

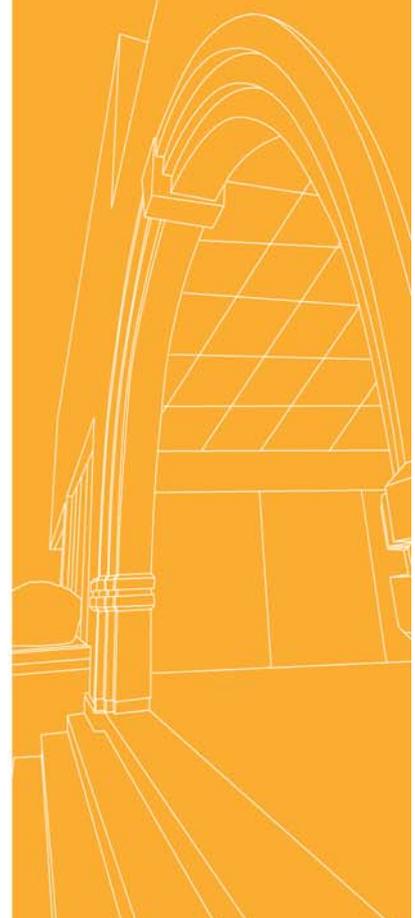


Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development
in Women's Policies

Initiating Supports for Victims of Domestic Violence

: The Case of Korea Women's Hotline

Choun-Sook Jung



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Initiating Supports for Victims of Domestic Violence : The Case of Korea Women's Hotline

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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 has 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

Historical Backgrounds and the Overview of the Establishment of Korea Women's Hotline

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1. Historical Backgrounds

Korea Women's Hotline was established in 1983. At the time, Korean society was under a dictatorial government and hence citizen's basic rights were not recognized. There was no freedom of assembly and association, and labor union activities were illegalized; only government or company-dominated unions were able to survive. Then, social campaign groups had more or less collapsed, and activities were extremely few and far between. In the spring of 1980 during a brief 'Spring of Democratization' campaign season many activist groups including student and labor groups called for democratization but it was not achieved. The 5.18 Gwangju Uprising in 1980 ended up in oppression by military dictatorship and Korea's social movement activity entered a period of inactivity and stagnation. At the time, the women's movement area consisted mostly of women's groups that subscribed to conventional behavior patterns. In such a social environment, the appearance of Korea Women's Hotline, which sought to bring recognition and awareness that women's rights issues were not personal but a result of a gender discriminatory social structure, was even more meaningful. However, in reality social circumstances at the time meant that it was not easy for the group to survive. The public was not interested in women's rights issues, in particular violent abuse against women, and it was the same for the social movement groups that had fought for democracy.

A. Korean Society and Women's Leadership (Gender Awareness Training)

According to Woo-seob Han, the founding member of Korea Women's Hotline (presently a board member), the leaders who took the initiative in establishing the group were females from the Young Women's Group, consisting of those who had completed the Housewives' Academy course at the Christian Academy and social services major graduates of Ewha Woman's

University. These people started with the intention of campaigning for women's rights and carried the perception that women's issues stemmed from the society's structural problems.

Hyeon-sook Lee mentions in the *History of Korean Women's Human Rights Activities* that these people were individuals who had dreamt of new women's movements and the UN International Women's Year held in 1975 provided an opportunity for the Christian Academy to provide these individuals with training for women's right issues. The founding members chose counseling as a campaign method for the reason that under the harsh military dictatorship there were few ways to carry out campaigns which could reach the masses. Also, 'wife beating' was believed to be a public problem which many women were suffering from. The choice was made based on the proposal suggested by Professor Hwa-soo Lee, who was deputy director of the Christian Academy.

At the time, wife beating was a major social issue in the US; it was believed that the problem would have been even worse in patriarchal Korean society and that it could be solved through public campaign. The founding members of Korea Women's Hotline strived to achieve their goals from establishment of bringing change to the healing of women and a gender-biased social structure. The founding members of Korea Women's Hotline became aware of women's issues through the trainings at the Christian Academy and the human resources needed for the Hotline's activities had been secured in 1982, the year before establishment.

Training for the first group of counselors was carried out in 1982 and the core focus of the training was on gender awareness, which has remained at the core of the diverse training sessions and programs of the organization since its establishment.

The representative gender awareness training of the Hotline is its counseling training, which has been carried on over 30 years since establishment. The training of counselors started in 1982, during the preparation of Korea Women's

Hotline establishment. Although some contents have been either added or taken out, the core content has remained true to understanding women's social conditions.

The content of the training material mainly focused on topics such as understanding women in Korean society, women and labor, women and family, feminist counseling, feminist family counseling, understanding Korean movements against violence against women, in addition to contents covering members' roles and authority, feminism and Korea Women's Hotline campaigns.

B. Korean Society's Awareness of Violence against Women

Although there is no data on the awareness of violence against women in Korea for the period, phrases which referred to violence against women such as 'wife beating' and 'sexual violence' did not even exist before Korea Women's Hotline started its operations. Also, wife beating and sexual violence were regarded as personal problems and not issues which society could interfere with. In 1983, the year of founding, an editorial in the most widely-read daily newspaper wrote that it was wrong for social groups to interfere with people's private matters. The well-known Korean saying "Women have to be beaten once every three days" was still being commonly used, and violence against women, including domestic violence, was a 'hidden crime' in society. A society under military dictatorship meant high levels of violence and a lack of freedom of assembly and association and basic human rights protection.

When the hotline was established, many people were concerned there would not be any phone calls as they doubted the existence of women beaten by their husbands. However, two telephone lines were activated and within two weeks 541 phone calls were received. At the time, Korea's civic movement community focused on social democracy and labor movements were at the center of such

campaigns. Women's rights were but a minor part of the campaigns and violence against women was an even smaller issue.

It was commonly thought that if social democracy is achieved, women's problems will also naturally be solved. Rather than addressing women's rights as an issue in itself, the role it served in achieving social democracy was seen to be more important. As such, tackling violence against women, a sub-area of women's rights, was not considered to be important. However, Korea Women's Hotline raised the issue of violence against women and brought it into public awareness, succeeding in clearly establishing its identity as a women's rights group.

2. The Overview of Korea Women's Hotline

A. Vision and Aims

The vision and aims of Korea Women's Hotline can be seen in the statement of purpose, which was drawn up at time of establishment in 1983. Defining its counseling activities as part of women's rights movements, the statement says that Korea Women's Hotline aims to help victims of violence, banish domestic violence while at the same time contributing to the psychological welfare of society. Also, the group strives to let female victims of violence realize that their problems are not their own individual responsibility but a problem which stems from social structure and to encourage victims to free themselves from the violence and become independent.

The movement direction of Korea Women's Hotline, which was announced a year later, stated that the Hotline aimed to "banish all systems, conventions or concepts which imposed inhumane life conditions on women and establish an equal and dignified gender relationship, contributing to a righteous and harmonious family and society."

Since its establishment in 1983, the policy aims of Korea Women's Hotline have not changed in a major way. The fundamental aims of eradicating violence against women and a society with gender equality are the same, but changes can be seen in the increased scale and more sophisticated and varied methods. It was on the 20th year founding anniversary of the organization that such changes were expressed intensively. At the commemoration event to celebrate its 20th year, together with the slogan of "Banishing Discrimination and Violence and Moving towards a World of Equality and Peace," the intent of the group was laid down as follows:

A women's rights group with the purpose of protecting women's rights from all forms of violence and enhancing women's well-being, advancing towards gender equality at home, in the workplace and in society, and working towards a peaceful and democratic society which has women playing central roles in all areas including politics, economy, society and culture.

In order to meet its vision and goals, Korea Women's Hotline aims to: ① train activists with passion and vision to cultivate new women's rights movements; ② carry out campaigns focusing on prevention and awareness-changing to target domestic violence; ③ shed light on the pain of women living under patriarchal ideology and create a gender-equal family environment; ④ have women and members from regional areas lead the way to create a peaceful and democratic community; ⑤ actively deploy regional women's rights media campaigns to eradicate sexual prejudice and stereotypes and increase peace awareness; ⑥ engage in activities regarding women's issues in the Asian region.

Compared to the time of establishment in 1983, the activities to eradicate domestic violence have gone from measures after abuse to those that are preemptive, and measures to deal with a discriminatory social culture, which was previously considered a sub-issue, has been made a core issue to tackle.

Activities have also spread geographically, from being Seoul-centered to having regional branches. It has also gone from being at a one-country level to an Asia-centered international solidarity. As such, the training of activists who will enable sustainability of such activity has been made a focus of the group.

B. Organization

Korea Women's Hotline is an organization for the masses consisting of regular citizen members. Members and branches pay a membership fee and participate in diverse activities together. Decision making is carried out by Korea Women's Hotline General Assembly board which consists of regular members at headquarters and representatives from 25 branches. Meetings are held once a year where annual activities are decided and the representative, director and such board members are elected. Each regional branch also consists of members and holds their own respective assemblies.

Korea Women's Hotline headquarters and branches are listed under the single Korea Women's Hotline entity, but their finances, human resources and operations are all independent of each other. At present, there are approximately 9,000 members nationwide. The next step down for decision-making following the general assembly is the board of directors. The board is consisted of 4 representative members from headquarters, 4 branch representatives, 4 specialists, 1 full-time former representative and 3 joint representatives, making a total of 16. Meetings are held four times a year and actions are carried out for decisions made at the general assembly. The board of directors, which is the second-to-most important decision making board for the organization, selects members for the year, pays membership fees and participates in various activities.

There is an executive office which carries out activities decided by the general assembly and board of directors. The office contains joint representatives, departments and affiliated organizations. At present, Korea Women's Hotline

contains a human rights policy department, member organization department, branch organization department, department for Seoul area activities, planning and promotions department, and general affairs department. Affiliated organizations include the Domestic Violence Relief Center, Sexual Violence Relief Center, Domestic Violence Victim Shelter Olaeddeul, and the Women Tenet Consultation Practical Center. The executive office holds a meeting once a week which is when all decisions are made. By principle, Korea Women's Hotline operates under a democratic organization system. All meeting attendees have the freedom to express their opinions and decisions are made following sufficient discussion. No one is an exception. Currently, the executive office at Korea Women's Hotline headquarters is operated by 17 regular and 7 non-regular workers. There are many activists at Korea Women's Hotline headquarters who have been working long-term for the Hotline for more than 10 years. This has led to stable operations and active engagement in women's rights movements possible. However, the inadequate employment conditions at women's rights groups have seen a high turnover rate.

In addition to the decision-making and executive meetings, venues to gather opinions include the branch representatives' meeting, the membership affairs committee, the secretaries of executive office meeting, and the counseling organization operations meeting, all of which are also held four times a year.



II

Korea Women's Hotline's Organizational Structure and Changes

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The basis of Korea Women's Hotline's organization can be divided into the main body (people), finances and programs; and their structure and changes over the past 30 years will now be looked at with a focus on unique fundraising methods and newly attempted areas.

1. Main Agents of Korea Women's Hotline

From 1983 to 1993, Korea society underwent major changes: beginning with the Gwangju massacre in 1980, the country went through harsh military dictatorship in the early 1980s; 1987 saw a nationwide struggle for democratization lead to social democracy and a direct presidential election system; and 1993 saw the Kim Young Sam administration bring with it the start of a civilian government. Along with these social changes, the main body of Korea Women's Hotline also underwent many changes.

While Korea Women's Hotline activists, members and specialists all had their respective roles from the time of establishment, their roles changed in line with changes in society and organizational structure.

While they had all have the same basic purpose of eliminating violence against women, there are differences in the ultimate aims and methodology. After 1985 democratization movements became even more intense and disputes within the main body of Korea Women's Hotline aggravated. There were also requests to make the identity of the group clear cut – it was argued that it was not clear whether it was a relief center, a political activity group or a women's rights group. Such disputes arose due to internal conflict within the organization resulting from the struggle for democracy in 1987. As such, Korea Women's Hotline was transformed into a member-based organization in 1987. After that, all decision making was done at the annual general assembly which was open to all members. After 1994, the Hotline grew to a nationwide body with 25

branches. The branches are another important part of Korea Women's Hotline's activities. The following section will look at the formation and changes of the main body which play a leading role in the Hotline's activities.

A. Activists

The activists working at Korea Women's Hotline are passionate and feel that it is their sense of calling to stop violence against women and bring gender equality to the world. The Hotline activists are at the integral core of the organization and responsible for carrying out society reform campaigns with dedication and professionalism.

The activists working at Korea Women's Hotline come from various backgrounds and have diverse experiences according to age.

The year Korea Women's Hotline was established, 1983, was an active period for student and labor movements. The women's right activists who took part in the Hotline's activities were people who had experienced student and labor campaigns and therefore possessed a profound understanding and awareness of social and women's rights campaigns including knowledge of social structure and labor through social scientific studies and ideology. At the time of the Hotline's establishment, the activists working for the group had understanding of and passion for organizational activities learned through experience in student (female student movements for some) and labor movements. These people worked in the policy and relief for violence against women and member organization areas. They also led various fundraising activities. These individuals make up the main body of Korea Women's Hotline and leaders of women's rights movements.

However, after the year 2000 Korea's student and labor campaigns and such social movements entered a period of stagnation and the number of activists trained in student campaigning started to rapidly decrease.

Korea Women's Hotline's activists also found it hard to bring in trained

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activists knowledgeable in organization and social science theory. Although some university students who had been interested in women's studies and had experience in years student campaigns became activists for Korea Women's Hotline, in recent years, it is almost impossible to secure a labor force with such campaign experience.

This is a difficulty that not only Korea Women's Hotline but also other women's right groups and civil society experience. Groups are having problems securing their next generation of activists. The problem is even worse in rural areas, where the average activist is getting older and no young activists are joining the organization.

Of late, rather than social or women's rights campaigning, those hoping to be activists at Korea Women's Hotline are females interested only in women's problems as a whole, counseling and violence against women issues. Considering the inadequate working conditions at women's rights groups, it can be seen that people looking for meaningful work are those with a sense of calling and problem awareness. The Hotline runs a course to train such young people to be activists. In addition to the Hotline's own training course E.L.F (Empower, Leadership, Feminism), training is also provided through seminars and external courses.

B. Members

At time of establishment in 1983, the activists and experts at Korea Women's Hotline were the main human resources. It was after the group was converted into a member-based organization in 1987 that regular female members of society were considered to be main leaders. Korea Women's Hotline's members are very hands-on, playing a key role in counseling support as well as being engaged in human rights support, finance and regional women's rights activity areas.

Korea Women's Hotline members are currently distributed in diverse areas.

There are approximately 1000 members at headquarters and 9000 nationwide. Headquarters members consist of regular members and support members. Regular members have to pay membership fees and take part in various activities including counseling, attend meetings and have the right to elect and be elected at the general assembly. Support members are those who agree with the Hotline's aims and pay membership fees.

