

# Gender inequality in the workforce: reviewing gender differentiation in Korean tradition as a power\*

노동에서의 성불평등: 전통 속의 성차별을 권력으로 재고찰하기

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## 〈Abstract〉

Gender equality has been expected to realize fully in the process of globalization. According to neo-liberal, which views globalization as a rational development, irrational discrimination by culture will disappear. But some feminists criticize globalization as a patriarchal phenomenon. So in this paper, the extent to which women in Korea have achieved equality with men in the workforce is assessed through an examination of the gender gap during 1993-2003. As the result, it was found that women had still lower status than men in spite of laws established to promote gender equality. Then to explore the direction for eliminating the patriarchal gaps, women in traditional Korea were reviewed. Traditionally women were oppressed by the practice of Naeoe differentiating between women and men. But on the other

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hand it made women to have equal status with men by maintaining their own productive area. So it was suggested that differentiation should be considered as a source of power to be adopted into women's activism such as NGOs or international women' movement to achieve full equality in inequitable globalization.

Key Words : Gender inequality(성불평등), Women in the workforce(여성노동), Gender differentiation(성차별), Globalization(세계화), Tradition(전통)

## I. Introduction

Gender equality tends to be emphasized as the processes of globalization have intensified. Globalization has expanded all over the world since the mid-1980s (Kim Koanho, 2003). The awareness of gender equality in Korea has heightened since the law to protect the equal opportunities and rights in the workforce was established in 1987. In 1995, the law for women's development to enforce the gender equality and to enhance the development of women was enacted. Gender equality, according to the definition of U. N (2005), refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys. It can be said that opportunities and rights of women and men came to be equal in globalization.

Neo-liberals on which globalization is based tend to view globalization as a development which is rational, positive and efficient (Bishop, 2005). In the viewpoint of neo-liberals, gender discrimination by culture can be considered irrational and inefficient. For the sake of maximizing economic efficiency, it is demanded to eliminate the gender discrimination and to ensure gender equality. Gender equality might be expected to realize in the era of globalization.

However, the feminist critique points out that

women are increasingly coming to occupy unstable or lower status jobs in the labor market. Bishop (2005) contends that some feminists regard the effects of globalization on women as patriarchal. Empirical evidences of some countries show that women are still experiencing discrimination in labor market. Marchand and Runyon (2000) see the dual impact of globalization which they describe as 'a determining process that reinforces patriarchal relations but may also empower women as gender regimes change'.

This article will assess the extent to which women have achieved equality with men in the workforce through an examination of the gender gap in Korea. And an exploration of directions by which women might achieve full equality will be provided through an investigation of Korean tradition differentiating the women's sphere from that of men according to patriarchal practice.

Traditionally women in Korea led lives separated from men according to the practice of Naeoe that was the basis for differentiating between women and men. Patriarchy demanded the obedience of women and specifically the practice of Naeoe was used to limit women's activities to the home. Women had unequal opportunities, rights and responsibilities in economic or legal activities.

But in spite of these constraints, women did not really have a lower status than men. Women had respect within the family and it can also be said that husbands were even afraid of wives. One of the reasons why women were held in respect can be found in the economic role of women. They played an important role in the sustenance of the household as well as the nation with productive tasks such as weaving. Cloth contributed to the national economy as payment for taxes and as a currency, as well as to the household economy for subsistence needs. Without women's work, household and nation could not have been maintained, so the labor value of women was not evaluated lower than that of men. Taking this into consideration, the status of women was not as low as might be inferred if one only analyzed legal and political structures.

The traditional woman, in contrast to the women in globalization, maintained her own area of production separated from that of men by the practice of differentiating women and men. With their own productive work, women received respect as much as men regardless of the patriarchal oppression and many constraints placed upon them regarding social and economic opportunities and rights. Gender differentiation enforced patriarchy, but on the other hand it was used as a way to empower women.

