughter would be married out and became another family's member. The responsibility of old age support is certainly on sons. Furthermore, the opportunity of employment in ancient China was only for men, women had no economic status at all, generally speaking. So, both care and financial support for elders were depended on the sons. Son is very important in both cultural and financial meanings. In the old times, one of the criteria for a good family is how many sons it had. Due to the poor knowledge of reproduction, the responsibility of having son or daughter is unfairly assigned to the wife. Women with more sons would had better status in family and even the community. In some sense, women were treated like a tool of reproduction. And the result of reproduction was not only the couples' business, but also the family in extended meaning.

After 1949, the establishment of new China, women's status was improved. The Government encouraged women involve in social and economic activities. Women's employment rate reach 85% in 1990. The culture formed since 1949 revalued the weights of son and daughter, since they both are legal in inheritance; the tradition

thoughts on continuation of family stem is weakened; and women's roles in family and society have been changed. In the urban area, governmental organizations, departments, and state own industries have retirement benefits to the retired employees, financial support from children for elders became less important. When the Government launched population policy and family planning program in the early of seventies, they were accepted and followed quickly by the urban couples. The total fertility rates decreased drastically. While at the same time, rural women had different experience. The tradition value about family and children was difficult to give away. Women were still looked down if they had no sons, in and out of their families. The need for old age support and family labour force is still strong. There were obvious conceptual conflict between the old and new thoughts in rural, which put rural women in a difficult position.

Figure 1

The fertility transition here means the transition of fertility behaviour from early child bearing, more children, and son preference to later child bearing, fewer children, and no gender preference shows the different social-economic and cultural effects on fertility behaviour, and at the same time, fertility behaviour will affect women's ability in social-economic involvement. The traditional thought and family economic consideration have negative effects in fertility transition process. In regions where experienced certain social-economic development, family economic consideration may turn to positive effect due to the change of income and local social welfare system.

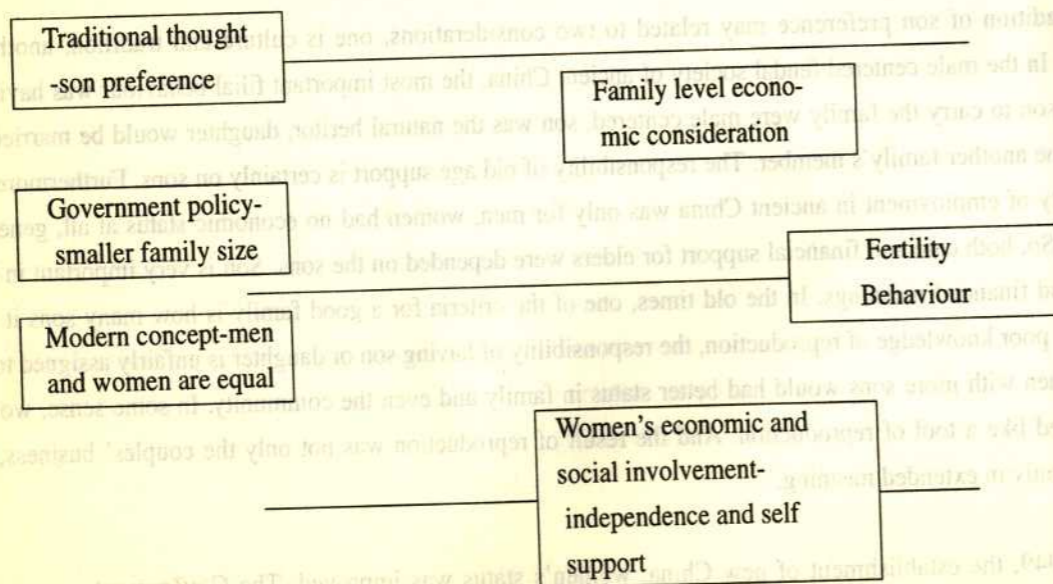


Figure 1 - Conceptual framework of some social-economic and cultural factors related to women's fertility

behaviour

For women's own benefit, more social-economic involvement is much helpful on their personal development and status improvement, which is also the part of social development. Certainly less children would cost women less both in time and ability, so that they are able to involve in economic and social activities outside of their house. The government's population policy-promoting fewer children and later child bearing, is consistent with the goal of women's development. While the traditional son preference hold by most rural communities still play an important role in young couples fertility desire, plan, and practice.

In 1990, the 4th census of China revealed that the sex ratio at birth was abnormally high (about 114 boys to 100 girls). The causes were found out in the following years, to be under reporting of baby girls and sex selected induced abortion (which is also existing in some other Asian countries). The phenomenon was more serious in the regions with lower fertility. The implication of high sex ratio at birth is, when the quantity of children was limited, the "quality" became more important. In rural communities, family without a son is still considered an unideal family. The need for a son is driven by complicated reasons, among them, family continuation and old age support are the major two.

Although high sex ratio at birth has its impact on population structure in the future, the reason that a woman prefer to have a boy is worth discussion here. First of all, traditional culture plays the key role. In a small community, if almost every family has at least one son, the only daughter family would felt the pressure, closer the community is, stronger the feeling will be. In a community experienced fast economic development, widely opened to the outside world, and women actively involved in economic activities, son preference is relatively weak. Therefore, secondly, economic development along with improvement of women's status will change people's thought about value of children gradually. Although the adoption of new ideas takes long time, it will happen later or sooner. In more developed suburbs of large cities, where women have better economic and social status, able to make own decision on family's affairs, can confidently rely on their children will have bright future like they are. The situation is quite different in the remote underdeveloped rural area. From both ideal and practical point of views, son is more valuable than daughter there.

To eliminate gender discrimination in a society, which results in gender preference in fertility behaviour, only talk about gender equality is not enough. Since the gender inequality is existing in the society, not only in small corners. And the son preference is not purely fertility behaviour but represents the social value of women and men. It is hard for people to accept that men and women are equal while the same time gender inequality is actually practised. Favourite policies and programs for women should be promoted along with poverty alleviation, reproductive health care, compulsory education and technical training, with the goal of improve women's social-

economic and health status. Such programs proved to be very successful on women's development in some rural regions in China.

Women's development is a long and hard process. It will be certainly under the influence of culture. In current situation, there are three culture mixed together in China: Chinese tradition, post-revolution, and western. Among them, the Chinese traditional culture has the darkest colour on gender discrimination. People of young generations in cities are more easily accepting the later twos and put the negative part of tradition behind than their rural counterparts. However, with five thousand years roots, the tradition is hard to give away, no matter "good" or "bad". Gender discrimination is the one. To enable women's development in all means, cooperated action should be taken by Government, society, community, organizations, men, and women themselves, to remove the obstacles on the way.

Sexuality of Japanese Religion

Aiko Ogoshi

Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism have had a great influence on Japan's sexual culture. Shinto, though in the early modern period, was fused with nationalism and an intolerant ideology, had an open-minded attitude toward sexuality in its pure form. In absolute opposition to this stands Buddhism with its philosophical rejection of sexuality. While Confucianism does not reject sexuality entirely, it limits sex to procreation.

Among those Japanese religions, I want to tell about especially Japanese Buddhism here, because I think its power is in religious, social, and cultural meaning the biggest. Buddhism has had a strong influence on the dominant Japanese sexual culture which has been permeated by negativity over years. The tradition of the denial of sexuality within Buddhism began with the religion's founder, Sakayamuni, who left the householder's life to pursue ascetic training.

He took mental afflictions to be the essence of human sufferings. The most sinful source of these afflictions was female sexuality. The following words have been called among the closest to those by Sakayamuni himself.

"When I was practicing toward my enlightenment and saw the three temptresses Lust, Hatred, and Greed, the desire to make love to them did not even arise within me. It occurred to me that they were only filled with urine and excrement. It thought that I would not even want to touch them with my foot."

Though Sakayamuni might tell the above words as a metaphor, his words had been regarded among his followers as the absolute proof that women's sexuality was impure.

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan, it was established with strict monastic discipline. Monks were required to live a celibate life with all sexual relations prohibited. Over time, however, many monks married in secret and had children. It is not clear why these monks violated the precept of celibacy, but several reasons have been suggested. Buddhism's necessary co-existence with Shinto is one of the reasons offered.

In digenious to Japan, Shinto is an ancient religion. It had an open-minded attitude towards sexuality. Poetry written prior to the eighth century, (the Manyoshu, for example), reflected a liberal attitude of women with regard to sexual matters. It was not a rare occurrence for women to take the initiative in love. Women's sexual power was

regarded as divine at that time. Under such circumstances, it may be difficult for Buddhist monks to observe celibacy. Over the course of time, women came to be regarded as defiled beings and censured as temptresses by Buddhist leaders.

In the Heian era (794-1185), esoteric Buddhism was introduced to Japan and sutras which contained the sexist concept of the five obstacles and three obediences became popular. It was during this period the women were prohibited from entering those precincts set aside for religious practices because of the teachings that women's sexuality was impure.

Many Buddhist monks did not stop their sexual relations with women. They continued to practice nyobon (violate women). With the loss of divine status attributed to sexual power, women became merely the objects of male sexual desire and excluded from salvation because they were born women.

In the Kamakure era (1185-1382), a new religious leader named Shinran appeared. He changed the Buddhist attitude to sexuality.

According to Shinran, Kannon Bosatsu came out to him in a dream and told him that if he were to break the precept of celibacy, the woman he so violated would in truth be manifestation of Kannon. In Shinran's view, the oracle indicated that his sexual relation with a woman could be interpreted as finding Buddha in a female body. Against the background of a violation of the precepts and an increasingly guilty conscience, Shinran saw Buddha's salvation leading him to the Pure Land. With this confidence in the salvation of Buddha, he decided to marry openly.

