

# DMZ

International Forum on the Peace Economy

평화경제 국제포럼

August 29, 2019, 14:30 - 16:20

Hotel President (19F, Ivy Hall)

[ Parallel Session V ]

International Cooperation and Gender Affairs

| Co-Hosts |



경제·인문사회연구회  
NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR  
ECONOMICS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES



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# DMZ

International Forum on the Peace Economy  
평화경제 국제포럼

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August 29, 2019, 14:30 - 16:20  
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[ Parallel Session V ]

## **International Cooperation and Gender Affairs**

Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women



## Overview

<b>Title</b>	DMZ International Forum on the Peace Economy Parallel Session V - International Cooperation and Gender Affairs
<b>Date &amp; Time</b>	August 29, 2019, 14:30 - 16:20
<b>Venue</b>	Hotel President (19F, Ivy Hall)
<b>Organizer</b>	Korean Women's Development Institute

<b>Theme</b>	<p><b>Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women</b></p> <p>Under the encompassing topic of "Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women", 2 presentations and a panel discussion will be held on the topics of "The Vietnam Women's Union's Participation in the Country's Renovation Process &amp; its Implication ", and "Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula."</p> <p>First, the "The Vietnam Women's Union's Participation in the Country's Renovation Process &amp; its Implication", will discuss the experience and implication of the Vietnam Women's Union in the renovation process (Doi Moi) of Vietnam.</p> <p>Then, the presentation will be followed by the "Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula", which will discuss the feminist reconfiguration of peace discourse, and measures to promote a women's alliance between North and South Korea. Lastly, a panel discussion will be held on the significance of the two presentations in the peace economy on the Korean Peninsula and future directions.</p>
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## Program

Time		Program
14:30 - 14:35	5'	<p><b>[Opening Remarks]</b></p> <p><b>KWON Insook</b> President, Korea Women's Development Institute <i>Republic of Korea</i></p>
		<p><b>[Moderator]</b></p> <p><b>YU Chong-Ae</b> Professor, Department of History, Sungkyunkwan University <i>Republic of Korea</i></p>
14:35 - 15:30	55'	<p><b>[Presentations]</b></p> <p><b>The Vietnam Women's Union's Participation in the Country's Renovation Process &amp; its Implication</b> <b>NGUYEN Thi Hoai Linh</b> Director General, International Relations Department, Vietnam Women's Union <i>Vietnam</i></p> <p><b>Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula</b> <b>CHO Young-Ju</b> Associate Research Fellow, Center for Gender Equality Culture and Education, Korea Women's Development Institute <i>Republic of Korea</i></p>
15:30 - 16:00	30'	<p><b>[Discussants]</b></p> <p><b>Design for Peace Economy on the Korean Peninsula based on Women and Feminism</b> <b>KIM Eunju</b> Executive Director, Center for Korean Women and Politics <i>Republic of Korea</i></p> <p><b>Peace and Economy &amp; Gender</b> <b>KIM Jeongsoo</b> Standing Representative, Women Making Peace <i>Republic of Korea</i></p> <p><b>Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women</b> <b>PARK Youngja</b> Research Fellow, North Korean Studies Division, Korea Institute for National Unification <i>Republic of Korea</i></p>
16:00 - 16:20	20'	Q&A

# International Cooperation and Gender Affairs

Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women

## Opening Remark



Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen,  
I am KWON Insook, President of the Korean Women's Development Institute.

First, I would like to express my gratitude to everyone for taking part in the KWDI-hosted session of the DMZ International Forum on the Peace Economy under the main theme of “Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women”. I am very happy to join this significant event, and express my thanks to the National Research Council for Economics, Humanities and Social Sciences and the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, the joint organizers of the forum.

It appears as if peace and economy have diverging dynamics, but they are actually closely related. Peace guarantees economic benefits, and economic benefits promote peace. It is true that economic cooperation between South and North Korea has had significant influence on the development of inter-Korean relationship, and had a considerable contribution to the efforts for peace.

However, there have not been active discussions on women's participation in economic cooperation between South and North Korea. Facilitation of women's participation does not only mean an increase in the number of women participating in the field of economic cooperation but also decision-making and implementations that are made to reflect the experience of women in inter-Korean economic cooperation process, thereby giving positive impact on the women of the two sides.

Therefore, if the purpose of peace economy on the Korean Peninsula is to bring economic growth in South and North Korea, efforts should be made to encourage the development of economic capabilities of women in the two countries and the promotion of their economic participation.

Of course, as a precondition, there needs to be changes in the social structure and culture, and gender stereotypes, where gender inequality is deeply rooted.

In this session, we would like to have an opportunity to seek possible ways to promote participation of women in South and North Korea in building peace economy on the Korean Peninsula in the future, including an exchange between women from the two sides. First of all, we will examine implications for the Korean Peninsula of the participation experience of the Vietnam Women's Union in the country's reform and opening, and review the concept of peace economy on the Korean Peninsula, from the perspective of gender equality.

Finally, I would like to thank Professor YU Chong-Ae of the Department of History in Sungkyunkwan University for chairing this session, NGUYEN Thi Hoai Linh Director General of the International Relations Division of the Vietnam Women's Union who flew all the way from Vietnam, CHO Young-Ju Associate Research Fellow of the Korea Women's Development Institute, as well as KIM Eunju Executive Director of the Center for Korean Women and Politics, KIM Jeongsoo Standing Representative of the Women Making Peace and PARK Youngja Research Fellow of the Korea Institute for National Unification, who will present rich discussions on the meanings and future direction of peace economy on the Korean Peninsula.

I hope all of you attending this Forum will actively exchange your opinions so that achieving peace economy also realizes gender equality on the Korean Peninsula.

Thank you.





Moderator  
**YU Chong-Ae**

Professor  
Department of History  
Sungkyunkwan University

*Republic of Korea*

Prof. YU Chong-Ae teaches in the Dept. of History at the Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul, Korea. Her main research interests include the political economy of agro-food systems, and international development.