This historical contrast permits an assessment of the dispute as to whether or not the processes of globalization encourage gender equality. In this paper, contemporary gender gap in Korea will be more precisely examined using the data for the recent ten years from 1993 to 2003, which is the period during which the concept of globalization gained attention. It will show the current

tendencies towards equality and the remaining effects of patriarchal culture. And the traditional productive work of Korean women will be more precisely illustrated using literature and paintings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This will provide insight as to how gender differentiation should be considered in order to eliminate the gender gap in globalization.

## II. Theoretical background

Globalization may be described as the increase in movement across national borders of some combination of goods and services, and factors of production including financial capital, technology and labor, as the result of the development of communications, transnational corporations, and advances in information and competition (UN, 1999; Ohmae, 1995).

Neo-liberals view globalization as the triumph of individual autonomy over state power, a development which is rational, positive and efficient, benefiting all through comparative advantage (Bishop, 2005). In the viewpoint of neo-liberals, gender discrimination not by personal productivity but by culture can be considered irrational and inefficient. However globalization itself has a gender-neutral characteristic and a less regulated labor market is regarded to reflect more accurate productivity of workers (Bishop, 2005), so it might not be optimistic to expect it to lead to gender equality.

Feminists criticize the impact of globalization on women as masculine. The rational economic actors in neo-classical economics, which underlie neo-liberalism, are conceived of as a particular

subset of humans in a particular context like elite males in modern Europe (Peterson, forthcoming; cited in Bishop, 2005, p. 39). Feminists argue that neo-liberal economics has seen global restructuring as a powerful and masculine phenomenon and has regarded a patriarchal order as a natural phenomenon (Bishop, 2005). And they contend that the neo-liberal viewpoint is challenged by the disadvantages of segregation by gender, ethnicity and nationality on empirical grounds.

One of the empirical evidences of gender segregation can be found in the wage gap. Even in the United States, although women have made a great deal of economic progress, their wages continue to lag behind men's. Women's annual earnings, relative to men's, remain substantially below parity (IWPR, 2005). In 2004, women who worked full-time year round earned only 76.5 percent as much as men. The median annual earnings for women working full-time year-round were \$31,223 while those for men with a similar work effort were \$40,798.

According to research by the U. S. general accounting office (2003), approximately 45 percent of the wage gap for the period from 1983 to 2000, between men and women, could not be explained by the combined effect of differences in human capital, work hours, industry and occupation, and unionization. Caiazza et al. (2004) point out that this finding suggests that sex discrimination continues to play a role in holding down women's earnings.

Fortunately the wage gap has been narrowing, but there are negative trends as well. The liberalization of trade makes women with relatively lower wages an attraction in international

competition (UNRISD, 2005). Globalization based on efficiency and rationality requires gender equality, but on the other hand globalization encourage the gender inequality because it prefers women occupying lower status occupations to men.

Furthermore globalization is characterized by increasingly mobile capital flows that in turn demand an increasingly flexible labor force. Globalization provides women with new employment opportunities and improves women's access to paid work resulting in employment by multinational enterprises. However, Women, who typically compose the non-regular or flexible labor market, find it even more difficult to compete for the ever fewer stable jobs.

According to OECD data on the United States, the percentages of women's part time employment as a proportion of total employment was 20.2 in 1990 and 18.8 in 2003 while for men the figures were 8.6 in 1990 and 8.0 in 2003. As men's work is also taking on the pattern described above for women's work, this phenomenon is being called the feminization of waged work, but it remains more prevalent among women than among men (Bishop, 2005).

A less regulated labor market can more easily reflect the productivity of individual workers, however with the neo-liberal demand for a decrease or elimination of government regulations, patriarchal cultural factors, according to feminists, also play a role in the level of gender inequality in wages. In fact, market-oriented economies tend to encourage a wider wage gap based on gender (Bishop, 2005).

