

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 or endure 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 publicity. 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 ratio 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 unless" 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 oophrectomies at the same time without knowledge.

Cesarean section rate was 35% before the implementation of National Health Insurance. It was highest in the world. However, after its payment was much reduced by National Health Insurance Bureau (NHIB), the rate lowered to 30% in the first half year.

*Gender ratio= $(M \div F) \times 100$ °

Cervical cancer is most preventable among cancers if pap smear is done regularly. However, pap smear is not commonly done in Taiwan. Less than 15% of women has pap smear done regularly(1992, TFPRI) It is not recommended by doctors to the unmarried women less it should harm the hymen and thus lose the virginity. The pap smears done before age of 30 are not covered by National Health Insurance. All these are due to the existing society mentality of virgin-complex which is used to secure the purity and chastity of women to men.

Pregnant women do not receive adequate pre-natal and post natal care.

III. Factors of Successful population control

The population development in the past 40 years in Taiwan can be divided into four phases:

1. 1951--1964 : There were periodical voluntary birth control activities amid the atmosphere of political hostility. The natural growth rate declined from 0.38% to 0.30%.
2. 1964--1982 : Nation-wide Family Planning was launched. The rate declined from 0.3% to 0.173%.
3. 1982--1989 : Last 4-year periods of Family Planning EHCA was implemented in 1985. The rate declined from 0.173% to 0.1484% in 1984, to 0.113% in 1986, to 0.1058% in 1989.
4. 1989--1994 : New Family Planning started. The rate declined from 0.1058% to 0.0993%.

Comparing the natural growth rate change of phase I and 2, we found that the governments Family Planning worked, however, not a significant speed. The rate dropped fastest in the 3rd phase. especially before 1985 when the EHCA came into effect. The abortions done under EHCA were very limited. Therefore, the winning of the battle of population should attribute more to the gradually-built birth control concept, modernization, economic improvement, women's employment and higher education, than to the activities of family plan or the effect of EHCA.

IV. Reproductive Freedom and Gender Equality : Keys to Sustainable Development

After enjoying the fruitful results of birth control, we're now facing opposite problems of population: negative population growth and aging society. Once again, the government's New Family Planning, appealing to women, but shifted its promoting directions to "the proper age for marriage and childbirth" and "the suitable numbers(2) of children", hoping to bring the birth rate back to 2.1.

Unilaterally asking women to get married and give birth is not only unfair to women, but also not a cure-it all resolution. The reasons of which women tend to postpone marriage, childbearing, or even not to marry, not to have child, are many folds. In the past two decades, Taiwanese society underwent a lot of transformation. Women had higher education. They were more economically independent. They had individual interest and career. Marriage and children in patriarchal society meant hindrance, burden to them in terms of child care, housework, mother-in law / daughter-in law complex, and traditional gender roles. From the past experience, we learn that to keep the population in sustainable growth, we have to empower women, not imposing slogans on them. To empower women in Taiwan, we should emphasize two aspects:

1. Reproductive Freedom:

Women needs the right and ability to make a real, free choice about childbearing. It requires not only legal rights, but also affirmative access to the necessities that allow women regardless of their age, race, class or economic status to control their lives. This reproductive freedom includes : availability of reliable, safer contraception and comprehensive sex education, access to prenatal care or funded, safe, legal accessible abortions; employment ; medical care ; and social services like child care, education and housing.

Society defines women in terms of their reproductive capacity. Women feel obligated to have children or feel guilty if they do not. Women must be free from these oppressive stereotypes in order to freely choose whether or not to have children.

2. Gender equality:

Gender equality asks for equal opportunity of employment for women, parenting responsibilities regardless of gender, housework sharing etc.. to reconstruct a new environment where women would enjoy marriage and having children without feeling oppressed, exploited and exhausted.

Traditional " male-favoring" concept should be discarded to ensure a gender balanced, sustainable society.

The Situation of AIDS in Taiwan and the Work of The Garden of Hope Foundation

Hui-Jung Chi

CEO of the Garden of Hope Foundation, Taiwan

The Situation of Taiwan and the Trend:

The first AIDS patient(an American) was discovered in Taiwan in December 1984. Until May 9, 1996, there are 1102 people discovered to be HIV+ in Taiwan. Among the 1102 HIV+, 980 of them are ROC citizens(88.9%) and the rest 112 are of foreign nationality (11.1%). 289 of the HIV+ have turned into AIDS patients. For detailed statistics of AIDS in Taiwan, please refer to the attached chart.

Since 1984, the number of HIV+ has increased every year. The number of HIV+ doubled especially during 1990. Until May of 1996, the number of HIV+ increased to over 1000 people. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg. According to the prediction model by WHO, Epi Info, the actual number of HIV+ may be 5 to 10 times the number on the official report.

The Number of Beds for AIDS Patients in Taiwan

AREA	HOSPITAL	NUMBER OF BED
Northern Region	NTU Hospital	9
	Vateran's Hospital	6
	Taipei Jen-Ai Hospital	4
	Taipei Chung-Shing Hospital	4
	Tao Yuan Provential Hospital	2
Central Region	Taichung Vateran's Hospital	2
Southern Region	NCKU Hospital	2
	Kaoshiung Vateran's Hospital	2

Eastern Region Tze-Chi Hospital

2

AIDS-Care Organization and Their Work in Taiwan

I. Taiwan AIDS Volunteer Organization

- A. Touring speech on AIDS awareness
- B. Street teach-in on AIDS awareness
- C. Education and training on AIDS related topics
- D. Telephone information hotline
- E. HIV testing
- F. Support group
- G. Patient visits
- H. Growing group

II. Chinese Society of Preventive Medicine, Living with Hope Organization

- A. Half-way house for AIDS and HIV+ patients, currently serving for patients
- B. Patient visit
- C. Counseling
- D. Publishing
- E. Telephone hotline
- F. Charity activities
- G. Education
- H. Volunteer training

The Work of the Garden of Hope Foundation

Besides working on anti-child prostitution social movement and care for the young victims of sexual abuse, the Garden of Hope also started working on AIDS prevention and direct services since 1993.

Prevention:

1. The "Hui-Eing Project" of 1993: the project provided health education and conducted HIV blood test for the paroled youth in Taipei area and the patients of gynecologist clinics of the whole nation.
2. "Youth AIDS and Sex Education and HIV Test" of 1993: the project aims to teach the youth regarding AIDS prevention. The subject of consideration includes the young girls under the Garden of Hope's guidance and the youth detained by the police.

3. "Seminar on Child Prostitution and AIDS Prevention" of 1994: the seminar provided people working on AIDS prevention and related field an opportunity to know and to cooperate with each other.

4. During October 1994, the Young Girl's Hope Network worked on promoting "Youth AIDS and Sex Education and HIV Test" to the 14 district courts in the whole nation.

5. On May, 1996, the Board of Trustee passed a resolution to set up a long-term special AIDS program within the Garden of Hope Foundation.

Direct services:

1. Hospital visiting: workers go to hospital and families to visit the patient or their families regularly;
2. Counseling: workers go to STD Prevention Clinic regularly to provide people with HIV counseling services and relevant information regularly;
3. Education: workers go to churches and schools teach and speak about AIDS prevention concepts.

Future Works:

1. Volunteer training: recruit and train volunteers to work on AIDS prevention works;
2. Telephone hotline counseling : medical counseling and psychological counseling services through telephone hotline;
3. Job training: provide people who are HIV+ work opportunities in order to prevent them from being jobless;
4. Establishment of half-way house: provide a quiet and secluded residential place for a people wit HIV and provide them with bodily, psychological, and spiritual care.

D. MOTHER AS GUARDING ANGEL OR ABUSER?

After World War I, the impact of women's movement on child protection has decreased in the western countries. The traditional caring role of a woman was reinforced. It was assumed that a mother as the primary care-giver in a family, had more opportunities to interact with a child. A mother was regarded as the child's guardian, therefore she should be responsible for the well-beings of the child. However, there is subtle implication of the above statement — if a child is suffered, it must be the mother's fault. As a matter of fact, research showed that in child abuse cases the child protection service workers tended to regard the mother as the potential abuser, or at least an irresponsible guardian. Accordingly, "neglect" becomes a woman's domain(Gorden, 1988; Swift, 1995). Data from a 1995 survey(Yu, 1996: 50) of all the CPS workers and foster families with child protection cases in Taiwan area deserve our attentions.

Table 1 Opinion regarding Motherhood

STATEMENT		CPS WORKER	FOSTER FAMILY
Mother as the primary child-care provider	Agree	100(50.5)	101(62.0)
	Disagree	98(49.5)	62(38.0)
	Total	198(100)	163(100)
Child abuse happen because of the lack of mother's care	Agree	41(20.7)	91(54.9)
	Disagree	175(79.3)	75(45.1)
	total	198(100)	166(100)
Child care as a mother's both duty, so an abusing mother is unforgivable	Agree	45(22.7)	124(74.7)
	Disagree	153(77.3)	42(25.3)
	Total	198(100)	166(100)

More than half of the CPS workers and foster families agreed with "mother as the primary child care provider", this does not necessarily mean "should", could be only their observation of the general reality. However, in terms of attribution of child abuse, about 21% CPS workers and 55% foster families perceived it as the mother's fault. More CPS workers(22.7%) and foster

(1) Type of Cases:

	Protection	Obscenity	Incest	Prostitution	Victim's Family	Family violence	Other	Total	Number of Times	Percentage
Case Evaluation	2	3	4	2	7	1	1	20	20	3.3
Individual Counseling	3	6	14	8	9	0	2	42	316	52.8
Telephone Counseling	3	1	5	4	5	7	4	29	58	9.7
Telephone Information	5	0	6	6	3	9	1	30	30	5.0
Group Counseling	2	5	8	3	0	0	2	20	128	21.4
Psychological Testing	2	2	5	1	0	0	1	11	16	2.7
Explanation of Testing	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	1.0
Individual Sex Education	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	11	24	4.0
Total	22	20	45	27	24	18	10	166	598	100

(2) Age of Clients:

	Under 12 year-old	12-15 year-old	15-18 year-old	18 years old	Total
Number of Clients	3	13	15	27	58
Percentage	5.2%	22.4%	25.8%	46.6%	100%

(3) Duration of the Incest Incident:

	Within 1 year	1 to 2 years	2 to 3 years	Over 3 years	Total
Number of Clients	3	2	8	17	30
Percentage	10%	6.7%	26.7%	56.6%	100%

(4) Age of First Sexual Abuse Incident:

	Under 6 years old	6 to 12 year-old	Over 12 years old	Total
Number of Clients	3	26	1	30
Percentage	10%	86.7%	3.3%	100%

Women's Power ~ Make Better Environment

Hsieh, Li-Fen

As being a woman of the 20th century, what should need to care? Marriage, family, employment, or the children's education? No, not only those things we need care, but also the politics, woman's right and the environmental protection we need to concern.

Taiwan is a country with the population of 21 million residents in an area only 36 thousand square kilometers. With this large population in the limited land that causes a serious environmental pollution.

At the end of the 1986, a group of homemakers aware of the growing environmental problems in our country decided to speak up and act. The purpose of this act is to do whatever they could to improve the social and natural environment and the quality of life. The Homemakers' Union was thus established in Taipei. The Taichung Office was set up on the 5th of the August 1990 to promote the same concept in local areas.

The main theme of the Homemakers' Union is to unite all women to improve environment and for the elevation of the quality of life. Several of projects have been taken for the past few years and continued on now.

Main Projects :

Starting the "Mothers as Environmental Protectors" training sessions.

Promoting the goal of sorting and recycling wastes.

Promoting the goal of "4Rs" : Recycling, Reducing, Reusing, Refusing.

Promoting environmental education in communities

Participating the anti-nuclear power plant construction and anti-golf course construction acts.

Publishing the "Environmental education books"

Launching the "Green Guides" training sessions.

Activating green consumption education :

1. Bring along your own dining set.

Refuse disposable dining sets.

Reduce wastes.

2. Bring along your own reusable shopping bags, refuse to use plastic bags.

3. Refuse to buy over-packed goods.

4. Use recycled materials.

→→6

5. Use natural detergents instead of chemical detergents.

6. Support the sustainable agriculture or organic farming.

To executive the idea of green consumerism, the Foundation of Homemakers'

Union started a worker's collective in 1987 in Taipei and later in 1990 a branch office was set in Taichung. The co-op's main objective is to incorporate the collective buying, that is to consolidate the buying power of consumers to support the production of safe, healthy and environmental friendly products and thus to stimulate the Green Consumerism.

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Hard-core business community and women staging a various forms of movement

By Junko Arimura and Kazuoko Sato

We compiled this report to add to a country report we compiled for the East Asian Women's Forum held in Enoshima, Kanagawa Prefecture, in 1995. The latest report incorporates events that took place after the international conference.

The year 1995 was a turbulent one for Japanese. Japanese were inflicted with the Great Hanshin Earthquake and a lethal sarin gassing on Tokyo's subway system by Aum Shinrikyo, a religious cult, which eroded a long-standing belief that Japan is a safe country. In December, it was found that sodium coolant leaked from the prototype Monju fast-breeder reactor that burns highly toxic leftover plutonium in Tsuruga, Fukui Prefecture. The reactor is operated by the government-owned Donen (Power Reactor and Nuclear Fuel Development Corp.)

This year marks the 40th anniversary since the Minamata disease was recognized. Groups of plaintiffs and the government at last reached a settlement. The disease was a historical testimony and symbol attesting to the emphasis politics, businesses and bureaucracy single-mindedly placed on the economic development in postwar years cost people's lives. But it became clear that the problem arose from the Minamata disease was not addressed even today, as was revealed in the accident of Monju.

1. Movement surrounding nuclear power

The Monju accident is extremely serious itself. But Donen also made a grave mistake by trying to hide the whole scope of the accident from the public.

Despite its pledge to make all-out efforts to pinpoint the cause of the accident, it came to surface that Donen officials deliberately edited a videotape it shot in the immediate aftermath of the accident and tried to hide the existence of the unedited version. The case also resulted in a suicide of a Donen official who was assigned to a fact-finding task.

Advocates for a nuclear power-free Japan started a campaign calling for a freeze of the Monju even before the accident. They collected 1 million signatures from all over the country for the cause, and, in the wake of the accident, they staged a new signature-collecting campaign among people in Fukui Prefecture to demand that the Monju will never be put into operation.

Although antinuclear power activists aimed at collecting half of the prefecture's population, women do not appear to be very cooperative.

In communities where people depend on nuclear-power operators for financial revenue, people cannot openly take part in the antinuclear movement. The action would adversely affect their family members, they are afraid, by sending them from the current position to somewhere else at their workplace, a move

that often amounts to demotion. As a result, people can sign at best, but not lead the antinuclear power movement.

On the other hand, in communities where a project to build a new nuclear power plant has been afloat, women form the main force of staging antinuclear power movement. In the mayoral election at the town of Maki in Niigata Prefecture, a candidate opposing the construction of the plant was elected to mayor. In addition, a woman who led the antinuclear power movement captured a seat in the municipal assembly.

People voted against the construction of a nuclear power plant in the first-ever such referendum in the country that took place on Aug. 4.

Today, a growing number of women and ordinary citizens take part in the antinuclear power movement. The trend, which was triggered by the accident in Chernobyl, represents a departure from the previous one whose driving force was unionists.

Female members of local assemblies cooperate with antinuclear activists to ask for the disclosure of information on the shipment of nuclear fuel materials, disaster measures and measures on so called "soft energy."

To assist children who suffered in the Chernobyl accident, people set up a fund for them, organized home-stay programs and provided medical supplies.