Members are usually attracted during the counselor training course which is held on a regular basis. Before the sexual violence relief training was set up in line with the sexual violence law in 1994, the training course was run under the name of 'Training for Professional Counseling for Women' and the course was held at least once or twice each year. Currently, Korea Women's Hotline runs sexual violence counseling and domestic violence counseling sessions. Each course usually attracts approximately 40-50 people. When such training courses were few and far between, the course previously attracted up to 60 people at a time. The domestic violence counseling training has reached its 45th course. The trainees continue to study women's studies and counseling after they complete the course by forming their own study groups.

The membership management division is responsible for attracting and managing counselors, regular members and support members. Over the past 30 years, the name of the department has been changed numerous times, but its role has remained the same. The department checks membership fees, organizes member training courses, and through various activities such as member leadership, member trips and year-end gatherings, the department strives to create a sense of belonging for its members. In the past members paid their membership fees either by cash at the office, through bank transfer or bank giro. Today, most members have agreed to have their membership fees debited from their bank accounts on a set date through a CMS system.

Membership fees account for approximately 30% of the group's funds. It is significant for the group to secure more members as this means stable funds in

addition to more like-minded 'comrades'. Members pour their human and material resources into the Hotline's activities. Members provide the group with various resources and by doing so develop their selves and bring big changes to their lives. Members often say that Korea Women's Hotline was a turning point in their lives and a lot of them also say that they were able to regain confidence through the Hotline. In addition, there are also cases of survivors of violent abuse helping other victims.

The expanding of Korea Women's Hotline member base is a driving force which enables the group to remain unaffected by political change and gain its own identity as an NGO.

C. Experts

Since its establishment, Korea Women's Hotline has worked with experts from diverse backgrounds. Collaboration with such experts was particularly noticeable in the early stages. Including Professor Hwa-soo Lee of Ajou University who was Korea Women's Hotline's board chairperson from 1983 to 1986, many professors of social sciences and women's studies have worked as representatives for the group. Such experts have contributed their knowledge and expertise to Korea Women's Hotline activities.

In the group's early stages, experts in counseling provided training through case studies or supervision and lawyers provided members with legal training in addition to providing clients with legal advice. Professors of social welfare majors contributed to Korea Women's Hotline's Shelter program and published a book titled *Women's Rights and Social Welfare*.

The roles of the experts who were active in the early stages gradually became less prominent as the organization gained stability with an expanded base of activists and members. Today, there are approximately 50 experts at Korea Women's Hotline including lawyers, doctors, oriental doctors, and professors of social welfare studies, social studies, anthropology and such diverse subjects, as

well as entrepreneurs.

The lawyers have been providing a free legal advice service every Monday since the latter half of 1992 and also actively took part in the campaigns to enact an anti-domestic violence law.

Working with many experts has played an important role in securing diverse resources. The expert committee has provided direct support for the Hotline's activities with their expertise in legal, medical areas and such.

The experts have also offered financial support to the Hotline through the paying of membership fees and donations at fundraising events. They have also used their social resources to introduce Korea Women's Hotline and enable the group to carry out its activities in various fields. The assistance of the expert committee was of great help for Korea Women's Hotline to increase its influence on society.

D. Branches

Against the backdrop of progressing social democracy, many women's rights groups were formed in the late 1980s. In 1987 the Daegu Women's Hot Line was set up, followed by the Busan Christian Women's Shelter, Gwangju Women's Hot Line in 1990 and the Jeonbuk Women's Hotline in 1991. Although these organizations did not have an organizational connection to Korea Women's Hotline, they did work partially together with the group in some areas.

In just 11 years after its establishment, Korea Women's Hotline registered as an incorporated association in 1994. The decision to register as an incorporated association attracted a lot of internal debate as it meant having to work within the legal confines of society. Incorporated association status would bring the group merits such as increased public confidence and easier securing of funds, yet there were concerns that being legally confined would mean the group's NGO identity could be affected. However, in 1993 the Kim Young Sam

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administration came together with a gradually democratized society and as such it was agreed that reaching the masses was important and hence registration was done in 1994.

Along with its acquiring incorporated association status, branches also started to increase in number. After Korea Women's Hotline gained incorporated association status, women's groups around the nation that wished to operate services like the Women's Hotline started to make inquiries to Korea Women's Hotline regarding branch set up and membership. Branches of Korea Women's Hotline were granted incorporated association status automatically as headquarters had already registered. In addition, using the Women's Hotline name meant the branches could benefit from the umbrella organization's history, public trust and social status.

Korea Women's Hotline's branches were set up on their own initiative. Branches received counseling training at Korea Women's Hotline and under the regulation which set the minimum number of 10 people on the preparatory committee, 10 or more women gathered to learn about issues such as women's position in Korean society or violence against women. After an office and employees were secured, an application for setting up a branch could be submitted. However, due to the fact that branches are set up voluntarily on individuals' own initiative and not through intended and planned expansion of Korea Women's Hotline's organization, there are many gaps between branches of Korea Women's Hotline.

In addition, being registered as a single incorporated association under the name of Korea Women's Hotline meant all responsibilities had to be shared and the problems of any one branch became a problem for Korea Women's Hotline headquarters and its 25 branches.

To solve this problem and strengthen branches' development, the Hotline received organizational consultation in 2002 and linked headquarters and branches through policy and training.

In addition, Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Korea Women's Hotline Federation) decided that all branches would be independent incorporated associations. Today, 4 of the 25 Korea Women's Hotline branches are independent incorporated associations.

E. Organization Division and Merging: Korea Women's Hotline Federation and Seoul Women's Hotline

The division of Korea Women's Hotline into Korea Women's Hotline Federation and Seoul Women's Hotline was a big organizational change. The division was carried out to reflect the branch requests and to expand Korea Women's Hotline in the major area of Seoul, as at the time of strengthening regional branches, it was agreed that the Seoul region needed to increase the influence of Korea Women's Hotline. As a result, Korea Women's Hotline Federation was to focus on branch organization and policy, while Seoul Women's Hotline was to focus on Seoul-area activities, member-related and counseling areas. However, there were concerns about such a division.

Taking such concerns into consideration, Korea Women's Hotline Federation and Seoul Women's Hotline decided to share the same office and also share human and financial resources. However, along with organizational and leadership division the two organizations ended up being completely divided. The appearance of two representative Women's Hotline organizations in the same area of Seoul resulted in difficulties in obtaining finances and human resources. A positive aspect was that Seoul Women's Hotline was able to strengthen its regional women's campaigns, put emphasis on expanding its member base and set up its branch in the Kangseo area of Seoul.

Korea Women's Hotline Federation was able to strengthen its international network and develop and run its branch training course ELF. Korea Women's Hotline Federation and Seoul Women's Hotline merged again into Korea

Women's Hotline in 2009, 10 years after its division.

While the division and merging had achieved certain results, the process can also be seen as a waste of time, finances and human resources. As organizational changes can result in a great impact on an organization with limited funds, sufficient discussion and reflection is needed on the organization's future direction and development.

2. Activities for Independent Fundraising

As a non-profit organization, Korea Women's Hotline raises its own funds. If an NGO thrives on independence, then it can be said that financial independence is at the basis of that. The sources of Korea Women's Hotline's funds vary, including membership fees, support funds, bazaars, fundraising evenings, the selling of goods and such.

A. Membership Fees

This included regular membership fees, support membership fees, director membership fees, and expert committee membership fees. Korea Women's Hotline membership fees are the most important and stable part of its finances. In 1987, Korea Women's Hotline's organization became member-based and members and membership fees' took on important roles in its finance system. Providing an increased sense of belonging to its members is very important in the attracting of stable funds from membership fees. At present, the fees account for approximately 30% of its total funds.

B. Bazaars

Bazaar events to raise funds were first started in Korea Women's Hotline's

early stages and have continued up to the present day. The Hotline receives goods from companies and individuals and sells these at affordable prices at the bazaar. The bazaar was first called the *Tano May Market*. The *Tano* festival is on the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar, and traditionally it was a day when women could go outdoors and enjoy themselves in feudalistic Korean society. While the tradition no longer remains today, Korea Women's Hotline wanted to relive it and therefore named the bazaar after the festival with the meaning of enabling women to enjoy themselves freely and do things for themselves. Although the *Tano May Market* then underwent several name changes including Bazaar and Hope-Sharing, it has remained one of Korea Women's Hotline's financial sources until now. Up until 1995, the Hotline received a lot of goods from companies, but with the economic downturn in recent years, companies have gradually become to participate less while contributions from members and regular citizens have gone up. The bazaar serves a role to bring in finances for the group as well as to let Korea Women's Hotline become known to the local community. A bazaar is held approximately twice a year in Eunpyeong district, where Korea Women's Hotline is currently located and word of mouth has spread that quality goods are sold. As such there are citizens who look forward to Korea Women's Hotline's bazaars. As most of the goods sold at the bazaar are donations, it brings in funds though the amount varies.

C. Fundraising Evenings

Other ways for Korea Women's Hotline to raise funds is through fundraising evenings or one-day pubs. In its early days, experts made up a large group of Korea Women's Hotline's members and the Hotline held fundraising evenings at hotels. Although there was criticism that fundraising evenings at hotels was for rich ladies, the method was effective in raising funds.

However, in the 2000s, focus has been made on more accessible fundraising

methods which cater to a larger group of members. One of these is the one-day pub, which attracts 600-700 people and involves purchasing tickets costing between 10,000 won and 100,000 won. The people who purchase tickets can choose whether to attend the pub or simply offer support through the ticket purchasing. In addition to the one-day pub, various other events have been held to raise funds including a one-day teahouse and one-day restaurant. A lot of effort is required to make a profit from these events as they incur costs to set up.

D. Women's Diary and Merchandise Selling

Another method for Korea Women's Hotline to bring in funds is to sell goods. An example would be buying Korean snacks, sesame oil, soybean oil and such at the lowest prices possible and reselling these at either normal or slightly higher prices to make a profit. The selling of goods is usually done at Lunar New Year or at *Chuseok*, when people tend to buy gifts. The group sometimes receives donations of clothes and shoes, and it also sells these at the office or bazaar.

Among the items sold, the Women's Diary is one of the most important. Korea Women's Hotline has been producing the diary since 1987. The diary contains important dates for women, information about the female body, and explanations of women and politics with important years and issues outlined. Movies and books on women's issues are also listed. The contact details of the main women's groups nationwide are also updated each year. The Women's Diary was an important source of income and promotion for Korea Women's Hotline up until around 2000, when diaries were not commonly used. After 2000 other organizations started producing their own diaries and then smart phones came along with their diary functions. As such, now the Women's Diary serves more a purpose for promoting Korea Women's Hotline than for generating income.

Korea Women's Hotline activists all participate in fundraising activities.

Recruiting members, holding bazaars, one-day pubs, selling goods and such income-generating activities are carried out almost once every two months and pose difficulties for activities. Activists at Korea Women's Hotline often wish they can 'just work without needing to bring in money'. However, as an NGO, financial independence is an integral essence of Korea Women's Hotline's independence and autonomy.

E. Overseas Support

From 1991 onwards, Korea Women's Hotline received financial support from the German Green Party for 10 years. At the time a Korean female working in Germany helped put Korea Women's Hotline in touch with the German Green Party so the Hotline could receive the party's overseas support. This support provided firm stability to Korea Women's Hotline's unstable organization operations. The support was provided for 10 years from 1991 to 2001. With this financial support, the Hotline was able to cover expenses for shelter rental, shelter employee wages, food, program costs and almost all costs incurred in shelter operation. The Hotline used the aid for its intended purpose and reported on its expenditure once a year. Korea Women's Hotline was also acknowledged as a group which carried out the project successfully. While the German Green Party provided financial aid, its operation was left to the full autonomy of Korea Women's Hotline.

With this aid, Korea Women's Hotline was able to secure a space for its shelter and operate it without financial pressure. Thanks to the financial support from the German party, the shelter was able to operate without receiving money from its clients for meals. Also, Korea Women's Hotline workers were invited to Germany for learning experiences. In 1996, South Korea became an OECD member which brought along a risk of the aid being cut off. However, in 1997, the financial crisis came along and the Hotline was able to continue to receive

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aid. In 2000, the party made a special donation which was used to buy computers for the nationwide branches. In a bid to provide more computers to its branches, Korea Women's Hotline bought computer parts and assembled the computers themselves. Despite the abundant aid provided, the donor made an effort to maintain an equal aid relationship. In 1994, a German foundation held a workshop in Uruguay on equal aid relationships between providers and beneficiaries. Korea Women's Hotline activists visited Germany and German personnel also visited Korea. Through such visits Korea Women's Hotline was able to invite foreign personnel and learn about running programs. Such foreign aid is an important resource for a women's rights group working under inadequate conditions in an underdeveloped country, and served to provide stability and enable continuous activity. As such, it is important that women's rights groups can receive ODA and improve the quality of life for women in the beneficiary country.

F. Government Projects

Korean government projects started in 1993 with the Kim Young Sam administration and became fully fledged under the Kim Dae Jung administration. Including the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, various government departments invited participation for non-profit organizations to take part in funded short-term projects which were up to a year long in duration. At the time, Korean NGOs had no prior experience of participating in government projects.

The government project area, which had been partially started, became a core resource for private organizations in just a few years. However, government projects presented several problems. Fierce competition broke out between groups who hoped to land government projects and NGOs tended to change their activities in-line with the content in the government-suggested projects.

In addition, the government also interfered with groups carrying out projects

under the guise of overseeing transparent operations. Under such circumstances several groups raised the problem points of such government projects. During such a process, Korea Women's Hotline made the firm resolution to submit only proposals for activities which had originally been intended by the organization.

At first the government project activities focused on central government such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family but now projects are carried out at various regional governments and government departments. The proportion of Korea Women's Hotline finances which is taken up by government projects differs, but as of 2012 it was approximately 10%. Financial support from government projects is used to cover some of Korea Women's Hotline's working expenses.

G. Government Aid

Korea Women's Hotline started to receive government aid in 1994 with the enactment of the Special Law against Sexual Violence. However, Korea Women's Hotline started to support female victims of violence a long time before it started receiving government support. The government support is enough to cover the wages of three relief center workers and the remainder of the center's operation costs is covered by the parent organization. After the Domestic Violence Prevention Act was enacted, the protection shelter for domestic violence victims has also been able to receive government support. The support covers the wages of the three staff running the shelter and food costs for users. Funds for counseling or program operation and costs needed for shelter users are raised by taking part in the lottery funds project. Government aid which is provided through relief centers and shelters accounts for 20 percent of Korea Women's Hotline's funds. At present, the Korean government sends a district office employee to visit relief centers that are receiving aid every quarter to give guidance and supervision. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family

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conducts evaluations of nationwide relief centers and protection facilities every three years. The government aims to regulate such centers and facilities by basing decisions for financial support on the results of the evaluations. At times, they expect activists to abide by government workers' work standards and have even tried to interfere with minor things such as workers' clocking in. A bigger problem is the government's sensitive reacting to groups' external training or demonstrations against the government by cancelling designated financial aid.

Due to such government interference, the independence and autonomy of NGOs including Korea Women's Hotline is being infringed upon. The support for victims of violence against women is the responsibility of the government which is unable to prevent such crimes, and NGOs which provide high quality services to victims with little financial aid are helpful partners of the government. Relief centers and facilities run on the tax money should have transparent account management. However, supporting victims of violence against women is the nation's obligation and as such the autonomy and independence of NGOs should not be harmed.