Prof. YU Chong-Ae is also a practitioner/specialist in international development and conflict resolution programs with over twenty years of experience in working with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the U.S. and in over 20 countries. Her areas of expertise include humanitarian relief, economic and social development, and peace building in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Prior to the academic career, Prof. YU Chong-Ae worked as the coordinator for The Carter Center's North Korea Food Security Project, and the agricultural coordinator for a U.S. Private Voluntary Organizations (PVO) Consortium to manage the first US-DPRK (North Korea) bilateral Food Assistance Program from 1998-2001. In the 1990s, Prof. YU Chong-Ae worked to establish an international affairs program focused on North Korea for the AFSC, and worked on projects involving the issues of DPRK nuclear non-proliferation as a consultant to the Rockefeller Foundation and the W. Alton Jones Foundation.

Prof. YU Chong-Ae received PhD in Development Sociology from Cornell University in the U.S.

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## The Vietnam Women's Union's Participation in the Country's Renovation Process & its Implication

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### Presentation

#### NGUYEN Thi Hoai Linh

Director General  
International Relations Department  
Vietnam Women's Union

*Vietnam*

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Ms. NGUYEN Thi Hoai Linh started working for VWU in 1995 as a staff of International Relations Department.

She later was promoted to be Vice Director of the VWU Center for Support of Women, HIV/AIDS and Reproductive Health; Vice Director of the VWU Center for Women and Development; Director General of the Standing Office of the National Committee for the Advancement of Women (NCFAW); and Director General of the VWU Planning and Finance Department. She has been working as Director General of VWU International Relations Department (IRD) since 2012.

She is Presidium member of the Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation, the Vietnam Union of Friendship Organizations, Executive member of several friendship associations between Vietnam and other countries, such as the US, Canada, Cuba, Laos, Myanmar, etc.

Apart from international cooperation, she is active in the fields of gender equality, responses to violence against women and children, community development. E.g. between 2010-2012, she was Director of the Spanish-supported project "Financial Planning Capacity to Reduce Domestic Violence".

She has BA degrees in Linguistics and Banking. She received M.A of International Relations and Diplomacy in 2002 at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, United Kingdom.

She is mother to 2 children, one boy and one girl.



## The Vietnam Women's Union's Participation in the Country's Renovation Process & its Implication

Nguyen Thi Hoai Linh  
Vietnam Women's Union

### Main contents

#### 1. Overview of the national renovation (ĐỔI MỚI) in Viet Nam

#### 2. The participation of the Vietnam Women's Union in the process of renovation and opportunities to share experiences with women in other countries

#### 3. Conclusion

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### I. Overview of the national renovation (DOI MOI) in Viet Nam

- Adopted at the 6th National Party Congress in 1986
- Demand for innovation stems from the economic sector, not as a result of political upheaval



Vietnamese people rebuild their country after the war.  
Photo: Remaking the road in the south of Hanoi (1988)



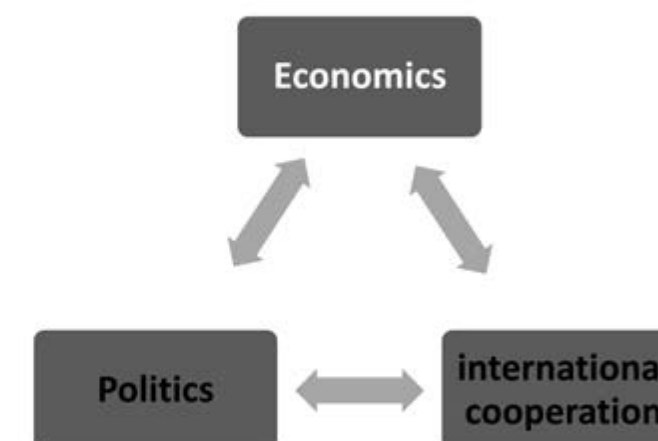
The 6th National Party Congress (1986)

Transition from war to peace requires removal of obstacles to economic management

3

### Main Features of DOI MOI

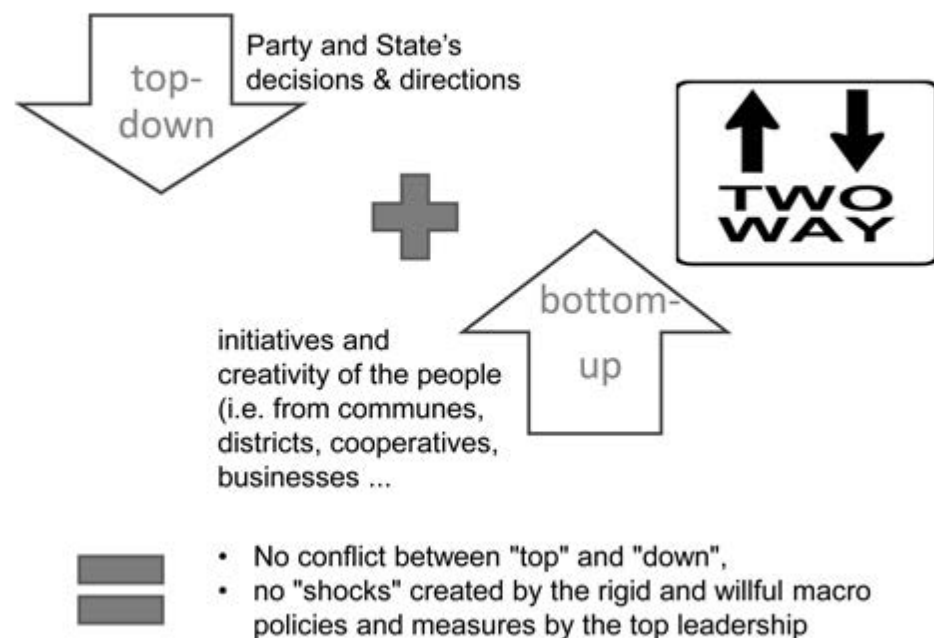
socio-political stability as a prerequisite for the cause of innovation, development  
Focus on economic renovation in parallel with renovation in other areas such as administration, politics, culture, education...