Young people, women and foreign residents living in Japan took part in a wave of protests against antinuclear tests, culminating in sit-ins before the French Embassy, a boycott of French wine, signature-collecting campaign and dispatch of a survey team on the impact of nuclear tests to Tahiti.

During the protest, some raised the question of Japan's stockpiling plutonium. They pointed out that people cannot draw a clear line between Japan and France as Japan is asking France for reprocessing of plutonium.

2. Movement on daily waste

Environmentalists predict that in seven years Japan's garbage disposal facilities will be full.

Each Japanese is said to throw away 1.1 kilograms of waste a day, 60% of which are packages and containers.

Last year, a law on recycling packages and containers was put into effect. The law is not intended to cut back consumption and reuse of goods, but the promotion of recycling. It does not have punitive measures, either. Private groups are divided over the law, with one side arguing that businesses are not sought to be appropriately accountable in the law's existing framework.

In local governments and big cities, the basic idea is on the premise of consumption-oriented economic activities. Garbage is collected and separated in bulk and stored in large-scale garbage disposal facilities.

The city of Kawasaki in Kanagawa Prefecture disclosed plans for the flow of such garbage control, but it revised the plans after running into opposition from women who have dealt with the garbage issue.

People may play two opposite roles in the ecosystem; namely, they spoil the environment with daily waste and drainage or they are harmed by them.

Japanese women engineered a drive to use soap out of concern over the environment. The drive grew into a widespread movement across the country on the protection of the overall environment of the community in which participants conduct the inspection of water quality of a river or promote friendly exchanges between villages upstream and towns downstream through joint leisure programs on the river.

Women opposing the planned development of a golf course near a water reserve in Yokohama established a fund to conserve the water quality of the river's upstream and kicked off a campaign to use soap. They filed a request to the local government to write an ordinance for the environmental protection and was successful in having the city of Yokohama to set up a fund for the water reserve.

Also, recycle plants to produce soap out of the waste of cooking oil came into being in many parts of the country. Among such plants are the ones operated by women, which are in the city of Kawasaki and in Chiba Prefecture. The women engage in the production and sales of soap as well as sales and instruction of how to make soap in plants in Japan and in other Asian countries.

Women who have taken part in the environmental protection in their daily lives and those who seek to continue their activities invest in and operate a project. Running recycle shops or ecoshops and putting out bulletins on environmental issues and activities are among their projects.

The Shiga environmental co-op is the only co-op specializing in the environment-related activities in the country. The co-op collects empty packs of milk and aluminum cans and undertakes a project of building a purification tank. The co-op grew into the 100 million business by merging its business projects and conservation efforts.

3. Environment and civic projects

Japan is the world's No. 1 importer of food products and rain forest. Women in cities as consumers created a network with producers, workers, academics and legislators to boost self-sufficiency as opposed to the environmental destruction of countries in the south because of Japan's massive import, resulting damage on the domestic agriculture, and agriculture that is increasingly industrialized with the use of agricultural chemicals.

The number of local governments which seek to be environmentally-conscious by taking more aggressive measures for the environmental protection is increasing. It is remarkable that local governments are seeking a partnership with citizens, especially women, in recent years.

The rise in the number of cooperatives that introduce an environmental assessment or launch an all-out campaign to recycle bottles will pave the way for a sweeping change in the social system toward a community that is friendlier to the environment.

Those who take a leadership role in such a trend are women. Some law suits disputing the right to nature were filed with animals as plaintiffs. AANE (xxxxxxx) was formed to prepare for an inspection of atmosphere to be conducted twice a year in several countries on the same day.

Stop the Export of Nuclear Power Plant! Indonesia is the Target

Asako HAMA Muria Anti-Nuclear Group of Japan

Let us cooperate and work together to stop exporting nuclear power plants to Indonesia

Nuclear power plants are the worst pollution export. Building a nuclear plant in Indonesia will be the first case in history in a tropical region. Environmental destruction is inevitable.

If Indonesia imports nuclear power plants, the earth is on its way to destruction. Because if it succeeds in this project, the Japanese nuclear industry will continue to export to other countries. Indonesia should not allow Japan to export any nuclear power plants to their country. Indonesia should not allow any other developed country to do the same.

The frequent occurrence of huge earthquakes and tidal waves in recent years indicates that diastrophism has been getting more and more active. Besides the doubts about the reliability of earthquake-resistant construction of nuclear power plants, there exists the possibility that a melt down will be caused by loss of cooling water. We must stop the operation of nuclear power plants before we experience the first accident caused by a natural disaster in Indonesia.

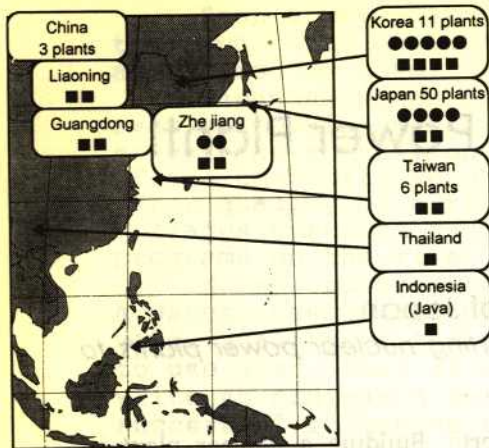
Against the world wide trend to do away with nuclear weapons, including nuclear power plants, promoters of nuclear power plants in Japan recently began to express that nuclear power plants are a part of national policy. 50 years have passed since the end of World War II. We have to reject and reform this policy. It has no sense of self-reflection that Japanese modern society has been established at the sacrifice of an enormous number of people in the name of "national policy." Moreover, the "national policy," once again, is to pollute and sacrifice Asian countries with nuclear power. We have to take strong action right now. The Japanese nuclear industry; which includes Mitsubishi, Toshiba, Hitachi and so forth, is planning to enter the Indonesian market which is expected to make a bid this year for their first nuclear power plant. However, this project involves risks. The nuclear industry is counting on permission and finance from the Japanese government.

We, the "Campaign to Halt Export of Nuclear Power Plants," started a signature-collecting campaign all over Japan to block this action by not allowing the government to use public funds for the export of nuclear power plants. It is based on the bitter experience of having our taxes and savings used for the feasibility study in Indonesia.

Petition to Urge the Japanese Government Not to Use Public Funds to Export Nuclear Power Plants to Indonesia

The project to construct the first nuclear power plant in Indonesia is moving forward in spite of various kinds of problems. The feasibility study in the Muria Peninsula in Java Island began in the autumn of 1991 by NEWJEC, a subsidiary company of Kansai Electricity Company. For this study, public funds were used in the form of a loan from the Import-Export Bank of Japan. NEWJEC submitted its

● Under Construction
■ Planning



Nuclear Power Plants in East Asia

report at the end of 1993 claiming that the results of the study show the project to be feasible.

It is expected that the National Atomic Agency (BATAN) of Indonesia will begin international bidding by the end of 1996 if everything goes as planned. We are facing a serious situation in which Japan is going to export the main body of the nuclear power plant for the first time. Therefore, we need to take this problem seriously.

The main problems concerning the export of a nuclear power plant to Indonesia

- As Indonesia is the most earthquake and tidal wave-prone country in the world, there exists a major risk of accidents. Also, warm discharge water from a nuclear power plant will ruin the tropical ecosystem, including the coral reef.
- Although many Indonesians are opposing this project saying that the construction plan is not going through a democratic process, the Indonesian government has banned public debate concerning the nuclear power plant.
- NEWJEC has not yet agreed to disclose the results of the feasibility study. The principle of freedom of information has not been maintained.
- At present, there is no established technology to dispose nuclear waste. Even Japanese technology will not be responsible for the disposal of nuclear waste in Indonesia.
- Removal of residents and exposure of workers are also serious problems. Once an accident occurs, it will be the worst environmental disaster exported by Japan.
- We cannot deny the possibility that plutonium created from uranium in the reactor will be diverted to military use.
- The debt for the project will strain the lives of Indonesian people.

We are going to petition the Diet with the following four points:

The export of a nuclear power plant to Indonesia from Japan involves serious problems and risks. We request that the Diet prevent the Japanese government from using public funds for nuclear-related projects.

1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will not use ODA(Official Development Assistant) for any projects related to the export of nuclear power plants.
2. The Import-Export Bank of Japan, which is under the control of the Ministry of Finance, will not finance such projects in place of ODA.
3. The Ministry of Finance will not grant permission concerning the Foreign Exchange Control Law to companies which are to export nuclear power plants to Indonesia.
4. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry will not authorize the application of trade

insurance.

Resolution

1. Nuclear Power Plants and Humanity Cannot Co-exist

Nuclear power plants basically produce massive quantities of radioactivity which is incompatible with life. Radioactive waste cannot be safely disposed. Technology has no future prospect of solving this problem.

2. Asian Nuclear Power Plants are in a Dangerous Situation

There are numerous accidents occurring in the nuclear power plants of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. Japanese nuclear power plants are especially old and the risk of accidents due to aging is mounting. It is also statistically evident that the rate of breakdown is increasing. Even though these plants have entered a stage in which they should be decommissioned, there is as yet no workable plan for decommissioning and disposing them. Recently there have been frequent earthquakes, and seismic activity has increased, causing growing anxiety among residents.

3. Nuclear Power Plant Export is inhumane

The nuclear power plant industry is attempting to export nuclear power plants to Asia without being able to take responsibility for their safety, or the management and disposal of radioactive waste. A system of compensation for damages has not yet been established. This is simply the nuclear power industry seeking an outlet and a market for nuclear power plants which can no longer be sold here in Japan. It is irresponsible for the Japanese nuclear power industry to proceed in this manner, and unforgivable from a humanitarian viewpoint. Japan's plutonium program is also about to change direction. Nuclear power plant export also runs the risk of leading to proliferation.

4. Nuclear Power Plant Construction is the Road to Tragedy

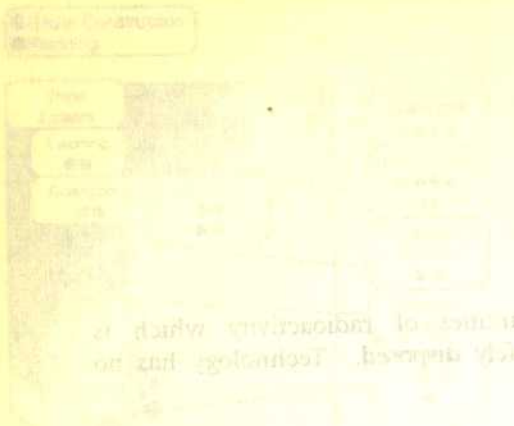
APEC countries are in the same type of earthquake zone as Japan. It is certain that building huge numbers of nuclear power plants will lead to tragedy. Also, there will be no place for the disposal of radioactive waste. Since massive research and development will be necessary, this will prevent investment in other forms of energy R&D. Even if nuclear power plants were to be built, this would only mean that countries will be dependent on the technology and capital of Japan and the West. This is not the path to energy independence.

5. We Seek a System of Freedom of Information

The Feasibility Study (F.S.) for the nuclear power plant construction in Indonesia is being conducted by Japanese corporations. But details of the study have not been made public. It is necessary to have this study examined by scientists who are independent of the nuclear power industry. We seek that the Japanese government reject projects including nuclear power plants, which do not have plans that have been made public. If information is not made public, the Japan Import-Export Bank's financing should be withdrawn from Indonesia's F.S.

Please send your comments and/or questions to:

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The Actual Situation of Economic Reformers and the Task of the 'New' Movement Which Has Appeared in Asia



Workshop 4

Economic Empowerment and Development

1. The course of a rapid industrialization and growth...
It is noted that our Asian countries...
2. ...

The Actual State of Female Farmers and the Task of Female Farmers' Movement Which Has Appeared in the Course of a Rapid Industrialization

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1. The Course of a Rapid Industrialization and Female Farmers

It's a known fact that our actual food crisis and comprehensive agricultural difficulties resulted from agricultural policies which opened agriculture to foreign intercourse and tended to decrease agriculture. These policies have been due to a rapid industrialization policy toward an export which has continuously been done since Korean deliverance from Japan. That is, the accumulation form, the dependence on foreign countries, and a national unbalanced features in Korean capitalism has destroyed the base of agricultural productions. These features have made farmers bear a unbalanced development between agriculture and industry, high interests, heavy taxes, low wages and prices of rice, and unbalanced exchanges between agriculture and industry, etc.

As industry rapidly developed, farmers became poorer and their debts increased. Productive force in adolescence and manhood moved to cities, so agricultural manpower became older and feminized. A rapid destruction of farm villages increased female farmers' participation in not only farm work but also extra works for

living despite very low wages.

But the increase of female farmers' participations in economic working doesn't mean the improvement in female farmers' social position. For the lack of the agricultural manpower female farmers became indispensable to farm work, but interests in female farmers is merely to such a degree that there's a need to improve their living conditions such as the mend of housing.

Government and societies don't guarantee economic rewards for female farmers' labor, the improvement in working and living conditions, welfare for them. Female farmers have been obliged one-sided sacrifice and patience. Especially as new agricultural policies toward the improvement in agricultural and fishery structures were enforced, female farmers were deprived of their natural places and moved to agricultural-industrial areas and service jobs, or obliged to have extra jobs. Or they have to give up farm work, nevertheless live in farm villages.

Female participations in other jobs have increased and many policies have been prepared for the improvement in female social conditions and welfare. But female farmers have almost entirely been excluded from these policies.

Since 1980's female farmers' movement has demanded correspondent policies for female farmers. Since 1990 it's necessary that authorities prepare policies for female farmers as the most excluded class, and suggest policies securing female farmers' social position as farm workers and budgets for them. In order to preserve and develop agriculture, we must obtain balanced living qualities between cities and farm villages, and policies which regard female farmers as subjects in farm work.

1) Korean Female Farmers' Status & Role

(1) Female Farmers' Status & Role in an Agricultural Labor

The forms of female farmers' participation in an agricultural labor are divided into self-work, exchange of work, and employment-work.

In 1967, Female workers occupied only 39.3% of agricultural and forestry industries workers, but the percentage has increased since 1970. Nowadays They occupy 48.7% and their contributive degree holds 52%. Moreover female workers who mainly engage in agriculture are 1,500,000, and female farmers with a side job are 470,000. The total farm workers are 2,120,000.

Now in 1990 female farmers' labor amount occupies 47.8%. It almost equals male farmers'. Especially as a traditional rice-growing agriculture has changed into a commercial trend such as fruit-growing, gardening, special productions, etc., female farmers' labor amount has increased more and more. Female farmers' participations in employment-works occupied only 17.5% in 1965. But their participations have remarkably increased. In 1980

became occupied 42.6%, and now in 1990 that holds 55.4% which is larger than male farmers'. This appearance also shows up in exchange of work. Here 63.5% depends on female farmers' labor force. These means that female farmers' participations in agricultural productions have rapidly increased in almost every labor area such as household work, employment-work, exchange of work, etc.

If classified by seasons, in 1966 female farmers' working hours occupied 3 hours 25 minutes in the busy farming season. It means that female farmers did auxiliary works till 1970's. But in 1979 their working hours became triple, 9 hours 46 minutes, and in 1986 became 11 hours 21 minutes. Compared with city workers' working hours, 8 hours, female farmers' are too heavy.

This trend of increase will continue in so far as all their families continue doing farm work without the leisure farming season, in order to gain incomes by growing special productions. It shows that nowadays female farmers' participations in productive working have been increasing more and more. In this increase, female farmers function as an economical subject responsible for incomes of farmhouses in farmhouse economy, as a farm worker in national economy.