The other evidence that globalization has masculinity can be seen in the proportion of women in high wage jobs. There has been

increase of women's employment in traditionally male jobs of relatively higher wages such as management or high tech industry. But in general the proportion of women in high wage jobs has been less than that of men.

The increase of involvement in waged labor has not meant that women have opportunities for equivalent career progression. Most of women's jobs have been concentrated in relatively lower wage jobs such as service work. Women are getting more work in the service sector as well as the flexible workplace. Even in the United States, women are still employed in traditionally female professions such as nursing, teaching and secretarial work referred to as pink-collar jobs (AAUWEF, 2005).

Transformationalists such as Scholte (2000) explain globalization as a continuing process rather than a fully institutionalized situation. According to the World economic forum (2005), which assessed the current size of the gender gap by measuring the extent to which women in 58 countries have achieved equality, no country has yet managed to eliminate the gender gap. If the assumption of transformationalists is accepted, it could take more time to get gender equality along with globalization. But even if there is sufficient time for globalization, achieving gender equality will not be an easy process.

Momsen (1991) asserts that development has not brought greater freedom for women due to the double burden of both reproductive and productive tasks. Women in globalization also work both at home and in the labor market. Women are more apt to find their work in a flexible workplace of low waged service sector than men through the feminization of waged

work. Although the labor conditions of women are different from those of men, women have to compete with men in one labor market disregarding the gender differences.

The United Nations (2006) defined that equality does not mean that women and men must be the same. The gender difference has been an interest of social and psychological researchers, such as Tannen (2001) and Gray (2004). They claim that differences can be found among women and men in many aspects such as in needs, preferences, and language.

Confucianism in patriarchal tradition defined the conjugal relationship on the basis of differences. Difference may make it more difficult to get equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities in a work place with reward structures based on patriarchal perceptions (Lee, Bae-Young, 1995; Ewha Women's University, 1984). However, difference can also be used as a source of power. According to the research of Kim, Sunghee (2001), women in tradition was not in low status due to the productive work, which was performed exclusively by women differentiated by the practice of Naeoe.

Gender differentiation as a power has not been the object of research, only but it has been considered as a factor of oppression. The case of the Korean woman in traditional society will provide an insight into its importance to solve the problem of gender inequality.

### III. Research method

To examine the extent to which women in Korea have achieved equality with men in the

workforce from 1993 to 2003, the concept of gender gap is used as in the research of Kim Sunghee (2006). The gender gap is defined as the unequal opportunities between women and men. It is calculated by creating a ratio of women's share as a proportion of men's, that of men equaling 100.0. A ratio, which is less than 100.0, means that the women's proportion is less than men's.

Statistical data are drawn from Korean National Statistical Office. To assess the effect of globalization on gender equality, it is demanded to make precise statistical analyses. But globalization is a very complex and much disputed phenomenon, it is difficult to extract the major effect on women. So in this paper, general tendencies will be used to flesh out the effects of globalization.

To investigate the Korean tradition of differentiating between women and men in productive work, a review of literature is used. The explanations from literature are supplemented by paintings drawn by Kim Hongdo and Sin Younbok from the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The traditional period in Korea is defined as before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when women's own productive labor, weaving in the home, was transferred to the public sphere as textile factories were established in the industrial revolution. Especially the focus of research is put on the period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when women still performed their own productive work indoors and artists started to paint pictures of women (Lee Taeho, 2000).

In traditional society, to separate the productive work from reproductive work is difficult because

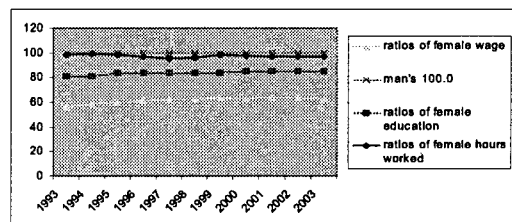
both were undertaken in the home for family and the surplus was bartered in the market or paid as taxes. However, Women whatever their class was, spent most of their time producing clothe for the sustenance of the household or for the payment of taxes, so in this paper weaving will be seen as productive work generating exchange value. It is supposed that the women in tradition played a major role in the workforce with men.