On the surface, this seems to be a very moving religious story. As a result of Shinran's teaching, women were upgraded from being the objects of sexual desire to the status of Kannon Bosatsu who would save men in accepting their sexual desires. But in my thought, Shinran's dream insight is a rather androcentric idea.

Kannon Bosatsu was a male bodhisattva in India. But in China it underwent a sexual transformation and emerged as a beautiful white-grobed female figure, Kuan-yin. Although viewed as a woman, kuan-yin was worshipped as the possessor of a magical power that could grant the wishes of her worshipers. Chinese women saw Kuan-yin as the symbol of liberation from the patriarchal society because she could liberate women from many kinds of sufferings.

However, during her assimilation into Japanese culture, Kuan-yin underwent another kind of transformation. She became the Japanese deity Kannon Bosatsu who symbolized the compassion of motherhood. In this guise, Kannon was very popular among all kinds of people, regardless of sex or class.

In Shinran's dream, while the maternal image of Kannon is reflected in her willingness to sacrifice herself for him, it is also sexual in that she is willing to become the objects of his desire. In Shinran's dream, Kannon manifests herself as a beautiful, sexually desirable woman who will save men from their sexual desires.

Shinran desired maternal women who would embrace men as a child and at the same time, he wanted desirable women to satisfy men's sexual need. In Shinran's time, women were willing to accept this image of themselves

because it granted them the possibility of salvation. Women who sacrificed themselves could be considered as the incarnation of Kannon Bosatsu even though they were sinful and impure.

In Japanese Buddhism, motherhood is combined with sexuality as symbolized by Kannon Bosatsu. Women were taught that they were in themselves sinful and impure, but they could be saved by becoming sacred mothers who dedicated their sexuality to men.

In Japanese Buddhist tradition, courtesans who offered sexual pleasure to men were often regarded as the incarnation of Kannon Bosatsu. Stories of the transformation of courtesans into Kannon were often transmitted in folklore or dramatized in Noh plays and became popular among the people. Against this background, it was very difficult for women to refuse male sexual requests. In this world view, women who did not accept the sexual desires of men could not become the sacred mother and get salvation.

Another issue that Buddhism brought to women was that it defines female body itself as unclean, defiled. Ketsubon-kyo (Blood Bowl Sutra) was a sutra preached especially for women. According to some, this sutra was compiled in China, but there was a legend composed by a fourteenth-century priest of Soto zen Sect. It says

"All women fall into the hell because of their karma. The red blood flows seven days every month, this is eighty-four days in twelve months. This is why it is called "moon water". This "moon water" is extremely evil and unclean. However, this evil blood spills upon the ground sullyng the heads of the Earth Gods, thus invoking the wrath of those 98072 gods. If poured into water, it pollutes the Waters Gods, if disposed of in the mountain forests, it defiles the Mountain Gods. When women wash their soiled clothings in the rivers, the good folk living downstreams, ignorant of their act, draw this water and with it prepare tea and rice to offer to the Gods and Buddhas. Then the deities cannot accept their offerings. Since women, by nature, soil the Gods and Buddhas, they will fall into the Blood Pond Hell after they die."

By the early modern period, this sexist sutra was being used by many Buddhist sects, and it had become widely popular. It teaches that even in the world to come (after death), the pure men will be separated from the polluted women, with women falling into hells. Furthermore, their damnation was seen to be karmic retribution for sins committed in the past life.

Under the spell of the Blood Bowl Sutra, women came to hold a negative view of their own sexuality. This was equivalent to negating their very existence. Within androcentric society and sexual culture, women led a life of constant self-sacrifice. Now Japanese women begin to give up such traditional ideas of women's sexuality and try to establish their own identity.

In addition, I want to tell about the relation between the religion and the family system. Buddhism played many roles in the early modern period, not only in the spiritual world, or sexual culture, but also in the family system.

The danka system (the temple registration system) began in the Edo era (1615-1868) and has continued until the present. Instituted by the Tokugawa government as part of its suppression of Christianity, this system brought all of the Buddhist temples in Japan into the government's administrative project and was used for regulating and

controlling every aspects of the common people's lives. The registry recorded the total number of residents in each household, their names and ages, province of family origin, province of birth, and so on. Thus every individual and every home is subsumed within a larger household.(ie)

The danka system came from the Japanese Buddhist temple system, but it was made use of for popularization of the Confucianism as well as Buddhism. It reinforced the patriarchal ideas of the family: the Confucian ideal of the five relationships-decorum between lords and vassals, benevolence between parent and child, distinction between husband and wife, propriety between the young and the old, and trust between friends-further solidified and politicized this family structure.

Confucian ethics prescribed the moral life of the people. The moral and ethical perspective of the hardworking Japanese who built Japan into an economic power had likewise been attributed to the influence of Confucianism. It was women's duty to maintain the danka system and ancestor worship.

Three obediences which were forced upon women originated in the Brahmanic thought of ancient India where women were taught to obey three groups of men. As a child, a woman was to obey her father. When she married, she had to obey her husband. If widowed, she must obey her son. From this standpoint, women could never be independent or exercise independence. This teaching was assimilated into Confucianism in Edo era, and was still alive in the daily life of the people only in the religious meaning but also in the social meaning. In order to realize women's liberation truly, we Japanese women must fight against these sexist religious thought.

Revision of Civil Code

In February of 1996, following five-and-a-half years of discussions, the Law Advisory Council submitted to the Ministry of Justice a recommendation regarding revisions to Japan's Civil Code. The recommended revisions include allowing spouses to use different surnames, removing the provision that distinguishes between children of married couples and children born out-of-wedlock in the matter of inheritance, adding a five-year separation period for trial divorces, and changing the legal marrying age for women to eighteen, the same as that for men.

At present, nearly 98% of all married couples in Japan opt to use the husband's surname when they record their union. Recently, however, an increasing number of individuals have called for a change in the law that would allow spouses to use different names. More and more women continue to work outside the home after they marry and wish to retain their surnames. In addition, an increasing number of marriages are taking place between only children due to the fact that couples are having fewer children, and in such cases both parties often wish to keep their surnames in order to perpetuate their lineage. Prior to submitting the recommendation, The Law Advisory Council submitted a preliminary report in 1992 and a draft plan of the main points in 1994, which means that the Council solicited the opinions of various professionals as well as the opinions of average citizens during their studies and discussions of the matter. The draft revision that would allow separate names for married (koseki), which means that, at the time a marriage is reported, the husband and wife must select one surname to be used by all of their yet-to-be-born children. Consequently, we believe that an overwhelming majority of the names that appear at the head of family registers will continue to belong to men. The Committee's recommendation is quite different from what the people who advocate these changes have hoped for.

In 1993, the Tokyo Court ruled unconstitutional the Civil Code provision that stipulated inheritance shares for children born out-of-wedlock to be half that of children born to people who are married to each other. In the same year, the United Nations Human Rights Convention gave an official warning to the Japanese government because this provision violated article B of its charter. For these reasons, the inheritance matter was included in the recommendation for revision.

These revisions are, on the whole, considered very important first steps for women who question the conventional wisdom that says marriage equals security and who wish to define their lives as individuals. However, some members of the Liberal Democratic Party are even opposed to this rather ineffectual revision plan.

Accordingly, the Civil Code Revisions have yet to reach the discussion stage in the Diet. During the last Diet session, women who are interested in the revisions energetically lobbied politicians to send the Plan to the Diet floor. Thirty-two groups from throughout Japan formed a network. These groups include citizens that have been working for years to allow spouses the option of choosing different surnames, as well as people working to abolish discrimination against children born out-of-wedlock. The network has also been lobbying the LDP to send the Revision Plan to the Diet. ??Kokusai Fujin-nen Renraku-kai?? (51 groups) carried out lobbying activities through?? Danjo Kyodo Sankakushitsu??, including a meeting with Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto. In addition, the Japan Bar Association, ??Rengo Joseikyoku??, and a number of academics lent their support. Despite these efforts, the ruling coalition did not submit the Civil Code Revisions for consideration during the most recent session. The forces in the LDP that are opposed to the revisions are the same forces that last year, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Japan's surrender to the Allied forces, opposed the official government resolution to offer an apology to the countries that Japan invaded during World War II and to renounce war forever. These forces are supported by right wing organizations such as the Shrine Agency, Nihon wo Mamoru Kokumin Kaigi, and Seicho no Ue. These Diet members have also tried to block compensation to victims of Japanese aggression during World War II and revisions to the Eugenics Law. It is these powerful forces that have prevented issues related to women's rights from moving forward. We will continue to work to make these revisions a reality while at the same time broadening our network. We ask for the support of women's networks all over the Liberal Democratic Party and demand that they revise the Civil Code accordingly.

Towards A Balanced Spirituality For Confucian Women

Yu-fen, Chen

I. Introduction

II. How did Confucianism have effected women's life?

Women played a central role in Confucianism by virtue of their place in both the cosmic order and in the family. Nevertheless, since Confucianism was a patriarchal religious tradition, its estimation of women's nature was by and large a low one. Richard Guisso has summed up the negative attitudes toward women which appear in the canonical texts of early Confucianism, the Five Classics, as follows; "The female was inferior by nature, she was dark as the moon and changeable as water, jealous, narrow-minded, and insinuating. She was indiscreet, unintelligent, and dominated by emotion. Her beauty was a snare for the unwary male, the ruination of states" (Guisso 1981, 59). These teachings were all in support of the dominant male teachers and were addressed to an elite group in society, but many women did take these teachings seriously, fervently believed in them, and were even willing to die to honor them.