The Korean government has recently been attempting to computerize the personal details of victims and shelter residents. However, groups including Korea Women's Hotline are concerned about the violation of victims' personal information rights and are against this idea. Support groups of female victims of violence have insisted that a system which supports victims of violence while allowing for victims' individual characteristics and circumstances should be built.

There is currently debate between the opinions "let the government run counseling centers and shelters and monitor and judge whether activists and campaign groups are doing their jobs properly" and "it is not an issue we can solve with binary opposition. Institutionalization is something which was achieved through earnest campaigning and as such needs to be used properly. Institutionalization is a reliable asset and is a power force which can protect the

results of campaigning and enable continuous change.”¹⁾

3. Activities to Eliminate Violence against Women

A. Hotline and Face-to-face Counseling

Korea Women's Hotline chose to use counseling as a way to reach the masses and take part in women's movement activities. This was inspired by Lifeline, the first Hotline counseling service in Korea, and the advice given by experts who said that domestic violence was a serious problem in the United States was taken. Counseling became a mainstream element and Korea Women's Hotline became a familiar name among female members of the public. In the early years, the phone number for Korea Women's Hotline was even displayed on neighborhood bulletin boards and the 114 directory number referred callers who needed counseling to the Hotline.

Hotline counseling was accessible and anonymous and became a tool to listen to many women's problems. The Hotline counseling service started in 1983 and is still running today.

Face-to-face counseling started in 1984 for people who found it difficult to access a Hotline. While it can be said that face-to-face counseling allowed more in-depth sessions, the Hotline's counseling was inaccessible to those who could not afford a telephone service. Not many people could afford a phone service back in 1983 and Women's Hotline put in their efforts to propose other methods than the Hotline. However, women who could use neither the Hotline nor the face-to-face method requested counseling through letter correspondence. From 2000 onwards, computer use became widespread and Internet counseling

1) Shin San-suk (2007), Institutionalization and autonomy of South Korea's anti-sexual violence movements, a Doctorate thesis at the Department of Sociology at Seoul National University (unpublished).

sessions have also been made available.

B. Training

As one of the main campaign goals of Korea Women's Hotline is to raise awareness of women's issues, it runs various related training courses. Counselor training is one of the most representative courses of Korea Women's Hotline. In accordance to a related law, counselor training currently requires 100 hours of both domestic violence and sexual violence counselor training. However, before the related law was enacted a Women's Counseling School was set up at time of Korea Women's Hotline's establishment.

The very first counselor training course was held from January 19th to February 9th in 1983, during the Korea Women's Hotline's establishment preparation stage. At the time, the training course consisted of three stages: women's issues, counseling issues and refresher training, and included areas such as women's rights awareness, counseling and counseling practice. This counselor training has been in place since establishment. Various areas are covered, such as the reality of sexual discrimination in Korean society, understanding counseling for women and understanding Women's Hotline campaign activities. In addition, lectures are also given on alcoholism, women's rights and family counseling and such. Korea Women's Hotline's counselor training is not limited to theory-based training—as a sponsor, the training participants also attend a weekly event on Wednesdays to solve the issue of sex slavery victims of Japanese soldiers. Also, an overnight trip which is part of the training course helps increase sense of belonging and enables trainees to express what they learned in diverse ways, share their own stories and build stronger relationships with each other. The 100 hours of training provides women who have lived ordinary lives with a completely different perspective. There are people who become confused about their values and also those who wonder why they didn't find out about Women's Hotline sooner and burst into tears

from the frustration. Refresher courses following the counselor training enable counselors to further increase awareness of women's issues and through small group gatherings they study together and share diverse experiences.

In addition to counselor training, Korea Women's Hotline also runs its Women's School to provide training. The school is for females members of the public to raise awareness and classes are held during the day as well as in the evenings. The course content covers women's reality and women's campaigns. At universities, elective courses on Women's Studies became more widespread and as university students became more interested in sexuality, the Women's School has offered new training courses such as Sex and Love for Young Men and Women.

After 2005 Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) also organized a lecture titled *Love also Needs Learning*, which dealt with date rape issues.

C. Human Rights Support

In addition to relief support for victims of violence, human rights support for such victims is also an important issue for Korea Women's Hotline. Women's Hotline supported various human rights issues.

In 1986, it was common practice for Korean women to stop working after getting married. A woman surnamed Joo who had worked for an investment company, returned from her honeymoon to find an empty desk waiting for her at the office and was pressurized to resign. Joo consulted with Korea Women's Hotline and requested the help of several women's rights groups. Pamphlets detailing the unfair treatment of Joo were printed and circulated, and a demonstration was held. Newspapers and various media outlets covered the incident with enthusiasm. After a year's struggle Joo could return to her job. There was another case where a woman surnamed Park suffered from verbal and physical abuse in the workplace and sought help from Korea Women's

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Hotline's women's rights complaints desk. This incident also attracted a lot of help from women's rights groups leading to a society-wide movement. These are examples of the results of Korea Women's Hotline's hard work in regulating violence in the home and workplace and created recognition that such violence stems from sexual discrimination.

The active role of Korea Women's Hotline has led in dealing with sexual violence issues is evident in its support activities related to the 'Paju school incident' of sexual violence at school and *Yeongsaeng Aeyukwon* incident of sexual violence at a welfare facility. An incident which occurred in 1988 was made into a film with the title *Just Because You're a Woman*. This incident involved Byeon, who had bitten the abuser's tongue off in self defense to protect herself from a rapist. Byeon was convicted of being guilty of over defending herself. In reaction to this, Women's Hotline formed a joint defense group and demonstrated in front of the court. In addition, an urgent debate session titled *Is Self Defense against Rape a Crime?* was held. After a year of struggle Byeon, who had been charged guilty of 'cutting off the tongue of a promising young man' during the first trial, was acquitted. This incident was one which clearly demonstrated the problem with Korean society's distorted perceptions of sexual violence.

In February of 1991, a victim of domestic violence surnamed Nam killed her abuser and for the first time Korea Women's Hotline carried out a large-scale campaign. Nam had suffered from her husband's violence for 10 years, and when she was 4 months pregnant, her intestines burst from her husband's violence and as a result she had a stillbirth. Thanks to Korea Women's Hotline's campaign, Nam received a suspended sentence of five years and was released from jail. Nam's case was an opportunity to raise awareness of the severity of domestic violence in Korean society, and after the case Korea Women's Hotline continued to provide support to many more cases of domestic violence victims' murder of their attackers.

D. Campaign for Enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act

Starting from 1994 and until the enforced ordinance and enforcement regulations were put into place on June 30th 1998, campaigning for the enactment of a law against domestic violence was one of Korea Women's Hotline's most important tasks. The enactment of a law against domestic violence was one of the most important legislative activities for Korea Women's Hotline from time of establishment, and it was a historical incident in a strongly patriarchal Korean society.

There were a lot of factors which made the enactment of the law possible, but the most important of all was the Korea Women's Hotline's internal capability accumulated over more than 10 years. Through counseling, the group could learn about the reality of female victims of violence and had volunteer activists and experts who put in their efforts to enact the law to eradicate such violence.

Also, among domestic and international change, Korea Women's Hotline was able to identify grounds to enact the anti-domestic violence law. The UN proclaimed 1994 as the International Year of the Family and in 1995 the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing. The group was able to take advantage of a global environment which was sensitive towards violence against women.

Incidents which continued to occur both domestically and internally during the campaign period for enactment of the anti-domestic violence law such as cases of domestic violence victims killing their offenders came to be recognized as social problems and attracted public attention.

As such, the law and public awareness created by Korea Women's Hotline created a public stir and there were National Assembly members who could turn this public sentiment into legislation. Mi-kyeong Lee introduced the

legislative bill of a nationwide campaign for the enactment of the law to prevent domestic violence. According to new theory on social movements, the characteristics of women's movements are its putting gender first before class and its pursuit of gender politics.

Domestic violence is a typical trait of gender hierarchy and is considered a right for the male head of the household who is the breadwinner. The process of campaigning for enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act which resists such patriarchal values and power structure was brought on by a need to overcome the patriarchal society's lack of awareness of the severity of domestic violence and a need for sensitization. When it comes to the enactment of the law from the viewpoint of resource mobilization theory that explains social movements, Korea Women's Hotline organized a group of experts, members and regional branches in its efforts for the enactment. In terms of political opportunity structure, there were the general election in 1996 and presidential election in 1997. The enactment process of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act is a representative example of showing the world the reality of women, legalization and through legalization the way women's lives have changed. However, the law underwent partial changes during the legislation process at the national assembly. After its enactment, Korea Women's Hotline has focused more on promoting public awareness and application than criticizing it. This was so that the law could take root. However, such activities made it look like Korea Women's Hotline agreed with the much-modified law. In order to achieve effectiveness of the law, Korea Women's Hotline has continuously carried out monitoring activities. The chapter III will cover more details of the law enactment campaign.

E. Projects for the Next Generation

Korea Women's Hotline ran a Camp for Daughters with the purpose of developing sexual violence prevention training and to work with teenagers. It

started in 1996 and involved staying two nights at a camp and offered informative courses on sexuality and sexual identity. Regional governments interested in youth sexual violence issues also requested training courses. As part of Korea Women's Hotline's (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) expansion of the women's property rights campaign, a course was run centering of girls in their teens which conveyed the messages that females needed a firm concept of finances and ownership of their lives. A course titled *Magic Economics School for Girls* started running in 2005 which enables economics to be understood easily and young females to think about and plan their lives. Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) started to think about working together with the next generation as a result of this course. At present, Korea there is a small-group meeting for teens called Hope and the Hotline is reflecting upon more various ways to communicate with the younger generation. The online blog 'Live in Pain No More' was created by Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) for young people suffering from domestic violence and a self-help group was also put together. The self-help group is active online, supporting each other and sharing information. Although Korea Women's Hotline proposed an offline gathering and attempted to organize the group, the offline gathering did not take place.

F. Women's Rights Film Festival: Reaching Out to More Women More Easily

Korea Women's Hotline(formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) tried to think of easier ways to raise awareness of the issues of violence against women, and started the Film Festival for Women's Rights in 2006. The film festival has raised awareness of violence against women through film, and has been held six times as of 2012. The festival takes place for four days at regular movie

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theaters and the tasks of film selection, translation, creating subtitles and film screening are all done by Women's Hotline activists. Each festival shows approximately 33 short and full-length films from 6-7 nations. The festival carries the slogan of 'A Film Festival Which Deals with Issues, Communicates, Creates Together and Takes Action'. During the festival, approximately 100 youths volunteer to help.

As soon as a film festival finishes, the film festival program department starts working on the next one. They have been working together on the festival since the inception of the festival. Among them, there are even people who have opted for part-time employment, so they can have the time to work on the festival. The Film Festival for Women's Rights mainly attracted young people who are passionate about eradicating violence against women. A lot of them say the film festival has enabled them to easily understand issues of violence against women. After the selected movies have been shown, a session is held where experts, producers and audience members have a discussion in order to ensure a deeper understanding of violence against women issues. Another characteristic of the film festival is the opportunity for the audience to participate in diverse booth events. Taking part in such events enables audience members to understand the issue more deeply and regard it as a problem which also affects themselves. The film festival has been run in a way which enables proper understanding of violence against women.

G. Increasing Women's Rights Campaigns: Campaigning for Women's Property Rights

In its supporting of violence victims, Korea Women's Hotline has come to consider the strengthening of economic ability and securing of property rights to be very important in enabling victims to escape from violence. Korea Women's

Hotline's campaign for strengthening women's economic rights became fully-fledged in 1999 with the appearance of the so-called silver separation incident.

The incident involved elderly women who had lived their whole lives with their husbands' violence. Although they had contributed to the household assets, they had no rights at all as their properties were registered under their husbands' names. The justice department told the women to stay with their husbands considering their ages.

While the incident attracted public attention regarding the freedom in opting for divorce, Korea Women's Hotline focused their attention on the unfairness of women's property rights. Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Korea Women's Hotline Federation) held an urgent debate session titled *I Want to Live Properly Even If Just for One Day* which centered on the elderly women's cases.

Korea Women's Hotline was passionate about women's property rights from before the incident. While women took part in both visible and non-visible labor activity, they did not receive just treatment for this.

Korea Women's Hotline's legal advice sessions, which take place every Monday, usually deal with issues relating to divorce, custody and division of property. The women who seek the Hotline's help are people who have been ill-treated either due to their husband's violence or extramarital affairs and wish to get a divorce. Although they have dedicated their whole lives to their family and domestic labor or other work, the asset division system leaves them penniless in most cases.

The system governing married couple's property does not consider a spouse's contribution to household assets but regards the registered person as the rightful owner. This is a violation of rights of many women who are not able to register their names and this is an issue which has been raised by Korean legal scholars over many years.

Despite women contributing to the household in many ways, the pressure of

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social practice which considered it apt to register property under the husband's name and an unreasonable tax system meant that in reality women had almost no rights to assets. This was also evident in the data from Korea Women's Hotline's survey carried out in 2000. 76 percent of the respondents said that property was registered under their husband's name, which could mean that 76 percent of women have no rights to the assets they have contributed toward either visibly or non-visibly.

Korea Women's Hotline considered the reason for women to be financially vulnerable was because the value of domestic labor and child rearing was not recognized, and thought it important that women increased their interest in finances and obtained rights. The significance of campaigns to strengthen women's property and financial rights lies with improving unjust women's property rights, raise recognition of the value of women's domestic labor and childrearing, creating a balanced family environment and balanced relationship between husband and wife.

Korea Women's Hotline held a debate session in 2000 titled *Women's Property Rights: Where Does the Problem Lie?* and made it be known that 76 percent of survey respondents had their property registered under their husband's name and that they were unable to register their own names due to socio-cultural pressure. After the debate session, Korea Women's Hotline started the campaign for joint registration of married couple's property.

Korea Women's Hotline has been active in its work in campaigning for joint ownership of married couple's assets, providing economics training for women, improving recognition of women's household chores and child care, even bringing influences to the tax system.

The Hotline's campaign for women's economic empowerment was included in the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family's second women's policy plan from 2003 to 2007. Contents of the plan include the following: correction of the family relations system for the formation of balanced family relations,

promoting the establishment of a married couple's property system for gender equality, enhancing social awareness of the value of domestic labor and putting into place actual system measures, improving tax regulations for jointly owned property, protection of spouses in relation to married couples' property relations and tax system improvement.

Korea Women's Hotline held nationwide workshops and cultural events to change perceptions of women's economic empowerment and produced a documentary titled *About Women and Money*, which showed interviews with 50 women.

Korea Women's Hotline's economic empowerment activities cover diverse areas such as sexual harassment prevention at workplace, re-employment job training, government and tax policy, the social recognition of the value of domestic labor and changes to the property system. Some of its activities include Married Couple's Joint Ownership Month, a debate session focusing on the reality of women's property rights, production and circulation of promotional materials, making changes to real estate transaction documents so that they can include joint names, books for newlywed couples with information on what needs to be included in a contract and such.