#### IV. Gender gap in globalization

##### 1. Gender gap in wages

Employment of women in the waged labor market has increased with the expansion of capitalist production along with the attainment of education. Female economic activity rates over the decade from 1993 to 2003 increased from 47.1 percent to 48.9 percent while the rates for men decreased slightly from 75.7 to 74.8 (Korean national statistical office, 2005). The ratios of female economic activity to man's 100.0 have increased from 62.2 to 65.5. The gender gaps in economic activity have become smaller, but the wages of women are still less than those of men.

(Figure 1) Ratios of male and female wages, hours worked and educational attainment, 1993-2003



Data source: Korean national statistical office, KOSIS

<Figure 1> shows that the ratios of female wages per man's 100.0 have changed from 56.2 in 1993 to 62.9 in 2003. The gaps in wages have decreased but the wages of women are still only less than two-thirds of men's wages. Even women, who educated in college or university, earned only an average of 71.8 percent of the wages of their male counterparts in 2003 (Korean national statistical office).

On the other hand, the gaps in educational attainment between women and men have not been as large as that of wages. The ratios of female educational attainment per man's 100.0 went from 81.1 in 1990 to 85.2 in 2000. And the ratios of female hours worked in all industries compared to man's work hours has declined from 98.8 in 1993 to 97.0 in 2003, which demonstrate that there has been little change in the gender gaps.

According to neo-liberals, wages are determined by efficiency and rationality in the labor market. Generally education is thought to be a critical factor affecting the quality of labor and the hours worked are regarded as a factor related to quantity of labor. In 2003, the gap in educational attainment was 14.8 and that in hours worked was 3.0, but that in wages was 37.1. Research by the U.S. general accounting office (2003), suggests that approximately half of the wage gap between men and women could not be explained by the effect of economic factors. It seems likely that the wage gap in Korea might be partly explained by factors related to economic efficiency as well.

According to feminist critiques, it seems that globalization has implicitly been led by males and constructed on patriarchy despite its emphasis on

rationality and efficiency. One of the reasons why the wage gap continues despite the numerous inspiring efforts and successes in law to change discriminatory practices can be derived from this.

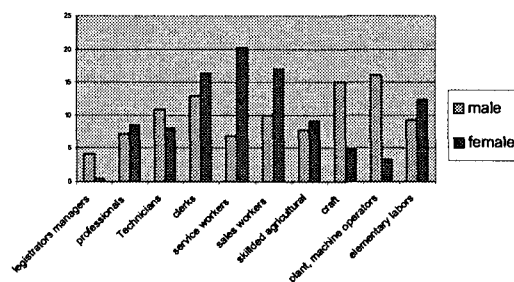
## 2. Gender gap in occupations

Globalization can provide women with new diverse employment opportunities in the processes of the liberalization of trade and the foreign investment by multinational enterprises. And women have equal opportunities in every occupation, so it is expected that the traditional gender gap in occupations will be disappeared and the occupations of women and men will be distributed evenly.

But according to the data of Korean national statistical office in 2003, women and men were distributed differently across occupations as they were in. <Figure 2> shows the distribution of women's occupations is more uneven than that of men's.

The occupation predominantly held by women was still the traditional female job, 'service workers,' while the occupation predominantly held by men was 'plant, machine operators and

<Figure 2> Distribution of male and female occupations in 2003



Data source: Korean national statistical office, KOSIS

assemblers'. Women workers were predominantly in services such as caring for people or providing for amenities with 20.3 percent of all women workers in this sector with the next highest female sector being retail with 16.9 percent. The third group was in office work such as secretarial services with 16.4 percent. 'Elementary unskilled occupations' ranked next with 12.3 percent. The lowest proportion of women workers was in 'legislators, high-level officials and managers' with 0.4 percent.