In basic religious understanding of Confucianism, the cosmic order was seen as life-giving, relational, and harmonious in the interaction of its parts. These concepts formed the cornerstone of the Confucian ordering of human society. As the philosopher Mencius said, "There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them" (Mencius 4A:26, Legge 1996, 725). This sense of the primacy of marriage and the sacredness of the family had an immense impact on the lives of women in Confucianism. The second lesson that Confucians learned from the cosmic order was the relational aspect of things. All humans exist in relationships; there are no solitary individuals, but five specific ones, known as the "Five Cardinal Relationships."

The family generates three of them, and society generates the other two. Man and woman come together as husband and wife. These bonds form the basis of the older-younger sibling relationship of ruler and subject and the social one of friend and friend. So the man-woman relationship represents one of the oldest examples of the view from above and may be the paradigm of all vertical hierarchical relationships. In Taiwan, it is under such kind of mentality that the government's policy can avoid their responsibility to take care of the elders, that the law can control women's right to abortion, that the law still favors men rather than women, that people still prefer boys to girls, that male always enjoy their supremacy over female and that differences are somewhat restraint under powerful unified relational community.

The Confucian tradition, with its appreciation for the gift of life, with its profound humanistic spirit, its sense of religious practice as building the human community, and its sense of the relational quality of things, has much to contribute to our global religious heritage. The challenge of giving women a more equitable place within that tradition remains. And it remains lots to be done to give women full equality.

III. How did traditional Christianity have effected women's life?

Since in our long-lasting Christian tradition, we have confessed that Biblical texts and heritage accord us inspired beliefs and life, then how could a kind of sexism have initiated within such teachings? Will God, the beloved father, relate women with inferiority? Thus will be also value white more than black, youth more than the aged, and north more than south? The feminist theo-scholars have to announce the fact, after 20 years' research, that church has used its biblical power to justify the oppression of women, and it has spread into family, society and church to oppress women just due to their misogynist interpretations of scripture to enhance their sexist attitude towards women, adapted male symbols to reject female-sexuality. You can easily pick a verse in Leviticus to enforce female's uncleanness and legitimate their sole right to priesthood. Even now the fundamentalists can still persist their oppression to women in spite of the scientific, politic, and social changings. In Taiwan presbyterian church, while the majority of members are women, leaders of them are normally men elected; our women have been ordained fifty years ago, thus many presbyters have unwritten regulations to prohibit female-priesthood in their areas; most of our paslors' wives couldn't enjoy their right to work outside of the church; in our church, women serve Godby their labor while men serve by deciding for women what policy they should follow. Church has so often neglected justice but rather maintained a superficial peace and harmony, women are taught to bear the sufferings and guaranteed a better world in heaven; and women always need their own conference, otherwise they can hardly find possibility to represent men or both for any of those important meetings.

How can we face our androcentric scripture? Can we continue our traditional historical critique to those texts? How can we find a new approach to experience God's love behind the verbal expression? To what extent can we acknowledge scriptural texts as divine speech and rectify the attitude of its inerrancy of divinity?

Today, if our church cannot reconcile with the injustice and inequality of itself, it seems obvious that the future will be difficult and new wine must not be poured into old bottles, we did expect to inovade a new spirituality that can exist in this scientific and technological world and reflect its truth to the world's need.

IV. Searching for a balanced spirituality for Confucian-culture women

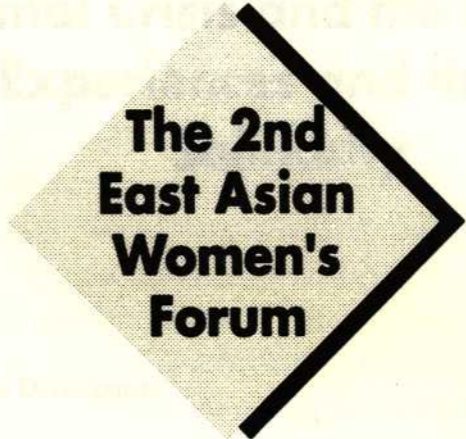
Through the influence of the third world theology (or the liberation theology), feminist theology has also found its similar methodology after more than a decade's feminist movements on mobilization, consciousness raising and struggles on issues such as equal rights, abortion laws, rape and violence against women. When women begin to change their situation of exploitation and oppression, then this change will have consequences for churches' to rethink its traditional attitude. As to Taiwanese churches, a good reputation in political and social movements doesn't render her an attitude open enough for sexism, racism or discrepancies. A kind of Confucian-cultural temperament has deeply permeated people's mind, to be uprooted seems not be simply by a westernized traditional Christianity. Maybe we can learn something from the richness of Liberation theology and feminism and see how a feminine eastern culture can contribute its human spirit by prohibiting its weaknesses.

(1) The vertical relationship between researcher and "research objects", the view from above, must be replaced by the view from below. Research, which so far has been largely an instrument of dominance and legitimation of power elites, must be brought to serve the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups, particularly women. The demand for a systematic "view from below" has both a scientific and an ethical-political dimension. And from this perspective, we prove again the man-woman relationship is the basic paradigm of all vertical hierarchical relationships.

(2) Participation is social actions and struggles, and the integration of research into these processes, further implies that change of the status quo becomes the starting point for a scientific quest. Only when there is a rupture in the normal life of a man or a woman, i.e., a crisis such as divorce, a discovery of homo-inclination, the end of a relationship, etc., is there a chance for him or her to become conscious of his or her or others' true condition. A black could easily sympathy with a woman's being oppressed just by his own experiences, a homo could finally begin to think of women's being discriminated while he has individual and social change, then people cannot but

change themselves also in the process.

(3) A balanced spirituality should discard the traditional dualism by valuing the unification of body and mind, the female unclean physical part should be praised and emphasized and the female concern and harmony with the nature has far opposed to male exploitation and occupation. A female spirituality is rooted in women's special characteristic to balance the dualistic, patriarchal and superior mind. To inovate the world's corruption and unevenness now has become feminist theology's current mission and opportunity in the beginning of 21st century. For next decade, we have dreamed a world apt for human being to live, apt for our daughters, our mothers, our grandmas and ourselves to exalt our feminine, cooperative, relative, communicative, harmonious and esthetic lives.



Workshop 3

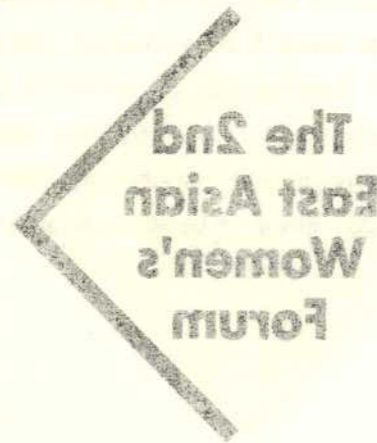
Environment and Development

Environmental Crisis and the Role of Women
An Asian Experience and the East Asian

Jina Kim
Network for Sustainable Development

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Workshop 3

Environment and Development

Environmental Crisis and the Role of Women Korean Experiences and the East Asian Solidarity

Jina Lee

Network for the Sustainable Development

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1. Introduction

This article is a brief attempt to see the environment and development problems in East Asia through women's eyes with special reference to the Korean experiences.

At the moment, East Asia is very significant in terms of environment and development issues.

First of all, East Asia, being called 'the region of the 21st century' has enormous potential for development. This development is sure to be the type that tries to catch up the advanced level of material prosperity of the advanced countries just as it has been in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Catch-up development never asks how much we can do, namely, how sustainable the resources will be and how far the sink capacity of the environment will sustain it. It never asks whether all of us wanted it or not, or whether it is necessary or not. It just squeeze out as much wealth as possible by exploiting the environment. Most of the wealth goes outside to the advanced countries and, within a society, to the elites who has the capital power. This kind of development brings about environmental destruction, social injustice and the dependence on the advanced countries, the center of the capitalist market economy.

East Asia is sharing the outcome of environmental destruction caused during the development process. The wind vector of this region makes Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong, at least, give and take their pollutants. And the report of IPCC (International Panel for Climate Change, a body of scientists and government officials world over commissioned to make a research on the impact of global climate change) says that, by the year 2010, East Asian region will be the worst place in the world in terms of air pollution.

If nothing is changed, the future of East Asia in terms of the environmental conditions is very gloomy. It will also be the greatest contributor to the global environmental destruction. But East Asia shares a kind of homogeneity despite the ideological dichotomy of modern times that has clearly divided this region until very recently. If it tries to, it will not have so much difficulties in communicating with each other.

Of course, that alone does not make things go smoothly. As most of the countries in this region have not yet forgot the tragedies of the past, and as the competition among them is getting stronger in the fluid situation of the world, the dialogues and the exchanges between each of the countries are very unlikely to be open.

In this context, this forum, the East Asian Women's forum, can afford very valuable chances to share the ideas on the environment and development problems and to seek the alternatives in this region. I really wish that, here in this forum, we can start an open and serious discussion for that purpose.

2. The Environment and Development Problems of Korea and its Implication in Terms of Women Issues

1) From Heavy and Chemical Industries to Nuclear Power Plants

- Polluting Businesses Transferred through the Economic Development Processes

It is in the late 1960s that the economic development of Korea went on in full scale. Before that the major industry of Korea is mostly the primary industry like agriculture and fishery and a small portion of light industry like textiles brought income from abroad. And the economy was poverty-stricken through the colonial period and the Korean Civil War. Per Capita income was less than 600 USD in the early 60s.

In the early 60s, Korea experiences a great political change. President Park opened the period of the dictative military regime that would last almost 3 decades. This type of regime was closely related to the economic development process. In a couple of decades, Korea has succeeded in changing the overall industrial pattern through the industrialization process under the name of 'modernization'. During this time, the Korean society has undergone a tremendous changes such as environmental destruction, widening gap between the rich and the poor, the disintegration of the rural community, etc.. But any attempt to resist or even to reveal such undesirable side impacts has been totally suppressed by the dictative military regime with strong power in the political situation of North-South division.