Despite these functions female farmers are considered not as producers but as farm housekeepers and auxiliary members. That's one of the factors causing political approaches to go astray. Female farmers have suffered from the so-called agricultural diseases such as lumbago, crick in the shoulder, neuralgia, etc. These diseases result from too heavy working and toilsome postures which female farmers have to stand for a long time. They also are exposed risks which would come from agricultural chemicals and machinery. What is worse, they have to do farm work before and after childbirth, and consequently they suffer from chronic women's diseases.

The increase in farm work has threatened female farmers' health and deprived them of their leisure time where they could live cultural lives or devote themselves to their children, furthermore their affection to farm work. It's natural they have no intention to hand over farm work to their children. It is in this point that various policies should be conceived.

(2) Double duties; farm work and household affairs

Female farmers do both agricultural productive working like male farmers and reproductive working (such as childbirth, rearing of children) like ordinary housekeepers. Customarily female farmers do double duties, household affairs and productive working. They also have duties as inhabitants in farm villages. These duties are never easygoing.

It's difficult to distinguish farm work from household affairs. Because their working places aren't divided and female farmers do the mixed double duties at the same time. As their working hours become longer, their reproductive working is hindered. On the one hand, this factor heighten the percentage of female farmers' participation in economical activities, on the other hand, lessen their labor productivity or heighten their share

percentage in farm work.

The solutions to the double duties, farm work and household affairs, couldn't be found out in their own families. In order to recognize female farmers as farm managers and support their positions as farm managers, we should conceive institutional countermeasures which let female farmers use their time efficiently by socializing household affairs. Just as female as professional workers can't achieve the desired end if work and household affairs remain mixed, so female farmers do their duties as professional farm managers if their share percentage in household affairs couldn't be decreased.

(3) Female Farmers' Social Position

- Changes of female farmers' functions in farm work have rapidly changed the recognition of female farmers.
- But female farmers still remain as auxiliary farmers not subjects in farm work. They are still regarded as not professional producers but housekeepers of farm houses. So they don't have their social position suitable to their functions as producers.
- Decisions about farm work are mainly determined by male, such as farming schedules, buying agricultural machinery, selling and buying farmland, and rural loans, etc.
- Dry field farming, which female farmers are mainly engaged in, are nearly dependent upon hand working. All kinds of machinery are designed unsuitable to female farmers, and they have difficulties in using the machinery. More surprisingly they still use the iron weeding hoes like stone weeding hoes which people in the Stone Age used. It's one of the factors that has made female labor productivity decrease and devaluated female farmers. They are excluded from farming education, aid to buying agricultural machinery, support of farming fund, qualification for a member of the agricultural association, farming corporation, etc. They can't improve their qualities of professional farmers. Female farmers are buried in a farmhouse as a management unit and can't occupy their social position as managers.

(4) Female Farmers Whose Participation in Local Communities are Limited.

- Customarily female farmers participation has been limited and hasn't been activated. Their ideas were hardly accepted. If their intensive ideas are rarely suggested, the ideas are nearly overlooked.
- Female farmers grasp causes and solutions of the problems in farm villages. Therefore their ideas should positively be accepted by local communities to solve the problems. For that reason, democratic atmosphere should be molded and female farmers active participations should be secured.
- Female farmers participations in all kinds of agricultural associations and producers' corporations should also be secured. Their social position should be heightened. In 1995, the institution which admit plural membership of

associations was influenced by the amendment of the agricultural association law. And then there was a little possibilities for female farmers to participate in a cooperative associations. But their qualifications are severely interrupted. On the basic intentions of cooperative associations we should prepared projects for female farmers, and admit them to be members of associations and to participate in decision-making organizations.

(5) The Actual Status of Welfare for Female Farmers.

As our government set up the greatest national aim of the jump to a developed country, and caused the trend of globalization and internationalization. How to improve national living qualities is coming as the pending problems. Among them, welfare problems about alienated classes (such as women, the aged and the handicapped, etc. who excluded from industrialization) are recognized as an index of measuring our society and of showing if our society is developed. So all kinds of welfare policies are being announced. It's a good thing that such an effort are made. But the word "welfare" is still distant and strange to female farmers.

Government recently announced and enforced welfare policies for the female workers such as welfare project, choice of ten tasks for their social activities, enacting basic laws for their improvement, etc. Such efforts show much improvement in women's welfare, nevertheless the appearances are under suspicion that government are ostensibly doing kindness for female workers.

But policies for female farmers are very small. Authorities tend not to admit female farmers's particularity, and tend to specify them as only pan-female. Consequently female farmers are excluded from new policies despite the over-all improvement in women's welfare. There are possibilities to cause inequality in spite of an ostensible equality. The benefits of welfare which female farmers can enjoy are nothing but medical benefits, pensions for farmers and fishermen which belong to their husbands, slightly few educational and nursery policies. Strictly speaking, experts in the field of welfare policies have opinions that welfare policies for female farmers are wholly lacking. It's also shown in answering reports which sented to each self-governing body. According to the answering reports of Kanwondo-office, Chullanamdo-office, Chungcheungnamdo-office, and Kyungsangnamdo-office, the output of female farmers's welfare budget itself is impossible. It tells that there were no welfare policy for female farmers.

Female workers and farmers have considerably contributed to industrialization, but they have been excluded from welfare policies. It is very embarrassing fact.

2. Outcomes and Tasks of Female Farmers Movement

(1) Inevitable Birth of Female Farmers' Movement

As we have seen, female farmers occupy half of farmers and farm work and farm productivity, but they are hardly rewarded for their functions, not to speak of half reward.

In the course of industrialization female farmers have politically been sacrificed in order to maintain low wage systems. Therefore female farmers' movement resulted from their actual status caused by our rapid industrialization

From the middle 1970's, female farmers began to realize their own situations through spontaneously generating struggles to protect their right to live. From the late 1970's, they began to make the base of their own organizations and to get into actions centering around Christianity and Catholicism, for the purpose of solving the pending problems. The series of outcomes revealed female farmers' potentialities.

Liberalism policy in import which is wholly enforced from the early 1980', accelerated agricultural alienation and bankruptcy. In such a course prices of red pepper and cattle extremely fluctuated. The price fluctuations caused farmers' great struggles. It may be said the struggles were female farmers' struggles.

From then on female farmers regularly began to be organized, to make the theoretical foundations for their struggles. Finally female farmers' movement began to concretized.

That is, female farmers' movement aims to protect of their rights in all kinds of fields, to realize human conditions for them, to guarantee the better lives as farm producers.

Female farmers' movement began with the claim that farmers' right to live should be protected. Female farmers were organized into small groups centering around each village. Before and after 1989, as unit of Myon, Gun, Do, female farmers' bodies were organized. On the base of such organizations "Korea Women Farmers Association(KWFA)" was formed on December 18, 1989. Korea Women Farmers Association(KWFA) has been the representative all female farmers.

(2) Outcomes and tasks of female farmers' movement

● Organizational Outcomes

Female farmers' organizations divided into local bodies were integrated into a unitary national popular association. Its system is weak, but it functions as the center of organizing local communities which don't yet have any female farmers' body.

Korea Women Farmers Association(KWFA) has female farmers' Do-bodies in seven Dos except Kyungki-do

and Chungcheungbuk-do. Female farmers' bodies under KWFA take active parts over the 50 Guns including not enlisted Guns. The effort to organize female farmers' Do-body are being made in Kyungki-do and Chungchongbuk-do, and Hyowon-gun has female farmers' body.

● Political Outcomes

— With a diffusion of the word "female farmers" throughout the masses, government is requested to prepare policies corresponding to various demands of female farmers. The actual outcomes are certainly proved.

— In 1992 agricultural vision, "female farmers' reform bill" was announced, which arranged political tasks for the guarantee of female farmers' social position and the heightening of living qualities, and suggested alternative measures. The bill prepared the political base for female farmers and created a sensation.

— In 1992 struggles against opening free import, struggles for gaining a school lunch program grafted socialization of household affairs on the preparation for the continuous rice consumption. The struggles were diffused into many other fields. Finally in 1997, government began to promote a school lunch program in elementary schools.

— "The reform bill of agricultural association statute" was suggested, which admitted female farmers to be members of agricultural associations. And the statute of agricultural association was really reformed. There has also been efforts to make a true agricultural association as agricultural welfare associations and comprehensive agricultural associations.

— Successors to farmers and fishermen designate succeeding generations in agriculture which government rear. They are main objects of various agricultural policies including governmental political fund. Therefore they have enjoyed many special benefits, and have occupied social positions different from ordinary farmers'. Female farmers has hardly been designated as successors to farmers and fishermen. Because the standard of designation itself has been male-centered. KWFA has requested to change the standard of designation, or to enforce the quota system provisionally treating female farmers preferentially. But the standard is limitedly relieved to the degree that additional marks are given to female farmers. From then on, female successors were enlarged from 267(0.4%) in 1993 to over 2,000 in 1997.

— There was no authorities concerned which would prepare policies for female farmers and female farmers could request their demands. KWFA requested that authorities charging female farmers should be established in the government and in the local self-governing bodies. In 1995 when administrative body systems were reformed, services on women's problems were officially set up. It's out tasks to set up the authorities charging female farmers in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and in the second ministry office of government, to post women in those authorities.

— In 1995 through the social meeting with the Agriculture and Fisheries Minister, KWFA pointed out the lack

of policies about female farmers, and suggested the advisory committee for female farmers and fishermen, for the purpose of a smooth preparation and consideration of policies. Now that advisory committee are doing active parts. It's the first case where a committee for one alienated class are organized. For the purpose of its active doing, governmental control and management are needed

— In the second local self-government election on June, 27, 1995 and last general election, each local female farmers' body organically demanded ten tasks for heightening female farmers' living qualities from candidates and elected persons. Some local self-government bodies positively accepted them and are preparing policies which would realize them.

Such outcomes resulted from female farmers and their bodies' efforts. Especially the following features are very important political outcomes; policies for female farmers were officially suggested by female farmers' bodies, and the policies has been reflected in governmental policies, and female farmers' activities became political.

(3) Tasks of Female Farmers' Movement

Under the WTO System and the trend toward a rapid feminization of agricultural labor force caused by the decrease of agricultural manpower, it's necessary that active substitutive measures for female farmers should be conceived. Only so, we can intensify our competitive power in agriculture and insure the self-supporting food production.

Keynotes in preparing policies for female farmers under the WTO System are;

- first, to foster female labor force actually occupying half of agricultural productive force as its main axis.
- second, positively to grope for the improvement in female farmers' social position in proportion to the improvement in female social position.
- third, to pursue the coopertion of farm work, the socialization of household affairs, and welfare policies for female farmers, in order to establish them as the subjects in agricultural production.

● Policies for the formation of the foundation on which female farmers would function as the succeeding productive force in agriculture.

- a. Policymaking and lawmaking must be done urgently in order to recognize female farmers as productive managers. (ex> European countries and Japan legalized such demand.)

Rationalization of agricultural management, Governmental support of financial taxes, to specialize agriculture.

Study on the various forms of female farmers' participation in agricultural management.

Recognition of female farmers as co-management, collective responsibility and management in agricultural production, gurantee of rational reward.

Preparing legal provisions for the formation and disposal of collective property.

- b. Values of females farmers' farm work and household affairs should be included in production cost.
- c. Agricultural machinery suitable for female farmers are invented and popularized. Miniaturization of agricultural machinery, magnification of investment in promoting self-operation, popularization of skills, socialization of female farmers' movement by training edcation about agricultural machinery.
- d. Female farmers' participations in bodies concerned such as agricultural associations and stock-raisers associations should be enlarged. The comprehensive reformation of rules for the admission of members in agricultural-association laws in order to enlarge female farmers' participations. Enforcement of general meetings, the quota system in a board of directors and a board of representatives.
- e. Female farmers should be admitted to participate in policies about rearing successors to agriculture which Government supports and positively rears. (ex> farmhouses which specialize in agriculture; agricultural-association corporations)
- f. Government should enlarge investment in the traditional food industry done by mainly women.
- g. Social-education facilities for female farmers should be established. Enforcement of the quota system in the course of training successors to farmers and educating special farmhouses: Educating female farmers in farming skills.
- h. Support of direct transactions between cities and farm villages under female farmers'

leading, Rearing and support of self-governing activities in female farmers' bodies and their cooperative activities.

- i. Preparations for legal and institutional provisions toward abolition of feudal evil practices and discrimination which still remain in farm villages.

● **welfare policies**

“(Our government) enlarge the budget scale of 1997 social welfare by 5% compared with GDP”

- a. Institutions to protect female farmers' health and their maternity should be prepared.

Enlargement of preventive medical examination and treatment which are practised by public health centers, Obligatory establishment of a general hospital in each Gun.

Establishment a general welfare center practising health and medical treatment services. a social charge for care expenses before and after childbirth.

protection of maternity

Because agriculture is classified into a kind of self-management business, female farmers receive no political support of childbirth. Individual farm house is entirely responsible for childbirth. But female farmers are agricultural producers occupied with agriculture with economically inestimable public benefit. Therefore support of protecting maternity including childbirth should be recognized as the category of political reward.

Payment for childbirth allowance and protection of maternity should be realized in legal and institutional substitutive measures in subsequent policies about agricultural manpower.

Substitutive measures should be prepared, which protect the payment for protecting maternity in order to secure female farmers' care before and after childbirth for 90 days.

Support of rearing children in farm villages should also be secured on an equality with other female workers.

Female farmers are excluded from the social-charging project about payment for protecting maternity which Government are promoting.

Preparations of preventive measures to protect women from acts of violence, Security of rest places and consultation offices.

- b. Welfare facilities for female farmers should be established and effectual management should be done.

Preparation of management plans to heighten the ratio of female farmers' participation in women's hall which is builded as the unit of City and Gun. (preparation for place for a day long nursery hall, short-time nursery, guidance of children after school, management of female farmers' rest places and consultation offices, preparation social educational programs.)

Modification of welfare systems in a general welfare center to serves welfare benefits as functions fit to each field such as the youth, the handicaped, the old, female farmers, etc.

- c. Educational conditions in agricultural and fishery villages should be improved and gratuitous education to high school should be practised.

Preparation for a legal foundation of small-scale school, prevention of closing a school, preparation for managing keynotes which make the best use of merits of a small-scale school.

Groping for methods which enable to use a closed school as a local culture facilities.

Luring of superior teachers, enlargement of investment in educational institutions, management of school buses, rearing of superior middle schools and high schools as a unit of Gun, building a domitory.

Establishment of special laws about education in farm villages and fishery villages.

- d. Establishment and support of national and public nursery schools should be enlarged.

- e. Guiding children program after school should be invented.

- f. Living and housing conditions should be improved.

Construction of water supply facilities, development of purified underground water and administration of underground water resources.

Enlargement of investment in drainage systems, establishment of sewage and wastewater treatment plants and refuse disposal plants.

- g. Social facilities should be established in order to solve the problems about the aged.

Establishment of preventive medical treatment service systems for the aged.

Expansion of protection fund and objects benefited from the Livelihood Protection Law.

Establishment of national and public asylums for the aged.

- h. Parental charge of meal service for schoolchildren should be minimized.
 - Obligatory meal service to high school.
 - Preparation for legal foundation on which local self-governing bodies would supply meal service funds.
 - Roles of supporting committee from supplying funds to management and control of meal service.

- i. Pensions for farmers and fishermen should be improved and supplemented.
 - If mate's pension would be inherited, 60% of mate's pension should entirely be given.
 - National support funds should widely be increased.
 - Female farmers should fundamentally be admitted to be an individual member of pension system and its annuitant.