Men had the highest percentage in the category of 'plant, machine operators and assemblers' with 16.0 percent. The second highest proportion in occupational groups was in 'craft and related trades workers' with 15.1 percent, and the third was in office work with 12.9 percent. The lowest proportion was in 'legislators, high-level officials and managers' with 4.1 percent. Although this last category has the lowest percent, it is much higher than that of women.

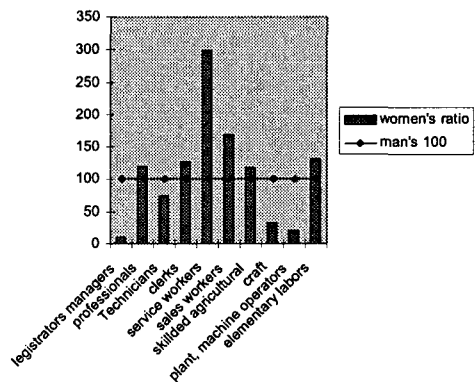
The occupations dominated by men tend to be paid more than those of women. The highest-paid occupation in 2003 was that of 'legislators, high-level officials and managers'. The next highest paid occupation was 'professionals'. The group of 'Technicians & associate professionals' was next. 'Clerks', 'plant, machine operators & assemblers', and 'skilled agricultural forestry & fishery workers' followed. 'sales workers' and 'service workers' were lower-paid jobs. The lowest paid occupation was 'elementary laborers'.

The gender gap among occupations appears conspicuously in <figure 3> showing the ratios of women's proportion to men's. The ratio of 'elementary laborers', which was the lowest waged job, was 132.3, and that of 'service

workers', which was the next lowest waged job, was 298.5. The ratio of 'sales workers' was 169.0. In most lower paid jobs, the ratios of women's proportion were higher than 100.0. But in the higher-paid jobs, the ratios of women's were not higher than 100.0 except in 'professionals'. The professionals include teachers at every level occupied predominantly by women. The ratio of women in the highest waged group 'legislators, high-level officials and managers' was 9.8.

The gender gap was highest in 'service workers' and 'legislators, high-level officials and managers'. Most of women's jobs have been concentrated in relatively lower wage jobs in service work and they have not been concentrated in the highest waged job. These results support the feminist critique that globalization has a masculine phenomenon. In globalization women are still likely to work as low waged service workers although they have equal opportunities in all sectors.

<Figure 3> Ratios of proportion of women per men in occupations in 2003



Data source: Korean national statistical office, KOSIS



3. Gender gap in status of employment

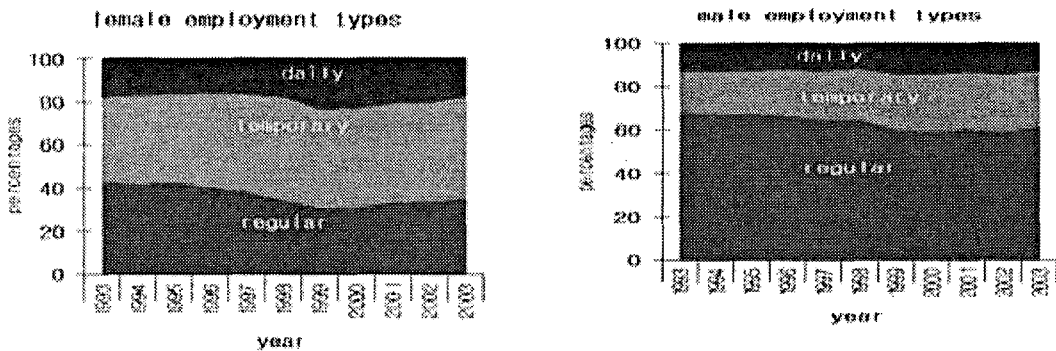
In the period of increased globalization, firms have come to maximize flexibility in the face of intensifying global competition and have used a strategy of employing cheap and disposable labor to increase profit margins. According to feminists' perspective, globalization facilitates women, who typically compose the non-regular or flexible labor market, to find jobs in unstable daily or temporary jobs.