The Hotline also made various policy suggestions. It was requested to reduce the taxes incurred, when property is transferred from one spouse to another, and the current registration tax from 3% to 0.3%; to waive tax for spouse inheritance; to provide abolish transfer income tax for real estate which is received instead of alimony and to provide incentives for joint ownership.

However, the Hotline experienced problems in its women's economic empowerment activities in areas they had not expected. In 2005, Korea Women's Hotline drew up a civil law amendment and held a public hearing on November 15th that year for the changing of the individual spouse-based property system into the joint ownership system.

Korea Women's Hotline submitted a civil law amendment which contained

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details of a property contract system for married couples before marriage and for after marriage, the equal division of property and assets in the case of divorce and for inheritance the distribution to offspring after half of the inheritance has been given to the surviving spouse.

The reason why Korea Women's Hotline proposed a property joint ownership plan was to enable women to receive the rights to their property freely. In 2006 the Ministry of Justice also submitted a proposal for a civil law amendment which covered claims for property division during matrimony, adjustments to spouse inheritance, legal delay before divorce and such. The Ministry and Korea Women's Hotline asserted the right to half of the assets acquired after marriage at time of divorce. Korea Women's Hotline regards a family to be one economic community and as such believes a household's economics is contributed towards by workforce labor, child care and domestic labor and that the current customs and culture of South Korea which protect only the property owner and thus bringing disadvantage to women who are not able to register as property owner need to be changed.

On the other hand, a group called People who Reflect upon Korea's Feminism said that because the value of women's domestic labor differs according to social class, this point needs to be considered. The group also criticized equal division to be overly representative of women from upper-middle-class nuclear families. They believed differential division should be made according to degree of input towards assets. In addition, the joint ownership system was criticized for the risk of being used as a tool for gender discrimination in the labor market. Their opinions received the support of some chauvinistic males on the Internet who rejoiced in the fact that women were opposing women's right. Due to the opposition by the Legislation and Judiciary Committee, the bill was not passed. Korea Women's Hotline participated in a debate session held by this group, and argued that family economics is in reality a combination of paid labor, domestic labor and child rearing, that

housework and child rearing need to be recognized as labor and that women need to have the right to property that they have also rightly earned. In addition, the Hotline explained that Korea is the only nation which uses a divided property system for married couples, and that most nations regard the family to be one economic unit, respect the rights of both spouses and as such have diverse systems which support this. It was also explained that the changing of the legal property system to acknowledge the joint property ownership is to help those females who do not have the money to seek legal advice and those who can afford legal services can opt for the current divided property ownership or other options. However, sufficient discussion was not achieved between the group and the Hotline. As a result of the civil law amendment not being passed, Korea Women's Hotline's women's economic empowerment activities rapidly weakened.

In a patriarchal society, it is taken for granted that women are unable economically or that they have no right to finances. The domestic chores, childrearing and such work done by women for hundreds of years are disregarded. However, recently the ILO and CEDAW have put into place evaluation guidelines for non-visible labor and are recommending that a legal system enabling women to be given equal property rights be established. Korea Women's Hotline's women's property rights movement opposes the ideology that women have to sacrifice themselves for others, and that a woman's life depends on the man she marries. The Hotlines helps women realize that they can, and should, own property and assets and that they need to be financially independent. An expert who participated in the preparation of the legislation proposal once said that the joint property ownership campaign is even more challenging than abolishing the patriarchal family-head system, and that the ripple effect is likely to be revolutionary. Women's property rights and economic empowerment campaigns are extremely important in strengthening female capacity.

H. Regional Women's Movements: a New Chapter for Campaigning

Korea Women's Hotline began reflecting upon regional women's movements in 1996 due to the fact that the Hotline operated in the Seoul metropolitan area and the organization and popularity aspects of the movement were also factors to consider.

Due to Korea Women's Hotline's organizational characteristics, no members could take part in activities other than counseling, and this resulted in members having problems in finding a sense of belonging and identity.

Korea Women's Hotline started regional activities in order to enable female members of the public to participate in the Hotline's activities and to be able to prevent against violence, and to enable women to live in a better world through legal and systematic changes.

In 1998, the Hotline was separated into Korea Women's Hotline Federation and Seoul Women's Hotline, and the Hotline's regional women's campaigning was fully started in Seoul and other regions.

The Hotline's focus on regional movements that year could be partly attributed to the changes in organizational structure but also to the realization that the enactment of a law on domestic violence was not enough to eradicate the serious problem.

The Hotline wanted to change society's thinking that violence was the problem of female individuals and not the community's. As such, it created the slogan "An Equal and Peaceful Village" in an attempt to create a local community without violence.

Korea Women's Hotline opened the Kangseo Yangcheon branch in June 1998 and the Dongdaemun, Seongbuk branch preparation committee was set up in November 1998 and was in operation until December 1999. However, because the Hotline did not have a clear vision for its regional activities and because the

relationship between Korea Women's Hotline headquarters and branches was not clearly organized, the committee was dissolved.

The Hotline set up a regional women's rights campaign center in 2000 which was to focus exclusively on regional campaigns. A workshop was held once or twice a year and the Women's Hotline's Campaign Theory was created. It also attempted to localize its counseling service and set up the "everyday counseling service". However, no actual results were achieved and only the name remains.

Korea Women's Hotline attempted to create a regional women's campaign theory as well by taking the same approach as the campaign for needy people but in vain. It was difficult to firmly lay down the goals of gender equality and eliminating violence against women in regional communities. It was a challenge for the Hotline to penetrate the conservatism of regional areas and promote their activities. Although Korea Women's Hotline included the content of awareness, systemization and empowerment in their 2010 campaign for regional women's movements, it was criticized for being no different from other campaign content.

Meanwhile, regional women's campaigns in the Seoul region started to become active with Dongjak-gu as its central area. Korea Women's Hotline's member distribution survey showed that the area had the largest number of Hotline members and from 2005 the Hotline concentrated its regional activities there. The *Village without Domestic Violence* campaign started in 2005 and included activities such as the peaceful village festival, training to prevent domestic violence, survey on policy for violence against women, and local community network building for eliminating domestic violence. Working with the residents of Dongjak-gu, Seoul Women's Hotline put its priority on training for discovering and developing as female leaders.

The counselor training which had taken place near the office was conducted in Dongjak-gu, and public outreach programs such as sex education for children were also offered. Programs were also offered in apartments. Seoul Women's

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Hotline recognized the problem that while regional women did all kinds of work around the village, men took on leader roles. The Hotline assigned varied tasks to female participants, so that anybody could host a session, give a speech and give a presentation.

However, the conservatism of regional communities made it hard to approach the issues of violence against women and human rights. Also, the traits of violence against women needed the joint efforts of head office and regional branches. Due to the nonexistence of sufficient internal discussion and agreement on the campaign content and vision, the Hotline's regional women's movements became lacklustre.

Although participation in Korea Women's Hotline's counseling and anti-violence lecturer program required training to a certain extent, the females who wanted to participate in regional campaigns did not meet the required standards. Also, while the reason Korea Women's Hotline started its regional activities was to spread and systemize the campaign, there were concerns that becoming known in regional areas would bring too much exposure to the group.

Although discussions took place to solve the problem of conflict, rather than narrow down the internal mixed opinions, Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) continued with its results-oriented activities and the conflict could not be resolved. The Hotline's vision of a gender-equal society and elimination of violence against women is hard to be agreed upon without possessing a feminist perspective. Korea Women's Hotline failed to develop fully in regional activism due to its failure to identify the differences and similarities of regular regional movements and women's movements and to come up with varied methods for organization and practice.

In 2009, Korea Women's Hotline moved its headquarters office to Eunpyeong-gu and focused its activities in the area. Peaceful Stores were designated and accredited by Korea Women's Hotline. The stores had a telephone which connected to Korea Women's Hotline and displayed

information on domestic and sexual violence. For the Remarkable Beauty Salon Project, the Hotline circulated information at beauty salons, where women usually gathered to chat.

Based on the experience from its regional women's campaigns, Korea Women's Hotline launched its *An Eunpyeong-gu without Violence: Creating a Moving Network* campaign in 2012.

The campaign involved forming a network of local police, fire fighters, counselors, school teachers, district offices, hospitals, local women's issues research institutes, parents in order to serve the purpose to share information on difficulties experienced when dealing with domestic violence issues and to deal with the domestic violence issue in Eunpyeong-gu.

The network planning team consisted of local organizations and groups including Eunpyeong-gu Office Participatory Government Coordinator, Eunpyeong Fire Station, Eunpyeong-gu Female Policy Monitoring Group, Korea Women's Hotline counselors, Eunpyeong Police Station Department of Investigation, Eunpyeong Youth Center, researchers at the Korean Women's Development Institute's Family and Multicultural Policy Center, elementary school teachers, youth counseling centers, local community training professionals, Korea Women's Hotline's Domestic Violence Relief Center, Korea Women's Hotline's Domestic Violence Victim Shelter among others.

An appointment ceremony was held for the above members to encourage more enthusiastic activity. The ceremony was also an opportunity to formalize previously informal meetings. As a result, members went from being passive participants to more proactive key players in network building. In order to improve enthusiasm, all decisions were made through meetings and changes were made to the Moving Network's activities in line with participants' opinions.

Network committee members had to be people who played hands-on roles in their respective fields and people who were knowledgeable. This was because in many cases representatives of organizations usually dealt with office and

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administrative work and so therefore rarely knew about the actual circumstances of victims. The committee members recruited more people to work for the Moving Network and organized workshops in their own field. They also jointly hosted workshops and had intensive discussions on how to create a model within each organization.

General workshops in addition to organization-specific workshops, intensive interviews, domestic violence measures enabled organizations to voice their opinions of domestic violence, to regard domestic violence as a “problem” and to seek ways for cooperation find solutions.

When the network activity ended, the suggestions made for the eradication of domestic violence included: ① a client-focused network, ② the setting up of regulations to prevent violence against women for every region and a plan for execution, ③ a network structure which surpasses the boundaries of government departments and organizations, ④ all organizations in the network become key players, ⑤ cooperation within regional areas and collaboration between central and regional offices, ⑥ each organization should know its own role and be well-connected, and ⑦ short and long-term plans for eradication of violence against women.

The Moving Network was designated as a model project by the Seoul City government in 2012 and was launched as a pilot project in 14 Seoul districts in 2013.

Korea Women's Hotline's regional women's campaign went through several trials and errors and is still in place today. The campaign needs to move at the same pace of the slowly-changing perceptions in regional areas and as such results cannot be easily achieved.

However, immediate support for preventing violence against women in regional areas is important, and for the method and goal continuous development and revision are needed.

4. The Conflict between Counseling and Campaigning

Korea Women's Hotline was expert-focused in its early stages and later became member-focused, activist-focused and counseling-focused. It then changed into a member-based organization in 1987. The key players at Korea Women's Hotline had various viewpoints of its campaigns.

From its early stages there was conflict as to what Women's Hotline's role would be in a rapidly-changing Korean society. There was conflict between the opinions of full-time workers who felt it was important to focus on social democracy and those of welfare-minded counselors who had joined the Hotline to offer counseling service to the victims of domestic violence.

There were also requests to make the identity of Women's Hotline clear cut – whether it was a relief center, a political activity group or women's rights group. There were also people who criticized the Hotline for being factional.

Among such confusion the 16th issue of Korea Women's Hotline's own paper *Bettle* which was published on December 5 1986 contained an article titled *The Business of Counseling* detailing the Hotline's position on the controversy written by Hyeon-sook Lee who had held the post of director at the time.

Regarding the confusion surrounding Women's Hotline's identity, Lee wrote that the identity confusion was a problem of form and that it was not necessary to prioritize or differentiate the Hotline's activities and counseling. The more important thing was that by balancing the two, the Hotline would be able to achieve its goals of humanization for women and a fair society.

With this set straight, the Women's Hotline transformed into a member-centered campaign group at the general assembly on September 13 1987 and made their role and purpose clear. On that day, the Hotline set its goals of overcoming domestic violence, sexual violence and gender-

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discriminatory ideology, securing women's labor rights, obtaining citizen survival rights and realizing an autonomous and united democratic society.

However, in 1990 the full-time activists who put more focus on social democracy and leaders left the organization, and counselors were left remaining at the Hotline. It has been said that although counseling was a part and a method of campaigning, it was not the whole of it. However, this viewpoint comes from insufficient understanding of the fact that women's movements begin from embracing and understanding individual women's experiences and the goal of feminist counseling is to bring about both women's individual changes and changes in societal structure. Also, it is also a result of overlooking the core principle of feminist counseling "*The Personal is Political*." The victims are more important than any campaign key players. Feminist counseling enables female victims of violence to become survivors and Women's Hotline turns victims into survivors and activists.

Korea Women's Hotline's most important aspect is its hands-on approach. The Hotline hears real women tell their real life stories through counseling sessions and has made legal and systematic changes.

The Hotline monitors the influences that changes in the legal and institutional environment have on women, and at the end of the day counseling and campaigning complement each other. Korea Women's Hotline's campaigns extend beyond a few experts' theoretical approach to problems but reach out to numerous women and their problems.



III

Main Activities

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1. Feminist Counseling

A. The Introduction of Feminist Counseling and Its Meaning

Korea Women's Hotline has used the method of counseling for its women's rights activities since the organization's inception. The founding members of Women's Hotline had the intent of carrying out women's rights campaigns and were aware that women's problems stemmed from Korea's social structure. The reason why the Hotline's founding members chose counseling as a way to deal with women's rights was because at the time, it was hard to carry out women's campaigns which reached the public under the harsh military dictatorship. Also, it was regarded that wife beating was a problem a lot of women were suffering from. Women's Hotline has worked hard to provide individual relief and bring change to a gender discriminatory social structure through its counseling services. Women's Hotline's purpose of establishment was announced in 1975 at the Christian Academy's gathering named *The Ideology and Direction of Korean Women's Movements*, which was bringing women humanization. The catchphrase used from 1982 to 1986 was *Harmony in the Family Brings Harmony in Society*.

However, it is said that Women's Hotline did not have a counseling theory in place in its early stages of establishment and as such women's studies theory was used in its training instead in order to overcome the problem. It is evident in the first three volumes of the Hotline paper *Bettle* that the Hotline did not have an appropriate theory: the paper dealt with the basics of general counseling such as clarification, open conversation, and conversation-leading. However, in order to fulfill Feminist Counseling's principles of mutual communication between individual identity and social identity, the Hotline ensured its counselors could provide counseling on feminism. Although there was no fitting counseling theory to refer to, counselors were already aware that women's individual problems are problems which belong to society. This was

evident in *Bettle's* 3rd volume which was published on May 16 1984. Counselors attending a round-table talk expressed the view that the society where women were living was one that belittled women and not one where their human rights were guaranteed; the society where we lived was one which still strongly preferred sons. They also pointed out that in such a society, what is allowed for men becomes illegal for women and sexual discrimination could be found everywhere. From the discussion content, counselors could know that Feminist Counseling was interested in individual healing and in changing social structure. They asked what the future tasks were for Women's Hotline, and the answer was as such: finding out about problems through telephone counseling, realizing which problems are urgent and following this setting up of a shelter for victims, in addition to putting in efforts to change the unfairness of law by raising public awareness through cooperation with other social groups. In the 7th volume of *Bettle*, which marked the first anniversary of the Hotline, Women's Hotline made its stance clear - its aims were to put human dignity at its core and eliminate all systems, customs and conventions which made women's lives inhumane and create a peaceful and just family and society by building gender-balanced human relationships. Women's Hotline was using counseling as a channel to carry out its women's rights campaigns. However, in reality, merging counseling and campaigning together had its limitations and there was conflict in deciding on which would be the group's priority area. This confusion is evident in the 16th issue of *Bettle* published on December 5 1986, which contained an article titled *The Business of Counseling*. The article, which was written by then-director Hyeon-sook Lee, elaborates the role of the Hotline.

