



Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development
in Women's Policies

Political Education for Women's Political Participation

Eun Ju Kim



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Korean Women's Development Institute(KWDI) is a government-affiliated think- tank under the Prime Minister's Office of South Korea. It has contributed to realizing gender equality, improving women's social participation and welfare and advancing family life and state through comprehensive researches on women's policies.

Foreword

South Korea has transformed itself from being an aid receiving country to an aid giving one after achieving an unprecedented economic growth during the past half century. Such growth was not confined to economic spheres only, but happened in many social arenas. Women's advancement was one area that has seen another dramatic transformation.

While efforts have existed to share Korea's development experience, such as Knowledge Sharing Program(KSP) spearheaded by South Korea's Ministry of Strategy and Finance(MOSF) and Development Experience Exchange Partnership(DEEP) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs(MOFA), there hardly existed initiatives to share women's advancement experiences in particular. The current study is the first of its kind and compiles the case analyses of women's development in various areas of South Korean society.

This study is an essential part of KWDI's multi-year ODA project titled "Strengthening Gender Equality Policy Infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Region." This is a project aimed at establishing political and social infrastructure for gender-equal policy in the Asia-Pacific region. We believe South Korea's cases could serve as one model to consider for our partner countries in achieving this goal.

KWDI plans to share these case studies through various means such as policy consultation, workshops and international conferences. We will also come up with potential gender-related ODA projects that South Korean government can work with partner countries based on Korea's comparative advantage/experience. Our ultimate goal is to design a women's policy model tailored to local needs and work together to translate it into practice.

I hope the concerted efforts made by KWDI and partner countries will bring substantive changes in the lives of women in Asia.

Choe, Keum-Sook, Ph.D.

President

Korean Women's Development Institute

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I

Introduction

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1. Objectives and Contents of the Research

A. Objectives

Women's political participation emerged as a key issue of government policies and women's organizations with the restoration of municipalities three decades after their abolition in Korea. The realization of new politics and grass-root democracy required the participation of women who account for the half of the national population but have been denied access to the political process. Democracy is the process of serving the interests of people from all social classes by assuring them equal participation in the allocation of public values and resources across society. Therefore, democracy deprived of women who make up 50% of the population is destined to fall into self-contradiction.

In Korea, people's resistance to the authoritarian military regime and democratization protests picked up steam after the Gwangju Democratization Movement in May 1980. After the nationwide uprising in June 1987, Koreans restored the rights to elect the President in their own hands for the first time in 15 years. The fever of political participation which started from there led to the restoration of local autonomy. Local autonomy forms the basis of grass-root democracy and takes root only if it guarantees and realizes people's participation in its process. Yet, the newly opened space of politics was still filled up with the old-fashioned way of politics. While a new political system was there, voters remained the same as yesterday.

That was the reason women's organizations actively implemented political education programs for women in the 1990s. The realization of grass-root democracy demanded that voters' passive and male-oriented mindsets should be changed to active and gender-equal ones. Such programs sought to enlighten voters, who think politics is the domain of men, on why women should also participate in politics, how they can change the world, which methods, laws and systems are needed to expedite their political participation, etc. People should

change first, in order to change the world and reform systems. For that reason, political education for women remains one of the key activities of women's organizations till today.

This study aims to achieve the following objectives through the analysis of political education programs for women. First is to share experience on women's political education programs in Korea. By tracing political education programs for women back to the early 1990s, rather than only those of the present, this paper suggests some useful insights to draw up political education programs for women today in other developing countries. Second is to share lessons learned. Rather than simply sharing information on the content and method of the education programs, issues associated with the program implementation and lessons learned are presented in this paper so that they will not be repeated in future programs. Third is to suggest directions to improve the quality of political education programs for women. By evaluating the political education programs and drawing some lessons from Korean experience, this paper suggests ways to plan and implement successful political education programs for women.

B. Contents

Basically, the time frame covered in this study is from the early 1990s to today but a particular focus is placed on the history of women's political education and programs implemented between the early 1990s and the early 2000s, when activities to mobilize women's political force for legislative reform such as the introduction of the gender quota system reached their peak, along with political education programs for women. The introduction of the gender quota system in 2002 served as an institutional framework to expedite women's political participation, and the importance of women's political education increased since it became necessary to produce female politicians who could

really represent women's interests and values but not politicians whose biological sex is female. In 2004, the Political Parties Act was amended to stipulate 10% of government subsidies to political parties that should be set aside as the Women's Political Development Fund, whereby the political parties started to take interest in women's political education.

Women's political education today is different from that of the past in both content and methodology. As for the content, the focus of education shifted from nurturing women's representatives or informed voters to encouraging and expediting their participation in general policy making processes. Such changes may have been driven by several elements, particularly the introduction of various mechanisms to influence the policy making process of the government, let alone elections. As for methodology, the advancement of information and communication technology vitalized on-line education via the Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc.

This study consists of five parts. First, we will review the concept and significance of women's political education and examine educational content and methodologies. Second is Korea's unique background which triggered political education programs for women. In Korea, women's political education programs were initiated in full swing in the early 1990s since the restoration of local autonomy allowed women greater access to politics. In that sense, we will take a look at the meaning of local autonomy and women's political participation, the establishment of women's political NGOs and the vitalization of women's political movement, and also the implication of the Women's Development Fund on the promotion of women's political education. The third is the roles of women's political education programs agents. Women's political NGOs were the most active but the central government, local governments and political parties also implemented various educational programs for women. Therefore, their respective roles and mutual relationships with regard to women's education will be reviewed. Fourthly, education programs provided by the four players-women's

political NGOs, the central government, local governments and political parties-will be divided into three types to examine their respective contents and methodologies; education of women voters, education of women candidates and education of young women (next generation women). In addition, the pros and cons, limitation, etc. of each type will be assessed. Lastly, we will suggest directions to draw up successful political education programs for women based on the aforementioned analyses.

In this study, we analyzed archives and materials on the home pages of related organizations in the first phase and then interviewed educational program planners at those organizations as a supplementary measure to acquire additional data. In that regard, it needs to be noted that there may be many undocumented educational programs, other than those mentioned in this paper.

2. Concepts and Subjects of Political Education for Women

A. Concepts

Political education is defined as the “process of internalizing the values and rules of the political system into people or passing them down from one generation to the next generation”¹⁾ or the “acquisition of knowledge, techniques and attitudes essential to political research or participation.”²⁾ Political education and civic education are often interchanged as the same term. Therefore, women's political education may be seen as the whole process ranging from changing women's perception of politics to stipulating their participation and to nurturing female politicians, through education to attain knowledge, technique

1) B.G. Massialas (1969). *Education and Political System*. Mass. Addison-Wesley Co. pp.20-21

2) W. Langveld (1983). *Political Education*. Seoul: Daehan Publishing Co. p.162

and attitude on politics.

Under the current circumstances that women's indifference to and under-representation in politics have emerged as a problem, women's political education may pave the way of mobilizing them as a political force. No doubt, the issue of women's under-representation in politics can be solved only when the perspective of all members of society changes, let alone women. To make it happen, women's mindset and attitude should change first and the other half of the population, men, should follow suit. Only then, our society can be transformed and truly uphold gender equality.

In Korea, women's political education was conducted mostly by two groups. One is the public sector, such as the central government, the local governments and the political parties. Second is women's organization. It is fair to say that women's organizations were the pioneer of political education for women. Before the legislation of the Framework Act on Women's Development in 1995, there was no government budget earmarked for women's political education, and women's organizations were the only ones who provided women with political education. Till today, most of the political education programs for women are provided by women's organizations.

The public sector began to provide political education to women after the Framework Act on Women's Development Act legislated in 1995³⁾ mandated the nation to support women's political participation. In addition, the 2nd Fundamental Plan on Women's Policy⁴⁾ set forth education to nurture future

3) Clause 15, Article 3 of the Framework Act on Women's Development (participation in policy making process and politics): The nation and municipalities shall strive in various ways to promote women's political participation.

4) The 2nd fundamental Plan on Women Policy (2-2-2) includes support for women political leaders' leadership and network-building, education to cultivate female political workforce, education to improve voters' awareness so as to expand the foundation for women's political participation, female college students' camp to cultivate next generation leaders, in-depth education, etc. as ways to expand women's political participation

female political leaders to better represent women in politics. The 3rd Fundamental Plan on Women's Development⁵⁾ also stipulated gender equality education for both men and women and the lifelong education for women. Not only the central government but also local government raised and operated women's development funds to subsidize political education programs for women, thus expediting efforts on the political education of women.

The political parties began to take interest in women's political education after the amendment of the Political Fund Act in March 2004. The amendment stipulated 10% of government subsidies to political parties that shall be spent on the political development of women and if the 10% budget is used for other purposes, the responsible political party shall return twice the amount to the government.⁶⁾ As such, the political parties were granted both the responsibility and the financial means to provide political education to their female party members.⁷⁾

B. Subject and Content

Political education aimed at promoting gender equality in politics was provided to both men and women. Yet, this paper will focus on political

5) The 3rd fundamental Plan on Women Policy (5-1-3) includes gender equality in school education and women's lifetime education as ways to promote gender equality in education.

6) Clause 1, Article 19 of the Political Fund Act provides that 10/100 of government subsidies shall be spent for the development of women politicians. Clause 2, Article 20 stipulates twice the amount of subsidy shall be returned to the government if it was used for other purposes.

7) On April 27, 2007, Korean Women's Political Solidarity hosted a seminar on political parties' expenditures for women's political development and improvement methods. According to its analysis, the subsidy was spent on day care centers, policy planning or female workers' labor cost, which were irrelevant to women's political development. It was pointed out there should be an independent organization to operate the women's political development funds of political parties (The Women's News, April 27, 2007).

education for women, its contents, methodologies and outcomes. In politics, women are divided into two groups according to the level of their participation; women voters and women candidates/leaders. In addition, young women in their 20s and 30s are classified as a separate category to be nurtured into voters or leaders who have the sense of gender equality, and various educational programs are provided accordingly. In that context, women's political education will be examined in three categories; programs for women voters, women leaders and next generation women.

〈Table I -1〉 Women's Political Education by Target Group

Target Group	Details	Teaching Method
women voters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - women voters - importance of women's political participation, pending political issues, women's policies - legislative activity monitoring, etc. 	lecture workshop attend parliamentary session, etc.
women leaders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - women candidates - specialized education including election campaign strategy - candidates' education includes activities to build network and enhance awareness. 	lecture role play workshop/debate, etc.
next generation women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - next generation women (20s~30s) - enhance young generation's awareness on political participation through education methods familiar to them - internship or other participatory activities 	lecture role play internship seminar/meeting, etc.

As shown in <Table I -1>, there are three types of political education. First is the education for women voters to encourage their political participation. The education for women voters covers the importance of women's participation in politics, knowledge on current political issues, systems and policies, and how to monitor and evaluate parliamentary activities as voters to promote women's rights and interest. Second is the education for women candidates who are looking for a career in politics. This covers more specialized knowledge and

methods essential to election, such as image making, election campaign strategy, party nomination and networking. Through the education, women voters change into competent women politicians. In many cases, the education of women leaders are linked with activities to build people's network or enhance recognition of candidates. Third is the education for the next generation women leaders in their 20s and 30s. Various topics related with politics are dealt in ways friendly to women in their 20s and 30s, and the trainees often get chances for internship programs and other participatory activities going beyond class room lectures. There is also democratic civic education. It aims to promote citizens' awareness on their rights and competencies so as to realize gender equality in society, and the civic education are provided for men as well as women. Women's political participation should progress along with the promotion of democracy if it is to realize its significance and values as an alternative form of politics.

Educational methodologies varied, such as lecture, speech, debate, public hearing, camp, role play, internship and monitoring. The method of education was determined by what was to be taught, but one overriding characteristic was all of the educational methods were aimed to encourage women's active participation in the education process. Lecture-type classes are effective ways to provide information and knowledge but the change of mindset requires various participatory activities such as debate, role play, internship, etc.

II

Background and Agents of Women's Political Education

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1. Background

'Women' was a key word in the global community during the 1990s. The UN designated 1975 as the 'International Women's Year' and declared the 'United Nations Decade for Women' in order to achieve the objectives set forth accordingly. In 1975, 'the Plan of Action' which aimed to improve women's status across the globe was adopted in the First World Conference on Women held in Mexico, and in 1985, 'Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women' was adopted in the Third World Conference on Women held in Nairobi. In the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategy was comprehensively reviewed and evaluated. Based on this, Beijing Platform for Action was adopted for better implementation of Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women outlining 12 critical issues of concern. Such measures by the UN led its member countries to introduce various government programs to promote women's social status and gender equality. In Korea, the Framework Act on Women's Development was legislated in December 1995, which obliges Korean government to Fundamental Plan on Women's Policy every five years.

Over 500 government officials and women's organizations attended the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, which served as an opportunity to funnel global fever on women's development issues into Korea, and as a result, the movement for women's political empowerment and higher political representation, which had been initiated with the restoration of the local autonomy system, became more active. The issue of women's political participation dominated Korean society throughout the 1990s, and the period may be called a decade of women in Korea. This was driven by enlarged space for political participation with the restoration of the local autonomy system, establishment of education programs run by women's political organizations to nurture women politicians and Women's Development Fund to support the

education programs run by women's political NGOs along with growing global attention to women's issues.

A. Restoration of the Local Autonomy System

1) Local Autonomy System of Korea

The Local Autonomy Act was promulgated in 1949, one year after the Korean government was established, and Korea's first local council election was held in April, 1952 during the Korean War.⁸⁾ Yet, the local councils were disassembled with the inauguration of the military government on May 16, 1961. The “Act on Temporary Measures for Local Autonomy” legislated in September of the same year transferred the function of the local councils to the heads of the municipalities and stipulated that the heads of the municipalities shall be appointed by the government not elected by local citizens. In the 1980s, public resistance and democratization movement against the authoritarian regime picked up pace and the restoration of local autonomy emerged as a key issue of political debates. After the democratic uprising in June 1987, the military regime led by President Cheon, Du-hwan finally agreed on the direct presidential election by voters and the restoration of local autonomy.

After President Roh Tae-woo was inaugurated as a successor to President Cheon Du-hwan, the government attempted to defer the restoration of local autonomy. Even after the National Assembly passed the amendment bill of the Local Autonomy Act which set forth the deadline of local elections, the government exercised a veto in an attempt to push it backward. President Roh

8) Local elections were deferred out of concerns that municipal autonomy might bring about excessive decentralization, thus conflicts and tensions between the central and local governments. During the Korean War, local elections were held driven by political necessity by President Lee Seung-man, which means he needed supporters to pass the bill to revise the direct presidential election system. Sohn Bong Suk, 『Study of local Autonomy in Korea』, 1985, published by Samyoungsa, pp.30-31.

Tae-woo's administration finally made a compromise in 1991 to hold local council elections before the end of the year in order to avoid public resistance and controversy against the administration's violation of the Local Autonomy Act amended in 1988 that further delay could result in. Still, however, the election of the heads of municipalities was deferred to 1995.

While local autonomy was restored in 1991 in 30 years, it was still incomplete in that only local and metropolitan council members were elected directly by citizens. Three years after President Kim Young-sam was inaugurated, four local elections took place across the nation on June 27, 1995 (local council, metropolitan council, the head of local municipality and the head of metropolitan municipality). With that, local autonomy kicked off in full swing ushering in the era of local politics.