<Figure 4> shows the proportion of women employed in regular jobs fell 8.3 percent from 43.6 to 35.3 between 1993 and 2003, while that of men decreased only 7.1 percent from 68.3 to 61.2. Although both men's and women's jobs have become more vulnerable, those of women are the most vulnerable. The proportion of women with temporary job status has risen 8.4 percent from 38.9 to 47.3, while that of men has risen 6.5 percent from 19.3 to 25.8. And the proportion of women in daily status has changed little from 17.5 to 17.4, while that of men has risen 0.5 percent from 12.5 to 13.0 percent.

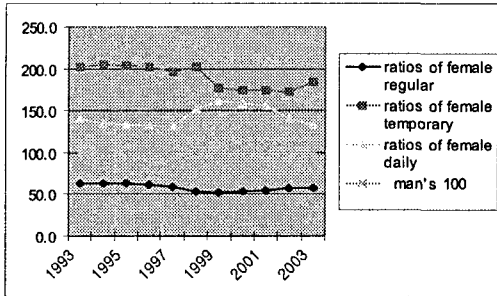
<Figure 5> shows the gap between women and men in job status from 1993 to 2003. The ratios of the female proportion per male in regular jobs, which are full-time and relatively secure jobs, have decreased from 68.3 to 57.7. The ratios of temporary jobs have changed from 201.6 to 183.3 and that of jobs on daily labor contract went from 140.0 to 133.8. The proportion of women in regular jobs has been lower than men but a disproportionately large number of women workers have been employed in temporary or daily jobs. Although the ratios of female temporary jobs have slightly decreased since 1998, the proportion of women in such jobs is still approximately twice that of men.

This evidence might suggest that women are discouraged or prevented from entering certain occupations and face barriers to regular or higher-paid jobs, despite laws that claim to protect gender equity in labor participation. They also reflect that discrimination still played a role in women's labor participation during the period 1993-2003.

<Figure 4> Types of employment for men and women, 1993-2003



(Figure 5) Ratios of women's status of employment per men, 1993-2003



Data source: Korean national statistical office, KOSIS

## V. Gender differentiation in tradition

### 1. Gender differentiation by the practice of Naeoe

Korean women had led secluded lives according to the practice of Naeoe that was based on Confucianism during the Choson dynasty 1392-1910 (Lee Nunghoa, 1990; Ewha women's university, 1984; The Korean history research association, 1997). Confucian precept had defined the ideal conjugal relationship, which distinctly differentiated between men and women.

Although the precept itself did not demand hierarchical obedience among husbands and wives, the rulers of Choson dynasty incorporated it into patriarchal laws to dominate over women. Outdoor activities of women were prohibited and women had to observe the practice, which did not allow them to contact with men outside of their family and obliged women to hide their face with veils showed in the painting of Sin Younbok.

According to the practice of Naeoe, women's

works were segregated from men's. The major duties prescribed to women were to bear many children, especially sons, and to serve family members as laborers. To fulfill this role, women mostly worked indoors with activities such as caring for children, preparing meals, sewing or weaving. Men had primary duties of subsistence with cultivating and representation of the family outdoors. The paintings of Kim Hongdo show the weaving woman and the cultivation men (National museum of Korea, 2006; KRpia, 2006).

Only the slaves called Noby, whose status was determined from birth, did housework outdoors such as washing clothes by the river or getting water from the village well for their owner. The women of the common class who did not possess slaves could show their faces in public after bearing at least one child (Kim Sunghee, 1999).