The heavy and chemical industries with toxic effluence that can devastate the surrounding environment in a very short time formed the major part of the industrialization in Korea. Two reasons : One, the advanced countries, the exporter of this kind of industries, were more than eager to sell out those problem business because nobody in such country wanted it in his backyard. Two, the initiators of the industrialization in Korea including President Park, having no idea of environmental damage, welcomed such industry as they looked upon it as the source of great income.

It was 1960 that the combinat (industrial complex) of Ulsan and Onsan first worked, 197 that a horrible disease similar to Minamata disease and Itai Itai disease was reported in a village near the combinat, and 197 that the village was shut down. So you can see how fast the process of environmental destruction went.

The pollution industry first germinates in the advanced countries, but in time it gets expelled to the developing countries. Even in a society, such industry is first welcomed in the central area and then it gets moved to the peripheral area, the residence of the socio- economically inferior. In Korea, at the early stage of industrialization, the petrochemical industries had its plants in areas like Ulsan and Masan, major cities in the southwestern part of the peninsular, the basis of the political power in Korea. But in 1980s, a new petrochemical combinat was built in southeastern area which is less developed and has less socio- economical as well as the political power. The center city in this area is called Yochon, which recently became a focus of national concern as it is reported to have such

severe air pollution that the government is now considering the shutdown of the village.

It is not only heavy and chemical industry that is transferred from the center to the periphery in the capitalist market economy. Any business that has a chance to cause severe pollution has the same pattern. Best examples are the nuclear power plants, incinerators, and even golf courses. We will come to this later.

2) Production and Consumption for Whom?

- Environment Destroyed for the Sake of Fake Prosperity

The capitalist production produces to 'make the money'. Almost all of the production is done not to provide the socially needed goods but to draw the money from the pocket of the consumers. However needy a person may be, he cannot have it unless he has the money for it.

And the needs by those who have the money is very much likely to be manipulated. Once a man's vital needs for survival is satisfied, his desire for other needs is relatively lessened. If those who have the money has less desire to buy something, those who sell cannot make much money. So the capitalist production system must keep pumping out the desire of those who have the money to buy something.

For this purpose, the business of mass media is indispensable. The major source of income for the mass media business is advertisement. The business, sponsoring the media, wants to promote their sales. Buy the endlessly repeating advertisement, the consumer gets to have newer and newer desire and, thereby, new values. So in a capitalist society, the economic development is sure to be accompanied by the mass media industries like TV, radio, and news paper.

Korea has the same pattern of economic growth. Even if people are satisfied with their basic needs, they want to catch up the 'prosperous life' shown continuously in the mass media. If they fail to catch up, they feel alienated from the society as a 'life of failure'. As the result, the resources are being depleted and the environment is being damaged just for the sake of unnecessary production and consumption.

It is often the developers contention that we have no way to develop the natural resources to survive. But are we really doing all this for our survival?

Take the often advertised processed foods on TV. None of them are vital for our survival and very often they damage our health because of the additives that make them taste fantastic. Take the often advertised furniture on TV. Do we need to keep up the new styles that is in vogue cutting out tropical timbers and thereby accelerating the climate change, and throwing away old models and thereby adding to the piles of wastes? The same can be said to the crazy pursuit after new models of computers, TVs, cameras, etc..

Perhaps one of the most absurd pursuit by human being reinforced continuously by the business will be that after car-life. In Korea, car industry has been politically backed up as the major foreign-currency makers. But to get enough strength to become viable in the world market, it must draw profits in the domestic market. The result

is the air pollution that causes worse smog in Seoul and other major cities than those of infamous London and Los Angeles, together with tremendous sum of money lost on the way because of the traffic jam.

The consumption patterns of the examples mentioned above (and there are so many to follow that pages cannot exhaust) have several traits in common. First, it has no direct bearing to the survival or desirable life of the human being. Second, it does not give people a sense of satisfaction as such except these feeling that they are prestigious enough to buy that expensive things. Third, this kind of consumption pattern heavily relies on the advertisement on mass media, endlessly stimulated by the advertisement to buy something more. Fourth, more values are put on those kind of goods and services that are prevalent in the advanced countries.

Through these production and consumption patterns, the resources are being depleted and the environments are being destructed without ever improving the human life essentially. And the profits gained throughout these process will go to the business, to the economic elites of the society, and, in the long run, to the giant capital of the advanced countries or TNCs.

In the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Brazil in 1992, the NGOs of the developing countries insisted that the unsustainable consumption pattern of the advanced countries greatly contributes to the global environmental destruction. They succeeded in putting a chapter on the 'Sustainable Consumption Pattern' in Agenda 21.

Really the way how things are produced and consumed by each and every one on this planet has much to do with the global environmental protection or destruction. And today, the unsustainable pattern of the production and consumption is not the problem confined to the advanced countries alone. They are being duplicated in the developing countries with the support by the mass media.

3) Broadening Distribution Structure Threatens the Food

- A Vicious Circle of Rural Community Collapse and the Health Damage

If they can afford it, almost all of the developing countries will want to have the secondary industries rather than the primary ones like agriculture as their major form of production because of their higher additive value. Korea also put more stress on the stock industry than the traditionally stressed agriculture. And at the same time, they wanted to change the agriculture something similar to the secondary industry : a large-scale business farming based on the chemical agriculture.

That has given fatal damage to the health of rural areas and consequently of the whole society, and the impact is increasing ever since. The mechanism is as follows:

First comes the policy of low-price agricultural products, reducing the income of the rural households and thereby pushing the labor force from the rural to the urban areas. Being short of the labor force, the rural households have no choice but to rely on the less labor -intensive chemical farming, using ever increasing

quantity of the pesticides and the chemical fertilizers. This has given much harm to the farmers and there are increasing numbers of farmers who are severely affected by these toxic chemicals and become addicted to drugs to forget the pain.

The agricultural products contaminated by these chemicals and other contaminants in the air, water, and soil goes through a long distribution process. And to prevent the food from being spoiled, additional pesticides are applied to the food just before sending out, the so-called post-harvest. It is needless to say that post-harvest gives additional fatal blow to the health of the consumers.

The increasing use of pesticides and the chemical fertilizers reduces the productivity of the soil to require ever more use of pesticides, chemical fertilizers, and agro-machinery. This makes the agriculture ever costly, forcing increasing numbers of the farmers to abandon the farming.

As the supply of the agricultural products is shortened, more crops are imported from abroad. Recently, a growing amount of the agricultural product is imported from China. As the imported food has far longer distribution distance and time, the amount of applied post-harvest is also bigger. To rely more on the imported food means that the domestic producers collapse for they cannot compete with the cheap imported food and that the domestic consumers have more danger to their health. What is more, as the whole society becomes to rely on the dangerous food, it becomes kind of dependent on the country from which the food is imported.

Such is the process shared by most of the countries with the industrialization at the sake of the crop producing agriculture, among of whom Korea is an outstanding example.

4) What is Left to Women

● Some Points in Women, Environment and Development Debate

What has such environmental degradation brought by the economic development done to women in particular?

There is a history of debate on the impact of the environmental degradation in terms of its bearings with women which is almost as long as the debate on the environmental issues. This is called Women, Environment, and Development issue, shortly WED. There are several key points in the debate.

Women are said to be more vulnerable to the environmental degradation than men.

First, physiologically. The structure of the body of a woman is made to be more receptive in preparation for the pregnancy and the child-bearing whereas that of a man is made to be more eminent. So the contaminant is more likely to be kept within the body of a woman. And a woman is likely to have an imbalance of the hormones many times when she is pregnant, is breastfeeding, or is under the menstruation when she becomes especially vulnerable to the contaminants from the outside.

Second, socially. As women are socially weaker than men, she is likely to have more damage by the environmental degradation because of the lack of protection. For example, as women have poorer employment

conditions, she is likely to choose a work in a more polluted workplace with less pay. And when a family or a society suffers from the disintegration eventually caused by the environmental degradation, women are likely to have more burden than men. For example, in many cases in the developing countries, when the traditional structure of getting livelihood is broken, men usually go away for a new type of work, mostly in urban areas or in the construction site, it is left to women to take care of the children and the community.

Another point is that women have great potential than men in contributing to the solution of the environmental problem.

First, women have shown greater ability in understanding the mechanism in which the pollution affects the health of the human being and the society. This comes from the division of labor, traditional in most of the society, in which women work closer to the nature and takes care of the family health.

Second, women can make a greater contribution to solving the environmental problems as they have the key role in the household consumption and the community environmental management.

Third, as women are comparatively on the periphery of the socio-political power relation and is not bound to the social structure itself, it is easier for them to initiate changes in it.

And there is a more controversial factor of the maternal instinct which needs more discussion as to whether it is intrinsic or not.

● Women Suffering from the Environment and Development Problems in Korea

Keeping in mind the above mentioned points, we will go through the women's involvement in the process of the economic development and the environmental degradation.

The industrialization process in Korea has been based on the exploitation of the women's labor and, at the same time, has damaged the women's health. The unpaid and devoted labor of women at home has supported the low-wage structure of the society. But if their health fails in the process due to various reasons including pollution, it is neglected being regarded as just a matter of the mentality. In the workplaces, women have been willing to work in bad conditions, exploited economically and getting their health ruined by the pollution in the factories. Many cases of chronic diseases, hypochondria, sterility, and even giving birth to a dead or malformed child has been reported, but vertically nothing has been done to redress the problem, being ignored even in the issues of labor movement.