● **Institutional improvement for practising female farmers' policies.**

- a. Female farmers' post should be created in the authorities concerned such as the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Female power should be disposed in the posts.
- b. Posts of duty concerned about female farmers should be created in local self-governing bodies and female power should be disposed in the posts.
- c. For the purpose of inventing policies an advisory committee should be established and effeciently managed.
- d. Concrete budget should be allocated for the enforcement of policies.
- e. Legal provisions to enforce all sorts of policies about female farmers should be prepared.

THE REALITIES OF KOREAN WOMEN WORKERS AND THEIR LABOR ACTIVISM

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Introduction on the Process of Industrial Development in South Korea

For the past two decades, South Korea's major strategy for economic development has been an outward-looking industrialization which promotes labour-intensive export industries financed directly or indirectly by foreign capital. In the process, it launched a series of Five-year Economic Development plans. The first 1962-1966 and second 1967-71 Five-plans emphasized industrial growth. The Third Five-year plan 1972-76 emphasized balanced growth between industrial and agricultural sectors and the Fourth Five-year plan 1977-81 stressed sustained economic growth and equity. In this process Korean women have served as a significant labour force which is well-disciplined and motivated with a relatively high level of education, and their contribution to the rapid economic growth is widely recognised. Although the extent and nature of Korean women's participation in the industrialization process may have been conditioned by Korea's unique tradition and history as a divided nation, a basic common trend has emerged throughout the asian Counties in the structure of women 's labour participation. These strategies focused on labour-intensive light industries in the sixties to the early seventies, and then capital-intensive heavy industries in the late seventies.

In spite of government's original intention to build a self-sufficient national economy, the export-oriented economy had to depend on foreign capital, technology and resources. Since the 1970s, the deepening industrialization has changed from a focus on traditional light industries to a concentration in modern heavy industries. By 1977, the share of light industries had decreased to 38.8%, while heavy industries accounted for 48.9% of industrial output. In addition, on account of the structural change of the world manufacturing industry in the international division of labour, some portion of the heavy and chemical industries began to be transferred from the developed industrial countries to the developing countries. Under these circumstances, Korea planned to

shed the light industry-centered export structure and build up an export-oriented structure in heavy and chemical industries. These industries consisted mainly of the export-oriented and labor-intensive industry sectors of electronics and ship-building rather than of capital intensive and technology intensive industries which spare labour. This increase deployment remarkably in the sectors of electronics and ship building: it absorbed a large labour force which was used in assembling the imported raw materials and intermediate goods into complete products with the help of machines, mostly imported. However, this rapid growth of export industrialization inevitably increased the Korean economy's dependence on foreign trade and investment.

Women's Participation in the Economy

The labour-intensive, export-oriented industrialization has encouraged women's participation in labour generally. In the manufacturing industry, especially, the increase of women's employment surpassed that of men's employment between 1970-1980. Since 1960, the proportion of women participating in economic activities increased rapidly until 1975: it was 26.8% in 1960, 33.9% in 1970 and again to 33.9% in 1983 because world business stagnation affected domestic economic activities and women's employment shrank.

In 1960, women's labour participation was concentrated in the primary sector, agriculture and fishery. As industrialization advanced women's participation has increased in all secondary and tertiary sectors. The proportion of female workers in primary industry diminished from 69.6% in 1960 to 57.7% in 1970 and 46.5% in 1980. With the shift of labour from the rural sector, women employed in manufacturing industries increased sharply during the 20 years from 12,000 to 1,000,000. This was due to the increase of young single women's employment, mostly concentrated in export manufacturing industries.

The increase of women's employment has occurred mostly in traditional women's jobs and in the simple technical occupations of subordinate positions in the labour-intensive manufacturing sector. It should be pointed out that the former are married women's occupations and the latter are unmarried women's occupations. This means that in spite of the rapid industrial growth, the area of women's employment has not been particularly enlarged. For example, changes of occupation from clerical to managerial jobs or from simple-skilled to technical jobs were impossible. The interruption of employment due to marriage, childbirth or retirement was also commonplace. Consequently, women's employment has increased mostly in the traditional sectors or in the simple production occupations on the basis of temporary, short-term employment, and as substitute labour required in rural areas due to male rural-urban migration.

Structural Changes in Women's Work

In looking at the Korean experience of economic growth, we can see that massive rural-urban migration was one of its most distinguishing features. During the period of economic growth, the relative neglect of the agricultural sector has led to a situation of comparative agricultural stagnation and caused an immediate push for flow of out-migration, especially with regard to young, single women from the rural area.

The proportion of urban residents in 1960 was 28.0% the percentage increased thereafter to 41.4% in 1970, and to 57.2% in 1980. The net result of these changes is also reflected in the labour force structure of industries. The related statistics confirm the assumption of a steady increase in the labour force in the urban sector, the relative proportion of the industrial labour force increased from 27.8% in 1963 to 46.4% in 1983 the ratio of labour population in the agricultural sector declined from 58.2% in 1963 to 30.7% in 1983. The female mobility from rural to urban areas shows an even more remarkable increase in 1976-80, numerically much greater than the male mobility in that period. Of these rural to urban female migrants young, single women in the age group of 15-24 occupy more than 40% a significantly large proportion. In general, the typical profile of most Korean women's work throughout the period of industrialization can be summarized as follows: while women's working conditions are difficult and discriminatory, leading many to stop working upon marriage, most of these women return once again to labour market at a later stage.

One of the underlying characteristics of married women's work in its lack of continuity as they alternate between different types of work and between the formal and informal sectors. married women have to accept the most unstable, temporary jobs, according to the extent of their family subsistence needs and maternal responsibilities. The careers of these women remain unstable and intermittent, and their former work experiences, if any do not count toward better job opportunities or wage raises.

1. Women Workers Situation

Korea's economic development is based on labour intensive light industry and the export oriented heavy chemical industry. The government policy of low wages for workers and low prices for agricultural products, that has made Korea's industrial development possible, has resulted in the ruin of the agricultural economy and forced the country's farmers off the land and into the cities. specially, young and single women are who left the farm to make money in the industrial cities.

The wages of the industrial women workers in Korea is not only comparatively lower than women employed in other jobs, they are also paid lower than their male counterparts in the same industries. In Korea, it was found that women factory workers usually receive only 56.7% of the salary of men workers. According to ILO

statistics for that year women workers in Korea registered the longest working hours in the world. In 1994, men worked 206.7 hours a month and women worked 204.0 hours, but their overtime work hours were 26.4 hours and 21.7 hours respectively. Women workers in manufacturing worked 209.8 hours, the longest in comparison to all other industries. Workers in firms with 10-29 employees worked 297.4 hours, very much over the legally designated work hours.

In East Asian countries are relocating its labour intensive industries to other countries while attempting to shift to high technology development. Korean government has been aiming at promoting frontier industries such as semiconductors, computers, bio-engineering, space aviation and cable communication, etc.

In facing the industrial restructuring in 1980s and 1990s, we can see that the status of women workers in Korea is further deteriorated. In Korea, though sub-contracting production has been existed for a long time, it has expanded drastically in the 1980s and 1990s and is becoming a more institutionalized form of production in the garment and electronics industries. Sub-contracting workers undergo a cut in wages, longer hours, harsh working conditions, and less opportunities for labour organising. As we see in Korea, sub-contracting workers are mostly married women. The reasons for their family responsibilities and the vicinity of sub-contracting work to their place of residence. These women workers suffer from lowered wage, irregular hours and exclusion from all benefits and welfare payments.

A sizable number of women workers are employed in low-skilled jobs and they are concentrated in a small companies. In 1992, women working in firms employing less than workers comprised 62.7% of all women in the labour force.

1.1. The Unstable conditions facing Korean Women Workers.

The first casualties of any period of industrial restructuring have been women workers, and especially following the government-let industrial restructuring since 1986, the unstable conditions facing women workers have deepened on a daily bases. The labor policy derived from the strategy to inflate the domestic currency for greater international competitiveness has been especially detrimental to the employment conditions of Korean workers, and amidst these changes, the employment conditions of women workers have been terribly grave. Also, such a labour policy has been adopted as a tool for suppressing labour unions.

a. Unemployment.

The unemployment rate for women was 1.9%(2.7% for men) in 1994. The number of unemployed persons

was 1.2 million in 1998, 1.78 million in 1993 and 1.55 million in 1994. In Korea, rather than unemployment, the bigger social problems that are becoming evident are the problems of labour shortages in production and manufacturing industries and the difficulty in finding jobs for educated workers.

Unemployment is appearing mostly in light industries, where women workers are concentrated, in the form of layoffs and dismissals. the most major causes of these layoffs and dismissals are the withdrawal of foreign capital joint ventures and their transfer abroad to other countries, the temporary suspension and permanent closures of small-to-medium sized firms and the systematization of sub-contracting. In 1994, there were company closures, resulting in job losses for workers.(this is a % increase compared to the previous year.) 2) Pusan shoe industry: in the five year period from 1990 to 1994, there were 217 companies that declared bankruptcy and the closure of 768 firms in the Pusan region.

The number of shoe industry workers which had been 164,000 at the beginning of 1988 decreased to 31,395 in 1993. 3) The Kuro Export-processing Complex in Seoul: there was a reduction of personnel from 74,466 in 1987 to 43,357 in august 1995. 4) The Masan Free-trade Zone Fiasco: the number of women workers in the Masan FTZ is rapidly decreasing. The numbers have been steadily decreasing from 28,022 in 1987 to 13,817 in 1990 to 11,286 in 1994 so that the number of workers in 1995 reflect a 40.5% reduction from 1987. On the other hand, the amount of export has grown 145% from 1987. Layoffs and dismissals are being used as tools for the suppression of labour unions, and this is especially the case in the FTZ. Most recently,(Han-guk San-bon), a 100% Japanese capital venture, attempted to break a union affiliated with the Democratic Workers Trade Union(Min-ju No-Chong) by indulging in a three month-long organized campaign of violence against workers and administrators, which completely dissolved the democratically elected executive council so that to this day six people have been fired and fifteen people have been forced to resign.

b. External sub-contracting

Among small to medium sized firms, the percentage of those engaged in sub-contracting have continued to increase. In the case of garment work, 75% of garment manufacturing firms in 1993 were sub-contractors, and, in the Masan FTZ the number of sub-contracting firms increased from 252 in 1984 to 330 in 1991. Most sub-contracting firms, which are currently unorganized and lack labour union, employ mostly married women.

c. Decreasing number of Regular workers

1) even as the number of women workers has been rising the number of regular workers in general have been diminishing. Specifically in manufacturing industries, the number of regular women workers has been steadily decreasing since 1989. In the textile, garment and leather industries, the number of women workers has decreased

44.6% from the number in 1987. 2) 82.9% of women workers are employed on regular and temporary bases and 17.1% are employed on a daily basis. Consequently, 1 out of 5 women workers in mining and manufacturing industries are employed on a day-to-day basis.

d. Irregular employment of women workers.

Recently changing employment configurations with the growth of part-time, dispatch, temporary, provisional, service related and contingent jobs have diffused women's importance so that, on the whole, women's occupational formation has been worsening. In reality, such irregular employment discriminates against women workers because they are not covered by the conditions of equality in regular employment such as equivalent work hours and equivalent work load. (irregular employment offers 60% of the wages of regular employment, and does not cover entitlement to various holidays and vacations as well as welfare benefits of regular employment). Furthermore, in the face of the threat of dismissals, they are not free to joining labour unions.

1) Part-time employment: Among part-time workers, women comprise 64.9% compared to 45.9% in 1990. Although the index of the Department of Labor designates part-time employment as working 30.8 hours or less a week, if the hourly wage worker in Korea were to work the identical hours of regular employment, this would for the most part take up all of the nominal hours.

2) Dispatch workers; Presently with the exception of workers in harbors and docks, law enforcement, janitorial and service sector, temporary worker is illegal under existing laws. Nevertheless, the law is disregarded and since there is no monitoring of these illegal service jobs, we can see the existence of 300,000 workers in 3,000 service enterprises in 1995. (according to estimates by the Department of Labour, there were 1,363 sites with 27,072 workers in 1991). Presently, service workers are proliferating widely from agriculture and fishing to clerical fields, and the percentage of women workers in contingent clerical employment is 75%. In spite of such conditions, the government, representing the interests of capital, is planning to pass new legislation regarding contingent employment.

e) Sudden increase in Home-based workers

According to research on the conditions of home-based workers conducted by the Korean Women's Institute, home-based workers are presumed to comprise 9.4 of active economic participants, but it has been to grasp the exact scope of home-based working. We can only see a steady increase of home-based workers consistent with the increase in employment in sub-contracting firms. For the most part, homeworkers are assigned simple and labour-intensive tasks in the labour process, and they are subject to periods of involuntary unemployment. Their

job security is very low while their income level is only 68% of other workers. Furthermore, 53.1% of home-based workers are women with children under six years of age.

2. PRESENT CONDITIONS OF DISCRIMINATION

2-1. The two Tiered Segmentation of the Labour Market.

As a result of the gendered division and discrimination in the labour market, women are mostly employed in light industries and low-skilled and low-wage occupations. In 1992, women who worked as high ranking officials, specialists or technicians comprised a mere 9.8 % of all working women.

a) Low wages: Women's average monthly earnings are won. 550,615, which do not even measure up to the living expenses for a single person. In addition, the minimum monthly earning from September 1995 to August 1996 is won 288,150, about 50% of women's average monthly earnings. With the exception of a small number of women, most Korean women workers are must struggle in the midst of such low wage realities.

b) Wage Discrimination on the basis of Gender: Wage discrimination on the basis of gender is slowly starting to decrease, but in 1994, the income disparity between men and women was still at 58.6%. (Women's average monthly income was won 550,615 while men's average income was 938,982). However, in the manufacturing industries, women's earnings are slightly below the average numbers and the wage disparity between women and men is at 55.6%. This is due to the fact that for the most part women's rate of employment is related to wage discrimination so that women receive lower wages than men. Also, women's wages are much lower than men's due to further wage disparities based on differences in type of industry, occupational category, level of worker's education and company size. According to the 1989 report, "Research on Gender-Based Wage Disparities", produced by the Korean Women's development institute, 62.2% of wage disparities between men and women can be attributed to gender discrimination.

2-2. Gender Discrimination in Job Recruitment, Assignment, Training and Promotion.

Even though the Gender Equality in employment Act went into effect in 1988, it has been widely disregarded and the problem of gender discrimination in the workplace is as grave as ever. At the time of job recruitment, men and women are hired in separate occupational categories, and there is assignment of personnel into positions distinguished by gender, with certain restrictions based on physical appearances.

At the time of stationing within the firm, given identical educational backgrounds and qualifications, women

are assigned to simple, assistant positions while men assigned to key work positions. Further opportunities for education and training sponsored or subsidized by the employer are more limited for women workers, and there is also gender discrimination in the kinds of education and training offered.

-opportunities for promotion are almost completely not given to women, and women are restricted from promotion by initial assignment in a prescribed position, and in the case of actual promotion, the terms of the promotion are applied differently for men and women.

2-3. New forms of gender discrimination and indirect discrimination.

to circumvent the gender equality in Employment Act, firms are dividing women into composite general positions, placing most women in the general positions where they perform simple tasks, thus leading inevitably to gender discrimination. In this way, firms can legally systematize discrimination based on gender and educational background; this not only places women into menial positions but induces workers to compete with each other, intensifying labour power.

3. THE PRESENT STATE OF OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

a) In each of the three types of occupational training centers, state-sponsored, privately-run and corporate-sponsored, the percentage of women participants are as low as ever.

According to Department of Labour records for 1994, out of 90 state-sponsored training centers, 46 had in operation programs for training women and women comprised 7% of the trainees. Out of 139 privately-run centers, 91 had programs for women and women comprised 22% of the trainees. Out of 239 corporate-sponsored centers, 176 had programs for women and women comprised 17% of the trainees.

b) The quality of job training for women is low by occupational category.