On the other hand, generally men worked in the public sphere as officers, farmers, craftsmen and salesmen. The men of high-class worked as officers and formal education by teachers was usually offered only to sons of high-class who were expected to work in offices. The men of common class worked as farmers and those of lower class worked as craftsmen or salesmen. Most women had few opportunities to work in the public sphere.

Only low class women could have access to social labor (The Korean women research association, 2000; National museum of Korea, 2006). Among the women of low class, the slaves called Gungnye worked in palaces and the female Goannoby owned by officials worked in offices. There were also some female slaves working professionally for entertainment in public areas(Choi Mi Jeong, 2003). Female

entertainers, called Kisaeng, had an important role of creating amusement in offices or during meetings. Female shamans, known as Mudang, were of low status and they performed both divining and healing of diseases.

In addition to these special women, there were also some women who participated in commercial activities (Kim Sunghee, 2004). Paradoxically the women of the higher class, who were confined at home and forbidden contact with men, needed lower class women to connect them to outdoor life. So some women in low class would vend from door to door.

## 2. Gender differentiation as a power in the traditional workforce

As a whole, most women had few opportunities to work in the public sphere except for low class women. However in the private sphere, most women did productive work that generated exchange values. Before the textile factories were established at the beginning of the 1900s, the traditional woman, contrary to the modern women, did productive work in the private sphere not in the public sphere.

In traditional society, the most productive types of labor were cultivating and weaving (The Korean women research association, 2000; Kim Sunghee, 2001). According to the practice of differentiating men from women, women performed weaving indoors and men did a major part of agricultural affairs outdoors.

Weaving was the work only women carried out unlike agricultural work that was performed occasionally by women. The practice of Naeoe constrained women's activities in social areas and

discriminated against women, but on the other hand women used it to protect their own territory indoors. Women strictly prohibited men from intruding into their territories just as men excluded women from most outdoor works.

The practices of weaving, as that of cultivating, paid for taxes to the dynasty (The Korean women research association, 2000; Kim Sunghee, 2001). Ordinarily two rolls of cloth per year were demanded to exempt a man over sixteen and under sixty from military service. According to the research of Choi Jaesuk (1983), in the late Choson period, the average number of members of urban families was three or four. A woman in a family with two men would weave at least four rolls of cloth for men during one year and, in some cases, a woman might need to weave ten rolls of cloth for her families' taxes and consumption. To weave twenty rolls worth for the subsistence of the household in addition to taxes and consumption, a woman must have worked on weaving for almost half a year, because one roll required about ten days dedicated only to weaving, not including the time it took to produce the thread.

Cloth played a major role as currency in the market and it was bartered for the necessities indispensable to life (Lee Hunchang, 1997; Youn Gukil, 1990). Ten rolls of cloth could be changed in a market for four hundred Doi of rice, which could feed an adult for one year. If the forty rolls of cloth woven by a woman for one year were bartered for rice, approximately four adults could subsist on it. Cloth was also used to maintain the household economy, to accumulate wealth or to overcome poverty. Lee Nunghoa (1990), a scholar of 19<sup>th</sup> century, recorded that some poor

households became rich through weaving.

In the national economy, cloth was used for international trade goods. Cotton cloth was a major export item in the trade with Japan (Maeng Injae, 2000). And it was used as wages for officials (Youn Gukil, 1990).

Most women of every status including the royal family had woven clothes of cotton, hemp or silk. Usually the women of high-class called Yangban, did not perform chores such as preparing meals, washing clothes and drawing water from a well (O Heemun, 1990; Kim Sunghee, 1999). The servant class called Noby carried out housework for the higher class. But even if women were of high-class, if their husbands were incompetent or if they were widows, the weaving of these high-class women was still critical for the subsistence of their households.

Generally Yangban men despised physical labor due to the influence of Confucian philosophy, which valued mental work over physical work (Lee Janghee, 1998). A Yangban man usually hoped to work for the government, but if he could not pass the tests for it, he could not help being unproductive. If there was insufficient land for cultivation or not enough monetary resources, these men had to depend on the labors of their wives for subsistence.