2) Local Autonomy and Women's Participation

The restoration of local autonomy stimulated the advancement of democracy and the movement to expand women's political participation. Municipalities are the venue of 'everyday politics in life ' where issues which significantly affect the lives of community's residents are addressed. In this aspect, it was argued that women also should take part in local councils because women were deeply involved in every aspect of social issues faced by a community including education, welfare and environment. This triggered a movement to improve women's participation in local councils. There were also various arguments on the legitimacy and necessity of women's participation in local autonomy. It was said that women candidates do not face disadvantages in local council elections because the number of seats is bigger than that of the National Assembly while the scale and cost of election campaign is smaller. Therefore, it was argued that local council elections are easier for women to run for even with less political experience and that women should build up a career in municipal politics and

then foray into national politics.⁹⁾

〈Table II -1〉 Ratio of Women in Local Councils

unit: people(%)

		Metropolitan Councils			Local Councils	
		City/ Province	Proportional representation		City/County/ District	Proportional representation
Metropolitan Council Election (Mar. 26, 1991) local council election(Jun. 20, 1991)	National	8/866(0.9)	–	National	40/4,303(0.9)	–
	Seoul	3/132(2.3)		Seoul	22/778(2.8)	
The 1st nationwide local elections (Jun. 27, 1995)	National	12/875 (1.5)	42/95 (44.2)	National	72/4,541(1.6)	–
	Seoul	4/133(3.0)		Seoul	35/806(4.3)	
The 2nd nationwide local elections (Jun. 4, 1998)	National	14/616 (2.3)	27/74 (36.5)	National	56/3,489(1.6)	–
	Seoul	6/94(6.4)		Seoul	26/520(5.0)	
The 3rd nationwide local elections (Jun. 13, 2002)	National	14/609 (2.3)	49/73 (67.1)	National	77/3,485(2.2)	–
	Seoul	2/90(2.2)	6/10 (60.0)	Seoul	29/513(5.7)	
The 4th nationwide local elections (May 31, 2006)	National	32/655 (4.9)	57/78 (73.1)	National	110/2,513(4.4)	326/375(86.9)
	Seoul	7/96(7.3)	6/10 (60.0)	Seoul	33/366(9.0)	49/53(92.5)
The 5th nationwide local elections (Jun. 2, 2010)	National	58/680 (8.1)	58/81 (71.6)	National	274/2,512(10.9)	352/376(93.6)
	Seoul	13/96 (13.5)	6/10 (60.0)	Seoul	68/366(18.6)	51/53(96.0)

9) Kim Eun Ju et al. (2002). "Local Autonomy and Women's Political Participation" in Local Autonomy and Democracy in Korea. Nanam. p.238

While there was high awareness on the legitimacy and the necessity of women's participation in local councils, the actual proportion of women candidates running for the local election in 1991 was merely 0.9%. Women faced a number of obstacles to pursuing a political career under the male-dominated political culture. First, there was the lack of women candidates. Second, a legal system to promote women's political participation was absent. The third one is voters' low awareness on the importance of women's political participation. Therefore, women's organizations made a lot of efforts to find potential women candidates and provide education for voters' awareness raising as well as to find alternatives and take collective actions to reform existing legal system. The legal system reform was necessary to expand women's political participation. However, it is thought to be more critical that women themselves should understand the necessity and the importance of their political participation since an ideal legal system has no meaning without women's awareness and will to understand and practice it.

B. The Roles of Women's Organizations

1) Establishment of Women's Political NGOs

Prior to 1987, Korean League of Women Voters Korean League of Women Voters was the only organization established for the purpose of women's political participation. Back then, most of the women's organizations focused on promoting women's skills and knowledge on liberal arts, socializing and volunteering for social welfare. In the 1990s, a number of research institutes and women's organizations were set up and worked to improve women's political participation: Korean Institute for Women & Politics (1989), Center for Korean Women & Politics (1990), Korea Women's Political Caucus (1991), Korean Women for Legislature (1998), Korean Women's Political Solidarity (1999) and Korean Women and Politics Associations (2000), etc. As shown in

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the table below, they have carried out various activities to promote women's political participation including holding public hearing and seminar, conducting a training, having a lecture, developing policy agenda, conducting research, etc.

〈Table II -2〉 Women's Political NGOs

Name	Year of Foundation	Main Activities	Regional Branch	Homepage
Korean League of Women Voters	1969	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • education programs • regional branch programs • parliamentary monitoring • election-related programs • policy development and suggestion of bills • support to the needy • international cooperation • coalition with other NGOs 	O	womenvoters.or.kr
Korean Institute for Women & Politics	1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • research • academic forum, etc. • education programs • coalition with other NGOs • international cooperation 	X	kiwp.or.kr
Center for Korean Women & Politics	1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • policy development and research • women's leadership education • debates (e.g. Korean women's political roundtable) • international cooperation • coalition with other NGOs • forum 	X	ckwp.feminet.or.kr
Korea Women's Political Caucus	1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • women's political education • network with women lawmakers • forum and meetings • coalition with other NGOs 	O	kwpc.org
Korean Women for Legislature	1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • local council monitoring • education on local council monitoring • education for women candidate cultivation • education of election volunteers and voters • policy study and seminar 	O	kwfl.feminet.or.kr

II . Background and Agents of Women's Political Education ••• 19

Name	Year of Foundation	Main Activities	Regional Branch	Homepage
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coalition with other NGOs • international cooperation 		
Korean Women's Political Solidarity	1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • development women's political leadership and support • monitoring/evaluation/participation in parliament activities • research, survey, publication • cultivation of the next generation's female leaders • debates and meetings • coalition with other NGOs • international cooperation 	O	womanpower.or.kr
Korean Women & Politics Association	2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • monitor/support parliament activities • cultivation and education of women candidates • building women's network • improvement of political culture • coalition with other NGOs • international cooperation 	O	gowomen21.or.kr

Women's organizations, including women's political NGOs, were also engaged in activities to promote women's political rights, suggest election pledges, support women candidates, evaluate lawmakers' parliamentary activities, evaluate government policies for women, propose policies for women and provide women's political education. In particular, education on politics is one of the most important activities of women's political NGOs for women voters, women candidates, or young women, and most of the NGOs have continued such education programs since their foundation till today. The establishment of women's political NGOs was triggered by the practical necessity and awareness to promote women's participation in local politics with the restoration of the local autonomy. They formulated broad collaboration with existing women's groups and took the lead in mobilizing women's political force and participation.

2) Collaboration to Improve Women's Political Participation

The surge of women's political NGOs stimulated collaboration among women's organizations which aimed at improving women's political participation while they also carried out activities of their own. Led by the NGOs, women's organizations actively work together in the areas of election law amendment, the gender quota system, political education for women and a search for and recommendation of potential women candidates. These days, they no longer work together to recommend women candidates since they came to differ in political orientation but their collaboration still continues on the reform of the legal system to promote women's political participation. In the run-up to the 2010 local election, a coalition was formed to introduce gender parity system and it carried out activities calling for the revision of the Public Official Election Act in order to promote the effectiveness of the gender quota system in local constituencies. As a result, they succeeded to introduce the mandatory nomination of at least one female candidate by a political party in each constituency.

(a) Women's Coalition for Political Participation

Prior to the local election on February 20, 1991, which was revived for the first time in 30 years after its abolition, 'Women's Coalition for Political Participation' was organized as an ad-hoc group. It submitted a petition (with the signatures of 464 people) to the petition department of the National Assembly which called for the revision of the Local Autonomy Act, and it carried out activities to pursue legal amendment. Women's Coalition insisted that the existing election law was disadvantageous to women pursuing a career in the local council, and it submitted a petition to the National Assembly which contained the following proposals: ▲ introduce the medium constituency system, ▲ ease restrictions on citizen's election campaigns, ▲ promote the

public support to electoral campaign, ▲ allow public fund raising for election campaigns and its use, and ▲ reduce deposits of candidacy.

(b) Women's Solidarity for the Introduction of Gender Quota System

In 1994, 56 women's organizations formed 'Women's Solidarity for the Introduction of Gender Quota System' and submitted a proposal to each political party that women should take up 20% of seats in the local councils. They also demanded government organizations, not to mention the National Assembly and the local councils, should fill 20% of their headcount with women. As a result, the proportional representative system was introduced to metropolitan councils from the 1995 local election and the political parties also introduced the gender quota system on their own. In February 2000, the amendment bill of the Political Parties Act was passed by the National Assembly, which stipulated 30% of candidates to proportional representatives should be allocated to women in the National Assembly and the local councils at the city and provincial levels. It was also followed by the revision of the Political Parties Act in the period of 2002 to 2004, and the revisions of Public Official Election Act in 2005 and 2006, whereby 50% of candidacy shall be allocated to women and women candidates shall be given odd numbered rankings in the proportional representative local council member, and the same measure was recommended in the proportional representative National Assembly member. As to nomination of constituency candidates to the National Assembly and the local councils, 30% was recommended to be earmarked for women. In Public Official Election Act amended in 2010, it was stipulated that at least one women candidate shall be nominated to local council election for each constituency of the National Assembly.

(c) Women's Political Network¹⁰⁾

In the run-up to the local election on June 4, Center for Korean Women & Politics, Korean Institute for Women & Politics, Korean League of Women Voters and Korea Women's Political Caucus formed Women's Political Network in February 1998. They worked together to implement more pragmatic and effective education programs to nurture female political leaders putting together their expertise in political education to expand women's political participation, develop women candidates' competency and empower women politically. Originally, they had carried out their respective programs to raise women's awareness on political participation and train women candidates. Yet, overlaps among the programs resulted in inefficiency, and the programs failed to effectively push political parties to nominate women candidates. As a result, they decided to form a political educational coalition to find women candidates.

Types of the education programs varied among the four organizations but their educational contents were basically similar: detailed strategies and methodologies necessary for the election campaign of women who intend to run for public office—decision to run for an election, meeting voters, speech, image making, PR strategy, use of volunteers, fund raising, etc. In December 1998, Women's Political Network published a text book for future female leaders, which summarized the results of its activities till then.

(d) Women's Network for Clean Politics

On August 19, 2003, 'Women's Solidarity for the 17th General Election' was launched as the representative of approximately 300 women's organizations and it declared to realize “clean and transparent politics, democratic politics participated by women and the underprivileged.” Previously in 1994, the women's community organized 'Women's Solidarity for the Introduction of

10) Refer to Chapter IV.

Gender Quota System', but this was the first time that such a large number of women's organizations joined hands together. It demanded ▲ that the ratio of district representative members to proportional representative members should be 1:2, ▲ that 50% of the nominated in proportional representation and 30% of the nominated in local constituency representation should be women in a general election, ▲ that there should be penalties on a political party which violates the above gender quota including government subsidy cut, ▲ that a political party which fills less than half of its proportional representation candidates with women should not be allowed to register their candidates by National Election Commission, ▲ and that there is 30% quota for women in a nomination screening committee of each party.

The activities done by Women's Solidarity for the 17th General Election were followed by the launch of 'Women's Network for Clean Politics' on November 6th and an ensuing campaign to elect 100 female lawmakers. Then on January 7, 2004, 'Women's Network for Clean Politics' unveiled a list of 102 women candidates. At the same time, it also unveiled a list of male candidates who were discriminative against women and campaigned to keep them from party nomination. In the 17th National Assembly (2004), a total of 39 women won parliamentary seats, which has been an unparalleled achievement in women's political participation so far. Many of the elected women were the ones who had been included in the list announced by 'Women's Network for Clean Politics.'

C. Women's Development Fund¹¹⁾

After the restoration of the local autonomy in 1991, women's development issue became a key agenda for Korean government. However, there was little budget to implement such policies. In particular, the absence of the authorities

11) Kim Eun Ju. & Kim Sun Mee, 「Study on the Rational Operation of the Women's Development Fund」, Women's Commission of the National Assembly, 2004.

dedicated to women's issues posed a serious obstacle to implement women's policy. Women's organizations were not funded sufficiently, which hindered the vitalization of women's movement. At this juncture, the establishment of the Women's Development Fund served as seed money to develop women's policy by supporting activities of women's organizations.

The fund was one of the financial systems introduced to enable flexible fund expenditures for the effective implementation of activities with a special purpose. Women's Development Fund was allocated for the realization of gender equal society by supporting activities to promote women's development and address gender discrimination.

The legal foundation of the Women's Development Fund was Framework Act on Women's Development legislated in 1995. The central government started fund raising in 1997 and kicked off activities to be financed by the fund in 1998. In addition, the municipalities at all levels (metropolitan city, small city, county, etc.) voluntarily raised funds for women's development and started to sponsor activities for women in as early as 1998. The women's development funds of municipalities, regardless of size of the fund, made big contributions to drawing their attention to women's issues and reflecting them in policies. Those funds play a pivotal role in improving self-reliance and vitality of local women's organizations.

Before the establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (in February, 2002), the Second State Minister of Political Affairs Minister (from 1988 to February, 1998) and the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs (from March, 1998-January, 2001) were charged with women's affairs but their roles were confined only to comprehensive planning, coordination and advice on women's policy. There were many obstacles to establishing separate budget, organization and authority to set up and implement women's policies. Therefore, the women's development funds played the role of seed money to finance activities for women. In 2001, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was

newly established as a government organization dedicated to women's affairs and had its own budget and implementation authority. And yet, the budget of the Ministry was only 0.02% (2004) of the total government budget, which was less than the budget of even a district office in Seoul.

At election time, political parties and candidates competitively churned out election pledges for women as if women's development is the most critical issue in the world. However, only a few of them honored the promises and there was only small or no budget available to supporting their implementation. In this regard, the establishment of the women's development funds bore significance. By 2012, almost all metropolitan and local municipalities established funds for women's development and supported the activities of local women's organizations. Seoul Metropolitan City raises 20 billion won, followed by Gyeonggi-do at 10 billion won, Daejeon and Incheon Metropolitan City at 5 billion won each, and the municipalities in other metropolitan cities raise 2~3 billion won a year. Interest income from the funds is spent on activities for women's development.

Activities related to women's political participation, by nature, were difficult to be subsidized by the government budget and were given the least priority by private institutions. Therefore, the women's development funds were very important to vitalize activities for women's political empowerment. <Table II -3> shows activities financed by the women's development fund of Daejeon Metropolitan Municipality from 2001 to 2005.¹²⁾ According to the table, 26.1% of the activities are conducted to raise awareness on gender equality and women's leadership. The second largest number of the activities are for political participation (19.3%); the third largest number of the activities are for social participation and economic activity (16.8%); and the fourth largest number of the activities are for child-rearing and family matters (14.3%).

12) Kim Eun Ju, 'Study on the rational operation of the women's development fund by Daejeon metropolitan municipality', Daejeon metropolitan city, 2005, p.95

〈Table II-3〉 Activities Sponsored by the Women's Development Fund of Daejeon Metropolitan Municipality

Activities	Frequency	Ratio(%)
Child-rearing/ Family	17	14.3
Gender equality awareness/ Women's leadership	31	26.1
Domestic violence/ Sexual violence	2	1.7
Sexual harassment/ Prostitution	2	1.7
Women's health/ The disabled	9	7.6
Life/Culture	4	3.4
Social Participation/ Economic Activity	20	16.8
Kid's education	11	9.2
Political participation	23	19.3
Total	119	100.0

The establishment of Women's development funds is of significance not only because it means that the importance of women's issues and women's policy is recognized but also because it secures financial resources for the implementation of women's policy. In particular, the funds of the municipalities bear such significance since the municipalities usually have much smaller budget for women's policy as well as lower awareness on women's issues compared with the central government. Under the circumstances, the funds made big contributions to developing women's policies and improving the self-reliance and vitality of local women's organizations' activities.

2. Agents of Education

It is no exaggeration to say that women's organizations are pioneers in the field of women's political education in Korea. Many institutions such as university, political party, government, women's organization and community center provided political education, but women's organizations, particularly women's political NGOs, were the most active since the early 1990s. Universities provided lectures such as 'women and politics' and 'gender politics' in an effort to introduce gender sensitive politics to both male and female students. Political parties operated academies for female party members and aspiring politicians from the end of 1990s. The government also raised the women's development fund and supported educational programs in the form of partnership project with NGOs. In Korea, women's political education programs have been driven by private-public cooperation network with women's organizations as its center. Women's organizations and female experts actively participated in the development of educational programs to be funded by the central and local governments, which were then commissioned to women's organizations for implementation. As such, there was close relationship between government organizations and non-government organizations. In this section, the roles and characteristics of women's political NGOs, the central and local governments and political parties will be covered in more details.

A. Women's Political NGOs

Women's political NGOs developed and implemented various educational programs to enlighten female voters developing women candidates and nurturing the next generation of women leaders. Other women's organizations were also involved in educational programs to enhance women's political awareness and participation. In addition to implementing the educational programs, women's political NGOs also recommended women candidates trained in their political

education programs to the political circle and supported their election campaigns. In fact, many women who are now active in the local councils and the National Assembly attended the political education programs provided by women's political NGOs in the 1990s, which is a significant achievement women's political education. For instance, 12 out of 31 women who took the second campaign school program implemented by Center for Korean Women & Politics in 1995 are former or incumbent lawmakers, head of district office and political party members.¹³⁾

Political education by women's political NGOs has the following characteristics; First, each NGOs mostly operated political education individually, so the NGOs developed an education program, recruited trainees and secured finance on their own. If necessary, however, they formed alliance with women's political education networks. Second, they not only provided education but also actively supported their program graduates in nomination process and election campaigns. For instance, the NGOs delivered the list of their program graduates to the nomination committees of the political parties and formed Women's Network for Clean Politics in 2004 to jointly recommend 102 women candidates. Third, women's political NGOs focused also on the education to nurture the next generation of women leaders as well as ordinary female citizens. At the outset, such programs targeted women in their 40-50s, but recently, the ratio of programs targeting young women in their 20-30s is on the rise. Fourth, interactive education programs were provided such as camps, on-the-spot study, practice, role play, mentoring program, etc. rather than one-way lectures so that trainees could actively participate in the learning process. Fifth, women's political NGOs were also commissioned to operate political education programs of the governments in addition to their own programs. In other words, such programs were financed by the government and operated by women's political NGOs. Sixth, many of the education programs

13) Center for Korean Women & Politics (2012). internal document.

conducted by women's political NGOs in the 1990s were subsidized by foreign assistance from overseas foundation and international organizations such as Asia Foundation, German political education foundations (Hanns Seidel Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung), UN agencies including UNDP and UNESCAP. Back then, awareness on women's political education was low and so it was difficult to receive financial support from the government and public institutions in Korea. Under the circumstances, support from foreign foundations and international organizations paved the way of invigorating women's political education.