Considering the transformations of job skills and job categories in Korea, the categories for which most women are being trained such as textile, technological-industry, clerical, machine-related and electronic, traditionally considered women's jobs are low level. Such training is insufficient in terms of consideration as special occupational skills. In order to ameliorate the structure of gender discrimination in the marketplace, we need occupational teaching and training oriented towards women. c) In the case of production jobs, there have been layoffs due to deindustrialization, but these workers were not redirected towards re-training for different occupations. In 1993, 0.1% of women workers received occupational re-training for a different job while employed in one job, which workers out to a mere 90 persons.

4. HEALTH ISSUES FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

a) Current laws fall greatly short of ILO standards, (for example: Maternity leave covers only 60 days, pregnant women and nursing mothers are asked to work night shifts, and in the case of twins or such, there is no provision for the extension of the maternity leave period).

b) In addition, even the current laws on the matter are not followed. The Labour Standard Act contains provisions that make it possible at any time for women to obtain monthly menstrual leave and release from the Labour Executive. However, at the present, the number of Labour Inspectors is insufficient and there are nearly none designated for small-to-medium size establishments so that the law itself is not being duly implemented.

c) Also, Maternity leave is being under utilized. This reflects the current reality of a dearth of childcare facilities.

d) The period allowed for breast feeding is up to ILO standards, but since there are no firms with breast feeding facilities, there is no effectiveness to the law.

e) The government and business interests have been trying to discontinue monthly menstrual leave which has long been understood as a social means of female and maternity protections in Korea. Monthly menstrual leave is a perpetual necessity, especially in compensation for the realities of gender discrimination such as low wages, long work hours, inadequate vacation and the holiday breaks, and deficient social supports for leading compatible family and work lives. Also, in the case of organized business enterprises, only 20% of such firms presently implement monthly menstrual leave, and it is virtually never implemented in the unorganized firms. The most representative reason for the inability of women workers to freely make use of menstrual leave is that firms do not offer them properly and regularly, and since alternative sources of labour are not employed, it would place an extra burden on the workload of co-workers.

4-1. OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE.

a) Even after the 1987 incident in which an 18 years old female worker committed suicide after suffering partial paralysis from working with organic solvents, there has been no end to cases of groups of women workers poisoned by TORLUEN? and mercury. Also, there has been continuous incidents involving ear-related illnesses at the Telephone Operators, and in July of 1995, there was an out break of occupational disease from solvent poisoning. About 23 male and female workers at LG Electronics at Yong-san developed occupational disease that have left them with no hopes for normal conception, pregnancy, or ovulation, requiring them to take prescribed

hormone treatments for the rest of their lives. Among these workers, 70% were women in their early twenties. These workers worked alternating 12 hour shifts, and the company was not only careless in directing them in the handling of these organic solvents but violated the Industrial Safety and Health law, inflicting fatal psychological and physiological impediments on these women workers. The above incidents are representative examples of the realities of women workers and their job-related disease.

b). Statistical Data on Women's Job-related disease.

Statistically, the out break of women's job-related disease appear as merely 2%. The reason is that since marriage and pregnancy-related retirements are still very conventional for women workers, unless there is an out break, incidents involving collective poisoning from toxic chemical substances tend to be covered up.

Although there has been a decreasing trend since 1983, the industrial safety and hygiene act does not apply to firms with less than 5 employees, and in 1995, 85% of occupational accident firms violated the law.

5-PUBLIC WELFARE POLICY

5-1) Social Insurance;

At present, there are four types of insurance in operation: the national pension, Occupational savey and accident insurance, medican insurance,, and employment insurance.

a) Since firms with less than five employees are exempt, insurance benefits apply to only 30% of women workers. Especially in the case of employment insurance which has been in operation since July 1995, unemployment pay only applies to firms with more than 30 employees, and employment security and job skills development applies only to firms with morethan 70 employees, so that only around 10% of women workers receive complete insurance benefits.

b) Irregular employees are exempted.

c) Occupational savety and accident insurance takes the dath or injury of the male head of household as the standard so that there is also gender discrimination in the arena of surviving family members.

d) Since a subsidy system for child-rearing and for company based child-care facilities, including the salary of the caretaker, are supported by employment insurance, income security during the period of chil-care leave is not being implemented.

5-2) Social Welfare Services.

a) Nursery Facilities.

In June 1995, there were 269,538 children in nurseries at 8, 129 worksites.(compared to 1994, there has been a 16.5% increase in the numbers of facilities and 23% increase in the numbers of children). The government-estimated average subsidy for child-care support is only 26% of the actual costs of utilization.

There is no support for private establishments which comprise 50% of all nurseries, and Korea's child-care policy places primary responsibility on the demand who need the facility, private nurseries tend to be a stronger force than public ones.

b) Childcare facilities for the period following dismissal.

Some well-meaning acivists have experience in operating a study-room in a low-income neighborhood.

Up until February 1995, the government had operated a model center, but at the present, the government merely acknowledges the necessity for childcare centers and does not have any concrete plans for the proliferation of more center.

c) In-school Meal Service.

In spite of government plans to put in school meal service into full-scale operation in elementary schools(the level of compulsory education in Korea) by 1997 and in 50% of middle and high schools in fishing and farming villages by 1998, presently in 1995, only 57.4% of elementary schools in fishing and farming villages by 1998, presently in 1995, only 57.4% of elementary schools have meal services in operation and only 38.6% o students receive the benefits of this service. The problem is that since the government's financial support has been so passive, the burden of the costs of building and equipping the in school meal service facilities has been placed on the parents so that in reality on a nation-wide scale, they are shouldering from 50% to as high as 90% of these costs. Furthermore, there are not any concrete programs to set up in school meal services for middle and high schools in the farming villages.

d) In 1995, women's public welfare budget comprised only 5.3% of the budget of the Department of Health and Welfare, and the expense for social welfare are 1% of the Gross Domestic Product(GDP), so that the level of welfare provisions in Korea is 32nd internationally. Consequently, the Korean Women's have been pressuring the government, agitating for the welfare budget to be 5% of the GDP, and they are also demanding that every year for the next five years, the welfare budget should be increased by at least 40%.

5-3 MIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS IN KOREA

The number of legal industrial trainees in 1994 was estimated to be 28,328 (37.3% of all Migrant workers in

Korea) with the number of illegally employed workers estimated to be 47,535 (62.7% of all foreign workers in Korea). Of these, 70% are engaged in the manufacturing industry, and 25% are women.

The Korean NGOs estimate the number of migrant workers to be around 170,000. Legal limits on wages and work hours are not applied for these foreign workers. Also they must suffer the pains of wage garnishment, violence, and physical confinement, and in the case of women, they are being subject to sexual violence. In July 1996, the government extended the training period for industrial trainees from 2 to 3 years, and announced plans to receive 10,000 more workers in the second half of 1996, so that we can anticipate that the number of foreign workers will continue to increase.

5-4 THE WOMEN WORKERS ORGANIZED STATUS

The percentage of organized women workers is 9% only.

Although there was a large increase in labor organization due to the opportunity opened up by the mass labour struggles of 1987, after reaching a peak in 1989, there has been a decreasing trend. Although the total percentage of labour organization in 1994 was 14.5%, the percentage of women's labour organization much lower at 9%. Meanwhile, women workers comprise 22% of all organized workers.

There has been a rapid decrease in the numbers of union members in the fishing industry, but in contrast, the number of union members in the clerical field has been increasing. This is a reflection of the industrial structure and the employment structure, and at the same time it can be analyzed as a prime factor in the increase of personnel cutbacks, temporary suspensions, permanent closures, overseas relocations and irregular forms of employment in fields traditionally considered women's work.

Exempting hospitals where women union members make up 75% in other labour unions where women members comprise 23-29% of the total membership, the number of women in leadership or executive positions is only 1.9%.

6. THE WOMEN WORKERS MOVEMENT IN KOREA(9/95-7/96)

a) Criticisms of government policy

Policy on women's employment, which is based on the logic of weakening the currency, is worsening the unstable conditions faced by women workers.

The bases for policy-making on women workers have been the relaxation of regulations and controls geared towards strengthening a firm's competitiveness along with a soft currency strategy to make labour supply and demand more elastic. That is to say that the abundant reserve of labour power in the past, which served as the foundation for economic growth, has reached a limit, and businesses are recruiting irregular workers to cut down

on wage in such a policy context, there are drives for the legalization of contingent workers, enactment of laws on hourly wage workers, introduction of regulated dismissals and changes in work conditions.

Rather than thinking of the expansion of child-care facilities as a social issue, it is viewed as relevant only to the limited population of married women.

b) With the aim of protecting vulnerable women workers, there are plans to enact legislation on limits on work hours and contingent employment. However, using worker protection as justification, such moves to change legal limits on work hours and to systematize contingent employment are merely making women's labour power more unstable and versatile for exploitation. Furthermore, such policy initiatives do not consider regular workers entitled to receive equal treatment. Also, there are no plans to enact legislation on the protection of home based workers until 1997.

c) The policy to expand women's employment is stagnant.

— In October of 1995, the government announced plans to expand women's socio-economic participation in 10 subject areas of choice, the introduction of open competition for government jobs by offering incentives geared towards increasing the percentage of women introduced to increase women's employment in public enterprises and new firms.

— Such policies are considered as encouraging. Also, it is acknowledged that the foundation for Women's Employment Law enacted in December of 1995 is not just a stop gap measure in women's favor but a necessary measure to realize true equality.

— However, the present realities of inequality require a more active policy foundation than the allocation of quotas.

d) Policy geared towards increasing the population of skilled women workers is stagnant.

— It is a positive sign that there has been new progress in efforts on the part of businesses to further develop job skills and to stabilize employment for women workers since the legislation of the Employment Insurance Law in July 1995.

— However, occupational training for women is insufficient both in terms of quantity and quality. Even if it can be said that the institutional doors of government-sponsored occupational training centers are equally open to men and women, in terms of actual operation, the low percentage of women's enrollment in proof of the largely passive policy towards increasing the numbers of skilled women workers.

— Although policy aims have established the importance of women's job skills, in reality, policy on women's employment and job skills is merely a strategy in name only and not based on realities.

e) Alternative policy to address the realities of gender inequality in employment such as irregular status of women-dominated jobs, discriminatory stationing inside firms, and sexual harassment in the workplace is wholly lacking.

— There were some initial results from efforts by the government such as administrative directives against discrimination, of bank clerks, monitoring of hiring rules, and gender discrimination in stationing through the enactment of the Equal Employment Law in October.

—However, the unfolding direction of the government's passive policy-making on women and employment, which is closely bound up with its policy aimed at strengthening international competitiveness through the easing of regulations of firms and the creation of a pliable labour market, only emphasizes employment equality in certain sectors.

—During this period, the government has not actively converged upon matters and demands important to women workers such as regulation and prevention of irregular jobs, discriminatory stationing and workplace sexual harassment.

—Specifically, in regards to habitual and substantive conditions of gender discrimination in employment, it has been difficult to achieve results due to inadequate administration as well as directives regarding prevention and suspension measures that are in line with the aim of easing regulations on firms.

f) Policy-making that takes as its basis the belief that the costs of maternity protection is a collective social burden tends to be passive.

— Based on the premise that maternity protection falls under the rubric of a social and national responsibility, the government has established a policy plan to expand maternal protection by 1997. This is an encouraging step to raising the level of maternity protections in Korea up to ILO standards. Also, the Women's Foundation and Development Law enacted in December of 1995 clearly, thus following the basis of the ILO Maternity Protections Pact.

— However, until now, the government has not been able to prepare a concrete program on how the costs of maternity protection should be borne by society.

—Also, since the expansion of maternity protection benefits is premised upon the abolition of paid monthly menstrual leave, it is detrimental to women workers.

g) Improvements are needed greatly in social insurance and social welfare services for the promotion of the well-being of women workers.

—Only 10-30% of women workers receive the full benefits of the four types of social insurance, and those women workers with irregular employment status do not receive any benefits at all.

—Income security in the case of temporary leave for child-care is not yet a social reality, and the percentage of

women who take such a leave is very low.

—Since the premise of policy-making on child-care facilities and in-school meal services places the burden of costs on the recipients of such services, a drastic increase in the national budget is necessary.

THE CORE DEMANDS OF WOMEN WORKERS AND THEIR LABOUR ACTIVISM

a) Inaugurated during the labour movement of the 1970s, the labour activism of Korean women workers has been revitalized following the great labour conflict of 1987.

Through the labour actions in 1987, the women's labour activism in the production and clerical fields has developed into a vigorous labour movement, and through the efforts of a unique umbrella of labour organizations (Yuh-sung-no-dong dan-che), comprised of the Women Workers Associations United and the (Yuh-sung-min-Oo-hwe) Women Society for Democratic and Sisterhood, the problem of women workers has become a collective social issue. Also, through the central body of the KWAU, other women's groups have joined in the campaigns by women workers on behalf of legislation regarding women workers, development into a vigorous movement.

b) The following are the issues presented as core policy demands by the women's labour organizations.

Demand for Employment Stability

1) Labour relations laws and social welfare laws should apply to hourly wage workers and those engaged in anomalous wage labour should be diverted to regular employment.

2) We oppose legalization of contingent employment because it gives rise to the intermediary exploitation, discriminatory treatment and unstable employment of workers.

3) Enact special legislation that will strengthen controls and restrictions on grounds for job dismissals and mass firings.

4) Since modifications and amendments of labour laws often end up resulting in wage deductions, illegal forms of employment and over-time work, they can not be introduced.

5) Laws on Home-based work should be enacted to meet ILO agreements and recommendations.

Demands for Maternity Protections

1) Extend the period of maternity leave to 90 days, and make it a social responsibility to assure income protections.

2) Institute periodical leaves for medical examinations during pregnancy as well as new laws on nursing(breastfeeding) leave.

3) Apply stipulations on maternity protections for women workers simultaneously to female government employees.

Demands for Achieving Equality in Employment

1) Within Gender Equality in Employment Act, add provisions for banning indirect forms of discrimination and preventing workplace sexual harassment.

2) Improve provisional measures that give favorable treatment to women in job training and employment.

3) Impose on firms an obligation to plan and fulfill a program to realize gender equality and require firms to prepare and submit written reports. Intensify administrative guidance of firms in this task.

4) Expand occupational training programs that will facilitate women's hiring and accelerate the realization of gender equality in employment.

3) The Progress of Actions to Realise the Core Demands of Women Workers

a) For the sake of employment stability for women workers, many labour and social organizations gathered in September of 1995 for various actions, including a petition drive, public demonstrations, and the delivery of a proposal against the government's push to enact legislation on contingent employment, which has successfully suspended the government's attempts for the time being. Also, there was a public policy debate to criticize the soft currency strategy and to establish policy on women workers.

b) For the purpose of amending the Gender Equality in Employment Law, the Union calling for the Establishment of a Clause in the Scope of the Gender Equality in Employment Law Prohibiting Indirect Forms of Discrimination and Workplace Sexual Harrassment, and Opposed to the Legalization of Contingent Employment, comprised cooperatively of 12 different labour and women's organizations, which has staged petition drives, a publicity campaign, a widely distributed poster campaign, and protests in front of the National assembly.

c) Besides that, there are campaigns calling for protections for home-based work up to ILO standards and recommendations and there has been a concerted movement including many women's organizations in the form of petition drives, discussions and meetings for the enactment of legal protections for foreign worker as well as the establishment of an advocacy and consulting center for foreign workers.

Women's Employment and Equal Participation of Women and Men

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The reform of economic system in the mainland of China has made more women than men become redundant staff and workers.