That has resulted in the overall decline of the level of the health and the increase in the rate of the miscarriage and giving birth to dead or the malformed children and children with the congenital disease among young women. This is estimated to be a growing problem that will hinder the healthy growth of the society as a whole. Nevertheless, the fact that women are especially vulnerable to the pollution is not socially acknowledged yet, and there is no consensus that the health of women as the maternity must be protected from pollution. So it remains at

level of the individual task to give birth to a healthy child despite of much threatening environment.

Being in such a vulnerable position, many Korean women are living, affected by the various forms of the pollution, contamination by the agrochemicals in rural areas and the air and water pollution, and contamination by food and toxic chemicals in the urban area. Not to speak of getting compensated, they are living without proper caring about their health and without proper knowledge to protect themselves. It is the cultural traditional of the confucianistic society and the economical bias of the capitalist society that do not allow them to have proper care unlike the men, the head and bread-earner of the family.

● Women Fighting against the Environmental Destruction

However, Korean women has shown more active response to the environmental problems than men. Korean women have been educated traditionally that it is a virtue not to stand out in social affairs. That has kept down the social commitment of the women, not to mention the attempt to show their objection to any decision made publicly. (A report by the Korean Institute for Health and Social Affairs says that the proportion of women among the parliamentary members is less than 1%, which is lower than 96 countries in the world.) But as to the environmental issues, Korean women has shown more active response even at the social level.

In 1970s, when they had severe cases of pollution in villages near the industrial complexes, many of the activists who were with the affected local people witnessed how bravely the local women fought to the end. But such anti-pollution movement at the local level was oppressed by the military regime and nobody outside the problem site was informed of such tragedy. It is at the end of 1980s, when the dictative regime was overthrown by the student and citizens' demonstration that the environmental issues began to be discussed in the public fora.

By this time, the industrialization based on polluting industries has been advanced to quite a degree, deteriorating the environmental quality very visibly. Now everybody began to feel that something must be done. Especially the housewives appear to have strong consciousness about it, presumably due to a couple of reasons. One is, as is mentioned earlier, women are particular about the environmental issues for various reasons. Another is because of the political propaganda. As big scandals of water pollution continues, the government and the mass media stressed the fact that 60% of the waste water is from the household usage, giving false impression that the housewives have to be charged 60% of the responsibility.

Anyway, environmental movement initiated by women began to be developed by this time. These can be categorized into two types: One, movements locally organized for a certain issue, mostly environmental accidents or cases of mal-development. The other, campaigns to adopt an alternative way of life, mostly as the follow-ups of the environmental education program.

For the former type, there are local anti-pollution movement which gained far greater momentum when the affected local women joined, such as in the case of giving birth to a baby without brains by a mother living near

the Young-Gwang nuclear power plant, giving birth to a mal-formed baby by a woman working as a caddie in a golf-course, giving birth to a dead baby by a woman affected by the infamous 'Naktong River Pollution', etc. And there are movements by local women against building golf-courses or incinerators. This kind of movements is first organized by men, but in the end women takes the lead long after men give up for various reasons.

The latter type have more cases and variety. In most cases, it starts with some kind of environmental education by religious organizations, women's organizations, and social organizations. It usually put more stress on the individual practices but in the end is likely to lead to a community rebuilding programs. Many times it has connection with the cooperative movement, giving educations on how to prevent and protect oneself from the food contamination.

As the experiences of social involvement by women gets accumulated, the level of women's political participation is heightened. It is very encouraging to see many women who have been active in the environmental movement are being elected in the recent elections of local representative and congress men as well as of the national parliament members.

3. The Environment and Development Problems in East Asia

1) Sprawling Mechanism of the Catch-Up Development

Catch-phrases in the recent discussion on the global political economy such as 'borderless economy' and 'time of limitless competition' implies that the range of the economic development and the environmental destruction is ever widening. This again means that the capital is being concentrated to the hands of a few who can handle this large scale capital management. These few are the capital giants of the world, namely the TNCs, trans-national corporations. After the collapse of the socialism, the world market is more and more elaborately organized to fatten these giants, and their gain is systematically secured by GATT and WTO.

These capitals first try to implant the illusion of 'advanced level of consumption' as if it is the ultimate goal for human being to pursue not only in advanced countries but also in the developing countries and forces them to take a contract on the conditions favorable to the big capital. Most of the developing countries, in the fervor to catch the illusion, have to accept it whether they like it or not. They become entangled in the complicated web of world capitalist market in which they have to make more and more efforts to catch-up the materialistic prosperity of the advanced countries. McDonald Hamburger and Coca Cola first landed in Japan, then the NICs countries and then China and Mongolia, and Motorola mobile phone is spreading in this region like wild-fire.

The catch-up development is spreading all over the earth. The pressure come from within and outside each country. There are advanced countries who bribes the political elites of the developing countries to contract for a

large-scale development project which virtually has nothing to do with the welfare of the people in the country. And there are the people of the developing countries brainwashed by the 'development propaganda' who demand more development in the hope that it can bring them the materialistic prosperity of the advanced countries. In many cases those who support the development are elites who can have a share of gains from the development project. Every little bit of profit is pursued at the sake of the environment.

But the problem is that not every country on the earth can achieve that much prosperity already enjoyed by the major advanced countries because of the limit in the natural resources and the sink capacity. There is an estimation that if all of the countries on this planet is to enjoy the average materialistic prosperity of the G7 countries, we need 6 and a half planets like the earth. Most of the developing countries will end up pursuing the illusion of the prosperity only to be exploited by the advanced countries in the market system favorable to the advanced countries.

The capitalist countries in East Asia has been incorporated into the world market system since the end of the 2nd World War according to the development plan supported by UN. Japan, now a member of G7 countries, made great efforts to succeed in catching up after the 2nd World War. But Japan has also grown on the basis of the heavy and chemical industries and has left many cases of notorious pollution disease besides other side impact of the economic development such as the disintegration of the community and the widening gap between the rich and the poor. Japan is getting rid of the polluting industries by exporting them to the developing countries. Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong are also trying to catch up, but still do not have stable positions in the market system which has the advanced countries at its center. They are putting more energy on the development exploiting the environment dreaming that some day such development will make their dream come true.

The biggest problem is China. If this gigantic country throws away its socialist values and tries to pursue the vain materialistic prosperity, that will affect not only the environmental conditions of this region but also the earth as a whole. But with Japan at the frontline with its gigantic capital, and Korea is also no exception, many countries are putting their investment in the development of China.

2) Give and Take of the Environmental Pollution

The environmental pollution does not know any national boundary. If its scale is small, it will affect the locality. If its scale is big enough, its impact transcend the national boundary. All cases of the pollution are integrated to damage the global environment. In East Asian region, each and every country gives and takes the cause and effect of the environmental pollution. The polluting industries are traded from the advanced to the developing countries; the wind vector within this region circulates the pollutant wherever it is emitted.

The trade of the polluting industries has much to do with the growing scale of the economic cooperation. Take the case of the nuclear energy industry. It is getting more and more unwanted in the advanced countries like

Japan. From their experience, the advanced countries do know that there is no such thing as 100% safety in terms of the nuclear power. (When the Japanese had an accident at Mihama nuclear power plant, it was a great shock even to the proponents of the nuclear power.), but still they don't want to lose the business chance. It is almost an open secret that the nuclear energy business of the advanced countries bribes the power elites of the developing countries with tremendous sum of money. And the developing country, in growing need of the energy, want 'cheap' energy like nuclear power. So from Japan to Korea and to China the chain is going.

Already Japan ranks the 3rd big producer of the nuclear energy in the world, but Korea is trying to catch up, and China, too, by leaps and bounds. All of those informed about the situation in nuclear energy are worrying about China who is going to produce as much nuclear energy as Japan with very dubious level of nuclear power plant building technology. If an accident breaks out somewhere in this region, then nobody in this region is safe from the influence.

There are many other types of polluting industries and disgusted facilities with similar pattern of trade: incinerators, industries that deals with toxic chemicals, businesses that produces environmentally harmful goods. Just as Japan exported the chemical industries to Korea in 1960, when Japan had growing momentum of the anti-pollution movement and Korea wanted to launch the industrialization based on such industries, now Korea is exporting disgusted factories like Wonjin Rayon to China. If the voice against the polluting business gets louder in a country, it is pushed away to another, less developed countries within this region. But the problem remained unsolved because this region shares a circulating pattern of wind vector.

4. For the Solution of Problems

We have seen, very, briefly, through the experiences Korea has had, how the illusion of the mal-development destroys our life, how the whole East Asia is interconnected along the mal-development and how we all share the impact, the environmental problem. I hope at least it gave us the idea of how deeply problems are rooted in the overall social structure.

As the problems are so complicated, it is impossible to solve it simply by adopting some sets of policies or by developing fancy technology. It is even harder to point out someone who has the crucial key, either in causing or in solving the problem.

But we often hear that women can play a key role in solving the environmental problems. Indeed, the role of women, as representing half of the population and the major consumers, is very important in overcoming the environmental crisis. But this does not mean that women are to blame for the environmental degradation. Instead, women can and must make a great contribution to redressing the havocs of the earth eco-system made by men.

Of course this is not a easy job. However trivial an environmental problem may seem (and in most cases the

environmental problems never seem trivial), if you try to change it the other way, you will find how tremendous job that is.

But as all the more difficult job it is, we need to put our efforts together. And now it is high time for us, women in East Asia, to do that, living in the region of world-fastest rate of development and environmental destruction.

And as the strategies, I'd like to suggest as the following:

1. First, we must know.

- 1) In countries in East Asia, more programs of the environmental education for women should be developed and encouraged through mutual supports and exchanges.
- 2) More information on environment and development problems, especially those related to women, should be shared efficiently.
- 3) More chances should be developed for women in different social sectors (housewives, working women, women producers, women consumers) to exchange in terms of the environmental issues within and among the countries.
- 4) More efforts should be made for the women groups and the environmentalist groups to cooperate and exchange.