Regarding the confusion surrounding the organization's identity, Lee wrote that the identity confusion was a problem of form and that it was not necessary to prioritize or differentiate the Hotline's activities and counseling. The more important thing was that by balancing the two, the Hotline would be able to achieve its goals of humanization for women and a fair society.

The fundamental point of Korea Women's Hotline's Feminist Counseling lies in its counseling's feminist viewpoint.

1) Violence against Wives

Women's Hotline expressed its stance on domestic violence at its first open discussion session on October 5 1983 in its talk titled *The Reality of Wife Beating and Its Consequences*. Women's Hotline said the widespread problem and severity of domestic violence was due to the following reasons: ① in a traditional patriarchal system men thought they owned their wives and could do anything they wanted, ② the taboo of interfering with family issues, and ③ The widespread gender discriminatory perception that women had to endure their problems no matter what.

2) Rape and Sexual Harassment at Workplace

Women's Hotline dealt with rape and workplace sexual harassment issues from the time of establishment. The Hotline held a seminar to discuss the issues of sexual violence on September 26th 1985 at Women's Hotline's office and approximately 30 women who had clerical jobs, manufacturing jobs and university students attended. Women's Hotline defined sexual violence as a violent form of sexual discrimination and involved word which belittled women, harassment, forced sexual relations and physical abuse.

All about Sexual Violence published in 1987 mentions that there was an increase in counseling for rape and other forms of sexual assault. The casebook put the reasons for rape down to: ① the traditional viewpoint which saw women as men's possessions, ② social gender imbalance and gender role stereotyping, and ③ double standards of sexual ethics. In addition, the Hotline understood that the problem of the rape was that it was hidden and not defined as a sexual act but a form of violence.

The October 1989 volume of *Bettle* listed the characteristics of rape to be ① often involving people who the victim knew; ② resulting in both physical and psychological damage due to deep-rooted perceptions of chastity; and ③ in the case of marriage as a result of rape, women were unable to defend themselves from their husbands' beating or extramarital affairs. The characteristics of rape were also defined as "... a crime of morality, rape is not a moral, sexual crime but a form of violence which destructs human dignity and can also destruct life. The common perception that victims are suddenly attacked by a stranger as a result of inciting sexual arousal in the offender results in putting the blame on the victim... the trial process for sexual assault cases is also different from that for other crimes in that focus is often made not on how the offender committed the crime but on the victim's degree of resistance..."

3) Husband's Extramarital Affairs

Korean society has long been generous toward men's affairs. This stems from concubinage which existed in the Chosun Dynasty, and the old saying that 'heroes are sensual' which is based on a common social perception that it is fine if capable men have multiple female partners at the same time. Meanwhile, society put emphasis on women guarding their chastity and women who had extramarital affairs were called 'whores'. Korean society's double standards when it came to sex ethics allowed men to have more than one partner but women had to be chaste. Korea Women's Hotline emphasized that women need to realize that their husband's affairs are not their fault, not the fault of the other woman, but the man's fault, and that the extramarital affair is a result of society's double standards. This opposes the conventional perception that affairs are problems between two involved woman. Also, the response to the problem is focused on the woman herself rather than the conventional one about how to make the husband return.

4) Conflict with Husband's Family

Conflict with the husband's family also stems from Korea's patriarchal family culture. Korean Society perceived filial duty to be the deciding factor for a family's fate, and compels women to be dedicated to and obey the man and his family. In the *Chosun* Dynasty, there were seven standards to justify a divorce where a man could turn his wife away from the home. The 'standards' included disobeying her parents-in-law, being unable to give birth, being lustful, being jealous, having a bad illness, being talkative and stealing.

Recently family structures have changed a lot, and in line with women's social status, conflict with the in-laws is on the decline. However, traditional notions of filial duty and patriarchal views on family are still causing such conflict. Women's Hotline argues that the term for conflict between a woman and her mother-in-law, *Gobugaldeung*, should be changed to conflict with the husband's family, *Sijjgaldeung*. This is because the conflict is not something which arises personally between the two women, but arises due to a woman entering a patriarchal family structure. The Hotline also conducted a sociological analysis of the prevalent notion that giving birth to a son for to continue the bloodline of the husband's family was a married woman's meaning of existence and key to survival.

B. Principles and Practice

Feminist counseling aims to bring change to clients on an individual basis at the same time to society as a whole. At feminist counseling, clients are not seen as individuals with problems but as victims and survivors in an unjust and unequal society. In the Seoul Women's Hotline's Feminist Counseling Research Team's paper *Why Feminist Counseling?* (Kim et al., 2005, p. 114), it is said that the fundamental beliefs and goals of feminist counseling include: the ① personal is political; ② counselors and clients are equal; ③ empowerment is

important; and ④ the client's problems should be re-examined from women's perspective.

1) Feminist Counseling's Principles

Feminist counseling believes that humans are equal (by gender) and that gender roles are not fixed. Bell Hooks mentions that the most comprehensive definition for feminism included dedication in eliminating all oppression including racism, sexual discrimination, heterosexism and classism. Crosby and Worell give four characteristics for feminists: an interest in the social formation of gender; an interest in social power systems which disadvantage women and other minority groups; people who place value on all women's experiences; and calling for social change. To put this simply, feminist counseling strives to abolish society's gender discrimination and provide counseling based on feminist values. Counseling for feminism is not simply based on counseling theory or technique, but it is about shifting existing paradigms on women, who are belittled and alienated in a patriarchal society, through women's viewpoints. Corey, who suggests feminist counseling as a better alternative for other counseling services, argues that the goals of feminist counseling, which begins from a feminist assumption that "the personal is political" are personal empowerment and social change. The service aims to help clients recognize their own strengths and help them be independent and strong and be able to trust themselves and others. Through such empowerment, clients are able to free themselves from the restrictions of socially imposed gender roles. In addition, feminist therapy is an intended political attempt to replace patriarchy with feminism. Feminist counseling and its therapists helps their clients to realize that the way they define themselves and interact with others is a result of expectations of gender roles and to oppose all gender discriminatory institutional policy. Feminist counseling aims to not adapt but to surpass. As such, feminist therapy emphasizes the following (Corey, 2005, p.418):

- Looking at problems not from an individual level but a socio-political and cultural one
- Enable clients to realize they themselves know what is the best for them and that they are the experts of their own lives
- Form an equal counselor-client relationship by agreeing to be open with each other and by signing needed paperwork
- Clarify all stages of the counseling process and encourage client to participate
- Emphasize solidarity and unity among females and underline the fact that counseling/therapy comes from a shared interest
- Consider women's experiences from an original viewpoint
- Challenge traditional methods of evaluating women's mental health
- Understand that individual change is best achieved through social change
- Counselors/therapists play a role in bringing or promoting change for individuals
- Encourage clients to take part in social activities which oppose environmental oppression

Based on the abovementioned opinions of experts, Seoul Women's Hotline's feminist counseling follows the four principles outlined below.

a) The Personal is Political

Feminist counseling's principle of the personal is political means that the personal problems women have are mixed in with the political and social environment where they live. As such, feminist counseling attempts to divide the external and internal factors and seek to bring changes to society rather than have women change to adjust.

Such changes are not limited to personal changes but also extend to social participation for legal and systematic changes. The principle 'the personal is

political' can be well-applied to victims of wife beating or sexual violence.

Violence against women stems from a patriarchal society and a socio-cultural structure which disadvantages women. As such, efforts have been made for the enactment of a domestic violence law and special law on sexual violence.

The first step in enabling clients to understand that 'the personal is political' is the separation of what is inside and what is outside. Feminist counseling focuses on helping clients to categorize types of oppression such as social rules, gender role socialization, institutionalized gender discrimination and personal experiences, and to be able to separate these into external and internal categories. There are a few stages: a) the individual needs to recognize the existence of oppressive social behavior and its negative effects(e.g. racism, sexual discrimination), b) they need to see the correlation between their external experiences and the issues they bring to counseling sessions, c) they need to decide whether they want to change their selves(internal messages) and the environment around them(social change), and d) they need to pursue the changes they want.

The second step is reconstructing the pathology. It can be seen that clients' symptoms come from an attempt to deal with an unhealthy environment. Feminist counselors agree with Enns' theory and say that symptoms arise as a result of trying to deal with the restrictive and oppressive environment and that the communicative roles of the symptoms need to be focused on. For example, it can be said that women's depression is a natural and reasonable reaction to oppression. A natural result of awareness improvement toward the source of women's problems is anger toward their oppressors and the unequal relationship between men and women. Feminist empowerment counselors believe it is important for women to not only learn to express their anger but also to use that anger to change their selves and the environment they are in.

The focus of change is on enabling clients to correct internalized beliefs which are formed from a harmful environment. For example, when it comes to

gender discrimination, a woman would find the messages on gender roles formed from culture which tells them what is appropriate for men and women, think about gains and losses incurred, and reconstruct the messages which brought them losses.

The third is about leading societal change. The ultimate goal of feminist counseling is to create a society without gender discrimination and oppression against minority groups. As such, changes in family, school, religion, and workplace as well as in economic, legal and political structure/institutions are crucial. One way to achieve the goal of individual and social change is viewing societal change on a continuum of level: from macro level to micro level. Feminist counselors also work hard in their local community for social change.

b) Counselors and Clients are Equal

Feminist counselors pursue equality in their counselor-client relationships. Such equality goes beyond counselor and client roles and comes from awareness of women's social conditions. That is a shared perception that as women, both counselor and client are victims in a patriarchal society. Also, feminist counselors acknowledge the fact that clients are the best experts of their own lives. They do not regard them as victims but as survivors. A client could overcome their own problems one day and become a survivor, then moving on to become a counselor or activist the following day. In order to survive, female victim survivors have developed their own methods to live and followed those earnestly. When deemed related to the client's issues, feminist counselors can choose selective self-exposure (sharing their present and past life experiences) and self-participation (sharing their present reactions). This is an important factor in moving the focus from inside and bringing it out. Equalitarianism empowers clients and strengthens independence. Equalitarianism in the counseling session enabled clients another type of socialization training as they had never received 'equal' treatment in a patriarchal society. Feminist

counselors all have different ways to demonstrate equalitarianism and the writer of this paper uses the method of carrying out evaluation before the counseling session is over and during this time counselor and client decide on the issues to be discussed together for the next session. Equalitarianism is being used as one important principle of feminist organizational management. Equalitarianism in feminist organizations is a basic tenet to a democratic organizational management. Feminist counselors 'self-expose' when they feel it is needed. This method is rarely seen in other types of counseling, and involves counselors sharing their own experiences when they believe it is helpful to the client. An example would be a counselor who suffered from domestic violence and got divorced. She would share her experience and tell a client who is considering divorce about the pros and cons.

c) Empowerment

Rather than asking clients to adapt to situations or relationships which are not helpful to them feminist counseling attempts to enable clients to pursue change. Feminist therapy involves the following: ① analysis of societal power structure; ② debate and awareness of how women are socialized to feel helpless; ③ discovering in what ways women feel empowered in individual, relational and institutional domains; ④ use of skills which protect women's interests. Feminist counselors encourage clients to take care of themselves. A lot of clients find it hard to fulfill what they themselves want and tend to put the requests of other people, including family, first. Also, clients are encouraged to seek balanced power in social relationships and to especially be independent financially. Feminist counseling empowers women in various areas. Various hands-on activities such as discovering her strengths, buying herself gifts, reading books on feminism, writing about experiences of gender discrimination, participating in various assemblies fighting for gender equality, and turning their own requests into policy enable female victims of violence to become survivors through

empowerment.

d) Exploring Again from Women' s Viewpoints

This principle proposes looking at the world from the woman's own viewpoint. This means restructuring individual and social aspects of life based on their own experiences. A lot of women are individuals who did not accept or understand their selves as they were. As such they attempted to fit themselves into society's idea of a perfect woman and as a result fell into frustration and guilt. Women are encouraged to define themselves with trust in their experiences. Sturtevant called this 'women defined by women'.

Feminist counselors help clients recover the parts of their stories they have 'omitted'. First, they propose looking at the world from their own viewpoint, which involves restructuring individual and social aspects of life based on their own experiences. Women are encouraged to define themselves with trust in their experiences. Values such as celebration of being a woman, empathy, care, collaboration, intuition, and interdependence are revisited.

C. The Aims of Feminist Counseling

1) Counseling Which Aims Not to Adapt But to Change

Clients of feminist counseling are encouraged to make choices beneficial to themselves, and to not adapt to their current situation but to seek change. As problems individually experienced can only be improved through social change, the ultimate goal of change is to participate in social campaigns.

2) Strengthening Equality

Feminist therapists encourage clients to achieve individual equality in society. The reason why they emphasize economical capability is because economic

power is the biggest factor in achieving equality. However, even though employment and economic power contribute toward equality, it is wrong to look at work such as housework, volunteering or childrearing as trivial. Collective efforts are required for gender equality in society.

3) The Balance of Performance and Fellowship

In the 1980s, focus was made to reevaluate the relational skills of women which were neglected previously. The masculine trait of performance and feminine trait of fellowship need to be balanced in a meaningful way to clients themselves and should not be confined by traditional masculine and feminine characteristics.

4) Empowerment

One of the important goals of feminist therapy is to be proactive in achieving benefits for oneself and for others. Empowerment in feminist therapy includes the following:

- a) Analysis of societal power structure
- b) In order to develop debate and awareness of how women are socialized to feel helpless, women need to realize the distorted emotions they previously felt. In particular, anger is a source of power for women.
- c) Discovering in what ways women feel empowered in individual, relational and institutional domains
- d) Use of skills which protect women's interests: empowerment is not limited to individual change but includes participating in opposition toward social structure when needed. Feminist counselors can provide professional help for women suffering from PTSD and/or battered wife syndrome. Counselors help clients receive help in local community service networks or mental health systems. They also participate in campaigns for reforming

systems and when clients gain confidence, counselors encourage them to join in those campaigns.

e) Looking after oneself

This involves seeing herself as a valuable person and to place priority in contributing towards her own happiness. Clients can experience the enjoyment and control of this. Not only is it useful in enabling clients to discover themselves but it also prepares them for stressful situations in the future.

f) Embracing diversity

In a pluralistic and multicultural society, feminist therapists need to comprehend the starting points where numerous functions of different characteristics cross each other. Feminist therapists need to know that human's experiences are diverse and be aware of how individual differences can change culture, race, class, religion and sexual preferences. Knowing a lot of women from various backgrounds enables women to sufficiently understand and face life without prejudice.