After making investigations in six provinces and municipalities like Liaoning, Jiangsu and Tianjin, we have got the exact figures of men and women going off their work. They make up 4.58% and 9.33% of the total number of staff and workers of men and women respectively. In our point of view, women should be employed as far as possible since economic independence is an important prerequisite for women's participation in social development. If they are dependent on others instead of supporting themselves on their own wages, it's difficult for them to improve their conditions or cultivate their abilities to participate in social development independently. Therefore, we have always held that women should get employed and participate in social development on an equal footing with men, and that equal opportunity to employment is the basic condition for equality between men and women.

During the investigations mentioned above, we found no obvious discrimination against women in their going off work. The main reasons for their being removed from posts are as follows:

1. Most of them are at the age of 35-45 with smaller children and heavier housework, thereby affecting the economic results of the enterprises where they work.
2. Low in educational level and technical skill, they are not fully qualified for new tasks assigned them after enterprises have been reformed.

3. Some women workers have left their jobs because work in heavy industrial enterprises is physically unsuitable for them. In some other enterprises, they become redundant workers during structural adjustment due to depression of business.

From the above, we can see that there are subjective as well as objective reasons for their going off work. No matter for what reasons, being removed from their posts is unfavorable to women's social participation and self-development. To help these women with their re-employment and with their participation in social development, women's federations have done a lot of work in the following aspects:

1. To get a clear picture of basic situations in this regard, such as the number of women being removed from their posts, situations of their families, their demands for re-employment, their possible new jobs and requirement, arrangements already made for them, and meanwhile get all these recorded in the archives or cards, so as to assist them according to their actual situations.

2. To consult and discuss together with the government, and urge the departments concerned to formulate policies favourable for women's re-employment. For example, the Liaoning Women's Federation has, together with the provincial Labor Department, Financial Department, Construction Department, Tax Bureau and Bureau for Industry and Commerce, sent off an official notice concerning re-employment arrangements for redundant and job-waiting women. Relevant bureaus and departments have shown great concern and responded with 12 kinds of preferential policies, ranging from reducing or remitting taxes for and giving licenses earlier than anyone else to those who start tertiary industries, offering classrooms and teachers for the training of reduced women staff and setting up special funds for helping-poor-women, to giving special priority of houses for starting economic entities to arrange redundant women workers. The Qiqihaer Women's Federation has put forward a suggestion about the policy of supporting the city's service-network organized by neighbor committees, in coordination with over 10 departments like Tax Bureau and Bureau for Industry and Commerce. The Mudanjiang Women's Federation has granted "business-permits for-the-destitute" and "preferential cards" to women leaving their posts. The Women's Federation of Jifin Autonomous Prefecture of the Korean Nationality has, together with other departments concerned, given these job-seeking women "Duty Free" certificates, and etc.

3. To create favourable conditions for running training classes to improve women's skills, so that they'll get well prepared for re-employment. Women's federations all over the country, surmounting difficulties in getting funds, classrooms, teachers and equipment, have carried out such training in three ways: a) Make use of the federation's activity centers. b) Join their efforts with relevant government departments. For instance, The Fushun Women's Federation organized training classes for several thousands of redundant women workers, which would

not have succeeded without the financial support of the city's Labor Department. As a result, these women workers took part in the training free of charge. c) Develop "job-oriented training" together with enterprises and undertakings, thereby combining training with re-employment. In Heilongjiang Province, 66% of such trainees have got jobs.

4. To try every possible means to find jobs for women being laid off and open all possible channels for women's re-employment through the following practical ways : a) Urge enterprises to solve this problem by themselves, for instance, to find some other work more suited to them; b) Help enterprises to run tertiary industries, advocate various methods of business operation; c) Find jobs for redundant women workers through district and neighbourhood communities; d) Arrange them in economic entities run by local women's federations; e) Provide them job opportunities through the labor market; f) Guide them to start private businesses or household enterprises; g) Organize redundant women in forest and mining areas to develop courtyard economy; h) Guide them to contract the land, orchards, forests, farms or small processing factories; i) Assist them in a variety of ways, such as urging urban to help each women to help each other, or urging successful rural women to help urban redundant women workers.

The Fushun Women's Federation organized 103 scientific and technical personnel to serve women going off work and enterprises having suffered great losses, thereby making 2,000 women come back to work again. The Helping District Women's Federation in Shenyang, launched the "one-helping-the-other, hand-in-hand" activity for private household businesswomen and redundant women workers, as a result, 50 businesswomen have formed pairs with 50 women workers going off work. The Beipiao and Kaiyuan women's federations in Shenyang have succeeded in enabling "female number-one scholars" and "capable women" emerging from the "two learning and two competitions" activity* in the rural areas, to form pairs with urban job-waiting women so as to "become wealthy hand-in-hand". The Women's Federation of Hongqiao District in Tianjin Municipality encouraged civilized families to form pairs with destitute households. Now they have got more than 1,000 pairs of "helping-the-poor" and established women's re-employment bases. In the last few years, the Heilongjiang Provincial Women's Federation assisted the government in making 116,000 redundant women workers get re-employed; the Liaoning Women's Federation found jobs for 217,000 women workers, Hubei and Jiangsu provincial women's federations also made proper arrangements for over 100,000 women workers respectively.

Women's federations have made great efforts to push forward the work for women's re-employment. However, what should not be neglected is that women do have their special problems. First, they are the carriers of reproduction. This will certainly put a considerable burden on them. Pregnant mothers should have necessary rest or be given lighter work. After giving birth to babies, mothers have the duty to nurse their children. Besides, they

are traditionally more capable of doing housework. In this connection, husbands and children usually have great expectations of their wives or mothers. Household duties sometimes even become women's work which is somewhat difficult to refuse. Very often wives do more household chores than their husbands, in spite of the fact that most Chinese husbands are bringing up children and doing housework together with their wives. Now on average, women in urban areas spend 3.43 hours a day for cooking, purchasing, washing clothes and etc, while men generally spend 1 hour and a half, a difference of over 2 hours. In rural areas, women spend 4.31 hours, while men, 2.74 hours, again a two-hour difference. It shows women spend more time and make greater efforts for the family than men do; their burden of housework is heavier than men's. Such burden, to a certain extent, affects the economic results of the relevant enterprises, and will undoubtedly affect women's employment. In addition, their husbands and children expect them to create a sweet home of perfect harmony, provided with good services. This forms a strong pulling force making women face a difficult choice between the family and the participation in social development. Solution to this practical problem lies in seeking a new way out. Hence, women of the whole world should find out the best answer to this question through international exchange.

* The "two learnings and two competitions" activity is "to help women acquire knowledge, master modern agricultural technology and to emulate with each other on achievements and contributions".

THE IMPACT OF ANTI-CHILD-PROSTITUTION ON CHILD PROTECTION IN TAIWAN

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Given the rich data of the American child protection, the impact of the women's movement on child protection in the historical context has been carefully examined by some concerned scholars (Yu, 1996). The first wave of the protection movement based on an "individual moral discourse" in the late 19th century constructed child abuse as inadequate parent-child interaction restricted to particular families till the late 20th century. The second wave in the name of "medical discourse", continued the social control perspective based on individual characteristics.

The feminists, regarding child abuse as the demonstration of unequal gender relations within the family power structure, intended to decode the myth of "child abuse as a domain of low SES families", but the expansion of family law in the late 19th century further threatened the women's movement in the west.

Reemerging in the 70's, though viewing motherhood differently from the traditional child welfare academics, feminists disclosed the prevalence of child sexual abuse in the families.

In contrast to the close relation between women's movement and child protection in the U.S., it is not so clear in Taiwan due to the limited history they held. Taking "anti-child-prostitution movement" as an example, this paper intends to examine its impact on child protection, especially child sexual abuse prevention in Taiwan. In order to justify their appealings and to expand the affiliations, the women's groups kept constructing the child-prostitution phenomenon into different public issues and eventually associated it with child sexual abuse. In addition to the interesting observations mentioned above, data from a most recent survey about perceptions of motherhood will also be discussed.

A. THE EMERGENCE OF CONCERNED WOMEN'S GROUPS

At the end of 1985, the Asian Church Women Conference with the theme of "Tourism and Prostitution" was sponsored by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. The survey findings of Hwa-Shi Street conducted by the church workers further pushed the development of "Rainbow Project" by the Presbyterian Church in Feb. 1986. They directed the social concerns toward community education for mountain people and human-trafficking.

The Good Shepherd Center in Hwa-lan County was also originated by church people as a forum group in 1985, and later in 1988 began their tribe visits, parenting education, cultural preservation, and prostitution prevention projects for the mountain people community. The Catholic Good Shepherd also started a branch office in Taiwan in 1987 to provide shelter services for the disadvantaged women.

In early 1987, the Protestant Li-Shin Foundation began with case rehabilitation programs, such as counseling and shelter services for child prostitute victims. They registered as a Youth Welfare agency in 1991, and then joined the Sex Education Association as a member agency. Going through reorganization, planning and campaign personnel were recruited in 1993, since then more social advocacy activities have been engaged by the agency.

In 1987, from a quite different approach, the Women Rescue Association sponsored mainly by some female lawyers, tried to intervene the child prostitution industry through case rescue and legislation advocacy. It turns out that intensive public hearings and media reports did help pass some relative legislations.

As a whole, by 1990 all the above nonprofit women's groups developed their own unique intervention technology either through case counseling, community promotions, or policy advocacy. On January 10, 1987, the parade on Hwa-Shi St. with the theme of "anti-human-trafficking" provided an opportunity to integrate women, mountain people, human rights and church groups. It was regarded as the first demonstration of women's concerns. They followed up with requesting the Law Affairs Ministry to establish an anti-human-trafficking project. The mountain area development policy was also under serious attacks (Ku, 1993).

B. THE TRANSFORMATION OF ISSUES

At the time, the women's groups, viewing child prostitution, prostitution, and Human-trafficking as similar issues, did not emphasize the minor status of the victims. Because of the unproportionate mountain girls involved

in the prostitution industry, the human rights of mountain people was also a concern. Through mobilizing groups affiliated with human rights, women, mountain people, it appealed to social justice and morality (Cheng, 1994: 39-44).

However, the turning point of this movement happened in May 1991, the Rainbow Project, Li-Shin Foundation, Hwa-Lan Good Shepherd together with World Vision of Taiwan and Chinese Children's Fund, etc. 15 agencies in total organized the Association to End Child Prostitution, as the Taiwan branch office of the International Campaign to End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (Shi, 1995). ECPAT regards the child prostitution not only as something to do with women, gender politics, prostitution, or mountain people, but also child abuse — the exploitation of child labor, and both physical and mental damages to child. Therefore, the phenomenon of child prostitution was transformed from gender, racial, social class issues into the sexual abuse of minor, a perfect integration of women issue and child issue, also an overlap of women's movement and child protection.

Although the original intention was to enlarge affiliations, issues from "anti-prostitution" were expanded to "anti-human-trafficking", and "human rights of mountain people", and finally transformed into "anti-child-sexual-exploitation" which involved every concerned citizen. The anti-child-prostitution movement, as the collective power demonstration of the women's groups in Taiwan in the 80's, later develops some intervention strategies which also expand the aspect of social child sexual abuse prevention.

C. A MACRO PERSPECTIVE OF SEXUAL ABUSE PREVENTION

Although services provided by the women's groups at first addressed case counseling, their leaders with urban elite background, were capable of attributing child prostitution phenomenon to macro interpretation, such as the breakdown of socioeconomic system in the mountain areas caused by inadequate policy. The high proportion of mountain child prostitute actually reflected the underlying structural causes. Instead of only focusing on the supply side — the victims rescue, to end the child prostitution should also deal with the demand side — raising the cost and risk of buyers by more strict punishment.

The community projects and legislations advocated by the women's groups also enlarged child abuse prevention aspect (Yu, 1995). There have been critiques about sexual abuse prevention program only addressing children which does not only run the risk of victim blaming but also demonstrate limited effect (Berrick & Gilbert, 1991: 11). More efforts need to be put into changing the underlying social attitude fallacy: child as the

subordinate of parents, female as sexual subject, prostitution as harmless, and sexual crime as uncontrollable. The social promotion activities and community projects innovated by the women's groups in Taiwan directly address the community environmental risk factors, it is undoubtedly a breakthrough of the traditional framework of child sexual abuse prevention which only focuses on the child. After examining the relationship between anti-child-prostitution and child protection through some observable events, let us turn to people's perception of mother's role in child protection.

D. MOTHER AS GUARDING ANGEL OR ABUSER?

After World War I, the impact of women's movement on child protection has decreased in the western countries. The traditional caring role of a woman was reinforced. It was assumed that a mother as the primary care-giver in a family, had more opportunities to interact with a child. A mother was regarded as the child's guardian, therefore she should be responsible for the well-beings of the child. However, there is subtle implication of the above statement — if a child is suffered, it must be the mother's fault. As a matter of fact, research showed that in child abuse cases the child protection service workers tended to regard the mother as the potential abuser, or at least an irresponsible guardian. Accordingly, "neglect" becomes a woman's domain (Gorden, 1988; Swift, 1995). Data from a 1995 survey (Yu, 1996: 50) of all the CPS workers and foster families with child protection cases in Taiwan are deserving our attentions.

Table 1 Opinion regarding Motherhood

STATEMENT		CPS WORKER	FOSTER FAMILY
Mother as the primary child-care provider	Agree	100(50.5)	101(62.0)
	Disagree	98(49.5)	62(38.0)
	Total	198(100)	163(100)
Child abuse happen because of the lack of mother's care	Agree	41(20.7)	91(54.9)
	Disagree	157(79.3)	75(45.1)
	Total	198(100)	166(100)
Child care as a mother's both duty, so an abusing mother is unforgivable	Agree	45(22.7)	124(74.7)
	Disagree	153(77.3)	42(25.3)
	Total	198(100)	166(100)

More than half of the CPS workers and foster families agreed with "mother as the primary child care provider",

this does not necessarily mean "should", could be only their observation of the general reality. However, in terms of attribution of child abuse, about 21% CPS workers and 55% foster families perceived it as the mother's fault. More CPS workers (22.7%) and foster families (74.7%) agreed "Child care as a mother's born duty, so an abusing mother is unforgivable", it clearly reflects the respondents' unreasonable demand for motherhood.

Regarding parenthood, it is easy to carry gender bias even without notice. People tend to think about "mother-child" rather than "father-child". In the traditional society, labor division helped maintain the rigid sex roles. However, nowadays with the prevalence of dual career families, women also need to work outside the family. While people still only regard motherhood as parenthood, ignore the importance of fatherhood. Accordingly, the parenting responsibility belongs to a women's domain.

In the case of "anti-child-prostitution", interesting findings have been observed. Issues from "anti-prostitution" expanded to "anti-human-trafficking" and "human rights of mountain people", and finally transformed into "anti-child-sexual-exploitation" which involved every concerned citizen. The community projects and legislations advocated by the women's groups also enlarged child abuse prevention aspect. Although "child prostitution" provides an overlapping concern shared by women's movement and child protection, does it also signalize "child" issue superior to "women" issue in nowadays Taiwan? The implication of CPS workers' as well as foster families' perceptions of motherhood in Taiwan seems to confirm the author's worries.

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TWDC'S Introduction

Taipei Women's Development Center (TWDC) was established in 1983 by earnest Christians who were concerned about the needs of women, especially those who were in distressful circumstances. It was determined that there was a need for an organization that specifically targeted women who were caught in an unexpected family crisis.

With the encouragement and assistance of members of the National Committee on Self-Development of the People (a committee within the Presbyterian Church, USA), a preparatory committee was formed and in 1984 an executive board was elected.