2. Then mobilize the momentum of the educated.

- 1) More fora should be provided for women from various countries and sectors to develop the alternatives.
- 2) More programs should be developed for women who have had the environmental education to form a group and do something practical for the environment.
- 3) The women organizations and the women in various social organizations should exchange the know-how to get mobilized more efficiently in contributing to the environmental protection.
- 4) A network or networks should be set up to mobilize such efforts on the regional scale if necessary.

3. Change the society starting from what we've learned.

- 1) More and continuous efforts should be made to raise the voices of women through various channels at the local, national, regional, and international level.
- 2) More efforts should be made to demand more involvement in the various level of decision-making process.
- 3) To make a concrete and practical contribution for the environmental protection, it is important to support the women fighting at their own locality against environmentally destructive project.

- 4) What we've learned throughout these process should be departed to our children to make them to get prepared through formal and informal devices of education.

4. And change our own lives fundamentally.

- 1) The power to struggle comes from the experiences of practicing what is right. We must adopt a sustainable way of living without pursuing the illusion of the capitalism.
- 2) But it is very difficult to do it because the socially structured pattern for consumption is very unsustainable. So we must demand social change for the necessary conditions.
- 3) Such efforts should not be confined to the individual life. We should turn our eyes to broader society.

Health Issues of Korean Women, the Strategies and Recommendations

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Today women's health issues and the involvement of women in health care are increasingly recognized as important for the society as a whole.

Women are one of the groups in the population that often suffer relative disadvantages in terms of their health and well-being. Women have the right to be equally healthy, safe, free to lead a satisfactory life as men. They have the right to choose and use the health care services that are related to health and reproduction. Women not only have special health problems related to pregnancy and childbirth, but they also customarily have a major responsibility to care for family members and their health. Women have unique health needs

that require specific attention within the health sector.

They have health problems and need for support that relate to women's multiple roles in society; health problems related to reproductive organs and the menopause; health problems related to women's socioeconomic status, including violence, rape and other sexual harassment and abuse; health problems related to son preference including unwanted pregnancy, induced abortion.

Korean women's health has improved markedly in recent years due to remarkable economic growth, improved personal hygiene, better nutrition, and expanded health insurance and medical facilities. Women have the right to enjoy the very best condition of health. This ought to be equal to that of men. Then why women's health rather than men's health or human's health?

Even if a man and a woman were to have the same type of health problem, the woman will experience different feelings as that of the man. In other words, along with the woman's economic reliance on the man, she is weaker than the man. The problems related to women's health have largely gone unnoticed in Korea because people are less conscious of the need for gender perspective on health. In the case of Korea, education, economic ability, political power and reproductive ability of the most of the women have been ignored so that the chance to use the health care services have been seriously restricted.

The need for gender specificity in areas other than reproductive functioning is based on arguments about sex and gender.

Sex is biologically defined, and if we assume that biological functioning alone determines the differences between men's and women's experiences of their bodies, we would only need specific data for women in reproductive areas. Gender refers to the cultural, social, temporal and political construction of men and women. The implications for health, and the type of information that we need to assess women's health, of adopting a gender perspective rather than a sex perspective are profound.

In conclusion, health includes the physical, emotional, sociological health and therefore women's health should be decided not only on a biological basis but should be decided in terms with sociological, political, economical situations.

The average life expectancy for women is 75.7 years, 8.0 years more than the 67.7 years of men. However, the absence of proper health care and services which can satisfy a need to be healthy and inappropriate reactions to sex and reproductions can lead to a dangerous state of health. For example, miscarriage, which threatens the lives of the most of the women, worsens the health of the mother due to reckless abortions due to preference of the male child. Female child get inferior treatment compared to that of male child due to preference for boys in the society. This prejudice leads to danger in women's health and well-being in the future.

Teenage girls need a lot more nutrition and health care than boys but there is a lot of difficulty in providing these health care and services. The lack of consultations in this area has lead to biological and psychological problems like sexual abuse, sexual harassment and prostitution. It is easy for them to have immature and unprotected sex relationships. Furthermore, early sexual relationships and lack of medical services and information leads to a higher possibility of unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDS, and other sexually transmitted diseases.

One of the most serious areas of gender inequality is the area of women's health, especially concerning the

issue of reproductive health. Unfortunately, women in Korea has been neglected in terms of health and well-being up to now. Therefore, there should be a special emphasis on the equality in education, society, economics, policies to that of the men to achieve women's health throughout their lifetime.

The Korean picture on sex behavior progress has been mentioned, while with the socio-economical development proceeded, the status of Korean adolescent's sex behavior and attitude are greatly changed in the relatively for period of time and this can easily representing pictures or some other countries since some similar situations can be seen.

More importantly, teenage boys do not respect nor are they trained to bear responsibilities which further endangers the women's future health conditions.

The state of prolonged life period and increased number of older generation due to improvement in modern health care and science requires special type of study. In conclusion, health includes the physical, emotional, sociological health and therefore women's health should be decided not only on a biological basis but should be decided in terms with sociological, political, economical situations.

The social status of Korean women is still low despite the socio-economic development of Korea, and gender inequalities are pervasive in Korean society. One of the most serious areas of gender inequality is the area of women's health, especially concerning the issue of reproductive health.

The existing statistical data were reviewed and analyzed to assess the women's health in Korea.

1) Induced Abortion

Induced abortions are not in principle allowed under the Maternal and Child Health Law in Korea. Despite the regulations, induced abortions are widely available but performed discreetly in Korea. This restriction also imposes an economic burden on the one who obtains these services, and safe medical practices can not be guaranteed.

Table 1>prevalence of induced abortion by age by area

Age	Whole country	Urban	Rural
15-44	49.2	49.2	48.8
15-24	21.1	20.8	22.8
25-29	35.8	35.4	37.9
30-34	50.9	50.9	50.8
35-39	58.0	59.1	53.3
40-44	60.0	60.4	58.3

Source: 1994 National Fertility & Family Health Survey, p.242

2) Fertility and Family Planning

Almost all married women practice family planning. In 1994, 77.4% of married women aged 15-44 practiced contraception. In spite of the high rates of family planning, pregnancy rates due to contraceptive failure has remained high and resulted in a high induced abortion rate. Also, the prenatal sex selection because of the son preference is one of reason for this high induced abortion rates. In spite of the legal regulation, induced abortion is prevalent in Korea.

Table 2>Percent distribution of contraceptive users by method (unit : %)

	Whole country	Urban	Rural
Tubaligation	28.6	26.8	37.1
Vasectomy	11.6	11.6	11.6
IUD	10.5	10.3	11.4
Oral Pill	1.8	1.8	1.8
Condom	14.3	15.8	7.4
Spermicide	1.3	1.3	1.2
Rhythm method	7.3	7.4	6.7
Others	2.0	2.2	1.2
Total	77.4	77.1	78.4

Source: 1994 National Fertility & Family Health Survey, p.221.

Selective abortion has become a grave social, demographical, and ethical issues, and future trends in the sex ratio at birth will need careful monitoring. Legislative measures (Physicians who provide such medical services for identifying prenatal sex can be punished with imprisonment, or a substantial time, or have their medical licenses cancelled.) do not appear sufficient to eliminate sex-selective abortions and the support of the public must be gained by encouraging parents to avoid using prenatal identification methods. In particular, Korea has to reform its patriarchal family laws and traditional customs which hinder the achievement of quality of the sexes. Also, the general improvement of women's status can be the best way to reduce the abortions based on the prenatal sex selection.

3) Domestic Violence

There are no national statistics on the prevalence of domestic violence battered women's. There are a few legal and medical assistance programs, but no domestic violence prevention programs. As well as providing services for abuse survivors, women have also been involved in campaigns to change those aspects of their social environment that continue to promote violence. Community education strategies are necessary to reach a wider population of both actually and potentially violent men, and those who could help to control them.

4) Rape and Incest

Awareness of rape and incest is very low, and some Korean still blame the victims of rape and incest. Statistical data are considered to represent only a portion of actual occurrence of rape and incest. It is estimated that only 2.2% of rape victims report the incident. According to the police records, the rape rate of Korea are the third highest in the world, after America and Sweden. Taking into consideration the low reporting rate, we can estimate that 200,000 women a year are rape victims. There are no national statistics on health consequences of rape and incest, but several studies report that the victims of rape and incest have psychological hardship in their entire lives. Of those raped, 89.5% exhibited emotional disturbance, 80.2% reported physical symptoms, and 77.1% reported maladjustment in their family life.

5) Unwanted pregnancies and sex preference

Unwanted pregnancies among married women due to contraceptive failure and the prenatal sex selection related to son preference have remained high and have also resulted in a high induced abortion rate in Korea. Approximately 61% of pregnancies were terminated by live births, 28.3% by induced abortion, 8.2% by stillbirth. Approximately 17% of those who had induced abortions experienced side effects. Although few studies have

been conducted on the rate of induced abortions among unmarried women, we believe it deserves more attention.

Table 3> Pregnancy outcome by residence (unit: %, number)

	Whole country	Urban	Rural
All pregnancies	100.0 (15,316)	100.0 (12,384)	100.0 (2,932)
Births	61.0	59.7	66.3
Stillbirths	0.4	0.3	0.6
Abortion	8.2	8.5	6.8
Induced abortion	28.3	29.2	24.6
Currently pregnant	2.1	2.2	1.6

Source : 1994 National Fertility & Family Health Survey, p.78.