D. Qualifications for Feminist Counselors

More than anything, feminist counselors need to have clear feminist views. They need the sight and perspective to view the variety of different problems that women have from a social structure. This is because an awareness of the relationship between societal structure and women's problems enables realization that the client's problems are not their own individual ones but those of society and provides an opportunity solve these problems together.

To do this, feminist counselors need to challenge their own conventional wisdom, question the conventions as set out by patriarchal social order, think and read critically. Competent feminist counselors need to have a working knowledge of a wide variety of areas including female psychology, psychotherapy

theory, gender, race and class from a sociological point of view, politics and social change strategies, and other issues such as different cultural issues. They also need to continually update themselves on new developments and this is an ongoing challenge for people who want to connect feminism and counseling. Equality for clients, sisterhood, self-reflection and learning, the practice of feminism, and open attitudes are all needed.

E. Establishment of the Women Tenet Consultation Practical Center

Korea Women's Hotline opened the Women Tenet Consultation Practical Center in October 2010. The Women Tenet Consultation Practical Center (hereafter 'Center') is the result of feminist counseling since establishment in 1983. The center was formerly the Seoul Women's Hotline's feminist counseling research group which had been active since 2003. All members of the group were people who had been counseling for more than 10 years and still continued their efforts in campaigning. They are the core members behind the establishment of the center. The center has 7 supervisors and 15 expert members. The center cultivates supervisors through a training program which takes 3 years and 6 stages. The training includes basic training, basic hands-on training, intermediate training, intermediate hands-on training and advanced training. While all training includes gender awareness training, hands-on training involves counseling supervision for all participants. The feminist counselor training enables increasing personnel to carry out in-depth research on feminist counseling. A variety of women-related papers are published at least once every three months for the expansion and popularization of feminist counseling. Research topics vary, ranging from women's labor, women and family to women's movements. The center does not only publish papers on counseling but also papers related to women's campaigns and holds related discussions,

believing that this is a core factor of both the approach to counseling and women's rights campaigns. The center plays a big role in enhancing the expertise of the practicing counselors through the biannual open supervision and feminist counseling supervision group. On the last Wednesday of each month, the supervisors at the center provide supervision session for all counselors. Published in 2012, *Feminist Counseling and Supervision* includes case studies on domestic violence, sexual abuse, and adultery analyzed from the perspective of feminism and social structure. Notes provide simplified versions of actual counseling and supervision sessions, enabling their application to other counseling cases. In its bid to expand feminist counseling, the center requires regional representatives from 25 branches to participate in the center's management meetings. It also cooperates with advocacy groups for prostituted women, women with disabilities, and married immigrant women to apply feminist counseling techniques to the recipients of their services. The center is making efforts to apply a feminist approach to existing counseling techniques.

2. Establishment and Overview of the Shelter

A. Establishment of the Shelter and Its Social Significance

Through its operations of a shelter, Korea Women's Hotline could learn about the mechanism through which domestic violence occurs and present practical alternatives. Also, the Hotline has witnessed the positive results of feminist counseling among shelter residents. Operated on the same principle of feminist organization management, the Hotline's shelter has established a model for feminist shelter operation.

The shelter is like their mother's home to female victims of violence and a place where sisterhood can be realized. In particular, the shelter is representative of social intervention for problems of violence against women, which Women's

Hotline has supported since its establishment. Among the women who used the Shelter, some decided to live nearby the shelter and create a community of victims of violence against women.

Since its establishment in 1983, Women's Hotline has provided support to victims of domestic violence in diverse ways. Its telephone counseling service started running from time of setup in 1983. In 1984, the following year, counseling interviews were conducted and in 1987 an emergency shelter for victims of violence against women was set up. In 1992 free legal advice became available.

In all stages of the support process, the most important thing was client's decision and gender awareness was a necessary requirement for apt decision making. Women's Hotline chose feminist counseling, which pursues individual change and change in social structure at the same time, as a method of counseling practice and has worked hard for its further development.

Feminist counseling enables victims to learn that the violence inflicted upon them is not their fault, to improve their self-esteem and consequently to become survivors and take part in violence eradication campaigns as both surviving victims and activists. These efforts empower women to not remain as victims of violence but rather to become survivors and proactively take part in the Hotline's various activities for eradicating violence against women. The Hotline's feminist perspective is reflected in the shelter's operations and its support for clients.

Sometimes Korea Women's Hotline's shelter is thought to be like other social welfare facilities and inquiries about volunteering to cook meals or for household chores are received.

Due to the nature of confidentiality of the shelter's venue, however, it is difficult to take on regular volunteers. Korea Women's Hotline has the rule that unless residents are very sick, they should take care of themselves day-to-day chores. This is because the shelter goes by the principle that women who come

to the shelter should take care of their problems one by one. This encourages female victims of violence to solve their own problems and not become reliant on unconditional support. However, this stance sometimes causes conflict with shelter clients as some clients believe the shelter will solve all their problems.

Women's Hotline opened its shelter in 1987 and until now, the most important thing is the confidentiality of its clients as well as clients' safety and empowerment to realize the nature of violence. The shelter operates on the four principles of feminist counseling. First, the personal is political: clients examine their experiences and receive counseling and education. The second principle is egalitarianism in the counseling relationship. The third principle is empowerment: clients should take part in the shelter's activities and programs. The fourth principle is the re-examining of issues from the perspective of women, which is carried out in a variety of programs.

Equalitarianism in feminist counseling does not refer to only the equality of the counselor and client, but also to respecting the client as an expert of their own problems.

As the shelter is a place where people carry out their day-to-day activities, many things can happen including instances of human conflict, child-related arguments, and although seldom happen, money is stolen and calls are made to their husbands, which is against the rule. All of these issues are covered at the Friday Meeting, which is attended by all members. Through this, shelter users experience equalitarianism and take on a leading role in the shelter's operations. At this meeting, shelter residents discuss issues related to living at the shelter and make decisions.

The Shelter Manual, issued in 2001 by the Seoul Women's Hotline, states the purpose of the shelter is to help victims of domestic violence and assist them to see the structural contradictions in society, lead a new life and be independent.

B. Development of the Shelter

At the same time of its establishment in 1983, Korea Women's Hotline opened their first temporary shelter for female victims of violence. The Hotline made efforts to raise funds and in 1987, moved office and used one of the small rooms as a shelter. Although circumstances were hard, the Hotline had no choice but to set up the shelter since victims of domestic violence complained they had nowhere to go and therefore ended up returning home. It was not easy to have the shelter in a corner of the Hotline's office and there was also the issue of exposure. As such, in September the same year the shelter was moved to a rented basement location. From that time onwards counselors were employed to work at the shelter. Although a fee for using the facility was charged, the majority of clients could not afford it. In 1988, the shelter was moved to a place which could take up to 6 people and the accepting of children was determined on a case-by-case basis. The duration of stay was 20 days. In 1989, the shelter moved to a place which could take up to 8 users and by this time most programs had been fixed and it was decided that in principle children would not be taken in. This was because accompanying children distracted clients from concentrating on their problems and brought psychological stress to other users. Women's Hotline's shelter was set up purely on member efforts and without any government help.

Until 1991 when the German Green Party started to provide support, for financial reasons the shelter asked clients to pay for meals and prioritized users who were more promising to become independent.

In 1991, with the support from German Green Party's Women's Foundation, the shelter brought a venue 15-pyeong (pyeong \approx 3.31m²) in size, provided free meals and increased the duration of stay to 30 days. Each client could have one accompanying child of preschool age. In 1992, the shelter started having its own live-in activists, starting with current Seoul Women's Hotline director Moon-ja Lee. At present, the shelter is run by the shelter head, two day shift

activists, and night and weekend shift activists.

According to the *Shelter Guidelines* published in 1994, use duration was two months and extension was possible. Prior to 1994, for reasons of safety and to prevent habitual runaways, re-admission of former users had been rejected. Considering the fact that the cycle of violence was broken after repeat runaway incidents, re-admission was made possible after 1994. In some cases, women returned to the shelter after being abused by their husbands again. Currently, the shelter allows re-admission if safety is ensured. In 1998, the shelter started to receive support from the government and from 1998 to 2000 a trial for a long-term shelter was run. Long-term shelter use period was one year and use was limited to women with accompanying children. Over a duration of two years, 4 to 5 households used the shelter. The long-term shelter has since become the basis of a variety of policy proposals for women's self-sufficiency and independence.

C. Programs

1) Individual Counseling

Over the past 27 years, the shelter's rules on period of use and expenses have changed according to financial support from the government. However, one thing which remains the same is various training courses on feminist awareness on offer.

Seoul Women's Hotline's shelter is conducting a wide range of programs, with awareness-raising and empowerment of female victims of violence as the key directions for its operation. Korea Women's Hotline's shelter has been offering individual counseling from its time of establishment in 1987.

The rules at the shelter have also changed with the trends of the times and people's changes in perception. Since 1992, users were not to work while staying at the shelter and had to receive continuous intensive individual and

group counseling.

Currently, those who enter the shelter cannot seek employment for 1.5 month and should take part in individual and group counseling sessions. The shelter sees the cause of violence against women to stem from a patriarchal and discriminatory social structure and feminist awareness-raising is one of the shelter's main operation goals.

The rules of the shelter also cause conflict with users sometimes. Domestic violence victims who have left home without any financial preparations want to earn money quickly in order to become independent and take their children with them. So a month and a half of not working and just receiving counseling makes them feel anxious and nervous.

However, time spent at the shelter is very important and valuable. It is a time for clients to talk about the violence experienced, know the nature of the violence, and to think in an objective way about their lives and surroundings. Clients who cannot endure this time are encouraged to think of it as a vacation period in their fierce, hard-lived lives and to rest comfortably, eat well and participate actively in programs. This period is also a time for victims who became intimidated from violence to take time out for themselves and prepare for the future.

Shelter counseling is based on the feminist principles of consultation: ① the personal is political ② counselors and clients are equal ③ empowerment ④ re-examining through women's perspectives

Becoming individual counselors for shelter residents require at least three years(300 hours) of experience as a telephone counselor, minimum two times of feminism supervision, individual supervision at least five times at the in-person counseling member meeting.

Through counseling, clients can learn that violence is not their fault but the fault of their husbands, and that this stems from a patriarchal and sexist social structure.

Individual counseling takes place once or twice a week. Through counseling, clients can see their problems in a new light, and as a result, solve psychological problems and search for solutions in society's resources. This navigation is done with a troubleshooting process. Feminist counselors do not take a neutral stance but a feminist one, and as an expert in counseling, forms solidarity with clients who are experts of their own problems.

Individual counseling is carried out in a counseling room and is open to anyone who want interview counseling at the Hotline. Group counseling is usually carried out at the shelter and conducted by interview counselors or external counselors.

Isolation is one of the many pains suffered by violence victims. Victims think that they are the only ones experiencing violence and that it is their own fault. The feelings of isolation and despair are so great that the support systems around them are unable to help. On the group's ability to reduce the victim's feelings of isolation, Yalom (1985) named this 'universality of the problem or generality', which involves victims realizing that they are not alone through group experiences.

All group counseling enables re-socialization training. Clients come to realize that their problems are not their own, enabling freedom from isolation and gradually coming to see the problem as that of the social structure. In *Why Feminist Counseling?*, Hwang Gyeong-sook defines that "group counseling is where a group facilitator applies feminist counseling and group counseling techniques to enable clients to recognize the conflicting situation they are in, overcome those problems and promote individual maturity and social change." Under these principles, group counseling conducted by the Seoul Women's Hotline Women includes awareness-raising, growth counseling, transactional analysis, art therapy, gi (body energy) therapy, and paper craft making.

2) Group Counseling

The self-help group *Bettle* started in August 1986 as a 'women at risk' gathering. Since 1987, it has been a follow-up for women who have been discharged from the shelter. The name has been changed to *Bettle Women's Gathering*.

The *Bettle Women's Gathering* is for women who used the shelter or have gotten divorced or become independent. Currently, a meeting is held once a month and involves inviting those who have settled into society to talk about their experiences. Group counseling sessions are also held and members go traveling or participate in cultural activities together.

The meetings can be held either at the shelter or other places. Users are currently staying at the shelter can participate as well with the meeting serving as an opportunity to hear stories about life after the shelter.

Bettle Women's Gathering enables the women to share information and resources with each other as well as their difficulties and experience of empowerment. Many of these people become advocates of Seoul Women's Hotline campaigns for eradicating violence.

3. Medical and Legal Assistance: Lawyers for Women and Peace

The Lawyers for Women and Peace was formed in 1995 by lawyers who had offered legal advice at the Hotline. The gathering took places in many areas including Seoul and became expanded into a gathering for all the lawyers at regional Hotline branches. About 44 lawyers took part, and as well as offering free legal advice, they also took cases on at low costs. They also raised funds to finance legal support for victims. In addition to direct support for these victims, they also helped prepare the proposal for the Domestic Violence

Prevention Act, assisted in the silver separation case and the submitting of the civil law amendment among other activities. At present they are active in many areas of Korea Women's Hotline, including at headquarters.

Lawyers were not the only people providing legal support for victims. *Those who Work for the Realization of Equality in Court* was formed in September 1995 and over 20 male and female students as well as regular citizens participated as volunteers to monitor trials related to women's issues. They received eight training sessions on women-related laws and legal proceedings before participating in those activities. They also helped in preparing for trials by accompanying victims to hospitals, police stations and divorce trial courts. Based on those activities, they published a book titled *Knowledge is Power*, which contains legal information on divorce. However, as it was a volunteer-based group, it was hard for clients to receive support at the times they wanted.

4. Human Rights Activities

A. Legal Counseling

Started in 1992, free legal advice was provided to women with no knowledge of the law. Lawyers visited Korea Women's Hotline's office and provided counseling to those who wanted it. To date, Korea Women's Hotline offers legal counseling at headquarters and at its branches. The service is for those who receive telephone or interview counseling, or shelter users.

B. Incidents of Domestic Violence Victims Killing Their Abusers

Since its establishment, Korea Women's Hotline has continuously paid special

attention to and supported victims who killed their abusers as a result of a long period of domestic violence. Korea Women's Hotline sees the cause of domestic violence as a result from the state's inability to take measures to prevent domestic violence and implement gender equality. In addition, as to the cause of the domestic violence-related homicide the Hotline blames national authorities including the police who ignore their pleas and fail to provide proper measures even when victims of domestic violence seek help. It is the state's responsibility to protect victims of domestic violence who ended up committing murder to protect their own life.

Korea Women's Hotline provided support for victims of domestic violence murdering their abusers for the first time for the Hue-sun Nam case in 1991. Nam had suffered violence for 10 years after marriage and was intimidated by her family to stay married. Korea Women's Hotline argued self-defense for the case and carried out a life-saving campaign. This case enhanced the visibility of the severity of violence, and Nam was sentenced to probation in the second hearing and released.