The three categories of services currently offered by the TWDC are: mental health, skills training and job placement services. As well as, special educational seminars on specific topics such as legal issues.

Mental Health Services

Mental health services include one-on-one counseling. The second type of services is group counseling. Currently, we offer three different kinds of groups that meet on a regular basis. The first is a group for single parents which originally was for women only but has been expanded to include men. A group also exists for children of single parent families. A third group was established for single women. This group assists women in coping with their roles in relation to male dominance in Chinese culture and social change. The last group is what we call a common group. This group is important because it gives people an opportunity to meet others outside their own personal situation.

Skills Training

The second category of services is skill training which includes career planning services. The skills training program consists of the following classes which are conducted on a regular basis.

1. Lotus (accounting)
2. Home Nursing

3. Writing and Editing
4. Word Processing
5. Computer skills
6. hair-styling

Job Placement

This is the last category of services offered by TWDC. A "power bank" has been established to provide a channel between employers who are seeking well qualified applicants and women who are in need of securing employment. This service is especially popular among women who want to find a job when their children have grown up. This program is directly related to the needs of women who are having to support themselves.

Volunteer Team

Volunteers are an essential component of TWDC. Volunteers are individuals who donate their time to work for the agency without payment. The role of the volunteer is to help agency staff with tasks such as preparation of a bulk mailings, purchasing supplies, running errands, and answering the phone as well as direct work with clients. Volunteers are supervised by staff members. The volunteer training program concentrate on direct work with clients, employers, the Job Placement Program and the Home Care Program.

TWDC: Sesame Seed Project

For many years the only single parent families in Taiwan were those created as a result of death or imprisonment. Divorce and separation were not accepted as part of Chinese culture. However, within the last two decades divorce has become legal. In comparison to western culture, the divorce rate is very low. This is due in part to the stigma associated with divorce but, is also due to the fact that the divorce laws severely discriminate against women. Specifically, divorced women do not get custody of the children nor do they receive any property or income. In spite of these conditions the number of divorced women is only now increasing. As a result, it became evident that as the number of single parents increased (resulting from divorce, separation, illness, death and imprisonment) so did the need for services.

The idea for the Sesame Seed Project was first conceived in September, 1991, as a way to provide services to all single parents, including men. A one year campaign was planned (beginning January 1992) to increase existing and develop new services, recognize and award single parents, and raise public awareness about the problems and needs facing single parent families.

This project includes three groups, the first is a counseling group for single parents, this is designed for abandoned, separated, divorced and widowed individuals. This gives parents an opportunity to meet others who are in a similar situation. Parents are able to share their feelings and experiences, through this experience people are able to empower each other.

Awards for Outstanding Single Parents

In May of 1992, we gave out awards for the most outstanding single parents. There was no geographical restriction. Any parent island wide could be nominated so long as they had been single for at least two years and their children were still minors (under age 18).

Nominations for the awards came from pastors, friends, family and from the single parents themselves. A total of 25 nominations were received. And our committee chose 9 families who were each award NT\$1,000 and given a special gift.

Pine Age Centre, TWDC Affiliate

In 1987, the PINE AGE CENTRE was legally registered and established as non-profit organization devoted to the needs of the elderly of Taipei. The Pine Age Center cooperates with Bureau of Social Welfare to offer Home Nursing Training Program and nursing.

The center offers services to the elderly including counseling, home nursing, activities and individual services. The program targets people over 60 years of age as being eligible for services. If the family requesting nursing service is defined "well off", services are provided for a charge. However, for those families who are registered with the government as "low-income", services are provided for free. Partial supplements are also available to families that have lived in Taipei City for at least six months and whose total gross income is lower than 2.5

times the "lowest standard of living".

TAIPEI WOMEN DEVELOPMENT CENTER (TWDC), is a non-governmental women's organization. TWDC INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER is published threetimes a year in an effort to promote information sharing, communication and networking. For more information about TWDC activities, please write, call or visit us at:

TAIPEI WOMEN DEVELOPMENT CENTER
2F, #70, SEC.2, CHANG-AN EAST ROAD
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TEL: 886-2-505-8089
FAX: 886-2-505-8116 (Office Hours Only/Taipei Time)

***Problem discovered**

A lot of problems were found as following during the past year.

1. We came to see from the work that there are a lot of problems in relation to the care of children of families in distress, children's emotional health, their care if mothers have to work for self-support, and the children's abnormal behavior when their mothers were busy with jobs are serious concerns.
2. The housewives often found it difficult to leave for a short time away from their husbands who were disabled or severely injured. How to give them proper care involves many problems. No effective assistance can be expected without a better and more practical program.
3. It can be understood that for economic independence, most women have the ambition to develop a business of their own. But they do not know how to start. They usually lack confidence in their abilities to overcome difficulties.
4. There is confusion of feeling for the couples before divorce, especially for the women in church who always have a feeling of regret or guilt. Therefore, it is worthwhile for the church to study how to deal with these families in distress.

Prospects

Our work shall be oriented toward solution of the problems as

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mentioned above. Therefore, the main jobs for us in 1986 are as following:

1. Strengthening of educational training:
 - 1) Strengthening of various activities to match with the training courses.
 - 2) Founding of typing shop and handicraft shop.
2. Strengthening of service and assistance.
3. Enlistment of more members and volunteers.
4. Strengthening of member activities.
5. More international exchange activities.

All above works shall be based on the goal of emotional rehabilitation and new careers for the women. Therefore, efforts shall be made to improve service to them for the needs of society and for the glory of God.

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The Unpaid Work in Japan

Tokiko Kato (Asian Women's Conference Network)

In Japan, the unpaid work had been considered only as the issue of full-time housewives. It was hard to get the support of housewives working outside, although housework of women and men, voluntary work and family employees' work are included in the unpaid work. After the Fourth World Conference on Women, some moves on the issue of unpaid work, one of the major victories in Beijing, have been observed in Japan. In December of 1995, the Unpaid-Work Caucus of the Beijing JAC (Japan Accountability Caucus), which was formed after Beijing, had meetings with the head of the Office for Gender-Equality in the Prime Minister's Office, and a staff of the Labour Ministry respectively for lobbying. The same month, the symposium on the UNDP "Human Development Report 1995", was held at the UN university in Japan. At that time, Japan's severe situation on gender equality was pointed out. Time spent for the unpaid work by Japanese women is 9 times as more as 2.8 hours a week of men (20.2 in Sweden). Walls for women in public spheres are thick in Japan.

The Council of Gender-Equality discussed various gender issues and announced the arrangements of points at issue towards the 21 century. After that, the Council collected various opinions from NGOs and individuals. According to those opinions, major positive effects of the quantification of the unpaid work are the change of the consciousness of women and men, the promotion of men's participation in homes and communities and the increase of the amount of properties divided at the time of divorce. But some people are afraid it might strengthen the division of sex roles, especially in Japan. Many women also requested the development of a time-use study and a quantification method of the unpaid work, and the collection and dissemination of information of international agencies such as OECD and INSTRAW, and such countries as Canada. We also requested an independent agency for those studies, consisting of specialists of gender-sensitive data, labour and gender issues.

A group criticizing the present tax and pension systems, which treat a full-time housewife well as a spouse of her husband, and insisting individual-based systems, invited Ms. Marilyn Waring, former Diet member of New Zealand and author of "IF WOMEN COUNTED". She, advocate of the inclusion of the unpaid work to the economic data, started the campaign on the national census. In Japan also, there were housewives shocked by the national census of 1995. Persons with no income were categorized as "not working", even if they are too busy caring for her parents. Another group for the study of policies and unpaid work started to publish a newsletter "UNPAID WORK".

In the Economic Planning Agency of the government, the study group on the unpaid work was formed by the request of Ms. Sumiko Shimizu, parliamentary vice-minister, who participated in the Beijing Conference. The group will start to estimate the economic scale of the unpaid work next spring. The unpaid work also relates to the issue of comparable worth (same amount of payment for laours of the same value). Japanese government should implement the ILO Convention No.156 and No.165. Recently, the farmers' pension system has been reformed to allow wives of farmers to enter the system. Now, the public care insurance is to be introduced. NGOs insist to share the responsibilities of the care for children and the elderly among homes, communities and the government, not utilizing the unpaid work and the low-paid work of housewives. We should use the evaluation and quantification of the unpaid work to eliminate the sex-role division. The time-use survey in Japan does not cover enough items. Japan should participate in the study conducted by OECD. The necessity of gender-disaggregated data is clearly stated also in the Agenda of HABITATI held in Istanbul.

THE EUGENIC PROTECTION ACT

Etsuko HORIGUCHI

In Japan criminal law currently stipulates that artificially induced abortion is a criminal offense. This law came into force in 1908. At that time the Imperial Parliament which passed this legislation, consisted exclusively of male members. The criminal law, which can charge women with the crime of abortion was therefore made by men and men only. Even after WWII, the new Diet in which female members are permitted to participate, has maintained the law.

Japanese law, however, lacks consistency in that artificial abortion may legally be performed under a special law, formerly named "The Eugenic Protection Act". The Eugenic Protection Act reflects eugenic thinking that was not only discriminatory but it also violated human rights. Article One of the Act clearly stated the purpose of the law as "to prevent the birth of faulty descendants."

The Eugenic Protection Act stipulates that those with a specified mental disorder or disease (particularly hereditary diseases) are compelled by law to be sterilized. It is a grave problem that haemophilia and leprosy are included in the specified diseases mentioned above.

While the provision does not specifically mention "the surgical removal of the ovaries" as the means of sterilization, it is often interpreted broadly. Consequently, even when the uterus is normal and healthy, a handicapped woman is made to have her uterus removed on the basis that it will assist her during menstruation. This so called "medical" practice seriously violates the rights of women and the handicapped.

The world has witnessed increasing awareness of human rights. Reproductive

health rights were highlighted in the Population and Development Conference in Cairo (1994) and more recently at the Women's Conference in Beijing (1996) in which they were clearly expressed in the action platform. Given this world trend it is evident why Japanese women's groups and handicapped organizations have spoken out to de-criminalize abortion and to abolish the Eugenic Protection Act altogether.

At present the government, led by the Liberal Democratic Party, is considering whether or not to propose an amended version of the Act to the Diet. The amendments are an attempt to eradicate eugenic thinking, which is certainly regarded as a sign of progress. The proposed Act, however, is called the "Maternity Protection Act", and does not address such crucial issues as infertility, the handicapped and paternity rights. It therefore, leaves much room for further discussion and debate.

1. Process of amendment

The government has recently accepted a petition from The Organization of Families of Persons with Mental Disorders seeking an amendment to the Eugenic Protection Act. The proposed amendments delete all discriminatory stipulations regarding hereditary disease and the handicapped. The government, however, has left untouched the section dealing with maternity issues such as artificially induced abortion.

The bill or the amended act, renamed the "Mother's Body Protection Act", was passed on June 18 with unusual speed and without much discussion: it was in the House of Representatives for one day, and

in the House of Councilors for two days. The House of Councilors managed to include in the law some views of reproductive health rights advocates as a supplemental resolution.

2. Future considerations

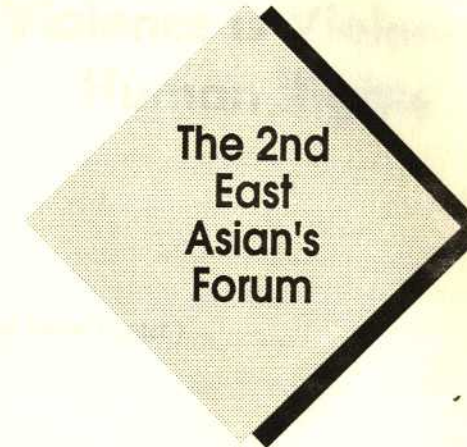
We must pursue further amendments to the Act; specifically based upon reproductive health rights, and the inclusion of a woman's right to decide for herself to receive a safe and lawful abortion. We seek the abolition of the section that requires spousal agreement before women can legally have an abortion. Consequently the de-criminalization of abortion must be sought as well.

Also the name of the amended Act (the Mother's Body Protection Act) seems to make light of responsibilities on men's part,

which were expressed in the Cairo action platform. The name clearly contradicts the content of the Act which stipulates not only female but also male sterilization. The term "Mother's Body" must be changed to something that reflects the content of the Act.

Lastly the fetus clause (which enables the woman to have a legal abortion if the fetus is found to be abnormal) needs to be treated carefully. The law should simply guarantee women freedom to decide whether or not to have a baby, regardless of the condition of the fetus.

As discussed in the Cairo Conference, femininity is to be defined to cover puberty and menopause as well. The law must ensure women's reproductive health rights during the total life span and in every aspect of it.



Workshop 5

Violence Against Women

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Sexual Violence is Violence against Human Rights

Choi Young-Ae

Director, Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center)

I. Overview

Our social concern about the problem of sexual violence was changed to hot public discussion by a series of incidents that happened in the middle of 1980s. Some of the most famous cases included a case where a college coed was sexually tortured by the police during interrogation for her alleged involvement in the democratization movement, a case where a woman cut off a man's tongue in the midst of impending danger of group rape and was arrested for the charge of over-defence, a case where a woman working in the entertainment business was gang raped by the police and was indicted for false accusation charge, etc.. These incidents aroused a great social concern and interest in the matter of sexual violence in Korea. Up until then the matter of sexual violence had been hidden or covered-up. It was thought to be a personal matter that can happen only to problematic men and women. The number of occurrences of sexual violence was not thought to be high enough to cause social concern.

However, through the efforts of various Women NGO organizations that counsel and support victims of sexual violence, the sexual violence is now beginning to be considered as a social crime, namely, a crime that has origin in the society itself, not in an individual. Those organizations published many reports that revealed the reality and statistics of sexual violence in Korea. They argued that a proper and urgent action must be taken to handle the matter of sexual violence in Korea. Their demand obtained support from the public and their efforts finally led to the enactment of a special law on sexual violence. In spite of these efforts, there seem to be a lot of obstacles ahead in the path toward a society free of sexual violence because Korean society is basically a male-centered, patriarchal society. Hence there's a need for more systematic and many-faced consolidated efforts by the Women's NGO's.

A. The present situation and the cause of sexual violence

1. The present situation

The rate of sexual violence occurrences is the second highest in the world. This is based on the official statistics provided by the international criminal justice organization. The rate of report of sexual violence to the police is estimated to be only 2 % in Korea, while that in the developed countries is 30 - 40 %. Even though the statistics may not have included data from all countries in the world, clearly the rate in Korea is very near the top in the world.

The characteristics of sexual violence in Korea can be summarized by the fact that 95 % of the victims are women (assaulters are mostly men), 30 % of those victims are children under 13 (50 % are under 19), 70 % of the assaulters are acquaintances, the assaulters' age range from teens to seventies, no special correlations with intellectual

ability or social status. There were not many people with mental disease or habitual law breakers among the assaulters. Most attackers were normal, ordinary people. Their sexual crimes have mostly been done without acute consciousness of guilty feelings. These facts convincingly show that the number one cause of stress for Korean women is the danger of sexual violence.

2. Causes

The fundamental cause that keeps up the high rate of occurrences of sexual violence in Korea is traditional Confucianistic concept of sex and misconceptions about rape formed by the dual norm for sexuality and also the misconceptions about the chastity. According to the Confucianistic sexuality concept, sex is just for birth of decedents, and women's sex exist only for that purpose, while men's sex is given relative freedom. This kind of sexuality concept led to the misconception that men's sex is uncontrollable, while women's sex is like a glassware, which once broken there can be no repair, thus resulting in the prevalent men-centered sexuality culture. Because of these wrong concepts on sexuality many people still believe that sexual violence occurs accidentally by the uncontrollable male sexuality. They don't consider sexual violence as the one-sided violent crime committed by men against women infringing totally upon personality and body. Instead they consider it as a kind of sexual act. Because of this, the victims are considered as having lost chastity. Moreover these misled norm and consciousness are applied to the legal process dealing with sexual violence case and the personal rights of victims are not protected appropriately. This is why the rape report rate is only 2 % in Korea and the sexual violence cases keep on rising.