B. Central and Local Governments

The Women's Development Act legislated in 1995 mandated the central and local governments to expand women's representation and participation in politics in various manners. And yet, it was only in 1998 that government budgets were earmarked to women's political education through the Women's Development Fund. The first education program financed by the government was the '21 Century's Women Leaders Program.' It was jointly operated by Center for Korean Women & Politics, Korean League of Women Voters, Korean Institute for Women & Politics and Korea Women's Political Caucus, which formed a network to develop text books and implement education programs to cultivate women politicians.¹⁴⁾

Activities to expand women's political participation were implemented in three ways. First is legal amendments to expedite women's political participation. Second is to enlighten voters about the necessity of women's political participation. Third is to cultivate women politicians.¹⁵⁾ The second and third were the main focus of the education programs by the governments. And yet, many of the activities to expand women's political participation, such as

14) Office of the Second State Minister of Political Affairs (1999). Women's White Paper.

15) The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2002). Women's White Paper. p.245.

political education and legal amendment, were inherently not easy for the government to push forward. Therefore, the government's cooperation with the private sector, including women's organizations and academia was essential. In other words, the government provided financial resources and women's organizations or other related non-government organizations implemented the programs. For example, the development of in-depth educational programs for those who completed the female undergraduates' camp was subsidized by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and then undertaken by Korean Women's Development Institute and experts in women's politics.¹⁶⁾ However, there were controversies within the governments, particularly the ministry charged with government budgeting, about the fact that the government which is supposed to remain politically neutral financed activities to expand women's political participation. As a result, all activities led by the central government to expand women's political participation were put on hold in 2006.

In Korea, local governments are divided into metropolitan or provincial (Si/Do) municipalities (17) and basic local (Si/Gun/Gu) municipalities (228). The objectives of women's political education by local governments are two folds: cultivation of women politicians and improvement of women's skills and knowledge on liberal arts. Such programs come with various names, including women leaders cultivation program, women's college, women's autonomy schools, housewives' college, academy, women's liberal arts college, etc. While the former education program for cultivation of women politicians aims to make women more interested in municipal autonomy and politics to encourage women's social participation, the latter education program encompassed vocational training, liberal arts, culture & art, civic participation, etc. for the purpose of upgrading women's social and liberal arts capabilities. Metropolitan and provincial municipalities operate programs of both the categories, but basic

16) Korean Women's Development Institute homepage, <http://www.kwdi.re.kr/noticeView.kw?sgrp=S01&siteCmsCd=CM0001&topCmsCd>, 2013.1.30

local municipalities focus more on the latter.

Women's political education at the municipality level began in the late 1990s as each municipality established a women's development fund. In the 2000s, the central government also followed suit giving a boost to such efforts. Currently, some of metropolitan municipalities still implement education to cultivate the next generation of women leaders, which was previously financed by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family but put on hold. Education programs by municipalities enjoy better consistency compared with those provided by women's organizations since the former have a stable source of budget. Some education programs of the municipalities are implemented by women's organizations in the form of projects financed by the women's development funds. As for the others, the municipalities either implement the programs on their own or commission its operation to educational institutes.

C. Political Parties

In Korean politics, political education by political parties did not bear much significance. Political parties were mostly driven by people from the same affiliations or region, and had a top-down operational mechanism, and hence they did not think that it is necessary to cultivate politicians and educate party members. Among party members, those who have close ties with the head of the party rather than outstanding individual competency had higher chances of nomination and a result of an election was often determined by whether or not their party had regional affiliation with the constituency. However, as the restoration of local autonomy increased demand for politicians and ushered in democratic systems such as electoral competition within a party, it became more necessary to find competent candidates and increase party members through political education.

Political parties reluctantly accepted the introduction of the gender quota system under pressures from women's organizations, but they did not still show

earnest interest in the cultivation of women politicians. They focused on bringing in competent and famous women from outside rather than nurturing women candidates within the parties through education. The amendment of the Political Fund Act in 2004 introduced the women's political development fund¹⁷⁾ and they began to take earnest interest in the development and operation of educational programs to cultivate women politicians at the party level. Institutions related to women's education at each political party recruited female trainees and taught leadership, election campaigning strategy, etc. And yet, their educational programs were said to be short on follow-up management.¹⁸⁾ That is, there was weak connection between education and nomination.

Ten percent of the government subsidy was supposed to be allotted for activities to promote women's political participation. However, the problem was that the fund was often used to supplement ordinary cost such as policy development expense,¹⁹⁾ day care center operation and female workers' labor cost, rather than being invested in educational schemes.²⁰⁾ Many point out that the main reason for that is because the operation of the fund was decided not by the women's committee but through consultation with the party's headquarters. Therefore, detailed operational guidelines and reinforcement of monitoring and auditing are required in order to ensure that the fund is used to serve its original purport. The current Political Fund Act stipulates 'The fund shall be spent for the political development of women' and this provision was construed as saying that the fund may be spent on any activities related to

17) Article 28 & 29, the Political Fund Act "Every political party that is paid the ordinary subsidy (...) shall distribute and pay not less than 10/100 thereof for the development of female politics; The National Election Commission shall (...) reduce the subsidy (...) whereby any political party uses subsidies for fielding female candidates (...) for any purpose other than usage (...)"

18) Choi Jung Won, previous article p.236

19) 'Policy development expense' refers to expenses needed to hold meetings, events and activities for policy making and policy agenda development.

20) The Women's News. 869 (2006.3.10), 927 (2007.9.27), 986 (2008.6.20)

Ⅱ . Background and Agents of Women's Political Education ••• 33

women or by the women's committee.²¹⁾ It is time now that the law should be overhauled to ensure that the women's political development fund of each party shall be spent to find and cultivate aspiring women politicians.

21) Kim Eun Hee (2007). "Political Parties' Execution of the Women's Political Development Fund and Suggestions for Improvement." Roundtable on the Analysis of the Execution of the Women's Political Development Fund by Political Parties and Improvement Measures. Source Book. 2007.

III

Women Voters' Education Programs: Progress and Analysis

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1. Women's Political NGOs

Political education of women voters was vitalized after the restoration of the local autonomy in 1990. The purpose of the education for female voters was to enhance their understanding on why women's political participation is important and necessary and thus to raise their awareness on women's political participation. Therefore, the content and theme of the education varied, affected by the political situation and social background of the times. The method of education included lectures, expert meetings, seminars, debates, workshops, etc.

The education programs placed emphasis on making female voters aware that women's issue are not a personal matter but a political agenda and therefore the challenges faced by women also should be addressed at political level. Also, it was emphasized that personal issues are not separable from the governance of the nation, and therefore the solution of the problems faced by individual should be sought in the political arena where decisions on the allocation of national resources are made. Such education contributed to spreading the notion that women's political participation is essential to address women issues. In other words, it was emphasized that women should not only participate in election campaigns or votes as voters but also take one step further to participate in politics as influential women leaders in formulating national policies.²²⁾

In society where male-dominated culture and perspectives are prevalent, people tend to think that politics and power are not the domain of women, and as a result most voters, both men and women, tend to prefer male candidates, or women passively defer to husbands' political opinions. The education for female voters basically aimed to educate women to actively participate in politics and to recognize that their active participation in political system, an

22) Sohn Bong Scuk & Cho Ki Sook (1995). Local Councils and Women Elite. Seoul: Jipmundang. pp.20-22.

authoritative allocation of values, is a short cut to democratic society based on gender equality.

After the restoration of local autonomy in 1991, a local council was considered as a place for life politics and women's participation in local councils was more emphasized in the political education for women. Local autonomy refers to a system to transfer authorities to address the issues of local community from the central government to local governments so that local residents can directly engage themselves in the development of the local communities. Municipalities handle a variety of matters related to residents' welfare such as child-rearing, the elderly, education, youth, sewage and environmental sanitation. Most of the welfare issues are originated from households and hence the education programs emphasized that women are much superior to men in identifying and finding solutions to such matters.

Since its foundation in 1969, Korean League of Women Voters has provided education for female voters to participate and make a right decision in an election. In the run-up to a local election in February 1991, it hosted a seminar under the theme of local autonomy and election to make democracy take root and call for voters to make a right choice and formulate sound election culture. In 1994, it expanded the scope of its education to also include volunteers for election campaign. Educating female voters to make them serve as volunteers in election campaigns contributed to formulating an environment for a fair election. In 1995, it conducted an education program for housewives in order to enhance their awareness on democracy. The purpose of such education was to make housewives whose scope of interest is confined to family nurture the spirit of community and social participation so that they could become proactive players in politics in life and participatory democracy.²³⁾ In 1998 and 1999, an education program for women voters was carried out for the purpose of

23) Korean League of Women Voters (2000). *Women Voters' Movement and Political Development*. Seoul: Shigongsa. pp.296-297.

realizing 'small politics.' Korean Institute for Women & Politics hosted two seminars under the themes of 'Advancement of democratic society and women voters' mindset (1992)' and 'Female voters and political reform (1996).' Center for Korean Women & Politics held a debate entitled 'Women's localization · local community's womanization (1990)' in order to discuss the importance and ways of promoting women's political participation in the era of localization. Recently, Center for Korean Women & Politics provides an education program to immigrant women married to Korean men in order to enhance their mindset as voter and participation in local elections since the amendment of the Public Official Election Act granted them the right to vote in local elections starting three years after marriage.

Among the education programs, two particular programs were examined in details in this paper: an Parliament Activities Study Room (women voters' movement to realize small politics) conducted by Korean League of Women Voters and Education Program for Monitoring Activities of Members of Parliament and Local Councils conducted by Korean Women's Political Solidarity and Korean Women for Legislature. Legislative Activities Study Room is a highly effective education program based on trainees' hands-on participation. Education Program for Monitoring Local Council Members' Activities of Korean Women for Legislature focused on education of monitoring methodology while 'Education to Cultivate Guardian of the National Assembly based on Gender Equality', another monitoring program of Korean Women's Political Solidarity, focused on promoting feministic perspective.

A. Legislative Activities Study Room

1) Progress

Legislative Activities Study Room was implemented by Korean League of Women Voters from 1998 to 1999 for awareness raising of female voters. It

aimed to realize the so called “small politics“ through women voters' voluntary participation in local activities and politics, thus contributing to localization and municipal autonomy. In addition to lectures, the program also included the ‘Legislative Activities Study Room’²⁴⁾ where various activities were carried out such as site visits, attendance at standing committee meetings, campaign to address issues of the local communities or seek signatures, etc. In 1998, the program was conducted in three regions—Daegu, Gwangju and Busan—by its regional branches. In 1999, branch offices in Gangwon-do, Daejeon-City and Chooncheongbuk-do also followed suit. This program sought to promote local residents' ownership by engaging them in identifying and addressing issues of the local communities and to restore the sense of community by conducting joint activities involving local residents, local councilors and local government workers. This program was sponsored by the Bureau of Public Information (1998) and Asia Foundation (1999).

2) Content and Methodology

Legislative Activities Study Room was a 5-week program. In its first phase, participants were recruited and meetings with local councilors and government officials were held to identify pending issues in the local communities and set direction for future activities. In the second phase, Legislative Activities Study Room was organized and issues of the local communities were identified. Participants in the program met once a week to study and discussed how to address issues of their local communities. In the third phase, the participants made site visits to local communities of the issues, attended at standing committee meetings as observers, and participated in campaigns including signature-seeking campaigns to address issues of the local communities. By doing so, trainees were encouraged to be involved in addressing issues of the

24) ‘Legislative Activities Study Room’ is a title of one of the activities done as a part of the project, ‘Legislative Activities Study Room’.

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local communities and push the government. In the fourth phase, a joint gathering was held and branch offices shared their experience and achievement on the education of women voters aimed at small politics.

Issues of the local communities chosen by the branch offices in 1998 were as follows: 'Create the Future of Daegu-After-school Education' in Daegu, 'Building Gwangju of the 21st Century-a Clean City without Trash' in Gwangju, 'Environment in Busan-Local Community Worth Living In' in Busan. In order to address the issues in the local communities, each branch office organized the 'Legislative Activities Study Room,' which explored solutions and conducted activities engaging women voters, local council members, local government officials and local residents such as submitting letters of suggestions to municipalities and local councils, campaign to gather signatures, site visit and other campaigns.

〈Table Ⅲ-1〉 Women Voters' Activities to Realize Small Politics

	Daegu	Gwangju	Busan
topic	after-school education for kids	garbage-free city	environmental issue
1st week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • debates <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - topic: Status of after-school education for kids - participants: officials from city government and the office of education, association of day care centers, social welfare centers, association of tutoring schools, etc. (over 70 people) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • site visit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - place: Sangmu new city - to enhance the awareness of local councilors, public officials and local organizations on environment as part of urban planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • site visit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Garbage treatment facility in Yeoje-gu
2nd week	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • site visit <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Daecheong elementary school, Hyumyong elementary school, Wolsung Social Welfare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meetings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - place: Namgu district office of Gwangju - reports by experts/government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - learn about waste recycling, in joint with women local councilors

	Daegu	Gwangju	Busan
	Center – objective: to review and monitor kids' after-school education programs and related issues	officials on the current status	
3rd week	• debate – The Daegu municipality, the city education office, day care centers, welfare centers and parents exchanged opinions and they made a list of suggestions	• debate – topic: measures to reduce garbage and promote recycling – solutions to issues in the local community	• group discussion – topic: waste treatment in the region – presentation of each team's discussion results
4th week	• visit to the local council – submit the list of suggestions	• site visit – Samsung Electronics' plant in Gwangju – to monitor its eco-friendly management	• debate – topic: parliamentary activities to address environmental issues – participants: 270
5th week	• visit to day care centers	• campaign – to urge interest in environmental issues in the local community	• to hold green market – bartering to promote recycling

B. Education Programs for Monitoring Lawmaking Activities

Monitoring lawmaking activities means that trainees of monitoring education attend the Assembly plenary session or standing committee meeting and keep record of, analyze and evaluate lawmakers' remarks. The monitoring aims to evaluate the lawmakers' activities and it is critical to keep objective, impartial, transparent and open. Thus, it is necessary to develop objective evaluation criteria and provide systematic education for monitors to understand the criteria clearly. Education programs for monitoring lawmaking activities requires a more specialized education program than any other types of political education based on a clear manual and systematic methodology because the disclosure of

monitoring results has substantial impacts even though there was no particular award to lawmakers who are considered exemplary.

After local councils were reestablished in 1991, YMCA in Bucheon organized a watchdog group of councilors' activities which consisted of housewives in their 30s to 50s. They monitored the activities of the local councilors and successfully introduced an ordinance to ban tobacco vending machines. This success made women's organizations more interested in monitoring local councils. They either participated in regional monitoring groups or established their own watchdog agencies which usually monitor lawmakers and local councilors with a focus on health, welfare, women and family.

Korean League of Women Voters set up a watchdog agency of women voters in 1993, which attended the plenary session and standing committees of the National Assembly and provided education. 'Korean Women for Legislature' which was established in 1998 monitored the activities of local councilors with its branch offices responsible for monitoring the local council of its region. This monitoring group consisted of the members of Korean League of Women Voters and they received education on monitoring method before attending the council meetings. The content of the education includes the operation and legislation process of the local council, the meaning of monitoring lawmaking activities, monitoring attitude, monitoring manual (how to make quantitative/qualitative checklists and evaluation method) and so on. Korean Women's Political Solidarity established Cyber Watchdog of the Parliament (2001), Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly (2004) and Watchdog of Seoul Municipal Council (2008) and provided education on monitoring. Its main focus of the monitoring is on the activities of parliamentary members in the National Assembly and council members of Seoul city council.

1) Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly²⁵⁾

(a) Progress

Korean Women's Political Solidarity launched a parliamentary monitoring group named 'Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly' in 2004. The unit was composed of students, housewives and other ordinary citizens and charged with monitoring the activities of 39 female lawmakers who won seats at the National Assembly in the 17th general election. 39 female lawmakers accounted for 13% of the National Assembly seats and it was the first time in Korean history that the ratio of women posted a double digit number. It was indeed the accomplishment of the efforts made by women's organizations to send more women to the National Assembly. The launch of Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly was based on trust in those women lawmakers, and it sought to monitor their activities with great expectations to help them realize clean and transparent politics which gives hope to people and care for the underprivileged. The members of Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly were provided with education on monitoring even before the launch of the unit and continued to take training by outside experts throughout their monitoring activities to improve expertise.

(b) Content and Methodology

The members of Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly took an education program named 'Policy School for Feminist Monitoring on Lawmaking Activities.' Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly monitored and reviewed the parliamentary activities and analyzed the legislation process and political activities at the National Assembly from a gender perspective. Therefore, its members were trained in a program focusing on understanding the feministic paradigm for policy analysis rather than simply

25) Korean Women's Political Solidarity homepage, www.womanpower.or.kr

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monitoring technique and methodology.

〈Table Ⅲ-2〉 Curriculum of Guardian of Gender Equality at the National Assembly

	Topic
Lecture 1	Open the door, 'sallim(everyday politics in life)' - Sisters, call for politics in the peripherals of the world
Lecture 2	Women's perspective - Feminism inside me, move beyond the dilemma of difference and equality
Lecture 3	Institutionalize women's development agenda and legislation - Things that men don't do, let's do them for ourselves and our daughters!
Lecture 4	Feminization of poverty, can a welfare state be built? - Shadows of fast economic growth, marginalization of women
Lecture 5	Women's life, work and family - Is maternity leave the negligence of duty?
Lecture 6	The reality of female laborers' lives under neo-liberalism and globalization - Our stories, take a look at irregular female workers
Lecture 7	Value of care-givers' labor and women's right to property - household work deserves not payment but lip service?
Lecture 8	Can't we put an end to violence against women? - To fall victim or resist till death
Lecture 9	Women & peace across national boundaries - peace, people, security, militarism
Lecture 10	Gender-sensitive policy analysis and gender budget - hard-earned policies for gender equality, where is the budget to make them happen?

'Policy School for Women's Monitoring of the Parliament' was a 5-day program composed of 10 lectures. On the first day, Lecture 1 was "Open the door, politics for 'Sallim (everyday politics in life)' - Sisters, call for politics in the peripherals of the world" where the importance and necessity of women's political participation was explained. Lecture 2 was "Women's perspective - Feminism inside me, move beyond the dilemma of difference and equality" which covered gender stereo types, sexual discrimination and gender equality. It also offered an opportunity to look back on one's life from a feminist perspective.

On the second day, Lecture 3 was "Institutionalize women's development

agenda and legislation - Things that men don't do, let's do them for ourselves and our daughters!" which covered the role and effort of women's organizations in pursuing legislations for women. Lecture 4 was "Feminization of poverty, can a welfare state be built? - Shadows of fast economic growth, marginalization of women" which raised issues on the increased women population in poverty despite economic growth and stressed the importance of a welfare state based on gender equality.

On the third day, Lecture 5 was "Women's life, work and family - Is maternity leave the negligence of duty?" which dealt with the fundamental reasons of low birth rate and the importance of government policies to promote work and life balance. Lecture 6 was "The reality of female laborers' lives under neo-liberalism and globalization - Our stories, take a look at irregular female workers" which touched upon women's vulnerable status in labor market and the issue of irregular women workers.

On the fourth day, Lecture 7 was "Value of care-givers' labor and women's right to property - household work deserves not payment but lip service?" where the value of care-giving labor and its contribution to property accumulation, and the necessity of couple's joint ownership of property were discussed. Lecture 8 was "Can't we put an end to violence against women? - To fall victim or resist till death" where the current status of violence against women, including sexual and domestic violence, and ineffective policies of the government were covered.

On the fifth day, Lecture 9 was "Women & peace across national boundaries - peace, people, security, militarism" where the meaning and the importance of peace on the Korean peninsular were reviewed and the future directions for women's movement to promote peace was discussed. Lastly, Lecture 10 was "Gender-sensitive policy analysis and gender budget - hard-earned policies for gender equality, where is the budget to make them happen?" which dealt with the gender impact assessment to analyze government policies from a gender

perspective as well as the gender sensitive budget. Parliamentary monitoring from a feminist perspective means to see whether female lawmakers carry out legislation or auditing activities from a gender perspective, so as to properly monitor government policies.

2) Education on Local Council Monitoring

(a) Progress

Korean Women for Legislature distributed the standard manual on local council monitoring to all branch offices across the country and the manual was used to educate their monitoring groups. The education focused on the methodology of how to monitor the local councils. Monitoring of local council members is important since it contributes to improving their abilities to push for legislation and keep the administration in check. As a matter of fact, the members of local councils have less expertise than lawmakers at the National Assembly, and consequently they were not able to effectively keep the administration in check. In addition, local council monitoring helps to strengthen policy productivity of the local councils and also cut back on their corruption problems.

Local council monitoring is done in two ways; to attend local council meetings or to analyze parliamentary records. The most basic method is to attend the meetings of the local council such as the plenary session and the standing committee meetings and observe how council members act and handle bills. One can see real-life aspect of local council activities at the plenary session and the standing committee meetings. Rather than simply writing things down, monitors should keep record on the meetings from various perspectives and methodologies so that their observations can later be put into statistics and data.

Second is to analyze parliamentary records. In principle, all meetings held at the local councils shall be kept in records in written scripts. Therefore, one can learn about what was discussed in the meetings by looking at the written

transcripts without attending the meetings. This may not be able to capture the overall atmosphere in meetings, council members' attitudes, etc. Yet, it is still a more effective way in case that a meeting continues into the night or is not open to the public, or one needs to check the proceeding of a meeting. In particular, administrative documents which are not disclosed to the public are attached to the meeting minutes and therefore examining the meeting minutes may help to learn more about what is going on in their community.

(b) Content and Methodology

The monitors' education is divided into basic education based on a monitoring manual and in-depth education. Basic education focuses on the meaning, importance and methodology of local council monitoring. It also puts premium on the budgeting and settlement deliberation processes at the municipalities. This is essential education to analyze whether or not budgeting and budget execution were conducted fairly from a gender perspective, since policies can be executed only when necessary budgets are allocated. In fact, the analysis of budgeting and settlement documents is the most challenging part of monitoring to many engaged in local council monitoring.

〈Table III-3〉 Curriculum of Local Council Monitoring Education

	Curriculum
Chap. 1	definition & significance of local council monitoring
Chap. 2	function and role of local councils
Chap. 3	key agenda of local councils and parliamentary terminology
Chap. 4	meeting proceeding method and terminology
Chap. 5	local council monitoring and how to attend
Chap. 6	municipality budget analysis method
Chap. 7	municipality budget execution audit method
Chap. 8	relation between local councils and municipalities
Chap. 9	current status of local councils monitoring activities

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The method of local council monitoring is taught in four steps: make a preparation, produce a monitoring schedule, understand the monitoring manual and prepare an evaluation session. The first step (preparation) is to check parliamentary schedules, gather basic information on the local council and build collaboration with the local press. The second step (monitoring schedule) is very important for efficient monitoring observation of the local council. Monitoring teams are composed of 2 or 3 members in one team and take turns every 3 to 4 hours to watch proceedings in a local council. The third step (understand the manual) is to teach how to make the checklist for monitoring. The final step (prepare an evaluation session) is to analyze monitoring results and hold a session to release it to local residents. For this, the evaluation can be conducted in either of the two ways: Either they select and announce exemplary council members or they analyze and unveil how the pending issues of the local community were addressed at the council.

In-depth education implemented by branch offices or the headquarters was aimed to enhance the gender-sensitivity of local council monitors. The members of the monitoring unit had to have a high level of gender-sensitivity so that their assessment and monitoring activities can reflect a feminist perspective and interest in the policy and political processes. That is because monitoring activities need to be more specialized, with their focus shifting from simply how much favorable and supportive the council members are toward women's policies or issues to how much gender-sensitivity was demonstrated by the council members in process of devising policies and laws not directly related with women. In that sense, in-depth education should continue to be provided.

Local council monitoring and assessment by women is important in that women's participation in policy and political processes should be assured in order to realize politics based on gender equality. It is important to increase the number of women in the local councils, so they reflect women's interest and perspective in the policy-making process. However, this is not quite possible at

this moment since the ratio of women is way too small in the National Assembly and the local councils. Monitoring and assessment of local council activities is an alternative to overcoming such limitations in reality.

C. Achievement and Significance

First, the education of women voters was critical in the early 1990s. Women as well as men had negative views on women's political participation, as shown in such expressions as 'When a hen crows, a family goes down', or 'Women vote against women'. Most women simply followed their husbands' opinions in voting for candidates and hence women voters' education had to be a starting point to change all that. The education program consisted of various elements, such as lecture, seminar, debate, meeting and workshop, and helped women to take up their own political views and depart from the notion that politics is the domain of men. Furthermore, it made a big contribution to forming a consensus that women should foray into local councils and various government organizations as politician as well as voter in order to promote women's right and interest. In addition, women voters' education enlightened women's perception of political participation so that they have the intent to become the representative of women.

Second, Legislative Activities Study Room bears significance in that it was a participatory learning process. It encourages women to actively participate in solving the problems in their lives in a community rather than learning in a classroom and by doing so, women's participation was encouraged. Classroom education is effective in teaching a lot of information systematically in a short span of time but alternative method is needed to let people make use of the information that they learned in their daily lives. In other words, women needed an opportunity to gain confidence that they could accomplish something by participating in politics and policy-making process. In that sense, this program had very strong educational effects. Women participants in the program chose a

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local community issue to address on their own, learned necessary information, visited concerned sites, held meetings with stakeholders and conducted public campaigns to publicize the issue and urge its resolution. All those activities were the process to cultivate women into the leaders of local communities as well as voters.

Third, Guardian of General Equality at the National Assembly sought monitoring to criticize and watch female lawmakers' activities at the National Assembly from a feministic perspective. In that sense, its education program for monitors focused on understanding of a feministic paradigm for policy analysis rather than monitoring technique and methodology. By contrast, the monitoring of the local councils was aimed at evaluating the activities of the council members by attending council meetings. Therefore, its education of local council monitors focused on technical aspects such as monitoring manual, checklist, etc.

Fourth, education on local council activities monitoring is necessary in order to ensure impartial and transparent monitoring of the members of the National Assembly and the local councils. The monitoring aims at evaluation and hence objectivity, transparency, impartiality and openness are the most important. Women's organizations set up monitoring groups and provided them with necessary education. The education on local council monitoring requires more specialized education program than any other areas of political education based on a strict manual and systematic methodology. It is because the disclosure of monitoring results has substantial implications even though there was no particular event to select/award exemplary council members. Monitoring education was implemented in various methods depending on trainees and monitoring methods.

2. Local Governments

The local governments in Korea are divided into metropolitan or provincial (Si/Do) municipalities (17) and basic local (Si/Gun/Gu) municipalities (228). The former includes capital city, metropolitan cities and provinces. The latter is cities, counties and districts (districts in the capital city and metropolitan cities). Both the metropolitan and basic local municipalities have the local council as a policy-making body and the head of the municipality as an execution body. The local council is composed of councilors elected by local residents. The head of the municipality refers to the mayors of Seoul and metropolitan cities, provincial governors, county heads and district office heads. They are also elected by local residents and govern and represent the municipality concerned.

Women's political education provided by the municipalities comes in two folds; First is to cultivate women leaders and the other is to educate them on liberal arts and there are a number of programs such as Women leaders cultivation program, Women's College, Women's Autonomy School, Housewives' College, Academy, and Women's College on Liberal Arts. The former aims to draw more attention to municipal autonomy and women's political participation while the latter sought to improve women's vocational skills, knowledge on liberal arts, culture and arts and civic participation. Metropolitan municipalities have both the types of programs but local municipalities tend to focus more on the latter.

This section will cover women leaders cultivation program of Gyeongsangnam-do and Women's College of Gangwon-do as examples of metropolitan municipalities in details and also review education programs of Gimcheon and Ansan among local municipalities. One difference to be noted is that Gyeongsangnam-do and Ansan commissioned other agencies to operate the programs while Gangwon-do and Gimcheon implemented the programs on their own.

A. Metropolitan & Provincial Municipalities

1) Women Leaders Cultivation Program of Gyeongsangnam-do

Gyeongsangnam-do Municipality started a women leaders cultivation program as part of lifelong education to encourage and vitalize women's social participation in 1998, which was the first of its kind in Korea. To date, the province has invested its provincial budget to commission the program's operation to four universities in the region; Gyeongsang National University, Changwon National University, Gyeongnam National University and Inje University. Every year, over 140 people took the program and the total number of trainees reached 2005 people until the end of 2011. In particular, 16 trainees were later elected as local councilors and approximately 250 trainees have been active in various committees. The program which celebrated the 15th anniversary in 2012 provides education courses of 120 hours for 8 months from April to November.

In 2012, the direction of the education program made a drastic shift to participatory courses such as customized leadership class, communication skill, speech training, etc. in order to cope with the demand of the times that women should exercise leadership to make a difference in the local community such as civic movement, women's right and interest, and gender equality rather than they play an merely assisting role such as volunteers. Before 2012, the women leaders cultivation program provided rather basic courses to identify trainees' aptitude as women leader and to spark their potentials. In 2012, more practical courses were provided to nurture women's potentials and expand their political participation.

〈Table III-4〉 Gyeongsang National University's Women Leaders Cultivation Program (2012)

	Curriculum	Hours
1	Opening ceremony, orientation	1
2	Path of women leaders	2
3	Ancestors' communication method (referred to in classics)	2
4	Workshop	2 days
5	Changing society and reinforcing competitiveness of women 1	2
6	Changing society and reinforcing competitiveness of women 2	2
7	Leadership of women 1	2
8	Leadership of women 2	2
9	Successful public speech 1	2
10	Successful public speech 2	2
11	Successful public speech 3	2
12	Successful public speech 4	2
13	Understanding of multicultural families 1	2
14	Understanding of multicultural families 2	2
15	Sports day	1
16	Meeting with the head of municipalities and senior women leaders	6
17	Women leaders and political participation 1	2
18	Women leaders and political participation 2	2
19	Women's policies in Gyeongsangnam-do	2
20	Overseas training	2 nights/3days
21	Basic common sense in law	2
22	Volunteering: theory and practice	2
23	Visit to local companies	4
24	Meeting with the provincial governor	6
25	Lecture on liberal arts	2
26	Lecture on liberal arts	2
27	Successful image making: theory	2
28	Successful image making: practice	2
29	Women leaders' parental role	2
30	Meeting proceeding method	2
31	Volunteering	6
32	Graduation trip	1 night/2 days
33	Leadership	3

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	Curriculum	Hours
34	Special lecture by a lawmaker	2
35	Special lecture by a lawmaker	2
36	Gender equality 1	2
37	Gender equality 2	2
38	Presentation on the result of a team project to improve speech skills 1	4
39	Presentation on the result of a team project to improve speech skills 2	4
40	Course evaluation and comment	2
41	Graduation ceremony	1
		120

Source: Women's Policy Department of Gyeongsangnam-do Municipality (2012)

2) Women's College of Gangwon-do

Gangwon-do Municipality has directly operated Women's College since 2000 and has produced graduates for 13 years until 2012. This education program aims at developing women's potential and competitiveness, and then cultivating competent women who actively participate in various sectors of society and have ownership on their own lives in the age of knowledge and information. Until the end of 2011, a total of 3,162 women graduated from Women's college. This program is operated directly by the women's policy department of Gangwon-do municipality, and targets women in 19 cities and counties within the province. Both face-to-face lectures and video lectures are provided. Face-to-face lecture in Chuncheon, the capital city of Gangwon-do, is broadcast live through video conference systems at city and county levels. As shown below, the themes of the education program are mostly related to women's political participation and leadership.