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### Main Features (cont.) Two dimensions/directions



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### Strategic partners of Viet Nam

#### Viet Nam has established:

- **Special relations with three countries: Laos, Cambodia, Cuba**
- **Comprehensive strategic partnership with three countries: Russia (2012), China (2008) & India (2016).**
- **Strategic partnership with 15 countries (including three comprehensive strategic partners )**
- **Comprehensive partnership with 14 countries**

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### International lessons

- Context: international transformation, policy adjustments from countries
- Experiences of other countries were also useful for Vietnam in the quest for renovation.
- The renovation views of Viet Nam were based on its own experiences and the successful and unsuccessful experiences of other socialist countries
- Viet Nam's renovation career received the support, cooperation from international friends and it is highly appreciated for the rapid post-crisis/post-war recovery

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### FTA of Việt Nam (by July, 2019)

STT	FTA	Hiện trạng	Đối tác
<b>FTAs đã có hiệu lực</b>			
1	AFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 1993	ASEAN
2	ACFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2003	ASEAN, Trung Quốc
3	AKFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2007	ASEAN, Hàn Quốc
4	AJCEP	Có hiệu lực từ 2008	ASEAN, Nhật Bản
5	VJEP	Có hiệu lực từ 2009	Việt Nam, Nhật Bản
6	AIFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2010	ASEAN, Ấn Độ
7	AANZFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2010	ASEAN, Úc, New Zealand
8	VCFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2014	Việt Nam, Chi Lê
9	VKFTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2015	Việt Nam, Hàn Quốc
10	VN – EAEU FTA	Có hiệu lực từ 2016	Việt Nam, Nga, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan
11	CPTPP (Tiền thân là TPP)	Có hiệu lực từ 30/12/2018, có hiệu lực tại Việt Nam từ 14/1/2019	Việt Nam, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Chi Lê, New Zealand, Úc, Nhật Bản, Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia
12	AHKFTA	Có hiệu lực tại Hồng Kông (Trung Quốc), Lào, Myanmar, Thái Lan, Singapore và Việt Nam từ 11/6/2019	ASEAN, Hồng Kông (Trung Quốc)
<b>FTA đã ký nhưng chưa có hiệu lực</b>			
13	EVFTA	Ký kết vào 30/6/2019	Việt Nam, EU (28 thành viên)

Nguồn: Trung tâm WTO và Hội nhập

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The participation of the Vietnam Women's Union in the process of renovation and opportunities to share experiences with women in other countries

- Two nationwide campaigns (since 1982 - before Doi Moi):



Women develop their family economy

1. Women help each other to do household economy

2. Good parenting to reduce children's malnutrition and school drop-outs

Women actively study, creatively work and nurture happy families  
(Sixth National Women's Congress - 1997)

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### In economic renovation

- Supporting and mobilizing women to participate in economic development; in the process of economic transformation/restructure:
- Taking the initiative and pioneering in the development of microfinance, building a model of production and business in the direction of collective economy (joint groups, cooperative group, cooperative), supporting women in business start-up ...
- The most outstanding and successful activities by the VWU:
  - supporting women in hunger eradication, poverty reduction and economic development;
  - actively participating in the process of economic transformation through many activities, including entrusting activities in cooperation with Social Policy Bank

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### In economic renovation

- **Movements:**
  - "Mutual assistance among women in household economic development, thrift for national construction";
  - "Saving Day for Poor Women," "Supporting Women in jobs creation, income generation"...
- **Performs best and takes the lead in entrusting activities to the Social Policy Bank, VWU has been titled from "five best" to now "six best": Highest outstanding debt, lowest overdue debt, the largest number of credit saving groups, the largest number of members, the number of credit savings groups ranked good, the highest percentage of participants**

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### In economic renovation

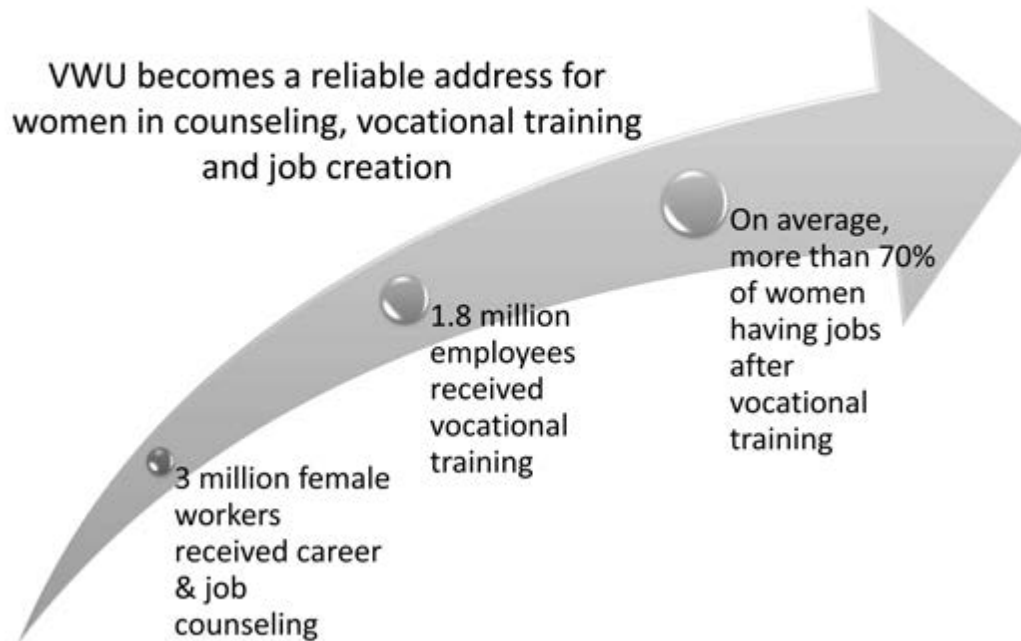
#### Support women in:

- **micro finance**
- **innovation and business start-up**
  - 20,000 women start-up
  - Support the establishment of 1,200 cooperatives/cooperative groups
  - 100,000 women-owned businesses are supported

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## Results for the past 10 years

VWU becomes a reliable address for women in counseling, vocational training and job creation



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## Micro finance



- ~ 8million women get loans from: Social Policy Bank, Commercial Bank, Microfinance, Credit savings groups for women

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## Vocational training for female workers



75,000 women receive counseling and vocational training every year

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## Production and business by women



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## Networking, investment



## Innovation and business start-up competitions



19

## Networking, investment



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## Business start-up training



## Honor typical women entrepreneurs



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## Improving IEC activities

- Focusing on thematic IEC, grasping women's ideas and opinions, detecting and responding to problems/challenges for timely measures and solutions.
- The forms of IEC are more diverse, attractive, more suitable and persuasive
- Enhancing IEC to different target groups associated with the current situation of the country; paying attention to specific groups; organizing consultation workshops in combination with awareness raising for women's groups
- education to improve knowledge and skills for women through national projects/programs
- Helping women to develop their internal strengths and solving their own problems
- Focusing more on disadvantaged women groups, promoting the role of pioneering women's groups
- To attach importance to training and fostering key staff of the Women's Union at all levels

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## In political reforms

Supervision and provision of social criticism and strategic advice, development of laws and policies to protect the legitimate rights and interests of women and children

Promoting democracy, gathering ideas among women of all levels to participate in the policy-making process, focusing on policies related to women's work and the essential interests of women (i.e. The Constitution 2013...)

Reviewing and assessing inadequacies in policy and laws

Proposing for drafting, amendments and supplements to ensure systematic, synchronous, effective and efficient implementation of laws and policies, focusing on women's basic rights and specific policies to enable women - to overcome obstacles brought about by gender characteristics and gender stereotypes (drafting the Law on Gender equality ...)

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## Renovation in the international cooperation of the Vietnam Women's Union

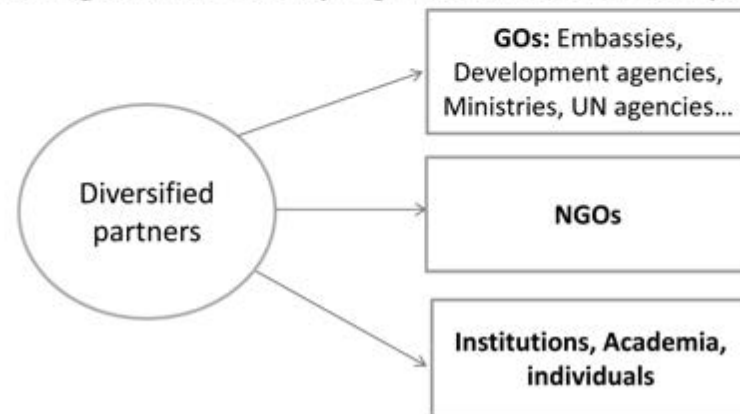


Hilary Clinton visits TYM, 2000



## International cooperation of the Vietnam Women's Union

- Following the motto: "Vietnam is ready to be a friend and a reliable partner with all countries in the international community and strives for peace, independence and development" in increasingly expanding and diversifying international cooperation



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## Bilateral relations

- The provincial WUs: Signing and implementing cooperation agreements with the same level partners of the three neighboring countries (Laos, Cambodia, China)
- By the end of 2018, the Women's Union of 24/25 provinces signed Cooperation Agreement with partners of neighboring countries

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## Bilateral relations

- Promoting relationship with Women's Union of neighboring countries in diverse forms, activities:
  - exchanging delegations (with Laos, Cambodia, China, Cuba, North Korea)
  - Sharing experiences of VWU in women works/activities,
  - Training for women staff from Laos and Cambodia

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Signing Cooperation Agreement with  
Laos WU



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## Signing Cooperation Agreement with Cambodian Women for Peace and Development



## Bilateral relations



Leaders of the Cambodian Women for Peace and Development visit pepper growing model in Phu Quoc, 2019

## Bilateral relations



WU of Ho Chi Minh city signed Agreement with WU of, Laos, 2016

Lao Cai WU signed Agreement with WU of Yunnan, China, 2015

## Bilateral relations



VWU's President visits China, 2017

Meeting between Lang Son WU and WU of Zhuang Autonomous Region, Guangxi, China, 2017



## Bilateral relations

Relations with the women's organizations from socialist countries



Signing MOU for the first time with Cuban WU, 2018



VWU's President meet with Vice Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK), 2019

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## Bilateral relations

Establishing and strengthening relationships with many organizations from strategic partner, comprehensive partners countries, and developed countries



VWU President meets with representative of the Italian Prime Minister, 2019



VWU President meets with Federal Ministry For Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany 2019

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## Bilateral relations with ASEAN Countries



Receiving a delegation of Brunei WU, 2014



VWU's leader visits and meets with WU of Myanmar, 2018

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## Bilateral relations



Vietnamese - Korean Women's Forum



## Bilateral relations



VWU's leaders paid a working visit to the US, 2019

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Delegations visit VWU



## Bilateral relations



A delegation of American women visit Peace village, 2017

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## Multilateral relations

- Participating more actively in diverse multilateral mechanisms
- Organizing international forums, events, and conferences on women
- Participating responsibly and appropriately in organizations where VWU is a member or coordinator: Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), ASEAN Confederation of Women Organizations (ACWO); Special Consultation Regulation at the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); gender equality focal point for Vietnam in the Colombo Plan

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## Multilateral relations

Reviewing and reporting the implementation of international commitment (CEDAW, Beijing Platform, MDGs, SDGs...)