Yaak Yong Jung, a 19<sup>th</sup> century scholar, estimated the value of women's productivity to be three times that of men (cited in Kim Youngho, 1972). Because women's productive role was very important in maintaining the social economy and household subsistence, members of the family had respect for them. All children held mothers in great respect equally with fathers and husbands respected their wives. A tale of Seo Geo Jung

(1998) shows the husbands who were even afraid of wives in 19th century.

These records indicate that the status of Korean women in home had not been so object. One of the reasons, why men, regardless of patriarchal oppression and domination, did not despise women, can be found in women's own productive role acquired by Naeoe differentiating men's work from women's. It can be inferred that gender differentiation could be used a way to empower women in traditional society.

## VI. Conclusion and suggestion

Along with globalization based on rationality and efficiency of neo-liberal viewpoint, the subordinate status of women by culture has been expected to improve. Gender discrimination has been considered as an irrational and inefficient ingredient for maximizing productivity, so laws and policies for the promotion of gender equality have been developed. Gender inequality might be expected to eliminate in the era of globalization.

But feminists argue that globalization has a contradictory effect on women. They criticize that globalization regards a patriarchal order as a natural phenomenon. They assert that the neo-liberal perspective is challenged by the disadvantages segregated by gender on empirical grounds. The results of this paper on the recent Korean data in the workforce reveals that a masculine phenomenon exists in globalization.

The proportion of women's employment has increased, but their wages lag behind men's. Although women get new opportunities through the liberalization of trade and foreign investment, they are still employed in traditional female jobs.

They are more likely to find employment in less regulated, less secure and less well-remunerated job than are men. Women are on the short end of a persistent gender gap, despite accepting norms of gender equality and ensuring equal opportunities and rights in labor market.

Even if enough time to reach the efficient and rational globalization assumed by neo-liberals passes, gender equality might not be easily realized. Most married women have difficulties in working both at home and in the labor market, and they are not apt to adapt to the culture of regular long time jobs. It is seldom simple for women to get equal status of occupations at the same time as to gain equal opportunities in waged labor.

Contrasting the women in globalization, women in tradition could not have equal opportunities with men in types or choices of work. Though they had unequal opportunities and many constraints in regard to social or economic activities, their labor value was not evaluated lower than that of men and their status in work was stable. Family held them in respect, especially husbands were even afraid of them.

The reason, why men could not held women in contempt in patriarchal culture, could be found in women' role in the sustenance of the household as well as the nation. Women maintained their own productive tasks such as weaving according to the practice of Naeoe differentiating between women and men and contributed to the household and nation economy.

This historical review provides insight as to how gender differentiation could be used towards getting the power to eliminate the gender gap. The gender differentiation has been regarded as a

critical factor of patriarchal oppression on women, so little attention was paid to its positive function. If gender differentiation could be further researched and acknowledged positively as a form of power, it might be easier for women in globalization to attain full gender equality with equal status in addition to equal opportunities, responsibility and rights.

Gender differentiation in globalization can be adopted into women's activism like as alliance of women or feminist movement. Women in globalization can protect them from the victims of masculine processes by being engaged in organizing and deciding their own local, national and global priorities. It is suggested that women in globalization should have their own networking, as the women in tradition had their own productive area.

The United Nations women's conference at Beijing in 1995 affirmed that women's rights are human rights, that the status of women needs to improve and that the world's countries should get together to promote that status. Accepting this global norm, government has promoted women's rights and developed gender aware laws and programs. However, the regulations on the level of gender inequality by government can have their limits, because globalization demands a less regulated labor market reflecting more easily the productivity of individual workers. So it is suggested that women should expand their own non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to improve their inequitable status. Furthermore national boundaries become more fluid and international networking gets more important. To struggle against the global masculinity taking advantage of women's low wage, it is demanded to

strengthen women's own international movements.

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