B. Evaluations of Strategy for Women's Development (Nairobi) and Actions To Be Taken adopted at the 4th World Women's Conference

These included various mandatory actions and measures to be taken by each member country in the matter of prevention and eradication of sexual violence. Law enactment, education and voluntary help activities, support activities for the victims, etc. are some of the suggested actions. However, the Korean government has shown very limited effort on this matter. Some of its efforts included financial support of several NGO's since 1995 based upon the newly enacted special law on sexual violence, publication of a booklet on sexual violence prevention, etc. We think that this is not enough. Many women's NGO's have asked the government for more active role in the matter of sexual violence but the response has not been positive.

II. Activities of Women's NGOs

Women's lower economic, social and cultural status in Korea and the consequent violence against women such as wife battery, sexual assault, prostitution, trafficking in women and wartime sexual slavery were the main subjects of the women's NGOs concerned for the women's human rights. Their activities can be summarized into four categories: research and survey on the reality, assistance to the victims, legislation or legal reforms, and advocacy. In case of rape, in particular, activities of all the four categories were systematically carried out and women's NGO were successful in making the problem of sexual violence as social issues. As a result, new law on sexual violence was made.

A. Research and Survey on the Realities of Violence Against Women

Statistical analysis of sexual violence cases is very important and very useful in assessing the current situation and find strategies for the problem solving.

The social bias and lack of data prompted women's NGOs to carry out a concrete research on the realities of violence against women. Spearheaded by Korea Women's Hot Line founded in 1983, research on domestic violence revealed the realities of violence against women in the family. The realities of much hidden rape and sexual assault were exposed by researches primarily of the Korean Sexual Violence Relief Center. The exposed realities of violence against women brought changes in social recognition that wife battery or rape was not a private matter between man and woman but a social issue, providing the necessity for legislation. One of the Women NGO's (Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center) analyzed their data and reported, for example, some of the most important findings concerning sexual violence in Korea. For example, it was found that 70 % of the

assailants were acquaintances, victims under 13 accounted for 30 %. These results have provided a basis for the change of misconcepts about sexual violence and have convinced people that sexual violence is of social nature and can be cured only by the joint efforts of all members of our society.

B. Assistance to the Victims

Women's NGOs provide various forms of support and assistance to the victims of violence against women. Nationally about 20 organizations provide counselling and shelter, and their expanded activities included formation of self-help groups as well of medical specialists, provision of free legal advice and petition to the judges. The Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center (KSVRC) counselled about 4000 cases since its establishment in 1991. Besides KSVRC, the Korea Women's Hot Line and other NGO's have offered help to many sexual violence victims. With the help of these efforts, many legal cases are being won that would have been lost if the help had not been available. Several shelters for those victims who need in-depth counselling or who have no place to go to escape the danger of recurring sexual violence have been established. These shelters currently provide shelter for 1 to 3 months only. We need shelters that can be provided for longer period of time.

C. Legislation and Legal Reforms

One of the efforts by the women's human rights movement during the past 10 years was revision of discriminatory laws and new legislation cannot be the ultimate answer to the issue of violence against women, the present criminal and civil codes related to violence against women are far from satisfactory in protecting the rights of the victims of violence. The laws not only reflect the male bias and discriminatory view on women but maintain and strengthen them.

1. Legislation of the Special Law on Sexual Violence

The laws have defined rape as a crime against chastity and hence divided women's chastity into two categories - one which deserve protection and the other which does not. Therefore, whether or not the raped woman resisted or the sexual history of the victim was the important basis of court decision. The laws neither allowed people to file a suit against their parents, leaving the incest victims with no means to protect their rights.

Their legislation movement, initially started by Korea Women's Hot Line in 1990 and soon joined by three other organizations to form the Committee for Legislation on Gender Violence, was expanded to 13 organizations and reformulated as the Special Committee for Legislation under the Korea Women's Associations United. The earliest draft of the bill on gender violence attempted to include wife battery, which was dropped in the process of

drafting. The women's draft emphasized protection of and assistance to the victims, which rape was defined as an act against the free will of the raped. After a full two-year nationwide campaign by the women's movement, the National Assembly passed a bill, Sexual Assault Crimes Punishment and Prevention Act, which was proposed by the government party and hence far from satisfactory. It became effective as of April 1, 1994.

2. Movement for the revision of special law on sexual violence

Even though it is only 2 years since the special law on sexual violence was enacted, many problems are already coming to surface due to its inherent limitations. At the time of enactment of the law many NGO's proposed that the law should consider the sexual violence as a crime that inflicts on the sexual self-determining right of a victim and also that the clause in which only the defendant herself can make a lawsuit should be abolished totally. These proposals were not accepted at the time of enactment. Also, current special law does not include step-father in the category of intimate relatives. These facts have led the women's NGO's to participate actively in the movement for the revision of sexual violence law.

D Activities for changing public misconceptions

1. Publicizing the cases involving the sexual violence against women.

Kim Bunam case where a woman killed a sexual assaulter after 21 years since the rape incident, Kim Boen case where a girl killed her step-father who had raped her for 14 years, sexual harassment case of Seoul National University are some of the cases which women NGO's have worked together to get public attention on the cases and make them social issues. In order to deal with these cases effectively, the women's NGO's formed a task committee, staged demonstrations, held public hearings, gathered signatures from the general public, helped form a joint group of defense lawyers, etc.

These efforts have been very effective as our strategy because they helped change the general public's concepts on sexuality and sexual violence. Recently, a case where the principal of a middle school have sexually harassed girl students has become an issue and a committee, including many women NGO members, has been formed to deal with this matter.

2. Public relations, education activities

The women's NGO's have put up much efforts on the education of the general public and public relations activities. They analyzed the current situation and let the mass media report it so that the general public knows

about the hard fact and understand the grave reality of the sexual violence. They published many booklets and pamphlets containing the relevant materials on the sexual violence, thereby helping the public recognize the matter of sexual violence as a matter of human rights of women.

III Future Directions and Action Strategies

A. Directions

We have three major directions:

1. Better support of rape victims (widths enlarged and quality improved)
2. Preparation of institutional and legal apparatus for the prevention and eradication of sexual violence
3. Activities for propagating correct concept of sexuality and healthy sexual culture

B. Strategies

1. Shelters for Victims of Violence Against Women

Many victims of violence face an emergency situation, but the number of shelters are far from sufficient. There are many women who even don't know the existence of the shelters and continue to be the victims of violence. The victims need special care and treatment for physical and psychological recovery. The government should provide financial support to the NGOs in the operation of the shelters.

2. Gender Sensitivity Training for the Judiciary on Violence Against Women

The first place a victim of violence would turn to ask for help for protection and punishment must be the police. When actually seeking help, however, the victims are doubly or triply hurt by the male-centered attitude of the police, who suspect and harass the victims. Gender sensitivity training should be institutionalized for the police, prosecutors and judges.

3. Implementation of the Comprehensive measures by the Government to Eliminate Violence Against Women

In 1992, the Korea Government announced comprehensive measures against violence against women, which included strengthened sex education in schools on all levels, provision of temporary shelters for the victims, encouragement of establishment of counselling centers at workplaces with over 100 employees, strengthened control of videos, movies and publications, expansion of women's counselling centers within the police stations, and support for women's organizations working on elimination of violence against women. Women's organizations should monitor the implementation of these measures.

4. Cultivation of Desirable Culture on Sexuality

(1) Expansion of Sex Education

Sex role stereotyping in a discriminatory society makes woman an easy target of violence. Early sex education on sexual harassment at the workplace should also be institutionalized. Women's organizations need to develop and disseminate sex education programs and train the sex educators. To establish sex education programs as regular courses in schools and workplaces, women's organizations should put more pressure on related government organs for institutionalization.

(2) Strengthening Control on the Entertainment Industry and Pornography

Pornographic materials and the corruptive entertainment establishments increasingly commercialize women as sex objects, and hence encourage violence against women. With the development of the technology in information and publication, the destructive power is ever more felt. Continuous monitoring by the NGOs as well as putting more pressure on the government for strengthened control punishment are essential.

5. Alliance Building among Organizations on Local and National Levels

Violence against women occurs at any place and any time, but social recognition and social support system are still lacking. In addition to the activities of each organization, the NGOs need to consolidate the regional and national networks according to the issues or locality for information sharing and strengthening of the force of the women's movement.

6. Expansion of Social Awareness on Women's Human Rights

Many issues in Korea are still not recognized as women's human rights issues. Prenatal examination and

subsequent abortion of female fetus, violence against migrant women workers and the problems of women with disability are all human rights issues. Women's human rights movement should incorporate these issues.

7. Use of mass media : asking the TV stations to air special programs on the prevention and eradication of sexual violence, asking them to develop and produce useful programs, asking them to air special public interest commercial, These efforts will help to change public misconceptions on sexuality and sexual violence.

8. Need to help in various ways working women from China, and other countries who are victims of sexual violence.

PROSTITUTION AND TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

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Shelter for sexually exploited and abused women.

PROSTITUTION AND TRAFFICKING IN WOMEN

As in so many other countries prostitution in Korea is a growing problem with devastating effects on all those involved, and society in general. It is a phenomenon particularly degrading for women and causing them untold suffering. It involves inhuman behavior on the part of the men and generally commercializes that most precious of human gifts; the capacity to relate sexually. Trafficking in women is an integral part of the prostitution network which enslaves women and makes them into commodities to be bought and sold.

What is prostitution? The Dictionary states that a prostitute is a person who offers herself/himself for sexual intercourse for payment. The Korean words are 판 =selling spring, 춘 Prostitute and 낙 fallen woman. In all these definitions, women, or the persons selling their bodies are the focus. This is a very one-sided view of prostitution which in fact takes place between two human beings, usually a man and a woman. Though prostitution does take place between persons of the same sex this paper only addresses the former. In an effort to correct this one-sided-view of prostitution the word "Buying and selling spring" is used by women's groups in Korea. A more comprehensive definition might be, "Prostitution is a situation where a person buys the temporary use of the body of another person to satisfy the sexual desires of the buyer". For the purposes of this paper, that means a man buys the temporary use of a woman's body to satisfy his sexual desire.

Prostitution is not engaged in for the sexual pleasure of the woman. From her experience it is unwanted sex. She may offer her body, but the element of free choice on her part is often severely reduced. One young woman, a victim of rape who as a result entered prostitution, said "The only difference between rape and prostitution is that in prostitution you get paid for it". Many women say they learn to distance themselves from what is being done to

them, to separate their minds from their bodies while the customer is having sex. This turning off, this separation, may help her to cope at the time, but it may destroy her ability to relate satisfactorily when she does try to enter a real relationship. When a man rapes a woman, he does not take any account of her feelings. He has power over the victim in virtue of his physical strength etc. In prostitution the woman's needs and her desires are not usually given any consideration. He has economic power over her, he has bought the right to do what he likes to this woman. In the International Experts on Sexual Exploitation of Human Beings and International Action held in Seoul in preparation for the Beijing Conference, Susan Kay Hunter, (Execution Director council for Prostitution Alternatives, U.S.A.), speaking of the relationship in the prostitution situation says "He does not have to treat her like a human being because she is an object to be masturbated on and in". These words may seem harsh and embarrassing. But prostitution is a harsh reality. It is difficult to explain or to understand the magnitude of its degrading and crushing intent to defeat and consume women and children. And this cruelty is committed by men we know and respect, men who may be the father of our children, but men who have economic advantage. Yet the tendency is to blame the woman. Prostitution is an act of violence against women and we will only be able to begin to find some remedy when we see it for what it is.

The Beijing Conference Declaration, Art.No.II3 states "Violence against women means any act of gender based violence that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether occurring in public or private life". When the declaration goes on to spell this out in detail, only two categories of women in prostitution are included: trafficking in women and forced prostitution. I see prostitution in Korea as violence against women. Why? I believe it scars them culturally, socially, physically and emotionally. Strong parallels can be drawn between the situation of women in prostitution and victims of spacial abuse. Domestic violence is a situation of dominance and control. The woman has very little freedom. This violent control helps the man to feel powerful. They often mistrust their wives and think they are running after other men. They see them as property to be controlled and maybe even destroyed. In prostitution a woman is controlled by the customer and pimp alike. The only time she is not under control is when she is with the customer or police. Beatings and rape are frequent experiences of women in prostitution as in the case of spouse abuse.

One young girl I know worked in various Coffee Shops since she was 14 years old. I met her when she was 18 years old. She told me with uncontrollable sobs that during that time she was raped 5 times. Later we were looking at an exhibition of paintings by former "Comfort Women" who had been forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese. One picture was of a young naked girl on a mountain under a tree. It brought back all the memories of one of her experiences. As she was looking at it she about the time a man dragged her up a mountain and raped her because she refused to have sex with him. She said she thought she was going to die. Because she was working in a Coffee Shop, usually associated with prostitution, men seemed to think they had a right to rape her. Probably in any country in the world it would be difficult to get a guilty verdict in the case of a man accused of

raping a prostituted woman.

Rather than prostitution, sexual exploitation seems to be a more inclusive word which would help to focus more on the overall situation. It points to the customer who exploits the woman's sex, the woman who exploits her own sex and also the pimps, brothel owners and all those who make money through the prostitution of women.

The Situation in Korea

Unofficial figures estimate that there are about one million women engaged in some level of prostitution. This includes those who engage in prostitution occasionally as well as on a regular basis. It is an unbelievable number in a country of 43 million, and a cause of grave concern. There are no estimates of the number of men who sexually exploit these women.

The types of prostitution in Korea includes brothels, clubs (particularly around U.S. army bases), sex tourism, often called Kisaeng (originally comparable to the Japanese geisha), prostitution associated with Coffee Shops, Saloons, Motels, Stand bars, Barber shops, Turkish baths, call girls etc. Prostitution can be better understood when seen in the cultural, social and economic situation of the country. It is linked to the economic situation of the woman and the cultural differences accorded to the sexes. It is also linked to Foreign policy as is seen in the prostitution around the U.S. military bases where some clubs are for foreigners only. Tourism which in so many cases is covertly sex tourism is used to earn foreign currency for the government.

A recent study in Korea highlights the one-sided attitude which puts the blame for prostitution on the sexually exploited woman.

"Only women are blamed for the existence and perpetuation of prostitution yet society is also at fault. In actuality the prostitution industry is driven by two interacting forces, the agents of prostitution who may profit (male customers and pimps) and the social environment." ___ "Among the participants prostitutes are the only group strongly controlled by social policy. It seems that other agents, such as male customers and mediator (of prostitution and the environment enabling prostitution) are particularly unaffected by policy. The mediators, virtually free from punishment encourage the prostitutes to resume their illegal activities. The legal system is supposed to control and prevent illegal behaviors, but instead it perpetuates the system. As a result once women become prostituted, it is very difficult for them to get out which is ironically the goal of both policy and control and reinforcement." ___ "Significantly, society is reinforcing the sale and purchase of sex. Entry into prostitution is becoming easier due to the mediators (pimps etc.) And the changing popular culture (the influence of pleasure seeking attitudes)" ___ "Not only are prostitutes the major subject of public policy, but they are also the most stigmatized and deprived group in the system of prostitution." A Study on Support for Social Rehabilitation of Prostitutes by Park Jung-eun, Fellow, KWID, Published by Korean Women's Development Institute.