〈Table III-5〉 Gangwon Women's College Curriculum (2012)

	Topic
Politics	Women! fall in love with politics
	Women's political participation makes a difference
	Charm of ancient maps (East Sea and Dokdo island)
	Women and politics in life
Economy	Successful financial management
Society	Parental education to prevent school violence
	Age of multi-culture, how to be a good neighbor to immigrant women
	Women in history of Gangwon-do
Culture	Tales reflected in folk paintings
Women	Successful women leaders' time management
	Speaking with positiveness and empathy
Life	Traffic safety culture (car accidents and defensive driving method)
	Age of emotional management ! Women's leadership
Health	Women's obesity and health management
Policy	Energy saving and green growth
Site visit	

Source: Women's Policy Department at Gangwon-do municipality (2012). internal document.

B. Basic Local Municipalities

1) Womens' College of Gimcheon

Women's Colleges operated by the metropolitan municipalities are different from those run by the local municipalities. While the former focuses on women's leadership education, the latter puts premium on liberal arts, culture & art and vocational skills although they also provide leadership education, too. The women's colleges operated by the local municipalities have more active networks among participants, compared to those of metropolitan municipalities. Their class gatherings and alumni play the role of women's organizations.

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Women's College in Gimchoeon was originated from the Gimcheon Housewives College established in 1984. The Gimcheon Housewives College was renamed as Women's College in 1987 for the purpose of providing education to all women, rather than confining the scope of education to only housewives. All women aged 25~65 and living in Gimcheon are eligible to attend. During the first half of every year, 14 courses are provided for two hours on Tuesday.

Previously, the Gimcheon Housewives College was founded by Gyeongsangnam-do for the first time in Korea, and was operated by Keimyung University commissioned by the Municipality. The Housewives College received very good feedback from women, who had few chances to receive social education. In the first year, it produced 110 graduates on a small budget of 500,000 won. Then in September the same year, the 2nd semester was opened additionally since there were too many applicants. Drawing upon the experiences of running Housewives College commissioned to Keimyung University for two semesters, the Gimcheon municipality has operated Women's College on its own since 1985. As of 2012, Women's College produced the 29th class of graduates. As shown below, its curriculum consists of liberal arts, household economy, multi-culture understanding, kids' education, health, traditional paper crafts, site visit, etc., instead of leadership education, and as such focused on women's liberal arts and social education.

〈Table Ⅲ-6〉 Gimcheon Women's College Curriculum (2012)

Day	Curriculum
1	Opening ceremony and orientation
	Introduction of administration
2	"Lead a happy life"
3	Tips on how to get over fatigue
4	Site visit (future of Gimcheon, the city of happiness)

Day	Curriculum
5	Tips on how to enjoy wine
6	Vision of united Korea and next steps
7	Household economy management knowhow to create hope
8	Cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR)
9	Traditional paper craft
10	Untold history of Gimcheon
11	Sharing happiness with multi-cultural communities
12	Bring me back my young skin!
13	Wise, eco-friendly lifestyle for low carbon green growth
14	Graduation ceremony (special lecture)

Source: Women's Policy Department at Gimcheon municipality

2) Women's Autonomy College in Ansan

Women's Autonomy College was established for the purpose of expanding women's social participation by developing their potentials and also producing competent women workforce to respond to the knowledge-based and localization era of the 21st century, and thus cultivating women leaders to participate in municipalities and contribute to the development of local communities. Its curriculum consists of two parts—Gender leadership training and women leaders' course—and was operated by a specialized private education institute commissioned by the city government. Participatory courses and debate sessions were offered, rather than one-way lectures, in order to let participants nurture aptitude and qualities of a women leader. Women's Autonomy College served as the passageway for women to participate in municipal autonomy and society.

The first semester started in May 2003. Every year, two semesters were operated for a total of 13 weeks with one class every week. Until the end of 2011, over 570 people completed a total of 15 semesters and their alumni served as a women's organization. Yet, this program ended in 2012. According

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to local newspapers, issues have continued to be raised with the commissioned operation of the program since 2008, and such negative public opinion seemed to lead to an end to the program.²⁶⁾

〈Table Ⅲ-7〉 Women's Autonomy College Curriculum (2008)

	Curriculum	Field
1	Opening ceremony	
	Ice-breaking & memorize class mates' names	leadership
	Lecture (the 21st century and women's political participation)	women & politics
2	Understanding women's leadership	leadership
	Special lecture	
	Civil society and women's roles in the 21st century	women & politics
3	Vision setting	leadership
	Understanding gender equality	women & politics
4	Leadership development at the organizational level	leadership
	Women's policy making from gender perspective	women & politics
5	Confidence building	leadership
	Municipality budgeting and monitoring	women & politics
6	Interpersonal skills	leadership
	Understanding Local Autonomy Act	women & politics
7	How to get over jitters and stresses	leadership
	Meeting with female politicians (significance and role of women's political participation)	women & politics
8	Persuasion skills development	leadership
	Public speech skills	women & politics

26) Ansan Times. "Selection method of 'Women's Autonomy College' operators should be changed" (Jan. 24, 2008) and Banwol Daily (Sep. 25, 2008) reported that there were continuous controversies over the institutions commissioned to operate Women's Autonomy College and debates on the College's closure was already mentioned since 2008.

C. Achievements and Their Significance

Unlike the central government, it is not easy for local governments to take interest in women's political education to nurture women leaders. Nevertheless, most metropolitan and local municipalities carry out educational programs to cultivate women leaders for several reasons. First, most of the municipalities have legislated ordinances on women's development and operated women's development funds. Under the leadership of the central government, they implement activities to cultivate young women leaders by allocating a certain proportion of budget and supervising, thus setting a precedent. Lastly, there were strong pressures from local women's organizations.

Second, there are several characteristics of women's political education programs operated by the municipalities. While metropolitan municipalities separated operation of women's leadership education from that of women's lifelong education, local municipalities focused more on lifelong education such as vocational skills development, liberal arts education, culture and art, etc. In addition, unlike the central government, local governments showed a higher level of continuity of women leaders cultivation activities. And, many of them commissioned educational programs to specialized institutions such as local universities or research institutes, rather than operating the programs on their own. In that case, the curriculum of educational programs should be closely reviewed in order to satisfy the purport of women leaders cultivation. Also, commissioned institutions should be strictly supervised and managed.

Third, graduates from the women's political education programs of the municipalities are encouraged to actively participate in local politics and the policy making process of the municipalities. They serve at local councils or various other committees at the municipalities, thus providing motivation for other women to participate in women's political education programs. Those graduates build close networks among themselves so that they can actively engage themselves in addressing various social issues facing the local

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communities let alone participate in local politics.

Fourth, it is necessary that local governments should enhance impartiality and transparency in the selection of educational institutes to be commissioned to operate the women's education programs. To select institutions which offer curriculum and educational methodologies befitting the purport of women's political education is the way forward to raise continuity and credibility of the education programs.

IV

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1. Women's Political NGOs

The education for women candidates aims to teach and train women looking to run for public offices on election campaign strategies. Particularly in the run-up to local elections, participants in such education programs can learn specialized techniques and methods related to running for an election and conducting an election campaign. Such programs were provided by women's political organizations, Korea Women Association United and Korea National Council of Women.

Center for Korean Women & Politics started Campaign School in 1992, which was the first educational program specializing in election. Korean Institute for Women & Politics launched Women's Politics School in 1989. Korea League of Women Voters kicked off women political leaders education in 1993 and an educational program for women candidates in local elections in 1995. Korea Women Association United organized a workshop to train women candidates to local councils in 1994 on election campaign practices and then in 1998 it offered candidates and election volunteers education on practical skills for election campaigns.

Prior to the local election on June 4th, 1998, Center for Korean Women & Politics, Korean Institute for Women & Politics, Korean League of Women Voters and Korea Women's Political Caucus organized Women's Political Network in December 1997 to jointly implement education to nurture women political leaders. Thus far, they had individually carried out activities to enhance women's awareness on political participation and educate election candidates, but redundancy among such activities resulted in inefficiency and they could not properly pressure political parties. That's why an educational coalition was formed among the four organizations to develop women candidates.²⁷⁾

27) Kim Won Hong, Kim Hye Young & Kim Eun Kyung (2001). Korean Women's Political Participation after Independence from Japan and Future Challenges. Korean Women's Development Institute. pp.301-303.

Recently, Center for Korean Women and Politics implemented education to cultivate immigrant women into candidates in local elections.²⁸⁾ Since 2008, it has provided such educational programs for two years, sponsored by the Ministry of Gender Equality, with the goal that an immigrant woman can be nominated as the first proportional representation. As a result, Mrs. Ira (an Mongolian-Korean) was nominated as the first proportional representation candidate to the local election in 2010 and earned a seat at the local council of Gyeonggi-do. Another graduate from the program, Mrs. Jasmine Lee (a Filipino-Korean), was nominated as proportional representation candidate of the ruling Saenuri Party for the 2012 general election and she currently serves as a member of the 19th National Assembly.

In the next section, Campaign School of Center for Korean Women and Politics and the educational programs of Women's Political Network will be closely looked at, especially execution process and methodology. Campaign School became a role model of women candidates education in the 1990s, and Women's Political Network formed an educational coalition to cultivate women candidates for the first time in Korea. In these respects, taking a close look at those two institutions will give us very useful insight.

A. Campaign School

1) Progress

Campaign School is a education program for women candidates conducted by Center for Korean Women & Politics in the 1990s for three times (1992, 1995 and 1998). It is a basically 3-day program and offered specialized curriculum ranging from making a firm determination to run for an election to establishing election campaign strategies. In 1992 and 1995, it was implemented in the form of 3 day education sessions, and in 1998 participants had a 2 nights and 3 day

28) Project to make the first lawmaker out of immigrant women married to Korean men

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camp as part of the program. The camp training was included in the 1998 program because, that way, it was easier for the participants to get together after class for a team project to prepare a mock strategy meeting for an election campaign on the last day of the program.

In 1992, Campaign School was sponsored by Asia Foundation and involved more than 40 women who were either candidates or campaign volunteers in the 14th National Assembly election. Campaign School, which was the first of its kind, drew a great deal of attention from the media and the women's community. In 1995 and 1998, Campaign School involved women candidates and volunteers in local elections and was sponsored by Asia Foundation (1995) and Hanns Seidel Foundation (1998). Back then, women's development funds did not exist and hence activities to boost women's political participation had to be paid for by participants themselves or overseas donors. These international donors were aware that women's political participation contributes to full-fledged democracy and actively supported activities to expand women's political participation.

2) Content and Methodology

Campaign School used a curriculum divided into several steps to cover all election campaign processes. Participants in the program learned and practiced what is a legal and clean election campaign, what election campaign strategies are necessary for women candidates, and what PR strategies are appropriate for women. Campaign School did not simply seek to get women candidates to win in elections. Its ultimate goal was to ensure that women candidates can win in elections through clean, economic election campaigns and thus contribute to formulating democratic election culture.

〈Table IV-1〉 Campaign School Curriculum

	Curriculum
Day 1	Orientation and self-introduction
	Decision to run for election and preparation
	Election strategy
	Organization and use of volunteers
	Fund raising
Day 2	Public opinion poll
	Voters' propensity analysis
	Election pledge and speech
	Meeting
Day 3	Meeting with voters
	Image making and PR strategy
	Election campaign: types of legal campaign and illegal campaign
	Presentation of mock election campaign strategies

Campaign School recruited trainees from the press and women's organizations for its education program on how to make election campaign strategies. Before taking the program, candidates were asked to collect basic information on the constituency that they were running for, such as pending issues of the constituency and information on competitor candidates, and to think of election PR plan, business card, slogan, uniforms, etc. Trainees who sought to work as election volunteers were requested to prepare information on candidates and pending issues of the area where they lived. Candidates were recommended to take part in the program together with volunteers.

As for its curriculum, Day 1 was orientation and self-introduction. The program organizer explained the purpose and the method of education, and the participants shared reasons why they took the program and information they prepared. After that, lectures were given on the themes of making a decision to

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run for an election, election preparation, establishing strategies for an election, recruiting volunteers and utilizing their manpower, and fund raising. On the second day, they carried out several activities: public opinion polls, voters' propensity analysis, election pledge making, speech and 'time for meeting.' In the 'time for meeting,' women candidates who already expressed intent to run for an election were invited to share their experiences and difficulties in preparing an election. On the third day, there were lectures on meeting voters, image management and PR strategy, election campaign (types of legal and illegal campaigns) and the participants made presentations on the results of mock election campaign strategy meeting.

The purpose of Campaign School was to help establish doable election campaign strategies and therefore its education method was designed to let the participants to set up their own campaign strategies. In that context, in the lectures they not only learnt about specialized information but also got their strategies reviewed by experts and made revisions accordingly. Based on the information that they collected before the program, each participant established her own organization for election campaign and plan to work with volunteers, developed a questionnaire for public opinion poll, and analyzed and presented voters' propensity in order to set up election pledges customized to each group of voters. As to speech and image making, they wore prepared outfits and made speeches written by themselves. All those speeches were recorded to give them feedback on how to improve speech and attitude.

The peak of Campaign School was the mock election campaign strategy meeting, which was basically a role play session. Center for Korean Women & Politics organized team for mock election campaign strategy involving women who actually prepared to run for an election in 1994 including researchers at Center for Korean Women and Politics and the participants aspiring to become future women leaders. The team presented campaign strategies that they established.²⁹⁾ The presentation by the mock election campaign strategy meeting

which was added to Campaign School in 1998 was prepared in line with a format established in 1994.

〈Table IV-2〉 Mock Election Campaign Strategy Meeting

	Tasks
Chief election manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analyze the electoral environment - analyze voters' propensity - develop election pledges
PR manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - analyze characteristics of candidates and competitors - make catch phrase and slogan - set up PR strategy and street campaign - prepare speeches (by target audience/place) - PR method and content (via call/mail)
Image making manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hair style - clothes - speech (attitude) - poster and printed materials (design)
Accounting manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - election fund raising planning - election expenditure planning
Organization manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - organize volunteers - work with local organizations - plan on the use of volunteers - set up operational rules of election camp office

The purpose of the meeting for mock election campaign strategy is to establish doable campaign strategies and the members of each team play various roles as candidate, chief election manager, accounting manager, organization manager, PR manager, image making manager and volunteers. The mock strategy teams were organized on the first day and they had after-work sessions throughout the program period. The presentations on the results were made on the last day of the program.

29) 10th Korean Women & Politics Roundtable, Oct. 27, 1994, hosted by Center for Korean Women & Politics, sponsored by Asia Foundation/Hanns Seidel Foundation, Sohn Bong Scuk (1995). Election Campaign Strategy of 25 Hours: pp.156-191.

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After that, all participants in the program discussed and evaluated the presentations. As such, the mock strategies meeting allowed participants to analyze the electoral environment of the constituencies that the candidates are running for, select target groups, decide election pledges considering competitors and pending issues of the constituencies and develop election slogans, catch phrases, etc. based on what they learned during the three days. In addition, they set up plans on how to build up an organization to carry out an election campaign and how to manage manpower of volunteers. Not only that, they wrote speeches for street campaigns and the candidates made speeches during the presentations.

The mock election campaign strategy meeting was an opportunity for the participants to comprehensively wrap up what they learned at Campaign School. For the candidates who were soon going to run for an election, it was a good chance to hear experts' feedback on their campaign strategies and improve them accordingly. Therefore, the participants stayed up all night working to prepare for the meeting.

B. Women's Political Network

1) Progress

Prior to the June 4th local election in 1998, Center for Korean Women & Politics, Korean Institute for Women and Politics, Korean League of Women Voters and Korea Women's Political Caucus organized Women's Political Network in December 1997 to jointly implement education to nurture women political leaders. It implemented education on women political leaders to give more efficient assistance to as many women as possible by putting together their expertise in political education to expand women's political participation, develop female candidates' competencies and empower female voters.³⁰⁾ Thus

30) Women's Political Network (1998). 'press conference for the 1998 local election, press

far, they had individually carried out activities to enhance women's awareness on political participation and educate election candidates, but redundancy among such activities resulted in inefficiency and they could not properly pressure political parties. That is why an educational coalition was formed among the four organizations to develop women candidates.

Women's Political Network also jointly conducted activities to put pressures on the political parties announcing a joint statement or making protest visits, thus increasing synergy in the efforts to empower women politically. Women's Political Network focused also on finding the next generation of women leaders to prepare for not only the June 4th local election but also the 2002 general election.

After the registration of candidates of the 1998 local election was completed, Women's Political Network unveiled the result of its own analysis on women candidates. Its conclusion was that the ratio of women candidates was much smaller than what the political parties proposed as their presidential election pledge: They had previously promised to increase the ratio of women candidates to local constituency to 25~30%. The ratio of women to proportional representation of People's Council for New Politics was 33.8% (23 women candidates) followed by Grand National Party at 36% (22), United Liberal Democrats at 16.3% (7) and New People's Party at 25% (2) in order. While Women's Political Network had demanded that each political party should introduce the gender quota system and grant odd numbered rankings to female proportional representative members, the cases of getting the first nomination was 39% at People's Council for New Politics and 32% at Grand National Party, which were way below expectations.³¹⁾

As such, Women's Political Network is different from other women's coalitions in that it was an educational coalition to cultivate women politicians

release (1998.2.4.)