Video clip  
“Outstanding  
achievement of  
20 years  
implementing  
Beijing  
Platform

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## Multilateral relations



VWU host the International Forum on Women, Peace, and Development  
Ha Noi, 2015

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## Multilateral relations



VWU hosted ACWO General Assembly in Ha Noi (2010)

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Exhibition “ASEAN –  
color of cultures”,  
2016

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## Multilateral relations



Delegates of 8<sup>th</sup> INWES-APNN Conference hosted by VWU, Ha Noi, 2018

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VWU delegation joining "March for Peace on the occasion of WIDF's Congress in Brazil (tháng 4 năm 2012) & Colombia, 2016

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## Multilateral relations

Strengthening cooperation with UN agencies, international organizations



VWU signed 1<sup>st</sup> Agreement with UN Women, 2018

Agreement between VWU and Plan Int'l Belgium, Plan Int'l Vietnam, & Live&Learn, 2017

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## Development Cooperation

- Piloting the new models
- Expanding cooperation in new areas
- Changing from donor - recipient relations to partnership, especially with potential partners



Safe farming project by Australian Government

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## Development Cooperation

- New approaches:
  - *Trilateral cooperation in implementing regional projects (ie project on micro finance to support Lao WU...)*
  - *Cooperation in tourism between Vietnamese and Cambodian women, helping Women's organization of Cambodia to have more income sources)*

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Women making conical hat (Quảng Bình project), funded by Marie Schlei Association (Germany)



Platypus (Australia) awards the scholarship to students in Ha Giang province



Children in Binh Dinh province learn to swim, project supported by UN WOMEN

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VWU leader and LDSC (USA) handover wheelchairs in Phú Thọ province

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## CONCLUSION

- The role and active contribution of the VWU in the renovation process is highly appreciated domestically and internationally
- Increasing concerns toward gender issues at national, regional, and international levels.
- Roles of women and women's organizations in development programs and plans...

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THANK YOU!  
감사합니다



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## CONCLUSION

The role and active contribution of the VWU in the renovation process is highly appreciated domestically and internationally



Looking forward to sharing VWU's experiences on women and community development & promoting cooperation with women all over the world

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# International Cooperation and Gender Affairs

Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women



## Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula

### Presentation

### CHO Young-Ju

Associate Research Fellow  
Center for Gender Equality Culture and Education  
Korean Women's Development Institute

*Republic of Korea*

CHO Young-Ju is associate research fellow at the Center for Gender Equality Culture and Education, Korean Women's Development Institute(KWDI). Prior to joining KWDI, she was a research fellow at the Ewha Institute of Unification Studies at Ewha Woman's University. She was also a lecturer at Ewha University, Dongguk University and Seoul National University. Her research interests include North Korean women, gender relations in North Korea, women and peace, Korean division-post division and inter-Korean relations.

CHO Young-Ju has received her M.A in Women's Studies and Ph.D. in North Korean studies from Ewha Woman's University. She was a a research professor at Korean Division-Post Division Research Center at Dongguk University(2014-2015) and Korean Women Institute at Ewha Woman's Universtiy (2012-2013).

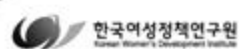
THE FIRST PARTNER FOR GENDER EQUALITY *KWDI*

## Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula

CHO Young-Ju  
(Associate Research Fellow, Korean Women's Development Institute)

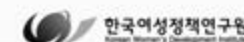
This presentation is a part of the study of the "Measures (I) for the Promotion of Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation Projects for Economic Empowerment of North Korean Women" being implemented by the Korean Women's Development Institute.

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THE FIRST PARTNER FOR GENDER EQUALITY *KWDI*

## CHAPTER I . WHAT IS THE PEACE ECONOMY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?



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## CONTENTS

- I WHAT IS THE PEACE ECONOMY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?
- II ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER
- III REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN
- IV MEASURES FOR RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREAN WOMEN FOR THE REALIZATION OF GENDER EQUALITY

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## I . WHAT IS THE PEACE ECONOMY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?

### ➤ Sustainable peace in the Korean Peninsula and importance of economic cooperation

- ✓ 'Peace' was greatly emphasized in the commemorative speeches on the Liberation Day on Aug. 15, 2018 and the Independence Movement Day on Mar. 1, 2019.
- ✓ According to the content of the speeches, the progress in inter-Korean relationship will accelerate denuclearization, and through the reinforcement of inter-Korean economic cooperation multilateral peace and security system in Northeast Asia will be built. With the suggestion of a "New Korean Peninsula Regime" as a new peace community, it is also mentioned that efforts to open up the era of 'peace economy' in the Peninsula will be made.
- ✓ 'Peace economy' starts from the recognition that peace and economy are in a virtuous circle. It is a notion implying that peace secures economic development, which in turn cements peace.
- ✓ Economy is an important policy means as an inducement and impetus for the improvement and progress in inter-Korean relations. Also important is the preparation of peaceful basis for sustainable economic cooperation and development. Only with substantial peace achievements such as the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and improvement of North Korea-U.S relations, economic cooperation can be vitalized.



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## I . WHAT IS THE PEACE ECONOMY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?

### ➤ Experience of inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and Peacemaking

- ✓ Since the summit in 2000, vitalization of economic cooperation has been made in the context of 'balanced development of national economy' and peace-building in the Korean Peninsula
- ✓ Inter-Korean economic cooperation has affected overall progress in inter-Korean relations, and contributed to the promotion of peaceful efforts in the military aspects as well. A plain example is Kaesong, a militarily strategic point in North Korea, has become a 'city of peace,' symbolizing the inter-Korean cooperation and post-division status through economic cooperation.
- ✓ Expansion of the inter-Korean exchange and cooperation has been the basis for building trust between South and North Korea. For example, right after the outbreak of the second battle in the Yellow Sea in 2002, North Korea expressed regret and proposed talks between authorities, and South Korea announced it will continue inter-Korean exchange and cooperation. Even while a military response to the battle in the Yellow Sea was in progress, the cooperative exchanges were sustained. The division between military affairs and inter-Korean exchange and cooperation has been established to a certain degree, which is the result of cooperative exchanges between South and North Korea.