Since 1993, murders of perpetrators of domestic violence by their own victims have occurred continuously and the Hotline, including its headquarters and regional branches, has actively supported these incidents. For the Lee Soon-sim case in 1993, Korea Women's Hotline cooperated with the Suwon Women's Hotline to create a joint defense lawyer team.

Lee's landlord filed a petition to the court of which the content was printed in the Hankyoreh newspaper. The petition read, "She was not born a murderer but became one because of her husband. If people knew about what she had experienced, they would not be able to label her as a murderer."

Korea Women's Hotline sought out victims of domestic violence who had murdered their abusers from newspaper or TV coverage and provided support. Sometimes Women's Hotline received requests for help from the victim's family, relatives or neighbors. Recently, the police and other public

organizations seek help from the Hotline as well, saying that they have no means to help, but hope the Hotline can.

These cases are similar to each other in that the victims have suffered long periods of violence and after the crime, they usually turn themselves in. They give up their self-defense due to sense of guilt. The Ministry of Justice released a report in 2004 titled *Characteristics of Female Murderers, Reasons for Crime and Rehabilitation Potential: In-depth Interviews for Implementation of a Realistic Plan for Therapeutic Jurisprudence*. According to the report, as of January 2004 among the 531 prisoners in the Cheongju Women's Prison, 133(30.5%) had killed their husbands, 34(7.8%) their children or blood relative, 82(18.8%) non-blood relatives, 22(4%) had committed robbery or violence crimes, 114(26.1%) theft and fraud crimes, 33(7.6%) drugs and arson crimes and 18(4.1%) other crimes. Among murders only, the ratio of people who killed their husbands accounted for 51.4%. It was reported that 82.9% of these people had suffered from continuous and brutal violence. In most cases the murders are first offenses and the women usually give themselves in; however, guilt breaks down their ability to defend themselves and as a result they receive and serve long sentences.

In 2012 Korea Women's Hotline supported two such cases, while three cases were supported at regional branches.

The Jeong Sook-hyeon case was also supported by Korea Women's Hotline. Jeong had suffered physical, verbal and sexual violence, and her two children had also been physically abused by their father.

Jeong's husband knew that she had to work so did not hit her in places third parties could see. Instead, he verbally abused her, vandalized buildings, slammed doors and indirectly made her feel frightened. He spat in her face, grabbed her by the hair and pinched her. When he came home drunk, he would wake Jeong up and abuse her and would usually continue until the early hours of the morning, not letting her sleep. Although she had reported the abuse to

the police, Jeong was worried about her children's future and did not want him to get punished. On the day of the murder, he had also been abusing her and she used a knife to kill him. Jeong gave herself in immediately and asked her son to dial 119.

Korea Women's Hotline became aware of the incident via the Internet and went to the police station to see Jeong but Jeong refused to meet with the group, saying she had nothing to say for herself. The Hotline supported the trial in many ways including meeting Jeong and her family members and attending hearings.

The case proceeded through the Civic Participation in Criminal Trials Act, in which the general public acted as the jury. Given the society's general perceptions and gender awareness, it can be said that this is disadvantageous to female victims of domestic violence. Sure enough, the jury all believed Jeong had intentionally murdered her husband and therefore gave her a guilty verdict, reflecting Korean society's lack of understanding in domestic violence and its victims.

C. Incidents of Victim's Death from Domestic Violence

Death of the victim by the perpetrator of domestic violence is also one of Korea Women's Hotline's major concerns. Like other domestic violence cases, the death of the victim by the offender is often not revealed. The first case of victim death by the perpetrator of domestic violence which attracted public sentiment was the Lee Pan-soon case in 1997. Since then, a lot of victim's families have pressed charges but it was very difficult to punish the abuser as the victim was no longer alive. There were no statistics on the death of victims of domestic violence by their abusers. Korea Women's Hotline has calculated the coverage reported by the media of women who had been killed by a husband or partner; there were 120 such cases reported in 2012.

In a paper titled *Domestic Violence Support Systems: Issues and Challenges*

presented at a conference hosted by Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Korea Women's Hotline Federation, 2006), Dr. Eun-kyeong Kim from the Korean Institute of Criminology reveals that a study re-examining murder cases from 1990 to 2002 over 13 years show that 21.2 percent of murdered women were killed by their spouse and 25.2 percent by live-in partners or lovers. In total, 46.4 percent of female victims were killed by their male partners. 72.7 percent of the cases involved the husband's repetitive violence and torture. For live-in and romantic partners, the percentage was 53.6 percent. By contrast, only 16 percent of men had been killed by his spouse or partner of the opposite sex, and among these cases, 35 percent had been a result of self-defense.

5. Results and Limitations of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act

A. The Enactment Process of the Law

Since establishment, Women's Hotline has provided support for individuals and has regarded domestic violence as a social problem and crime that severely violates women's rights. Through a variety of activities, Women's Hotline has made efforts to establish a system to prevent domestic violence. The enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act is the climax of these efforts.

The campaign for the enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act started in April 1994 and lasted until December 1997, taking more than 3 full years. It took considerably longer than other laws related to violence against women such as the special law on sexual violence and the anti-prostitution law.

The enactment of the law was a challenge to the prevalent patriarchal notion of Korean society that women belonged to their husbands, as well as was a reminder that the state should be accountable for human rights violation within families. The Hotline saw the practice of putting the human rights of family

members in the hands of the patriarch as a cause of persistent domestic inequality and violence, and strongly challenged the pre-modern perspective of viewing family issues as matters in a private domain.

Korea Women's Hotline has pursued enactment of an anti-domestic violence law from time of establishment as a method of addressing the issue. The Hotline intended to create a bill that would ban violence against women in the broad sense.

In 1991, Women's Hotline defined sexual violence that includes rape, wife battering, and human trafficking at a public hearing for the enactment of a law on sexual violence (April 18, 1991) and started drawing up a proposal for the law. The anti-sexual violence legislation proposal which included domestic violence underwent changes after a policy seminar for anti-sexual violence campaigning in 1992. At the seminar, it was debated whether to base the law on concepts and categories of sexual violence (sexual violence, rape, sexual harassment, etc.) or on violence against women (gender violence, an imbalance of power between men and women coming from various types of violence: rape, wife beating, killing, forced prostitution, pornography, etc.). The point was raised that should wife beating be classified separate to violence against women then child abuse and the abuse of elderly people should also belong in the domestic violence category.

After a long discussion, it was agreed that in terms of legal provisions, it was important to have well-defined terms and concepts, so sexual violence was defined to a narrower interpretation of the concept. It was decided that due to the general understanding of the concept of sexual violence and the realistic requirements of the legal system, a domestic violence law would be separately enacted. (Lee Hyun-sook and Jung Choun-sook, *Korea Women's Rights Movement History*, p. 146).

In this process, the problems of domestic violence and wife raping which occurred in women's everyday lives were excluded from the bill, and as soon

as the special law on sexual violence was passed Korea Women's Hotline had to work on another.

The need for legal action for domestic violence was continuously stressed but in reality, it was impossible to enact a law addressing only domestic violence. Therefore, the Hotline included children and the elderly in their Domestic Violence Prevention Act enactment campaigns. When the campaign first started a lot of people were doubtful about whether it would work or not. Korea Women's Hotline was responsible for the entire process from start to end. After the law was put into effect the Hotline monitored the process and submitted an amendment proposal.

1) Organization Formation and Preparing a Bill for Enactment of Legislation

1994 was designated as International Year of the Family by the UN, and in line with this, Korea Women's Hotline's enactment campaign for the Domestic Violence Prevention Act began. May 6th-13th, 1994 was designated as a Week of Domestic Violence Eradication. Gwangju Women's Hotline, Daegu Women's Hotline, Daegu Women's Association, Jeonbuk Women's Hotline, Chungbuk National Women Link, Incheon Women's Hotline, Suwon Women's Hotline (preparatory) and the Korea Association for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect all worked together to hold a variety of events. When the event ended, the organizations who had worked with the Hotline formed National Solidarity Promoting the Law for the Prevention of Domestic Violence (hereafter 'the National Solidarity') and Korea Women's Hotline agreed to be the administrating organization.

The National Solidarity and Korea Women's Hotline formed a Domestic Violence Act legislative subcommittee in 1995 to prepare the bill and at the same time prepared various events in order to visualize the campaign for the bill in the run-up to the general election in April 1996. A period from October

1995 to March 1996 was designated as a period for visualization. At the same time, film director Min-yong Lee made a film about wife beating, titled *A Hot Roof*, making wife beating as a nation-wide issue. The President of the National Congress for New Politics, Kim Dae Jung, also went to the cinema and watched the movie. The interests of the political parties and the public meant that the Domestic Violence Prevention Act visualization strategy achieved significant results.

From early 1995, Korea Women's Hotline worked with its nationwide branches to collect law-related information and researched overseas legislation examples. Many people volunteered at the time. The US law was deemed the most effective in dealing with the issue of domestic violence. As such, translation of the law was carried out and efforts were made to adopt the law to suit the reality in Korea. In addition, the existing *Lawyers for Women and Peace* had internal discussions on domestic violence laws and lawyers Jong-geol Lee and Chan-jin Lee prepared a bill. Starting from June 1996 four expert meetings were held to discuss a trial bill for the Domestic Violence Prevention Act.

Various activities were carried out to raise public awareness of domestic violence. Under the title of *Family for Peace and Equality*, a song contest was organized to target ordinary citizens and the *Autumn Concert* sponsored by Seoul and Busan MBC also took place. A *Citizens for Peace* event was also held. A period from 25 November to 10 December 1995 was the Week of Elimination of Violence against Women, and a petition signing campaign in support of the enactment of the anti-domestic violence law was carried out in seven regions across the country including Seoul.

In April 1996 general election, the National Solidarity got political parties to make a pledge for enactment of the law as part of their women's policy pledge.

2) Expanding the Solidarity: the 1996 Nationwide Campaign

1996 was a year full of efforts to have the Domestic Violence Prevention Act passed by the National Assembly. In 1996, the Korean Women's Association United (hereinafter 'the KWAU'), the umbrella organization for(Korea's progressive women's groups), decided to focus their activities that year on the enactment of this law. As a consequence, the National Solidarity was dissolved and a special promotion committee for the enactment of a Domestic Violence Prevention Act (hereinafter 'the special committee') was formed.

The special committee had Korea Women's Hotline president Hye-soo Shin as their chairperson and seven KWDU member organizations (Kyeongnam Women's Association, Daegu Women's Association, Seoul Women Workers Association, Jeju Women's Association, Chungbuk National Women Link, Korea Women's Hotline and Korean Womenlink) and 12 organizations including Catholic Women's Shelter, Korea Association for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, Research Institute of the Differently Abled Person's Right in Korea, Korea Hotline for the Elderly, Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center participated. The special committee had Korea Women's Hotline as its administrative organization. The local campaign headquarters were formed in 11 areas - Seongnam, Incheon, Ulsan, Busan, Cheongju, Gyeongnam, Gwangju, Jeju, Suwon, Wonju and Jeonju.

In August 1996, 22 social groups formed a National Campaigning for the enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act (Executive Committee Director: Korea Women's Hotline president Hye-soo Shin). In this way, civil organizations' voices merged with those of women's rights to demand enactment of the law for the prevention of domestic violence. Domestic violence became an issue of public concern because of the May 1996 Grandmother Sang-hee Lee's incident.

3) The Reality of Violence Victims: Lee's Murder of Her Violent Son-in-law

Lee's case involved her accidentally killing her daughter's cohabiting partner who had repeatedly abused her. Her daughter suffered life-threatening abuse, such as stabs in the thigh and strangling. Before the incident, local residents had reported the problem to the police several times, but they had not helped.

After the incident, the daughter gave herself in instead of her mother and was arrested. Lee received Korea Women's Hotline's legal advice and confessed the truth. In the end, Lee, who was in her 70s, was arrested on May 8th, which is the Parent's Day in Korea. All newspapers and broadcasting stations gave special reportage on the case and public opinion agreed that along with Lee's life-saving campaign, enactment of a related law was needed. Through a swift and accurate response to an individual case, the Hotline could show the society that domestic violence was a crime and that enactment of the law was essential. This was one case where the activities of the Hotline stood out exceptionally.

4) Memorial Service for Victims of Domestic Violence

On 24th September 1996, the National Campaigning hosted a trial hearing for a Domestic Violence Prevention Act. After an internal briefing, the group submitted a bill consisting of 5 chapters and 50 clauses and with 85,505 petitioners' signatures to the National Assembly on October 30.

The New Korea Party, New Political National Party and Liberal Democratic Federation had each submitted a bill for a law to prevent domestic violence. Each party's submitted bill accepted the National Campaigning's bill in terms of temporary measures and protective disposition but their objectives were different. The New Korea Party submitted two bills, one for punishment for domestic violence and another one for the protection of victims. The KWDI stated that if both bills passed, then it would not made any opposition.

However, in 1996 the law for the prevention of domestic violence was stuck in the commotion between the labor law and national security planning.

In April 1997, an incident occurred which hastened the enactment of the law. Family members of women who died from their husbands' beating started coming to Korea Women's Hotline for assistance. In addition to the Pan-soon Lee case which was reported in the media, the incidents of a number of women killed as a result of brutal violence inflicted by their husbands reignited the public consensus for a Domestic Violence Prevention Act.

On May 21, Korea Women's Hotline and the National Campaign went to the New Korea Party's headquarters and held a memorial service for the women who had died from beating. Those who attended the memorial service wore a towel and mourned for the women who had died. Singer Hye-gyeong Ahn marked the start of the memorial service and as soon as the music from her song began people's tears started to flow. The memorial service was reported by three television broadcasters, and on the same day, Seon-hwa Yoon, who had suffered 18 years of her husband's violence, killed him that day. This brought a great shock to society and highlighted an urgent need for a law for the prevention of domestic violence.

5) Aspirations of the Victims of Domestic/Sexual Violence Who Supported the Enactment

Many survivors of domestic violence contributed to the Domestic Violence Prevention Act enactment process. It was the first day of a photography exhibition of domestic violence in Korea in 1994. Many people had gathered to look at the pictures, and suddenly, a woman carrying a package appeared. She came up to the crowd and pointed at a photograph, crying "That's me right there." Although it was an unexpected situation, we recognized straight away that she was indeed one of the victims. By coincidence, we were with the activist who was in charge of the shelter, and relayed the woman to the Korea

Women's Hotline's shelter.

Similar incidents happened several times after that, and one time in early 1996 the writer of this paper was working on the anti-domestic violence bill at the Women's Hotline office. A woman who had come to receive free legal advice asked if there was such law in Korea and stated that she hoped one would be put in place soon.

After the law was enacted, I met a woman who was taking one of the Hotline's programs. She was a victim of domestic violence. She told me that when she heard a domestic violence-related law had been enacted, she made newspaper clippings and stuck them all over the wall in her bedroom. She added that although she did not say anything to her husband, she thought to herself, 'If you hit me again, I'm going to turn you in.' She also said that although she did not know who had made it happen, she was truly thankful to them. The enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act was made possible because of all the appeals and hopes of the domestic violence victims.