31) The Women News, June 6, 1998

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in more effective manners while it was also a women's coalition to expand women's political participation.

2) Content and Methodology

The four organizations which formed Women's Political Network implemented various programs reflecting their own characteristics. The curriculum of the programs included detailed and practical strategies and methods necessary for election campaigns such as making a decision to run for an election, contract with voters, speech making, image making, PR strategy, volunteers' manpower utilization, fund raising, etc. In the run-up to the June 4th local elections in 1998, Korean League of Women Voters provided education women candidates of local elections, Center for Korean Women and Politics implemented Campaign School, Korean Institute for Women and Politics operated Women and Politics Class, Korea Women's Political Caucus provided women who seek a career in local politics with the education for women candidates.

After the local election, they worked to prepare for the 2000 general election and focused on programs to cultivate the next generation of women leaders. Korean League of Women Voters intensively pushed forward with 'Women Voters' Movement to Realize Small Politics,' Korean Institute for Women and Politics sent young women leaders to the second Global Congress of Women in Politics and Governance held in Manila. Center for Korean Women & Politics conducted the 10th training program for the next generation of women leaders. It also launched a sisterhood organization "Korean Women for Legislature" and held a seminar on the theme of "Bring women to the mainstream politics and women's political education" to commemorate its inauguration and emphasize the importance of women's political education. Korea Women's Political Caucus implemented women political leaders cultivation program for young women.

〈Table IV-3〉 The 21st Century Women Leaders Education Curriculum

	Topic	Details
Part 1. Women & politics in the 21st century	Chap.1 women & politics in the 21st century	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • democracy and women's representation • ways to expand women's representation
	Chap.2 women's political participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • women's political participation in Korea • municipal autonomy and women's political participation • ways to expand women's political participation
	Chap.3 women's policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • global trend on women's policies • women's policies by UN/EC/EU
	Chap.4 international society and women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • globalization strategy to enhance women's status • women's role in the age of globalization
Part 2. Process of politics	Chap.5 government organization and power structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • type of the Korean government: trend and characteristics • government organizations dedicated to women's policies
	Chap.6 political parties and election system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • political parties: structure and characteristics • characteristics of election system
	Chap.7 the National Assembly: status of operation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the National Assembly: authority and function • legislation process and budget/settlement deliberation process • parliamentary audit and investigation • meeting procedures and related laws
	Chap.8 Local councils: status of operation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • local councils: bill deliberation process • budget/settlement deliberation process • administrative audit and investigation
Part 3. Election campaign strategies	Chap.9 preparation for election	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • election and election campaign: definition • preparation
	Chap.10 election organization and fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • structure of election camp • volunteers' organization and activities • election fund raising and use
	Chap.11 election campaigning method	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • election pledges and policies development • analysis and contact with voters • election campaign • successful image making strategy • election campaigning tools
	Chap.12 election campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • evaluation of election result • winners • losers
Total	12	

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In December 1998, Women's Political Network published a text book for the 21th century women leaders education by drawing upon its past activities as shown above in <Table IV-3>.

C. Achievements and Their Significance

First, the biggest obstacle faced by the women's community in preparing for the first local election in the 1990s was the lack of qualified women candidates. While the access to political participation existed, women still had negative views on political participation. The perception that politics is all about money, organization, violence and corruption turned many women away. Under those circumstances, the education for women candidates was such an urgent task for women's organizations which sought to empower women politically. Various women's organizations as well as those related with women's politics worked hard to find and educate potential women candidates who represent women's interests. The purpose of women candidate education was not simply to win elections. Rather, it was a political movement to rectify the existing undemocratic, corruptive electoral environment by getting women candidates to win elections.

Second, Campaign School did not simply provide basic courses on election campaign but specialized courses to get women candidates ready for election by letting them set up campaign strategies on their own. It was quite meaningful that Campaign School enabled women candidates to set up legal, democratic and successful campaign strategies customized to themselves through lecture, practice, role play, etc. Election campaign strategy plans are readily available to buy with money, but Campaign School make women candidates involved in all processes of campaign strategy planning so that they could deepen understanding of their constituencies with greater care. It tapped into basic information prepared by women candidates for education on each step of campaign strategy planning process and brought about greater education effect.

In particular, the mock election campaign strategy meeting was a comprehensive round-up of all previous courses and also election campaign strategy course.

Third, Women's Political Network was an educational coalition aimed to implement women candidates education in more systematic and effective manners. The women candidates education programs provided by women's organizations were at disadvantage compared with those of political parties in terms of actual outcomes. Individual organizations' efforts were not enough to get their trainees to get nominations from the political parties. Women's Political Network was established as a solution to that problem. While education was still conducted by individual organizations, they joined hands through Women's Political Network to work with the media and pressure political parties so as to get more outcomes from their education efforts, which means helping more women candidates to win parliamentary seats. Women's Political Network, which consisted of mostly women's political organizations in Seoul in 1990s, has continued to evolve and there are Regional Women's Political Networks today which are driven by women's organizations in each region and work to expand women's political participation.

2. Political Parties

Political parties should be the home of political education because they should educate election candidates and party members to share its ideology, policies and vision in order to acquire and maintain political power.

However, each party's way of identifying candidates through internal education is closely related with the level of democracy within the party. The more democratic the operation of the party is, the more influence the internal education can have on candidates nomination. By contrast, in a political party operated in undemocratic and authoritative manners, education will simply be a

channel of communication on its policies and stance to their party members. In the past, the political parties in Korea were not much interested in women's political education aimed at identifying and educating women candidates. Then in the late 1990s when there were legislative movements to introduce the gender quota system long awaited by the women's community, they began to pay attention to political education to cultivate women candidates. The amendment of the Political Fund Act (2004), which mandated that 10% of political party subsidies be earmarked as women's political development fund, fueled their interest in women's political education.

Currently, there are two major parties—Saenuri Party, Democratic United Party and United Progressive Party— and a number of small parties in Korea. This section will cover women's political education programs done by the two major parties Saenuri Party and Democratic United Party.

A. Saenuri Party³²⁾

Grand National Party was renamed as Saenuri Party in 2012 when it prepared for the general election. In 1999, Saenuri Party launched the Women's Politics (Leader) Academy and has provided regular political education programs for female party members and ordinary female citizens. The purpose of the Academy was to increase the number of women candidates to local elections in 2002 to 1,000. Many of participants to the Academy later registered themselves in the female workforce bank of Grand National Party taking it as an opportunity to participate in politics including local councils.

In 2005, Grand National Party established 'Women Power Network of Grand National Party' to more systematically cultivate women politicians. The institute provided courses to reinforce women's core competencies to prepare for local elections in 2006. The main targets of the courses were female party members

32) Women's Commission of Saenuri Party, homepage

and other women in general, and the curriculum included lectures on the basics of politics, visits to the parliament and workshops. Its method of education departed from one-way lectures to the one similar to a graduate school, where assignments were given such as election practice (debate, speech writing, and image making), political leadership training, team research project, and their works were graded.

In 2009, the 5th Women Power Network of Grand National Party started 'Core Competency Development Course for Candidates of the 2010 Local Elections' which was a 10-week program to identify potential candidates of local elections in 2010. Its curriculum included subjects directly related to election, such as media PR strategy, speech writing skills, speech making training, image making, effective communication techniques for better leadership, operation of election camp, use of the volunteer manpower, leadership based on communication, election laws, election camp management, election master plan, etc.

Since 2007, Saenuri Party has implemented an annual educational program to cultivate young women aides of lawmakers. Female college students, graduates, and graduate school students attend the program to get specialized education to attain abilities required to be aides for lawmakers and take internships at the offices of lawmakers. Its curriculum includes lectures on legislative process, parliamentary audit, budget/settlement deliberation, meetings with lawmakers and aides, workshop, etc.

B. Democratic United Party³³⁾

Democratic Party has implemented education programs for women who have intention to run for elections since 1997 starting with Democracy, Women and Politics Academy. For women's organization and education, Democratic Party has pursued three types of activities: training education; Democracy, Women & Politics Academy; and Women's Coalition for New Politics. Democracy, Women & Politics Academy produced approximately 120 graduates in 1997 and after the launch of New Millennium Democratic Party, a total of 600 or so women (9th semesters) completed the program until 2002.

Its main target is women from all social classes and backgrounds who have intention to run for elections or interest in politics. The curriculum includes paradigm of women's politics, women's political leadership, on-line PR strategy, women politicians' management of organization, image making, speech technique, campaigning method, which focused on practical training rather than basic education.³⁴⁾

Before merged with Democratic Party, Uri Party had established an organization to cultivate women politicians, named 'Uri Women's Leadership Center' charged to nurture women politicians to build up the pool of female workforce by promoting policy researches and interactions to reinforce women's competencies.³⁵⁾ At the Center, female party members' education, Uri Women's

33) Democratic United Party was the outcome of several rounds of split and merge. New Millennium People's Council launched in 1995 was renamed as New Millennium People's Part in 2000 and then was split into Democratic Party and Uri Party in 2003. Lawmakers who left Uri Party and Democratic Party established United New Democratic Party in 2007, which again merged with Uri Party later. In Feb. 2008, it merged with Democratic Party to create United Democratic Party. In 2011, Democratic Party, Citizens Unity Party, etc. were merged into Democratic United Party.

34) Seo Eun Young. Study on women's political education and direction for improvement. a masters' degree dissertation at Sungkyunkwan University, p.49

35) Uri Women's Leadership Center, 『Activity Report of Uri Women's Leadership Center』, 2005. p.8

Municipal Autonomy Academy, and election practice for female candidates of the 2006 local elections were implemented. In addition to party members/candidates, it also provide an education program, named “Women/Youth Leadership Camp” for young people who were not affiliated with the party, but education programs provided at the city and provincial level mostly targeting party members only. Recruiting trainees was not easy and not many of them chose to join the party after completing the program, and therefore there were criticisms that it simply wasted budget.³⁶⁾

During the years of United Democratic Party, the Center was renamed as Women and Politics Development Research Institute and played a role in educating women politicians at the central and local governments and developing their competency. Currently, Democratic United Party operates women's leadership center under women's committees across the country for the purpose of cultivating women politicians and building a system to manage female manpower. In 2010, it implemented an in-depth course for female candidates of the 2010 local elections at the city and provincial levels in the run-up to local elections, which covered such themes as candidate nomination system, election campaign to respond to nomination, the revised Election Act, election strategy consulting, image making, speech, etc.

During the convection of Democratic Party on Oct. 3, 2010, Democratic Women's Leadership Center collaborated with the National Women's Commission and the Democratic Female Local Councilors Commission of Democratic Party in order to request all candidates running for the primary election to select the party's representative and senior council members to dedicate themselves to political empowerment of women, and made them sign written pledges accordingly. It also made a strong push to introduce the 15% mandatory nomination ratio of women for local constituency. As such, it plays the role of propeller to mobilize women's political force within the party as well

36) Choi Jung Won, previous article p.240

as cultivate women politicians.³⁷⁾

C. Achievements and Their Significance

First, political parties have an important responsibility to provide political education, but they previously placed a low priority on political education to nurture women politicians. The amendment of the Political Fund Act provided them with the responsibility and financial means to implement activities aimed at promoting women's political participation and they have operated programs and organizations to nurture women politicians. In addition to party headquarters, local chapters also implement such programs as Women and Politics Academy and local council candidates education courses, but there are criticisms that they failed to carry out follow-up activities for graduates, which means there is a prevalent notion that nomination is separate from the education. In addition, relatively little attention was paid to cultivating young women leaders. More systematic education programs are necessary, whereby young women are recruited as party members and make them enter politics.

Second, the monitoring of the execution of the women's political development fund should be reinforced. According to the Political Fund Act, 10% of government subsidy to a political party shall be earmarked as the women's political development fund. While the essence of women's political development is to cultivate and support women politicians, only a small portion of the fund has been spent on the cultivation of women politicians. This issue will be covered in more details in Chapter 2. Therefore, it is necessary that detailed guidelines should be drawn up on the operation of the fund so that it can make practical contributions to promoting women's political education at the party level. In addition, internal auditing on the operation of the fund should be strengthened and the monitoring activities of women's organizations and civic

37) Democratic Party's' National Women's Commission, homepage (cafe.daum.net/minjoowoman)

groups should be expanded.

Third, the promotion of women's political education at the party level requires aggressive efforts of female lawmakers affiliated with the party and other female party members. Rather than formality-purpose annual events on education, more systematic and specialized education programs should be provided in order to cultivate competitive women politicians.

V

Education Programs for Women of the Next Generation : Progress and Analysis

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1. Women's Political NGOs

In order to promote women's political participation, it is important to cultivate not only adult female leaders but also young female leaders of the next generation in various sectors from the mid to long term perspective. In other words, career education should be provided to girls in high schools and universities so that they can exercise leadership in various sectors of society after graduation.

Girl Scout Korea implemented an education program on the theme of democratic citizens. This program lasted up to one week during vacation and targeted female students in junior high and high schools. The focus of its curriculum was to enhance the sense of responsibility for the local community and the democratic mindset. Korean Institute for Women & Politics implemented the Next Generation of Women & Politics Classroom and held mock UN Commission on the Status of Women for young women in their 20s, whose curriculums included experience of political mechanisms such as the National Assembly, local councils and political parties, mock National Assembly of women, mock Women in the World Summit, etc.

Center for Korean Women and Politics implements Education Program for the Next Generation Women Leaders and Program to Cultivate the Female Aides for the National Assembly. They teach young women in their 20 to 30s basic knowledge and skills required of leaders. In every session, approximately 30 women attend to learn leadership theory, meeting proceeding method, etc. and also the role of political leaders through the mock cabinet meeting and the mock National Assembly meetings. Since 1999, it has provided women in their 20s to 30s with a specialized education to cultivate female aides for lawmakers, which suggests new perception and methodology about pursuing a career in politics. Korean Women's Political Solidarity implemented a program of experiencing politics named 'In Pursuit of Women Politicians in the Future' in

2000. Its participants mostly visited fields of politics and met women members of the Seoul local council, the National Assembly, etc. Also implemented was a mock local council, which was a camp training for cultivation of the next generation of women leaders to nurture them into the driver of grass-root participatory democracy.³⁸⁾ This chapter will closely examine the progress, education method and curriculum of the Education Program for the Next Generation of Women Leaders and Education Program to Cultivate the Female Aides for the National Assembly operated by Center for Korean Women and Politics.

A. Education Program for the Next Generation of Women Leaders

1) Progress

The Education Program for the Next Generation of Women Leaders was aimed at developing leadership and competency of young women in their 20s and 30s (mostly college students). In 1992, Center for Korean Women and Politics co-hosted an international conference titled 'Asia Pacific Women and Political Leaders' with UNESCAP and then kicked off a one night-two day training camp of interns hired for the international conference. Until 1998, a total of 10 classes, or over 200 women, completed the program. In this program, all participants spent one night and two days together and attended participatory courses such as lectures and role plays related to a theme chosen for each semester. Role plays such as a mock cabinet meeting and a mock standing committee of the National Assembly provided them with opportunities to learn debate and negotiation skills. On the last day of the program, there was a session of evaluation to reflect demands of young women participants in the

38) Kim Won Hong, Kim Hye Young, Kim Eun Kyung, previously mentioned literature, pp. 307-308.

program for its further improvement.

This program took place twice a year, during summer and winter vacations. Participants to the program paid a small amount of fees and it received financial support from Korea Women's Development Institute, Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs (later renamed as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family), Asia Foundation and Hanns Seidel Foundation. Since 1999, this program was upgraded into a more specialized training program named Program to Cultivate Female Aides for the National Assembly.

2) Content and Methodology

The Education Program for the Next Generation of Women Leaders chose a timely subject for every semester and implemented lectures, debates and role plays. As shown in <Table V-1>, interns at an international conference spent one night and two days together after the international conference³⁹⁾ and attended classes such as lectures and debates on the theme of the Gender Equality Employment Act, and prepared a mock standing committee of the National Assembly to discuss issues and an amendment of the Act.