## CHAPTER II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

## I . WHAT IS THE PEACE ECONOMY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?

### ➤ Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation and Gender

- ✓ In the course of the vitalization of inter-Korean economic cooperation, gender issues has seldom been dealt with. Promotion of projects related to those women who were participating in economic cooperation in Kaesong complex, etc. and establishment of women support centers, etc. at the civilian level were suggested, but not promoted.
- ✓ Not only because majority of participants in actual sites of economic cooperation are women, but considering that inter-Korean economic cooperation affects both societies of South and North Korea as well, the impact and meaning of economic cooperation on women should be studied. However, discussion on this aspect has not been sufficient. Only there exist researches made in this regard by Cho Soon-kyoung (2000) and Kim Gwi-ok (2006).
- ✓ In the course of the establishment of the strategies for the realization of peace economy in the Korean Peninsula and its implementation, gender viewpoints should be applied. In addition, the effort to build the peace economy in the Korean Peninsula has to be linked to the course of realizing gender equality.

## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

### ➤ Feministic Approach to Development

- ✓ Feminists took note of gendered characteristics in political economy concerning development. In the realm of political economy, women are placed differently from men. Since available resources for use are different between genders, their interests are also different. Even when both sides have common interests, they are expressed and mobilized in much different manners.
- ✓ The 1<sup>st</sup> 10-year Development Plan of the U.N. (1961-70) composed the assistance plan focusing on the support for market expansion and export-oriented economic projects in poor countries, and responses to welfare agenda facing the Third World countries that were in crisis. Under the plan, main attention concerning women was paid to human trafficking, sex trafficking, equal wage for the work of equal value, and their political rights. Actually, the discussion on birth control was the most remarkable at the time. Overall, women were almost treated invisible in the development plan of this period.



## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

- ✓ Thereafter, WID (Women In Development) approach was suggested, which was also criticized for overlooking the socio-political structure confronting women. Criticism was raised that negative influences of stratification of women and capital accumulation system on both genders were not addressed.
- ✓ GAD (Gender and Development), which criticized old approaches and emphasized the challenge against the existing gender relationships that exceeds the observation of differences between men and women, was discussed. Attention was attracted to the agency and competence of women as subjects, and power relationships.
- ✓ Recently, gender equality and empowerment of girls have been discussed under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

### ➤ Economic Empowerment of Women

- ✓ Economic empowerment of women is necessary considering their status as workers, entrepreneurs, and consumers. For a sustainable growth, their competence, creativity, and active business activities are required. If their equivalent participation is not secured, there will be the economic cost to be paid in terms of growth and development. (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, 2013)
- ✓ Also, economic empowerment of women is important because it is the basis for strengthening women's rights and enabling them to control their lives by themselves and exercise their influence in society. (DAC Network on Gender Equality, 2011)

## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

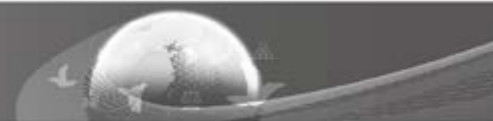
### ➤ Competence and Economic Competence

- ✓ As to the concept of competence, OECD defines that it is not just concerned with technology or knowledge but is related to the ability to satisfy complex demands in a certain context, mobilizing and utilizing psycho-sociological resources. (OECD 2005)
- ✓ Empowerment is a term related to development plan, and can be defined as "strengthening of the competence of those who are alienated and powerless to enable them to control and govern resources for their survival from the least-scale resources to political, economic and social power. (Lee Hye-jung, 2010)
- ✓ Economic competence is defined as "the capability of an individual as a main agent of economic activity to make a rational decision concerning everyday economic issues based on economic principles and knowledge, and reach his/her optimum economic status as a member of a socio-economic community." (Kim Jun-tae, 2015)

## II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

- ✓ Economic empowerment of women is "a way to enable poor men and women to recognize the value of contribution, honor their own dignity, and negotiate a fair distribution of the benefits of growth so that they can participate in and contribute to the course of growth, giving and receiving benefits, and think beyond immediate survival needs, thus able to recognize and exercise their acts and choices." (Eyben, Kabeer and Cornwall, 2008). The economic empowerment of women also means "improving women's access to economic resources, jobs, financial services, profits, production resources, technological progress, and market information." (OECD, 2011)
- ✓ Economic empowerment of women should adopt the elimination of cultural and customary barriers, as well as escaping poverty and economic development, as the purpose and content. (Kim Hyo-jeong • Mah Jung-yun • Lee Seul-gi, 2014)
- ✓ When the promotion of social and economic development in South and North Korean societies is set as the purpose of the realization of peace economy in the Korean Peninsula, empowerment of minorities, including women in both societies, should be simultaneously promoted. Along with the creation of opportunities for economic gain, challenges for changing gender-unequal structure, culture, ideas need to be made.





### CHAPTER III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

- ✓ The choice of major in college is closely related with their entry into society. Gender stereotypes concerning major in college and gender division in the realm of labor are in a circulating structure. Given that such gender division from education to labor affects the accessibility to resources and economic competence, liquidation of gender stereotypes and expansion of education opportunities for women need to be considered.
- ✓ In terms of the culture and regulation in schools, aspects of patriarchal culture are revealed. As for educational curriculum, some courses tend to be prepared in gender separation, like 'practice of female students' and 'practice of male students'. No gender equality education, including sex education, is provided.
- ✓ Looking into ICT utilization competence in the fields of science and technology the authorities of North Korea lay stress on, the rate of women with experience of ICT utilization is lower than that of men. The rate of women with experience of computer utilization and that for mobile phone and intranet were lower by 10% and 5%, respectively compared to corresponding rates of men (MICS, 2017). The gap according to region, age and educational level is revealed as well.

### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

#### ➤ Educational competence of North Korean Women

- ✓ Adult literacy rate among persons aged 15 or more is 100.0% for both genders (UNICEF, 2018). As of 2017, the GENDER PARITY INDEX of primary school enrollment ratio was 1.00, that of the first-term secondary school enrollment ratio was 0.97, and that of the second-term secondary school enrollment ratio was 1.00 (UNICEF, 2018).
- ✓ Gender gap is revealed in college education. The total college enrollment ratio of women is half the ratio of men with relevant gender equality index standing at 0.55 in 2015, and 0.51 in 2018. (DPRK Socio-Economic, Demographic and Health Survey, 2014)
- ✓ Gender difference is revealed with regard to the distribution of major fields of study in college as well. Women's major is concentrated in education, health and welfare, social sciences, mass media, information, services, while that of men is concentrated in engineering, manufacture, construction, agriculture, forestry, fishery, veterinary medicine, management, administration, and law.

### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

#### ➤ Actual condition of economic activities of North Korean Women

- ✓ North Korean policy concerning female labor force in the Kim Jung-eun era is not different from those of the past. Women's participation in official labor is regarded as basic. Female labor force is mobilized, being considered as idle labor force. In addition to the engagement in production sites as laborers, their participation in official labor is made in the form of support staff in such a name as storm troops. Gender gap is also found in college education. The total ratio of college enrollment of women is half the ratio of men, with gender equality index standing at 0.55 in 2014, and 0.51 in 2018 (DPRK Socio-Economic, Demographic and Health Survey, 2014).
- ✓ The labor force participation rate of North Korean women shown in statistical data is above 80% (UNFPA, 2008). According to the data of the World Bank (2018), as of 2017 the total labor force participation rate is 80.5%; the rate of labor force participation of women is 74.4% and that of men is 86.9%.



### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

- ✓ Looking at the condition of gender division, the ratio of persons in the primary industry is the highest for both women and men. But in the case of women the ratio of the tertiary industry is the second highest, while in the case of men the ratio of the secondary industry is the second highest (UN, 2014).
- ✓ By job classification, the positions of managers, professionals, and directors are occupied mainly by men. A larger number of women than men work as ministrant laborers, expert assistants, or experts in other fields, whereas a larger number of men work as laborers in charge, professionals, drivers, assemblymen, etc. (UNFPA, 2008).
- ✓ The basic route of employment is placement, reflecting the characteristics of North Korean system. Many inherit parents' occupation as well. Those with economic and political resources can be placed in the job they want.
- ✓ In the case of factory workers, the opportunity for female workers to learn professional skill is limited. In most cases, expertise or skills are to be possessed by men, because they have higher accessibility to technology.

### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

- ✓ In the case of women who positively participate in economic activities, the main reason is poverty. To escape poverty, women have no choice but positively engage in economic activities. Main resources for women's economic activities are their lineage background and the network among men, centering around their father or husband. Such a situation contributes partially to the maintenance of the male-dominated order in North Korean society.
- ✓ Restrictions on women's economic activities in North Korea are gender-divided job placement, labor without pay, gender stereotypes about economic activities, absence of capital, difficulty in accessing authority, etc. Perception of North Korean citizens, as well as gender stereotypes North Korean authorities have, has negative influence on the expansion of the realm of women's economic activities. Even in the types of business and the scale of the creation of capital, gender differences are revealed.
- ✓ The appearance of economic activities of North Korean women is the mixture of the characteristics usually revealed in capitalist societies and those of North Korean society. Overall tendency is that gender stereotypes and gender division in labor are more intensified by the characteristics of the North Korean regime.

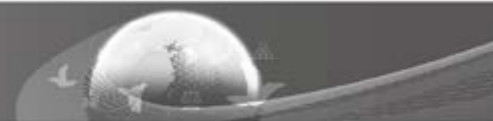
### III. REALITY OF ECONOMIC COMPETENCE OF NORTH KOREAN WOMEN

- ✓ For factory or farm workers, safety condition is barely in existence. Due to the insecure supply of electricity, which is essential for safety, on top of the absence of welfare facilities for women, women are unavoidably exposed to various dangers. Besides, even though there is a welfare system that grants maternity leave, there is almost no example that women actually benefit from such a system. Recently, the increasing trend is to entrust child rearing to grandparents or individuals, paying the cost.
- ✓ Most women tend to engage in market activities alongside their original work, or do both. Since factories are not properly in operation, or even if they are properly operated, they cannot receive a substantial amount of wage, most women participate in market activities. In most cases, women only have their name on the register of their workplace, and entirely engaged in business. Many women start a business when they get married and quit the job. Recently, about 8.2% of the women in North Korea are found to be engaged in market activities (Hong Min, et al., 2016).

## CHAPTER

## IV. Measures for Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women for the Realization of Gender Equality





#### IV. Measures for Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

##### ➤ Direction of the Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

- ✓ Economic empowerment of South and North Korean women
- ✓ Resolution of gender inequality in South and North Korean societies
- ✓ Resolution of the gap between South and North Korean women

##### ➤ Strategies for the Promotion of Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

- ✓ Creation of the basis for the promotion of exchange and cooperation between South and North Korean women
- ✓ Gender-sensitive approach to exchange and cooperation in each field
- ✓ Diversification of the agenda of exchange and cooperation between South and North Korean women

#### IV. Measures for Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

##### ➤ Gender-sensitive approach to the exchange and cooperation in each field

- ✓ Preparation of a communication system between the main agents of the exchange and cooperation of each field and the main agents of the exchange and cooperation between women
- ✓ Identification of gender equality agenda of each field of exchange and cooperation
- ✓ Enhancement of the representativeness of women in the exchange and cooperation in each field

#### IV. Measures for Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

##### ➤ Creation of the Basis for the Promotion of Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean women

- ✓ Promotion of Dialogue between authorities in South and North Korea for the enhancement of joint understanding on the exchange and cooperation between South and North Korean women and gender equality
- ✓ Strengthening the ability to promote the exchange and cooperation between women in South Korea
- ✓ Preparation of the basis of human and material resources for the promotion of exchange and cooperation between South and North Korean women
- ✓ Promotion of joint research to understand the lives of South and North Korean women