Since the enactment and amendment of the Law, Korea Women's Hotline has continued to make efforts to achieve its goals through various events on domestic violence. It comes from the hands-on approach and strength of Korea Women's Hotline, which had listened to the voices of thousands of victims. With this strength, the Hotline succeeded in enacting the Domestic Violence Prevention Act.

6) Law Enactment Achieved with Experts

Many experts contributed to the process of enactment. Activists from organizations for child abuse, abuse of the elderly, the disabled and social welfare, law professors, and in particular, the lawyers who created the bill including Jong-geol Lee and Chan-jin Lee, played a critical role. As members of the Korea Women's Hotline's Lawyers for Women and Peace, they were passionate about human rights issues. Lawyer Jong-geol Lee provided free legal

consultation every Monday at Korea Women's Hotline, and Lawyer Chan-jin Lee provided legal aid to civic group Daeun.

Lawyer Chan-jin Lee repeatedly told us that he was but a 'legal technician' and that the direction and content had to be decided by Korea Women's Hotline. He emphasized his own limits and the importance of the Hotline's role. Sometimes when the lawyers did not have enough time, they would discuss issues related to the bill, waiting with the Hotline activists outside a restaurant for it to open (the restaurant opened at 7 p.m. so it was not possible to meet earlier). I remember, in 1997, when we were in the midst of finishing work on the bill, we would often work overnight. Finishing touches were being made to the bill, and if there was something I needed to check, I would call attorney Chan-jin Lee, who had just left the office, even at 2 o'clock in the morning. Such passion of everybody involved was the driving force behind the Domestic Violence Prevention Act.

7) Political Pressure on Lawmakers

In July 1997, despite the huge efforts of the National Campaign, the domestic violence law did not even pass the provisional assembly. At the time, an assembly member said that the reason why the law was not enacted was not because all the lawmakers were not against it, but because there was not one single person who strived to make an effort. After that, Korea Women's Hotline criticized the assembly members for being unconcerned about domestic violence problems, and a rally for the enactment of the law was held in front of the New Korea Party(the then ruling party)'s office. Interviews with legal committee members were also conducted a public hearing for the law was requested, and petitions jointly signed by well-known social figures were submitted. On November 5 1997, Cardinal Stephen Kim Soo-hwan, Minister Won-yong Kang, Hoo-jung Yoon, President of Ewha Womans University, Lawyer Chan-guk Kim, Professor Hyo-jae Lee, Mun-gyu Kang, Yeong-hoon

Kang, Yeong-hoon Seo signed a joint petition for enactment of the anti-domestic violence law.

Finally in October 1997, an article-by-article discussion to examine the bill took place involving expert committee members of the National Assembly Legislation and Judiciary Committee and women's rights group representatives. A lot of disputes took place during the discussion. Rather than being based on the content proposed by the National Campaign, the committee had based the content roughly on the bills submitted by the parties.

Considering the characteristics of domestic violence cases, a request to specify the processing period for efficient processing of cases was opposed by the Legislation and Judiciary Committee on the grounds that it infringed on the judge's authority. The safety of victims was also an issue for heated debates. In addition, there were cases where the content confirmed in the bill was different from the content agreed on during the discussion process and sometimes completely different from its original intention.

As a result of the National Campaign's earnest efforts, on November 17 and 18 1997, Act on Special Cases concerning the Punishment for Domestic Violence Crimes and Act on Domestic Violence Prevention and Victim Protection were both passed.

The enactment campaign successfully brought domestic violence from the 'personal' domain into the 'public' domain. This result comes from a good balance of Women's Hotline's hands-on experience and mass appeal of the issue, the support of its members and others who support the Hotline's activities, and the passion and devotion of experts and activists.

B. Issues in the Implementation

Korea Women's Hotline Federation set up a domestic violence complaints center, and in 1999, held a commemorative debate to mark the first anniversary of the implementation of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act. Although the

legislation had been enacted, the attitudes of frontline police officers toward domestic violence were severely criticized for remaining unchanged. The monitoring proved to be effective and police stations in all areas started displaying more cautious attitudes toward domestic violence cases. Also, the National Police Agency conducted a test for all police officers, enabling individual police officers to become well-acquainted with the legislation. According to National Police Agency personnel, this was the first time for the whole police force to take an exam as a result of a law enactment. Since then, Korea Women's Hotline has continued its monitoring of the implementation of the law, and in 2003, Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Seoul Women's Hotline) held a conference titled *Five Years after the Enactment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act: Current Status and Areas for Improvement*. It proposed training practitioners of law to strengthen victim support and law enforcement. In 2007 Korea Women's Hotline (formerly Korea Women's Hotline Federation) held a conference titled *Evaluating the Participatory Government's Domestic Violence Eradication Policy* and evaluated the overall direction of the government's domestic violence elimination measures, including improvements for domestic violence policy and victim protection.

Recent research, government policy and group campaigns on domestic violence have been focused on victim services and perpetrator counseling. Domestic violence issues are now addressed through relief centers and shelter facilities with a focus on services for individual victims. However, this trend is highly likely to make victimized women become dependent on the services rather than be proactive in changing the gender discriminatory social structure and challenge patriarchal family values.

Also, with the concept of 'family violence', the issue of violence against wives has become institutionalized, and as a result, it has been recognized that wives or females are not the only socially vulnerable victims of violence, but all members of a family covered by the law could be victims or abusers. This

has led to the importance of gender power relations within the family being overlooked. In other words, the importance of the issue on wife/female violence has been weakened.

Both 15 years ago, when the Domestic Violence Prevention Act was implemented, and today, the most challenging aspect of campaigning against domestic violence is making society recognize that the problem is not an individual one but a societal one. It is believed that this is due to the fact that the term 'family violence' gives the feeling that the term means minor forms of violence between family members, a problem within the family, and the female subject is not clearly visible.

This reality makes anti-domestic violence activists doubt if they are simply "dealing with" domestic violence as part of the government's policy delivery system rather than serving as a central force of campaigns to eradicate domestic violence.

There are also concerns of whether victims are suffering more agony as a result of the law not being enforced according to legislation, and whether the law in fact turns a blind eye to domestic violence.

C. Revision of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act

Victims of domestic violence raised a number of issues related to the Domestic Violence Prevention Act. Imposing fines by police has caused financial problems to the relevant households and a lack of immediate action taken against the perpetrator has resulted in revenge attacks on victims. Some proceedings take place up to eight months later. There were also problems of protective disposition and the right to indemnity resulting in a lack of access to medical subsidy. Due to such problems, Korea Women's Hotline(formerly Korea Women's Hotline Federation) began a revision of the domestic violence law in 2000.

According to the petition proposal for the amendment of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act (December 2000), the purposes of the special law are stated as protecting the rights of victims and family members, introduction of family protection and the right to apply for interim measures, strengthening the provisions of emergency measures, enabling immediate segregation of a victim and a perpetrator enabling immediate arrest and investigation of a perpetrator, allowing additional punishment if the temporary measures and protective disposition fail to be executed, and banning of imposing monetary penalty on the perpetrator which incurred a lot of resentment at the time.

This amendment proposal was executed together with assemblyman Jeong-bae Cheon, but due to National Assembly circumstances and instability of Korea Women's Hotline, the revised bill did not get as far as being passed. After this failure, Korea Women's Hotline started again to work on amendments for the Domestic Violence Prevention Act in 2004, On October 28th 2004 a public hearing with the title of *From Family Protection and Maintenance to Strengthening of Victim Protection and Human Rights* was held at the National Assembly Library; discussion was based on the existing amendment proposal. However, as a result of opinions that the amendment proposal should be rewritten, a comprehensive revised bill for the law was created in 2005.

While working on the amendment proposal, there was criticism that the purpose of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act was on family protection and the problems of prosecutorial discretion were raised. Although the criticism was justified to an extent, it failed to take into account the fact that there were some significant differences between the bill for a domestic violence prevention legislation submitted by Women's Hotline and National Solidarity and the law passed at the National Assembly.

Firstly, the first purpose listed by the National Campaigning was "This law carries the purpose of preventing domestic violence through proactive state intervention, rescue and treatment of domestic violence victims and protecting

families at risk by taking measures against perpetrators of domestic violence and creating a sound home based on individual dignity and gender equality.”

In addition, serious domestic violence cases with sentences of three years or more were excluded from the category of family protection cases. A big difference between the bill proposed by the Korea women's Hotline and other drafts of the bill was the fact that victims could apply for temporary disposition or family protection. Our bill also included emergency disposition for victim protection with which the abuser could be arrested.

Also, a Central Committee for the Prevention of Domestic Violence under the supervision of the Prime Minister and regional committees were suggested for it to research, coordinate, and deliberate issues related to domestic violence. As such, the National Campaigning's bill was very similar to the revised bill submitted in 2005.

Work on Korea Women's Hotline Federation's amendment of the anti-domestic violence law was carried out by Ho-jeong Lee (professor at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), Kim Eun-kyeong (Korean Institute of Criminology), Choun-sook Jung (Seoul Women's Hotline Vice President) and Yeon-suk Shin (Domestic Violence Team, Korea Women's Hotline Federation). This revised bill was introduced before the National Assembly on June 13th 2005 by approval of 87 people including assemblywoman Mi-young Hong. However, as the bill remained not discussed, *The Conference for the Passing of the Special Act for Domestic Violence by the End of the Year* was organized on September 1st 2005.

The main content of the amendment bill included the introduction of a victim protection order system and the purpose of the law was not family protection, but protection of victim's human rights, in addition to appropriate punishment of a perpetrator. It also specifies the state's responsibility for domestic violence and the need for domestic violence prevention committees at the regional level to be organized for the purpose of prevention training as well as planning and

implementation of domestic violence policy. This comprehensive bill covered all the issues raised in relation to the enforcement of the law.

1) The Passage of the Bill by the Political Circles for the Second Time

For the passing of the bill, Korea Women's Hotline Federation met with Legislation and Judiciary Committee members and agreed on passing of the bill. However, on July 3rd 2007 the National Assembly passed a bill submitted by several assembly members, instead of the Hotline's. The passed bill did not reflect any of the content proposed by Korea Women's Hotline Federation but increased prosecution authority and weakened the law by introducing 'Suspension of Indictment on Condition of Counseling.' As soon as the bill was passed, Korea Women's Hotline Federation made a public announcement and rallied outside the National Assembly but it was already too late. It is regrettable that the bill, which had taken a lot of time and effort, was not fulfilled for intended goals and achievements due to a temporary lapse in concentration. It is also regrettable that the revision process was too much centered on the National Assembly and failed to be expanded to mass campaigns.



IV

Evaluation

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1. Achievements

The first achievement of Korea Women's Hotline was its raising awareness of violence against women in Korean society for the first time. Saying that violence against women, which was severely affecting women's lives but concealed and invisible, was a 'problem', and putting in efforts to solve the problem have created something out of nothing, and it is worthy of leaving its mark in the history of Korea's women's rights movements. Also, Korea Women's Hotline has raised awareness that violence against women is not an individual problem but that it stems from society, and that it is the extreme expression of discrimination in a gender discriminatory social structure.

Secondly, the Hotline has chosen counseling, a method all women can access easily, and violence against women, which is a problem a lot of women are experiencing, to carry out women's rights movements "with the public" but not simply with a few intellectuals.

Thirdly, the Hotline has greatly contributed to the enactment of laws for violence against women in order to substantially change Korean women's lives. In line with the enactment, temporary shelters for victims were set up and from May 1995 to 2013, and their number has reached 68. The number of relief centers has increased from approximately 10 to approximately 200. Room and board is provided for victims and they can receive various types of counseling and treatment. The enactment of Laws on Violence Against Women was an opportunity to inform the public that male-centered laws were unjust and to introduce gender perspective to the judicial system.

Fourth, introducing feminist counseling and putting it into place have enabled an opportunity to talk and listen to women, including surviving victims of violence against women. Not only does feminist counseling empower survivors of domestic violence, it also enables explanation of women's issues uninterpreted otherwise.

Fifth, in order to solve the problem of violence against women and achieve gender equality, Korea Women's Hotline has broadened the horizons of women's rights campaigns and extended to areas including women's economic empowerment, regional women's movements and media culture movements.

Sixth, Korea Women's Hotline has continued its efforts for sustainable women's rights campaigns and nurtured female talent through training and education. Korea Women's Hotline encourages women to reflect the changes they have undergone after receiving awareness training by bringing about changes to their children and husband, and change the various organizations where they worked. The nurturing of such human resources has played a big role in bringing change to women's rights movements and women as a whole. Korea Women's Hotline has organized counseling training, sex education for teens, sex education for unmarried men and women, economics training and human rights camps.

Seventh, the Hotline has stimulated research activity in academic domains for violence against women, including domestic violence.

2. Implications

Several factors have made it possible for Korea Women's Hotline to keep its identity as a women's right group and carry out its activities for 30 years. First, the Hotline has always worked together with the female masses and listened to and understood the experiences women go through. Along with its establishment in 1983, the Hotline raised the issue of violence against women, one of the serious problems women face in their everyday lives. The Hotline's counseling service enabled it to find out about the reality of women's lives. Through counseling, the Hotline could know about the difficulties that women faced and changes in reality. However, feminist training and learning is needed in order to

properly interpret the stories of victimized women and recognize the social structure behind it.

Second, Korea Women's Hotline is where it is today thanks to the most important factor, human resources. Efforts have been put into attracting members and activists and training them. Members sometimes come to the Hotline to find themselves as 'women' and as 'humans'. They perpetuate gender awareness and become key members of the organization. E.L.F (Empowerment, Leadership, Feminism) is a activist training program set up by Korea Women's Hotline Federation and reaches Hotline activists from 25 regions nationwide. These members and activists have become main bodies of the organization, planned activities befitting to the Hotline's identity, and steered the organization's future directions.

Third, the Hotline has fought to keep its identity as a women's rights group. Although the Hotline has received government aid for its relief centers from 1994 onwards, it is striving to maintain its independence and autonomy as an NGO.

Fourth, direct assistance and human right support provided for victim survivors of violence against women and active engagement in policy suggestions have enabled the organization to obtain the human and physical resources as well as social influence necessary for its sustainable activities.

Fifth, the Hotline has taken advantage of the quiet but global flow through international women's human rights campaigns such as the Beijing Women's Conference, Vienna Declaration and the UN's International Year of the Family. For the Vienna Declaration, the Hotline organized a petition campaign called Violence against Women: a Women's Human Right Campaign and obtained 3000 people's signatures. The Hotline also followed the suggestions of international organizations like CEDAW and applied these nationwide. In addition, the campaigns of Korea Women's Hotline have reached other Asian countries. Women's right activists in Japan came to Korea to learn about the

enactment process of the Domestic Violence Prevention Act. Feminist counseling workshops were held together with the APWLD. In 2005, the Asian Women's Network for the Eradication of Violence against Women was created.

Sixth, the Hotline has analyzed and responded to changes in the Korean environment and used elections and political schedules for its campaigns.

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