Approximately 61% of women expressed the necessity of having a boy. The sex-selective induced abortions after sex identification tests estimated about 25,000, comprising approximately 5% of females born in 1992. More than 17% of female fetuses were aborted, while only 3.2% of male fetuses were aborted. Selective induced abortions of female fetuses appeared to contribute to the rising imbalance of the sex ratio at birth. A rising sex ratio at birth was 107. It increased to 110 in 1985, 114 in 1992, and to 119 in 1996.

6) Medical Utilization

(A) Physician contact

The proportion of the population that had physician contacts at least once in the past year was higher in women than men. Among all surveyed respondents 55.9 percent of women said they visit hospitals or clinics more than once a year while 48.4 percent of men did.

(B) Hospitalization

Hospital admission rates excluding deliveries are lower for women than men. The average length stay is 18.2 days for men and 10.5 days for women.

Conclusion

Men and women in Korea have equal opportunities and access to health care services, including those related to family planning. The constitution provides that the health of all citizens shall be protected by the Government. Women's health and the involvement of women in health care are essential to everyone's health. This is because, quite aside from their own special health problems and the major challenges they face during pregnancy and childbirth, women also customarily are engaged in caring for family members and their health. Nevertheless, women's special health needs continue to be ignored or, at best, inadequately addressed. Although women's body should be understood as naturally changing body throughout her lifetime, it has been dealt as "feminity disorder", in many cases such as menstruation, pregnancy and menopause. Thus, emphasis should be, on the diversity of women's experiences of a particular life cycle stages.

Recommended Strategies

1) Strategies of reproductive health for women

A woman's status is inextricably limited to her reproductive role, and affects her health to a very large extent. In Korea, women are perceived of primarily as mothers, and social status is still low. Control of women's fertility and sexuality requires not only better methods of fertility regulation and health delivery systems, but also more substantial improvements in

women's health. This requires fundamental changes in legal, economic and sociocultural spheres.

Though contraception is widely practiced, the rate of induced abortions is very high among both married and unmarried women.

Due to the strong son preference, sex ratio shows uneven which reflecting "missing women". Governments should institute policies to eliminate this and at the same time, promote and enhance women's status.

Government should prohibit and penalizer renatal sex identification procedures for the purpose of sex selection, infanticide and the abandonment and neglect of female children.

2) Policies to reduce inequalities in health status

Women as well as men, entitled to the best possible health. Women's health problems are different from those of men. Government should identify vulnerable areas and implement policies to reduce them. In order to develop better health policies and to reduce gender inequality, government should begin gathering more gender perspective health statistics.

3) Policies to Improve Health Services for Women

In principle, men and women have equal access to health care in Korea. But few health policy decisions have focused on women because there is no gender perspective on health in Korea. With the achievement of the national health insurance program, the utilization rate of health services has been improved. Women visited hospitals more frequently than men since the morbidity rate is higher for women than for men.

4). Policies to Improve Health Behaviors for Women

Unhealthy behaviors were prevalent among the general population, but was more serious among the women in the area of eating habit, exercise and obesity. These findings show the need to improve strategies for educating women and motivating them to healthy behaviors. The health promotion and health education programs should be focused on women to decrease behavioral risks, and to foster social and environmental changes that facilitate these behavioral changes. These efforts will markedly improve the health and well-being of women.

WOMEN AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION

Wu Jie

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There is only one Earth, the garden of human beings. The high level of material civilization of modern society is gained at the cost of excessive explorations of the resources of the Earth. Pressed by the degradation of the environment, people realized that they are facing the survival threat more than ever in their work sites, living and social surroundings. Countries, large and small, and men and women should bear the responsibility of environment protection.

The degradation of the environment has led to damages to the development of social economy, the stability of people's production and life. Because of the special nature of the gender, the roles in human reproduction and social production, women have to bear much more of the burdens from a worsening environment.

Women are producers. They have made great contributions to the economic and social development. At present, 600 million women the world over are engaged in production. It is estimated that in the year of 2,000, there will be more than 900 million women working which is 34.5% of the world labor force. In China, 72.93% of women aged between 15 to 55 are employed. There are 0.56 million urban women are on the pay roll (excluding those who are privately owned). The modern industrialized society has been developed in the pattern of "high production, high consumption, high pollution". Women working in various productive sites are affected by toxic and radioactive substances, noises, pesticides, poisonous air, acid rain and dirty water.

As child bearers, women are heavily involved in human reproduction, caring and educating the next

generation. The fact that mothers and children living in polluted environment has posed a vital threat to the survival of human beings. UNICEF statistics show that about 4 million children die every year due to diseases caused by water pollution. Pregnant women, if take in polluted vegetables, grains, or are exposed to pesticides and other polluted substance for a long time will likely have a high percentage of infant mortality, or disabled children. Comparatively, the incidence rate in the polluted area is double that in the non-polluted ones. In recent years, Beijing has seen an increasing incidence rate of the congenital diseases among the new borns due to the pollution of chemical substances. Few years ago, congenital deformity was the prime reason for the death of children aged between 0 to 5. In some heavily polluted areas, the incidence of deformity is as high as 1.3%, while it is only 0.52% in the non-polluted places. For the healthy growth of their next generation, women strongly desire for and are willing to maintain a good environment.

Women are the major consumers. According to statistics, the consumption in 53% of the Chinese families is determined by women. When selecting food, cosmetics, detergents, electrical appliances, and handling with garbages, energy consumption, decorating rooms and etc., women are connected with polluted factors directly and indirectly. The pollutions in the kitchen and other circumstances associated with consumption are inestimable.

Women are important forces in social economic activities creating material civilization. In doing all those, they have had their influence on the environment, and conversely have been affected by the ecology. Women should and can play an active role in protecting our environment.

In fact, women the world over have been awakening. They are actively responding to the challenges. Since the UN conference on environment in 1972 and a number of international meetings of the same nature at later stage, the environment issues have won much attention in the world. The report "Our Common Future" in 1987 published by UN commission which was chaired by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland raised the key conclusions of sustainable development, a landmark in UN document. The UN promoted activities and issues have inspired the Chinese women.

In China, sponsored by some famous women writers, such as Zhang Kangkang, Shen Rong, Huang Zongying, Chen Zufeng, Zhang Jie and Wang Anyi, the Environmental Literature Society, first of its kind was founded in 1991. Then, in 1992, Green Leaf, a magazine on environment, which is the only one of its kind in and out of China appeared. Up to now, more than 6-million-character works, including novels, poetry, prose, and reports have been published, plus quite a number of seminars and awarded contests organized. The form of literature has been well used to sensitize public awareness.

In the field of science and technology, some female scientists came to the front in exploring new technique for environment protection. For example, Mrs. Jieng Shaozhen, a senior engineer of environment engineering of Qing Hua University established the "Beijing Health Bridge Environmental Protection Co. Ltd" which handles with polluted water, air, industrial and medical wastes. In cooperations with the counterparts in Japan, America, England, Pakistan, Norway, Canada, Hong Kong and Taiwan, she and her colleagues have made impressive achievements with good social and economic effects.

There has been an increasing number of women working directly in institutions and organizations of environment protection. For example, in the Research Center of Eco-environmental Sciences of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, there are 491 paid staff, of whom 198, or 40% of the total are female. Among them are executives, professors, post-graduates with doctoral and master degrees.

Female organizations have also listed environment protection on a very important position in their agenda. For the past several years, All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) in close cooperations with the Ministry of Forestry have mobilized women to take part in the "Women's Green Project". Women of all nationalities are called to plant trees on baren hills and waste lands. In Guizhou Province, an underdeveloped mountainous region with a large population of minority nationalities, "Women Green Project" between 1990 to 1993, brought afforestation in an area of 533,000 mu, of which 408 are economic fruit bases. Moreover, 6,309 tree farms were set up which are managed by women. The endeavor brought women about 5 million yuan a year. The Project helped broaden the field of income generation for the local poor women. Better still, it has contributed to the local economic development with a sustainable impact.

In the past, ACWF made use of her periodicals and newspapers in monitoring and supervising environmental problems. In recent years, there has been a rapid growth of township owned enterprises. As those enterprises are simply formed with hardly any decent measures for labour protection there is a high rate of pollution incidence. In China, 43% of the pollution incidence took place in those shabby workshops. In Putian, Fujian Province, there are 150 shoe making factories which turning out more than 100 million pairs of shoes annually with a value of more than 100 million pairs of shoes annually with a value of more than 3,500 million yuan. The 11-year-old shoe industry with joined ventures has become the pillar of the local economy. However, behind the external ventures is the industrial pollution of developed countries transferred to the developing countries. In most of the factories, there are high concentrations of toxic benzene far exceeding the State standard. In the worst case, the polluted substance is 5 times more than the safe line. In seeking for giant profits, the venturers did not instore or use veantilation. About 70,000 young girls from poor regions were working in such bad surroundings for about 10 to 12 hours a day. The benzene polluted air is harmful to the blood and nerve systems. Victims were reported

with cancer, disformation of the new borns, and even died. "Chinese Women's Daily", a newspaper run by ACWF with a large circulation nationwide reported the true story in a series of articles, strongly condemning the evil behavior of profit seeking at the cost of the health and life of women workers. ACWF also appealed to the national congress and the central government. Finally, the problems were solved gradually at the request of GOs and NDOs.. This is a typical case of how women use media interference to solve pollution problems.

Yet, in our real life, much remains to be done.

In some poor areas, omen are affected in the vicious circle "abusing natural resources-environment degradation worse poverty". Due to limited education and poverty, there is a high rate of female illiterates. Many women have no sense of ecology balance. They even do not know how to use pesticide and fertilizer properly.

In some regions, development strategy is more focused on projects with quick economic turn-overs in a short period of time, neglecting factors leading to unstable development in a long run. Because fund is always short, allocation priority is often given to construction. Little is left for environment protection.