<Table V-1> Next Generation Women Leaders Education Curriculum

	Topic	Role Play
1	Act on Gender Equality in Employment	mock standing committees of the National Assembly
2	Women and politics	mock standing committees of the National Assembly
3	Women, sex and violence against women	mock cabinet meeting

39) Sponsored by UNESCAP, International conference on Asia Pacific Women Political Leaders was held attended by women politicians, scholars, and women's organizations from 12 countries in the region.

	Topic	Role Play
4	The gender quota system	mock standing committees of the National Assembly
5	Local autonomy and politics in life	mock local elections and election campaign strategy meeting
6	Globalization and women	mock ESCAP
7	Women and election	mock election campaign strategy meeting
8	IMF and women's employment	mock cabinet meeting
9-10	Functions and current status of the National Assembly	experience the local council

In the second semester, a mock standing committee of the National Assembly was held on the theme of improving women's political representation. The third semester consisted of lectures, free discussion, and a mock cabinet meeting about women's issues, gender and violence against women for the purpose of raising awareness on sexual discrimination and violence against women. In the fourth semester, the gender quota system was chosen as topic and ways to promote women's political participation were explored through lectures, free discussions and the mock standing committee of the National Assembly. From the 4th semester, the scope of trainees expanded to include college students to women in early 50s. The wide range of age among the participants offered an opportunity to reconcile and confirm opinions between generations, which was not available in any previous education programs.

The 5th semester chose municipal autonomy and 'politics-in-life' movement as topic and put together a mock local council and a mock election campaign strategy meeting. The 6th semester was about globalization and women: lectures and were conducted regarding how women can participate in international organizations and a mock ESCAP was prepared as role play. In the 7th semester, a mock election campaign strategy meeting took place on the theme of women and election. In the 8th semester, under the topic of IMF and women's

employment, participants discussed ways to promote women's employment and participation in various sectors from politics to economy. At a mock cabinet meeting held on the last day of the program, heated debates took place among the participants, criticizing the current status that women have been the first layoff target and suffered a high unemployment rate since Korea was hit hard by the financial crisis and received the IMF bailout fund.

In the 9th and 10th semesters, the participants visited the National Assembly in August and September 1998. It served as an opportunity to transform the next generation education program to the National Assembly aides cultivation program, because the participants demanded more changes to make direction participation in actual legislation processes rather than indirect experience through role plays, and their response and satisfaction on the visit to the National Assembly was higher than ever. Based on such feedback, the Female Aides to the National Assembly Cultivation Program was launched.

B. Education Program to Cultivate the Female Aides

1) Progress

The Female Aides to the National Assembly Cultivation Program was introduced by Center for Korean Women & Politics in 1999, and is currently implemented by Korean League of Women Voters and each political party. Its target trainees were young women in their 20s and 30s, including those in the 2nd semester of the 3rd year in college, college graduates and graduate school students. As such, there were certain conditions of trainees, such as age and educational background, because aides to lawmakers were supposed to have specialized knowledge and aged women were not preferred as interns by the lawmakers' office at the National Assembly. In Korea, the National Assembly aides system was implemented in a full-fledged manner in 1988, when the number of aides to a lawmaker was increased from 3 to 5 (one aide each in

grade 4~7 & 9). As of today, the number of aides was further expanded to 9 per lawmaker (grade 4: 2, grade 5: 2, grade 6: 7, grade 9: 1, paid intern: 2⁴⁰)

In order to recruit trainees, applications were received and screened by Center for Korean Women & Politics and approximately 20 trainees were selected. Starting with 23 participants in the first semester of 1999, more than 320 women have completed the program to date. It is an annual program implemented in July during the summer vacation of colleges, and it consists of theoretic education and internship program. The education takes place in meeting rooms or seminar rooms at the National Assembly so that they can observe lawmakers' activities from a short distance. In particular, 1 or 2 trainees who completed this program with outstanding performances are selected to take a four-week internship program at the German Federal Council and the European Parliament sponsored by Hanns Seidel Foundation(Germany). It is no exaggeration that this internship program as well as Education Program to Cultivate the Female Aides have been maintained to date thanks to the sponsorship from Hanns Seidel Foundation and its branch office in Korea. The Education Program to Cultivate the Female Aides was implemented for free of charge until 2010 and from 2011, trainees have to 100,000 won per person.

The purpose of the program is as follows; First is to cultivate competent female aides. Basically, aides to lawmakers need to have knowledge and knowhow specialized in political process and policy-making process and also take systematic education and learning experience (such as internship) to assist lawmakers. Second is to develop a new type of vocation. This program offered women with an opportunity to pursue a new career path as an aide for a lawmaker at the National Assembly. Many of those who completed this program are working as aides for lawmakers or local councilors. As such, this

40) Bae Sun Hee and Kim Eun Ju (2008). *Study on Recruitment Process of Aides to the 18th National Assembly Lawmaker and Ways to Improve Their Expertise*. Korean Institute of Legislative Studies pp. 47-49.

program has ushered in ‘politics as vocation’ as well as brought a new vocation (aide) to women. Third is to cultivate young political leaders and enhance women's awareness on political participation. This program gave motivation to the young generation who have indifference and cynicism about politics and suggested ways to participate thus serving as a venue to cultivate young political leaders. Some of the trainees who completed this program were elected as local councilors in addition to those working as aides.

2) Content and Methodology

The curriculum of this program consists of theoretical education and internship, and 15 courses (40 hours in total) are provided for 5 days. Participants can learn specialized knowledge and methods to assist lawmakers' parliamentary activities and lecturers are experts who assist parliamentary activities at the Secretariat of the National Assembly. 60% of the lecturers have been with this program for 5 years or longer. Program participants have opportunities to practice what they learned instead of picking up only knowledge through one-way lectures so that they can try out what they learned during the 5-day theoretical education at the offices of the National Assembly. Each team proposes a bill to legislate and revise a law and receive feedback from other teams. They also have chance to attend meetings with lawmakers and female aides and visit the plenary session, standing committees and the memorial hall of the National Assembly.

〈Table V-2〉 Theoretical Education Curriculum

		Curriculum
Theory	Lesson 1	Women and politics
	Lesson 2	Role and function of aides
	Lesson 3	Role and function of the parliament
	Lesson 4	Legislative process and deliberation procedures
	Lesson 5	Fund and method of parliamentary audit
	Lesson 6	Budget/settlement deliberation process
	Lesson 7	Legislation & amendment process
	Lesson 8	How to write policy inquiry statement
	Lesson 9	How to write press release
	Lesson 10	Women and legislation
	Presentation	Each team's legislative/amendment bill
Meeting & site visits	Meeting with lawmakers	
	Meeting with female aides for lawmakers	
	Visit to the plenary session of the National Assembly and standing committees	
	Visit to the Memorial Hall of the National Assembly	
Lecture	Lectures on major issues involving women or political issues	

As for its curriculum, the Center selected ten courses essential to assisting parliamentary activities drawing from its research and experience over 14 years: women and politics, the function and role of the parliament, the function and role of aides, legislation process and deliberation procedures, the function and method of the parliamentary audit, budget deliberation process, legislation/amendment process, preparation of policy inquiries, preparation of press release, and women and legislation. In case of legislation/amendment process, each team works on a proposal to revise an existing law throughout the program and make a presentation on the last day.

As for the internship, each of the trainees who complete the theoretical courses are dispatched to a lawmaker's office where she can observe the aides' activities in person and get practical work experience. Prior to the internship, the Center sends out letters to 299 lawmakers' offices asking for cooperation on the internship and finds lawmakers who agree to accept interns. During the early years since this program was launched, the Center had to make several phone calls to lawmakers to explain about the program and persuade them into consent. However, it currently sends out an official request form of interns via fax and then lawmakers' offices send back their requirements of interns, including major, assignment and the number of interns they need.

Dispatch to lawmakers' office goes through three steps; In the first phase, internship applicants (students) and lawmakers are sorted out according to the students' preference (they mentioned preferred lawmakers or standing committees in the internship application form) and the agreement of lawmakers (and standing committees that they belong to) who accept interns. In the second phase, the students are assigned to lawmakers' offices after one more screening process done by lawmakers' office whether they have the required qualifications. In third phase, two applicants are recommended per lawmaker and after interview, a final decision is made. Usually, interviews are conducted in parallel with the theoretical education. In some cases, both the applicants are accepted or rejected. Therefore, assignment of interns is a challenging task. While some applicants are accepted after just one round of interview, 1 or 2 applicants per semester fail to get accepted even after 4 or 5 rounds of interview. Those who failed are then deferred to take internship in the following year or work as research intern at the Center.

Interns assigned to lawmakers' office usually assist the aides rather than undertaking separate tasks of their own since they are still to learn as student. Their responsibilities also include clipping printed and on-line news, managing the lawmaker's homepage, data research and taking calls. Lawmakers who prefer

to take graduate students as intern provide them with learning experiences by writing policy inquiry, press release and amendment bills. After the 4-week unpaid internship, some of them are converted into paid interns. The internship period is from late July to August, which falls right before the parliamentary audit (September and October) and therefore many interns have a chance to work for another two to three months. During the internship program, they work without getting payment but any additional service after the end of the program should be paid and lawmakers' offices are informed accordingly. Wages are decided in consideration of a type of work and working hours. After the internship, a completion ceremony is held and graduates organize gathering of their own.

Graduates from the Female Aides to National Assembly Cultivation Program foray into various fields and most of this program contributed to promoting their interest and participation in politics. Some graduates were hired as aides for lawmakers and built up expertise as policy assistant, and others ran for local councils to realize their aspiration to pursue a political career. As such, this program helped the young generation, who tend to be indifferent to politics, have a more aggressive attitude as participants. Going forward, this program will continue to serve as an incubator of women politicians by finding aspiring women politicians and helping them successfully foray into politics.

C. Achievements and Their Significance

First, Next Generation Women Leaders Education Program bears significance in that it targeted women in their 20s and 30s, who are the most indifferent to politics among all age groups so that they are encouraged to be more interested in politics and grow into women leaders. In the early 1990s, most of the education programs were provided for elderly women while more attention was paid to young women in the mid-to-late 1990s. Education for young women was also called a new suffrage movement that focused on their participation in

election as voters, leadership development and experiencing political processes. In particular, specialized education programs for women in social science majors are also provided more recently. It is not just about general courses on leadership development but suggests detailed methodologies to seek a career in politics. In many cases, practical courses were implemented such as role play (mock National Assembly, mock local council, etc.), site visit, meeting with politicians, internship, etc.

Second, the effect of this program was reinforced further by combining role plays with lectures on a particular subject. Lectures provided the trainees with specialized knowledge and information and they were followed by role plays such as a mock National Assembly and a mock local council so that they could get an in-depth understanding of the given subject.

Third, while the Education Program for the Next Generation of Women Leaders aimed at leadership development, the Program to Cultivate Female Aides for the National Assembly focused on nurturing women who build up a career as an aide for a lawmaker. To that end, it provided specialized theoretical lectures and the internship opportunity (at the National Assembly, the European Parliament and the German Federal Parliament) for more effective and participatory education. As such, the trainees had opportunities to go through parliamentary activities and legislation processes in person, thus turning themselves from lookers-on to participants.

2. Central Government

The Framework Act on Women's Development legislated in 1995 stipulates that the central government shall promote women's political representation and participation in various ways. Accordingly, women's development funds were introduced in 1998 as a way to support the educational programs of women's

organizations. In 2000, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was established as a ministry dedicated to women's affairs and it started to focus on nurturing young women leaders as one of the activities to promote women's political participation. And yet, controversies continued to arise within the government, especially the ministry responsible for government budgeting, that it is not appropriate for the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family to be engaged in activities to expand women's political participation since it was supposed to be politically neutral. As a consequence, the ministry's activities to promote women's political participation were put to an end.

The activities to nurture young women leaders targeted female university students who were regarded to be the next generation of women leaders under the recognition that promoting women's political participation requires cultivating not only adult women leaders but also promising young women leaders in various fields from a mid to long term perspective. As such, the objectives of the activities were to expand women's political representation and enable their participation in politics on an equal basis to men by reinforcing female undergraduates' political awareness, building networks with political leaders and providing leadership training, which included the 2030 Women Leadership Camp, internship programs at the National Assembly and local councils, Women's Political College, overseas training programs, etc.

However, it was continuously pointed out that activities to nurture political forces, such as the cultivation of the next generation of women leaders, are not appropriate for the government which was supposed to be politically neutral. The amendment of the Political Fund Act in 2004 introduced the women's political development funds to cultivate women candidates, and therefore the government activities to nurture young women leaders were put to an end in 2005.⁴¹⁾ Since 2006, 'program to cultivate the next generation of women leaders'

41) The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 『2005 Activity Report of the Women's Development Funds』, 2006, pp. 82-84.

was excluded from the range of activities to be subsidized by the women's political development funds. Women's political education activities funded by the government entirely disappeared except those implemented by women's organizations which made a successful bid for 'joint cooperation activities' financed by Ministry of Gender Equality and Family for political education activities.⁴²⁾

A. 2030 Women Leadership Camp

In 2000, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family kicked off 'Female University Students Camp to Cultivate the Next Generation of Women Leaders' as part of its efforts to lay the foundation to promote women's political participation. As shown in the <Table V-3> below, a total of 3,144 female undergraduates attended the camp from 2000 to 2004, and 173 students participated in an in-depth educational program during the same period. The programs were operated by organizations selected by each municipality in cities and provinces at their discretion. Most of them were university research institutes, women's organizations and research centers in the regions.

42) In accordance with Article 32 of the Framework Act on Women's Development (support for women's organizations, etc.), activities implemented by women's organizations and non-profit organizations in order to promote gender equality, social participation and welfare are supported after open competition among applications by the organizations.

〈Table V-3〉 Female University Students Camp to Cultivate Next Generation Women Leaders

Year	Location	No. of participants	
		camp	in-depth course
2000	-12 providers: 2 pilot institutions & 10 cities/provinces Busan/Incheon/Gyeonggi-do/Gangwon-do/Choongcheongbuk-do/Choongcheongnam-do/Jeollabuk-do/Jeollanam-do/Gyeong-sangbuk-do/Jeju island	660	-
2001	-10 cities and provinces Seoul/Daegu/Gwangju/Daejeon/Ulsan/Gyeonggi-do/Gangwon-do/Choongcheongbuk-do/Jeollabuk-do/Gyeongsangnam-do	494	40
2002	-14 cities and provinces Seoul/Incheon/Daejeon/Daegu/Busan/Gwangju/Ulsan/Gangwon-do/Gyeonggi-do/Gyeongsangbuk-do/Jeollabuk-do/Jeollanam-do/Choongcheongbuk-do/Choongcheongnam-do	629	50
2003	-15 cities and provinces Seoul/Incheon/Daejeon/Daegu/Busan/Gwangju/Ulsan/Gangwon-do/Gyeonggi-do/Gyeongsangbuk-do/ Jeollabuk-do/Jeollanam-do/ Choongcheongbuk-do/Choongcheongnam-do/Jeju island	696	41
2004	-16 cities and provinces Seoul/Incheon/Daejeon/Daegu/Busan/Gwangju/Ulsan/Gangwon-do/Gyeonggi-do/Gyeongsangbuk-do/ Gyeongsangnam-do/ Jeollabuk-do/Jeollanam-do/Choongcheongbuk-do/Choongcheongnam-do/Jeju island	665	43
total		3,144	173

Source : the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 『White Paper of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2003-2004』, 2005. Women's Development Funds (2004, 2005 Business Report)

Their curriculum generally covered practical training on politics and leadership such as women as a political force, feminist leadership, practical training on election and mock parliamentary, with some variations by cities and provinces. The program was funded mainly by the central government and partly funded by local municipalities. After the program, an in-depth education program was implemented for two nights and three days so that the camp did

not end as an one-off event but its educational effect would be maintained and reinforced. 'Female University Students Camp to Cultivate Next Generation Women Leaders' was renamed as '2030 Women Leadership Camp' in 2003 and the scope of trainees was expanded to include all women in their 20s and 30s. Nevertheless, '2030 Women Leadership Camp' was ended in 2004 only after one round of implementation.

B. Internship Programs at the National Assembly and Local Councils

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family implemented 'the National Assembly Internship Program' in 2002 in addition to the camp for the female university students in an effort to cultivate the next generation of women leaders. It was then converted into 'Local Council Internship Program' in 2004 and implemented until the end of 2005. The internship program provided female university students who were interested in politics with opportunities to experience work and policy making process of the National Assembly and the local councils so that they could broaden their perspectives on politics and grow into specialized political workforce to lead local politics in the future.⁴³⁾

〈Table V-4〉 Internship Programs at the National Assembly and Local Councils

Year	Outline of the Internship Programs	No. of interns	The source of fund
2002	Korean League of Women Voters (the National Assembly interns)	80	non-government organization
2003	Korean League of Women Voters (the National Assembly interns)	79	non-government organization
2004	9 cities and provinces -	196	municipality

43) The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2003). Women's White Paper (2002). p.231.