In public education, it is very important to provide rural women with environment and ecology knowledge as 80% of the population live in the vast countryside and women there are involved in 60-80% of the agricultural production. The education will help change people's concepts, behavior and even customs. Therefore, it will be an arduous task requiring long, sustainable efforts.

In the field of law and justice, there is a very weak sense of women's participation. There are not enough gender-based data and information for drafting law which will consider women's interests in environment.

To protect the Earth, our common garden, people must take actions. Women and women's organizations must take a more active role in environment protection. Hereby, we make following suggestions:

1. This Forum should be a Green Conference. Environment protection should be respected not only in the subjects, but also in the way the Forum is organized, the services provided and received and the surroundings.

2. At global, national and local level, when development issues are considered, women and women's organizations should be empowered to participate in the appraisal, decision-making, management and monitoring of development projects with sustainable perspectives.

In the world, a special UN Fund for Women and Environment Protection should be formed, which will provide

supports to women in poor countries or regions to get trained on skills, management and technique of projects with sustainable development effects.

In a particular country, favourable conditions should be provided to help women in the same situation.

3. Women should be more involved in exercising the legislative and justice. In the world, the immoral events of some developed countries shifting their industrial garbages to developing countries should be filed in the International Court in Hague. Women's organizations, such as the International Association of Women Lawyers should appeal for international justice in those matters and send their representatives to participate in the hearing and trial so the ensure women's interests are respected. Nationally, women's organizations should take the same action.

When drafting law and exercising judicial rights, women and their organizations should be involved too.

4. In education, the contents of environment should start at pre-school and primary stages. It is important to conduct education, exchanging activities and cooperations in members and between women's organization to form a good network.

5. Special efforts should be made to help women in poor regions to receive training on development-environment related concepts, skills and management.

6. Mass media, especially those focused on women's issues should take a lead in popularizing correct patterns of consuming and ecology, recommending good events and exposing evil ones so to play a key role in monitoring and education.

7. To realize the goal of sustainable development with an effective participation of women, more efforts should be made to collect and supplement data and information based on gender and environment. Detailed data and information can help us to make quick and proper response to women and environment issues. It is still weak in China and some other developing countries.

Sustainable Development and Women's Health in Taiwan

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SUMMARY

Population growth and economic development are two major factors of global sustainable growth. Over the past 20 years, the idea that rapid population growth is undesirable has spread throughout the world. Governments faced with population problems have thus created policies and programs designed to slow population growth by lowering fertility. Some advocate population programs that emphasizes contraception. Some advocate reproductive health programs that enhance women's health, education or status-without explicit attempts to control fertility.

In Taiwan, the population program: "Family Planning" was adopted. Being carried out in the patriarchal culture, the program targeted at and appealed to "married" women, leaving unmarried women unattended. Although the subsequent population policies revealed slogans of improving population qualities and promoting women's health, the whole issue was centered at the substantial counts of those who used contraceptives. Women's health was not discussed.

Women often underwent medical care, without their "informed" consent. They didn't receive adequate preventive health care for their bodies. Under the androbynous bias, women's reproductive health and their body autonomy were serious neglected. They were often overmedicated or under diagnosed.

The tradition of primogeniture or male-infant favoring tradition led to a gender unbalanced population development and cast a shadow over the otherwise cherished successful population control. After analyzing the

success of our birth control, we attributed the result more to prosperous economic development than to the nationwide family planning activities.

Now, Taiwan faces new population problems, negative population growth and aging society. New policies should be directed to empower women by granting reproductive freedom and by promoting gender equality to ensure the sustainable development.

In Taiwan, population concern surfaced some 40 years ago. At that time politics became more stable, agricultural technologies improved, modern medicine was introduced and KMT government brought in mass immigrants, therefore, the population grew rapidly. The natural growth rate raised from 0.270% in 1947 to 0.38% in 1951, with alarming rate of 0.42% in 1949.

Although scholars and experts repeatedly pointed out the population pressures, population control stayed as a taboo due to political and cultural reasons. It was until 1964, the government launched a nation-wide population program, "Taiwan National Family Planning". In 1969, "China Population Policy Platform" was declared, and in 1985, "Eugenic Health Care Act" was enacted. The population growth rate dropped from 0.3%(in 1964) to 0.1484% in 1984 and to 0.0993% in 1994. The birth rate dropped from 7.04 in 1951 to 2.05(below the replacement level) in 1984 and to 1.75 in 1995.

In 1987, 1992 and 1995, Taiwan was evaluated as the most successful nation in birth control among the developing countries. While enjoying success in population control, to evaluate the impact on women's health, we need to understand the patriarchal nature of the population program, policies and the effect of various population control measures on women's health. We would wonder:

1. What was its impact on women's health which was behind the scene?
2. What were possible factors leading to the success?
3. What are the keys to sustainable population development in Taiwan?

I. Patriarchal Population Control

Through the entire development of population control, the decision of family planning, the marking of population policies and related laws, there was no women's voice, although it was women's reproduction at discussion. Women's health, reproductive burden and individual wish never came into the scene.

Between years of 1957 and 1963, the debate over population problem was most heated. The context of argument included ethics, religion, moral, national defense, economic development and nation's future, etc...but women's health and need.

In 1966, when "China Population Policies" was in making, there was no women's participation. The discussed issues ranged from productivities, national defense capacity to the survival, progress, and prosperity of the nation, all but concerns over women's right or the inflicted harm.

In 1985, The Eugenic Health Care Act passed. It was because of the population pressure, not women's health. In 1982, after two phases of "3-year plan" the population pressure was not released as expected, "Abortion" came in as the last resolution. Although during the legislation process, wordings concerning "women" appeared, voices against the Act also came from fearing of sex liberation of women. Moreover, the legalization of abortion and its related administrating measures were not made known to most women after the law was carried out.

II. Women's health under patriarchal birth control

1. Contraceptives and Sterilization

The family planning was large-scale, targeting at married women, especially of lower education. The government sought simple, economical, large scale contraceptives. Therefore, in 1964, the Health Department launched the famous "Taichung Studies" to promote the use of Lippes Loop. In 1967, because of the side effects and uterus penetrating by loops, the government started the promotion of birth control pills.

Although male birth control methods, i.e. condom and vasectomy were easy, convenient and almost with no side effect, our males were reluctant to undertake the responsibilities, even the use of condom was intended for STD and AIDS, not to say vasectomy which linked to the misunderstanding of possible castration!

According to the statistics done by Taiwan Family Plan Research Institute(TFPRI) between 1972-1993, the tubal ligation was 15:1 (female:male); 85% of women between age 24-40, used some kind of contraceptives. All these evidenced how policies affected the birth control responsibilities imposed on women.

Women's health was under risks due to the facts that, first, the promoted loops and pills were not well researched and studied; Second, women were not well informed of the possible side effects and risk before using them and not offered alternatives; Third, there were no follow up studies by the government agencies for large-scale promotion like this. Women suffered from uterus bleeding, pain, headache, obesity, cardiovascular problems, etc...jumping from one contraceptive to another ordeal until completion of reproductive responsibility, then seeking sterilization.

2. Abortion

Eugenic Health Care Act(EHCA) legalized abortions other than of medical reasons. It allowed the eugenic, ethical, social and family economic abortions. Women seemed to have more freedom to parenthood. However, the law was not intended for women's autonomy over their bodies. According to the law, abortion is allowed with spouse's consent if the pregnancy or delivery would affect the psychology or family life of the women. Several conditional abortions required approval from the doctors. Therefore, EHCA didn't actually liberate abortion but control it. EHCA endorsed doctor's "abortion business", secured their "monopoly of abortion" and overmedicated women's health and bodies. It was generally assumed that legalization of abortion should make the abortion safer, more available and affordable. However, the designated community hospitals refused to perform the operations, small clinics were more interested but charged expensively and pregnancies out of wedlock are shunned publicly.

Therefore, underground abortions were still prevailing.

There were 34.59% of married women who had abortion experience(Data from FPRI, 1992). Yet we still didn't have systematic pre-abortion preparation and post-abortion care. Women's life and health were actually not well protected, and women's autonomy over their body was ignored, or neglected.

3. Gender Preference at Birth

In a Confucian society, male weighs more than female. It is because of the traditional primogeniture and thus developed social status, employment and education opportunity. In a study done in 1992 by TFPRI, the ideal gender ratio* at birth for married couple was 130.

Statistics showed that under natural course, the gender ratio at birth was about 106-107 between 1960-1986. It raised to 108 in 1987 and peaked at 110 in 1991.

The gender ration got higher with the order of births. In 1990, the ratio reached 119 for 3rd birth and 128 for 4th birth. The concept of primogeniture was deeply rooted in the culture. In the past, in order to secure a son, women went through consecutive pregnancies, suffering deteriorating health and the burden of raising unwanted children. Now a days, women still went through unwanted pregnancies, however, the unwanted female fetus was aborted, "thanks to" the protection of the EHCA and the help of medical high technologies, i.e. amniocentesis, chorionic villa sampling (CVS), alpha-fetoprotein test (AFP). It was estimated that 5,000 female fetus were aborted every year. The fact was reflected in the gender ratio of 2nd or high order of births. Therefore, under the population program, women had the choice to abortion, at the same time female's life right might be denied and women's health might be at stake.

4. Women's reproductive health care

Since women were vested with the holy mission of reproduction, their health should be emphasized and deserve good care. However, in the patriarchal society, the body of the holy mission is translated into an instrument of reproduction. Women's health and need is largely overlooked under the androgynous bias. "The uterus is useless" after completion of reproductive responsibilities, women were coerced into hysterectomy. This explained the 22% hysterectomy rate of Taiwanese women (data from National Health Insurance Bureau, 1996). Some women even underwent oophorectomies at the same time without knowledge.