Year	Outline of the Internship Programs	No. of interns	The source of fund
	Incheon/Daejeon/Gyeonggi-do/Gangwon-do/Jeollanam-do Gyeongsangnam-do/Busan/Choongcheongnam-do/Jeollabuk-do (local councils interns)		
2005	6 cities and provinces – Busan/Daegu/Incheon/Gyeonggi-do/Jeollanam-do Gyeongsangnam-do (local councils interns)	147	municipality
total		502	

Source : The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, "Report on Cultivation Programs for the Next Generation Women Leaders," 2005.

The target of the internship program was female undergraduates and graduate students who were interested in political participation or considered it as a career option to become aides for the National Assembly and the local councils. Its curriculum consisted of theoretical education and the internship. The former covered legislative process, the structure of the National Assembly and the local councils, gender-sensitive policies and legislations, parliamentary and administrative audit companies, press release and writing inquiries. In addition, the trainees attended the plenary session and standing committee meetings at the National Assembly and the local councils and conducted mock joint election campaigns and parliament for more systematic understanding of the legislative process. After the education on theories, the students were assigned to the offices of lawmakers or local councilors to work as intern.

During the period of 2002 to 2003, the operation of the National Assembly Internship Program was commissioned to Korean League of Women Voters and during the period of 2004 to 2005, the Local Councils Internship Program was subsidized by municipalities, most of which commissioned their operation to centers for female undergraduates' career development or other related institutes in the region. In Gyeonggi-do and Jeollanam-do, the municipalities had staffs dedicated to the operation of internship program. For the four years, a total of

502 students completed the internship program at the National Assembly and local councils. The internship programs contributed to promoting the female students' understanding on the legislative process and drawing their interest in becoming aides as a career option. However, unlike the National Assembly, no local councils had a paid aides system except for the local council of Seoul, and therefore there was a limitation in utilizing special workforce trained by the internship programs.

Government subsidies to the National Assembly and local councils internship programs were suspended since 2006, but Program to Cultivate Female Aides for the National Assembly was introduced by Center for Korean Women & Politics in 1999 and has been implemented to date as an annual program to take place in the summer vacation of students. Korean League of Women Voters has also implemented such a program since 2000. More recently, the political parties also operate education programs related to female political aides.

C. Women's Political College

In 2005, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family merged 2030 Women Leadership Camp and the Local Councils Internship Program into Women's Political College which targeted aspiring female politicians such as potential women candidates to the local councils. Its curriculum consisted of election system, local politics, the local council system, election camp, strategy to utilize the manpower of volunteers, election pledges and speech training, which were the essential elements of election campaigning. Compared with women's political education programs in general, Women's Political College had a limited scope of a target and a curriculum. In 2005, 473 women attended this program in 15 metropolitan cities and provinces, except Seoul, most of which commission the program implementation to local universities, research institutes and women's organizations.

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family standardized the program to some degrees by publishing the Women's Political College education manual in 2005 as the common basis of Women's Political College which were then a little bit modified to fit the characteristics of different regions. This manual consists of three parts (a total of 40 hours).⁴⁴⁾ First is 'understanding of the local autonomy system the local councils' which dealt with the history of local autonomy, the role and status of the local councils, the characteristics and the contents of the local council election system, etc.

Second is 'women's political participation and leadership' which introduced various types of leadership and characteristics of women politicians, desirable leadership style, the status of women's political participation in Korea, various policies of advanced countries aimed at promoting women's political participation, examples of activities to improve the local community by addressing issues of the community, and examples of women candidates who sought to address such issues by foraying into the local councils. In addition, actual activities of incumbent local councilors were shared in order to explain what they do and how in details.

Third is 'how to establish and use election strategies. It included various election strategies and methodologies essential to women candidates seeking to run for the local councils, and speaking skills and image making to communicate with voters. Also, various campaigning methods to publicize themselves were suggested based on some examples of actual election campaigns.

44) The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2005). Education manual of Women's Political College. pp.4-6.

〈Table V-5〉 Women's Political College Educational Programs

Category	Course	Topic	Hour
Networking (2)	networking and meeting	• self-introduction (career, goal, plan, etc.)	2
Understanding local autonomy and local councils (6)	understanding of municipal autonomy	• history of municipal autonomy • definition of municipal autonomy	2
	understanding of local council election	• local councils election system • election laws prone to violation	2
	role and function of local councils	• organizational structure of local council • function and authority of local council	2
Women's political participation and leadership (13)	political leadership and women's leadership	• women's leadership stype • my leadership style and pros/cons	3
	understanding women's issues and policies	• understanding women's issues • women's policies and laws	3
	history of Korean women's movement	• key agenda of feminist movement • progress of feminist movement in Korea	2
	women's political participation and policies on women & politics	• women's political participation • policies to promote women's political participation in Korea • policies to promote women's political participation in other countries	2
	politics for life and women's political participation	• importance of politics in life and women's participation • cases of women engaged in local politics	3
Election strategy setting and utilization (19)	election strategy planning and method	• election strategy : importnace and necessity • election strategy planning; process and overview	2
	survey pending issues of local communities	• different types of local issues • source of information and how to use them	3

Category	Course	Topic	Hour
	effective election campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • election organization and operation • use of volunteers • cases and methods of election campaigns 	3
	my election resources and strategy planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • check on my election resources (people, career, reputation) • practice election strategy planning 	3
	understanding of election speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • effective speech, debate skill, etc. 	2
	election speech practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • speech practice • facial expression, posture practice 	4
	image making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • effective impression control • image making and utilization 	2
Total	16		40

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family stopped subsidizing next generation women leaders cultivation programs as a whole and hence Women's Political College was also put to an end. While financial support from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family ended, most municipalities took over the program as its own activity or part of its existing similar programs.

D. Achievements and Their Significance

First, the program to cultivate the next generation of women leaders implemented by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family bears significance in that it contributed to promoting the leadership and political awareness of young women in their 20s and 30s who were indifferent to politics and building networks with women political leaders thus paving the way of foraying into politics and growing into the next generation of women leaders. However, the government was not free from controversies over political neutrality from the beginning and had to be ended after just six years despite positive assessment

by the evaluators of government-subsidized programs. This showed the challenges and limitations facing the political education run by the government.

Second, another importance to the program is that it induced the engagement of the municipalities even though they are usually less interested in women's affairs in general, let alone their political participation, compared with the central government. The program to cultivate the next generation of women leader implemented by the metropolitan municipalities served as a catalyst to make the local governments to pay more attention to women's education. Even though the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family stopped providing financial support in 2006, the metropolitan municipalities have continued to implement activities to cultivate the next generation of women leaders. It is important that the central government should play a leading role since its political education programs for women triggered the municipalities to follow suit. Therefore, more attention should be paid to women's political education by the central government despite controversies over political neutrality.

VI

Conclusion

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The status, significance and achievements of women's political education programs in Korea are reviewed in this paper. The political education of women began in a full-fledged manner in 1990 and is still active today, 20 years later. Education programs to enhance women's awareness as voter invigorated politics-for-life (everyday politics in life) movement based on the local communities and the women candidates education programs expedited women's foray into the National Assembly and the local councils. In addition, the next generation women leaders cultivation programs have produced young women leaders in their 20s and 30s who will lead Korean society in the future. Women's political education is the most critical and fundamental activity to promote of women's political participation transcending political, economic, social and cultural barriers of a country, and hence it is necessary to continuously reflect on the past performance and push for betterment of the education. In that context, this paper suggests several directions to advance political educational programs for women, drawing upon past experience since the 1990s.

1. Sharing Visions

A. Completion of Democracy

For the success of women's political education, a society needs to share a common vision to achieve through women's political participation. Most of all, public consensus should be formed on the legitimacy or the necessity of women's political participation answering questions such as 'why should women do it?' and 'what kind of society can be realized through women's participation'. It should be understood that women's political participation is not simply to enhance women's awareness but to realize the value of democracy since a fundamental principle of democracy is to assure equal participation of all social

classes. In Korea, women's representation drastically declines in the upper layers of the social ladder, which shows a limitation in Korean democracy. In this regard, it should be educated that women's political participation is an essential condition to democratization.

The best way to resolve a conflict between people is that the concerned parties work out differences in their own hands. In other words, better representation of women in politics which allocates social, public values and resources will help to develop democracy in society. Democracy can be promoted by addressing impartiality and an imbalance of power between men and women. It should be noted across society that democracy can never be completed without the participation of women who make up for the half of population.

B. Toward Gender Equality

In the early years, women's political education movement literally targeted women as trainees to be enlightened. It may have been inevitable back in the 1990s since it was urgent to make women depart from gender-discriminative awareness, culture and male-oriented perception. However, the format of women's political education by women's organizations and women's political participation to address women's issues resulted in a prejudice that women's issues are of matters of their own, not something to be resolved by the community as a whole involving both men and women. Therefore, the necessity of political education for both men and women voters, rather than political education only for women, should be better understood.

While political education programs for women focused on the quantitative expansion of women's political participation, the process of forming a consensus on and internalizing the value of equality or equal numbers between men and women was ignored. Improvement in women's quantitative representation was not followed by improvement in qualitative representation. It means that few

women politicians pushed for parliamentary initiatives which ran against the interest of women. Therefore, women's political education programs should focus more on the enlightenment of women's understanding of feministic paradigm, and the perspective and philosophy of gender equality.

2. Invigoration of Education Agents

A. Establishment of Women's Political NGOs

There should be a variety of education providers if women's political education is to be vitalized. More than anything, women's political NGOs are very important, which aim at promoting women's political participation and empowering women politically. In the early 1990s, women's political education was conducted in a full-fledged manner, which is closely associated with the fact that a number of women's political NGOs were established during that time. Even today, women's political NGOs remain the main drivers of political education for women. While other types of women's organizations may also play a part in promotion of women's participation, they cannot match women's political NGOs in terms of both expertise and continuity. Promotion of women's political participation is not something to be achieved through an one-off campaign before election. Continuous efforts should be made to empower women politically and realize a nation of gender equality. In addition, women's political NGOs are capable of building the networks of human and material resources, thus further improving the effect of education. It means that women's political NGOs can follow up on its political education by supporting women candidates' nomination and election campaign. Therefore, it is necessary to establish women's political NGOs to expedite women's political education and reinforce its impacts.

B. Leading Roles of the Central and Local Governments

It is also important that the government should play a leading role. Whether it is the central government or the local government, if the government takes interest in and supports women's political education, it can give a substantial boost to the vitality of women's political education by civic organizations. Women's organizations usually have weak financial and organizational capabilities to implement political education programs for women, and thus face many challenges. Therefore, support from the government helps women's organizations provide education in a more stable manner and expand such education to a national level.

In particular, it should be noted that women's political education by the central government triggers the local governments to follow suit. In turn, it is all the more important that women's political education by the local governments expedites women's engagement in their policy making process. And yet, impartiality and transparency should be reinforced when the local governments select institutions to be commissioned to operate women's political education programs. Otherwise, controversies will keep arising that can ultimately bring education programs to an end. In that sense, selecting educational institutions capable of providing curriculums and teaching methods befitting the objectives of women's political education is the way forward to enhancing the continuity and credibility of the education programs.

In order to encourage the engagement of the central and the local governments in women's political education, related laws should be revised beforehand. The Framework Act on Women's Development or ordinances should hold the central and the local governments responsible for women's political education and mandate the operation of women's development funds, thus securing a reliable source of financial resources to subsidize education programs for women. As was shown in Korea's past experience, the establishment of women's development funds spurred coalitions on women's

political education to jointly develop textbooks and political education programs for women in many regions.

C. Activities to Pressure Political Parties

Political parties can be regarded as regular educational providers targeting adults but they were late comers in the area of women's political education. How much a party is interested in political education of party members and ordinary citizens is closely associated with how democratic operations of the party are. A desirable process of political participation is that political parties recruit party members based on ideologies and policies and they educate and nominate the recruited as election candidates. In reality, however, political parties in Korea have failed to do so for a long time. In a political party whose structure is centered around the head of the party, people who have close ties with him/her win more chances to nomination rather than those who can best represent the value and policies of the party. Then, it was the introduction of the gender quota system and the women's political development fund that made those undemocratic political parties of Korea to pay attention to women's political education. By the law, the gender quota system mandated that political parties should nominate women candidates and the women's political development fund should be spent on women's political education. The political parties showed earnest interests in political education for women after the revised Political Fund Act stipulated the formation of the women's political development fund.

While the operation of political parties became more democratic to some degrees, with the introduction of primary election system and the collective leadership system, it was not easy to remove male-dominated practices. As mentioned before, while the women's political development fund was supposed to be spent on women's political development, adequate support has yet to be given to women's political education which is key to women's political

development. Political parties' political education is very important in that their political education can be directly linked with nomination. Therefore, in order to make political parties as established education providers of political education, there should be continuous pressures and monitoring by women's organizations and female party members.

3. Reinforcement of Networks and Coalitions

A. Network among Women's Organizations

Promotion of women's political education requires various networks among the providers of education programs. Networking among women's political NGOs or between women's political NGOs and women's organizations is important for the following three reasons: First, as was shown in the experience of Women's Political Network, such networking helps to avoid redundancy among education programs and enhance their efficiency and effectiveness. It can be prevented that similar educational services concentrated on or bypass certain targets. Women from all walks of life can be equally engaged in education and the variety of education can be furthered developed. Second, it can put pressure on political parties to nominate women candidates. The pressure of a coalition among women's organizations is much more effective than that of an individual organization on political parties to nominate women candidates trained in their education programs. Third, the coalition is more influential in introducing and improving laws and regulations for gender equality in politics. The ultimate goal of women's political education is to enhance women's political awareness and participation. Therefore, women's political education will be promoted further if women's political participation is guaranteed by laws.

B. Network between Women's Organizations and the Governments

A public-private partnership should be built between women's organizations and the government. With that, women's organizations can secure stable financial support from the government while the government can tap into expertise of women's organizations. The biggest shortcoming of women's political education by women's organizations is discontinuity of education programs due to lack of financial resources. If the government provides support in the form of either support by the women's development funds or joint education programs, women's organizations may be able to implement education programs with more stability and government support, as such, will enhance the credibility of the programs. Also, the government can secure expertise required in implementing activities to expand women's political participation. Networking with activists of women's organizations and researchers can help improve the quality of activities implemented by the government. In addition, public-private partnership can be used as a shield to fend off criticisms that government activities aimed at promoting women's political participation undermines its political neutrality.

Not only a public-private partnership but also a partnership between women's organizations and political parties is also important, but in reality there was no partnership formed yet between the two sides over women's political education led by women's organizations. It seems to be attributable to the notion that partnership with political parties might undermine the significance of women's political participation as an alternative to the existing political landscape. Recently, however, relationship between women's organizations and political parties seem to have entered a new chapter as political parties have become more democratic in their operation and female lawmakers trained by women's organizations have played key roles in the political parties.

C. Support for Women's Organizations by Foreign Assistance from Overseas Foundation and International organizations

Women's political NGOs have only little financial resources since they are entirely private organizations funded by membership fees. Weak finance often led to discontinuity of programs implemented by the NGOs, and those for women's political education were no exception. By nature, women's political education programs should be implemented as on-going programs but they were implemented in the form of annual events targeting a small group of women all because of weak finance. Until the central government and local governments raised women's development funds in the late 1990s, women's organizations depended on financial support from domestic private companies and overseas foundations. Only a few domestic firms sponsored women's political education programs and most of support came from overseas foundations or international organizations because domestic firms and foundations were quite stingy about supporting political activities back then just as they are today. By contrast, foreign foundations or international organizations held the views that women's political participation is the way forward to the promotion of democracy, so they provided active support on women's political education. In particular, political foundations established by German political parties for the purpose of civic education on democracy supported women's political education programs in the context of education on democracy. In addition, supports from Asia Foundation, UNDP, UNIFEM, ESCAP, etc. made big contributions to the promotion of women's political education in the early 1990s.

Networking among women's organizations, between women's organizations and the government, and between women's organizations and foreign foundations/ international organizations help secure expertise, cause, information, financial resources and organization required for the promotion of women's

political education. Therefore, close networks and partnership should be formed among the various stakeholders so as to achieve the ultimate goal of women's political education which is to expand women's political participation so as to achieve democratic society based on gender equality.

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