#### IV. Measures for Reciprocal Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

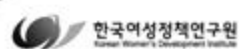
##### ➤ Diversification of the Agenda of the Exchange and Cooperation between South and North Korean Women

- ✓ Exchange and cooperation in educational dimension: Nurture of professional manpower of ICT, and exchange and cooperation concerning gender equality education, etc.
- ✓ Environmental reform: Improvement in working environment, environmental reform to secure the right to safety, and cooperation to relieve the burden of child rearing
- ✓ Human exchange and cooperation: Technological cooperation through the exchange of professional manpower, exchange and cooperation between female students, etc.
- ✓ Development of the model of exchange and cooperation between women and the model of gender-equal exchange and cooperation: Model of the enterprises engaged in women-friendly economic cooperation, model for empowerment of women, joint cooperation projects for the exchanges between women in each field

THANK YOU!

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## Design for Peace Economy on the Korean Peninsula based on Women and Feminism

Discussant

**KIM Eunju**

Executive Director  
Center for Korean Women and Politics

*Republic of Korea*

Director KIM Eunju, recognized as an expert on gender politics, democratic civic education, and inter-Korean relations, currently heads the Center for Korean Women and Politics, which conducts research and education to expand the political representation of Korean women, serves as a unification policy advisor at the Unification Ministry, a standing member of the National Unification Advisory Council, and a member of the Korean civic education Institute for Democracy of the National Election Commission.

KIM Eunju's 32-year career as a researcher and activist in women's politics has greatly contributed to the reform of the legal system for expanding women's participation in the development of Korean democracy. Since 2010, she has demonstrated the importance of democratic citizenship education for North Korean refugee women as a new citizen in South Korea and has been running a democratic citizenship education program for North Korean refugee women. From 2014 to the present, she has been proposing policies to expand inter-Korean exchanges and cooperation and build a peace regime as members of the Presidential Committee for Unification Preparation, the National Unification Advisory Council, and the Unification Ministry. From 2008 to 2013, she served as a member of Future Vision Advisory Committee for Women and Children of the Chairman of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister's Committee on Women's Policy Coordination, and the Women's Policy Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.

Before starting the director of the Center for Korean Women and Politics in 2007, she was a member of the Women's Policy Research Committee at Daejeon Metropolitan City. In 2013 and 2014, she wrote a column about Parity and Unification in Women's newspaper. She graduated from Ewha Womans University and completed a doctoral course of political science at the same university.



## Design for Peace Economy on the Korean Peninsula based on Women and Feminism<sup>1)</sup>

For one year after the announcement of the Panmunjeom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Unification of the Korean Peninsula on April 27, 2018, South and North Korea, and North Korea and the United States took a new path none had trodden before. The unfamiliarity and inconvenience of the road that had not been taken inevitably led to numerous misunderstandings and trials and errors. The three countries have made choices different from the past. South Korea chose the permanent peace regime and the establishment of the Korean Peninsula economic community aimed at a 'single market,' while North Korea chose complete denuclearization and the U.S. chose a new approach to the North Korean nuclear issue through the historic first summit with North Korea. As a result, the international order surrounding the Korean Peninsula is entering a new phase. Peace economy is a key concept of the new Korean Peninsula regime, which goes beyond the quantitative growth of the inter-Korean economic cooperation and is expected to replace the confrontational division system. In this regard, women's participation as main agents of the era of peace economy on the Korean Peninsula based on gender equality as well as the incorporation of a feminist perspective are required. I fully agree with the viewpoints and suggestions of my fellow presenters, and would like to make a few comments on the roles and tasks of women for the progress of the era of peace economy.

### 1. Women as main agents and feminism as a key perspective

○ Women's participation as main agents of the community for peace economy

Since the 1970s, women have led peace movements in various fields including arms reduction, antiwar campaigns, inter-Korean exchange of female leaders, human rights campaigns as well as peace education and culture promotion campaigns. Therefore, women's participation in the process of building the community for peace economy signifies the enhancement of the unification movement from the pacifist perspective. According to the Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Updates published by UNDP, more than half of South Korean women are engaged in economic activities, with the female labor force participation rate at 52.2% in 2017, while the rate was 74.4% for women in North Korea. Notably, considering the recent market development in North Korea, it is assumed that the percentage of the country's women engaged in economic activities must be higher than the rate published in official statistics.

In North Korea, women have emerged as the driving force of the market economy, and this is based on the characteristics of the North Korean socialist system. Labor belongs to people's duties and all of the country's people are supposed to take part in economic activities in workplaces they have been assigned to. Although married women are regarded as exceptions, those 45 years of age or older are allowed to run a business in the market (Jangmadang). As the gap between official wage and market price widens with the progress of market development, the livelihood of families is maintained based on women's earnings from market activities. Thus, it can be said that women play more important economic roles than men in North Korea at present.

○ Feminism as a key perspective for establishment of the community for peace economy

The community for peace economy should be designed based on the feminist perspective so that the discrimination and inequality regarding women deeply rooted in the patriarchal culture of South and North Korea may not be reproduced in the process of the establishment of peace economy. Daily lives of women in the two countries as living persons, seen as a subject of common interest, can provide the basis of a bond of sympathy for the community for peace economy. Incorporation of the feminist perspective in this process may help overcome following limitations and problems of existing inter-Korean issues and the unification discourse. First, male-centered management of inter-Korean issues and unification movements has led to the marginalization of the outcomes of inter-Korean exchange of female leaders and peaceful unification campaigns achieved by women. Second, the symbolization of the "nationalist mother" image in the inter-Korean relationship and unification discourse resulted in the gender role stereotype, thereby erasing the contributions of women to peace between South and North Korea and rendering them just as mothers and daughters. Third, the emphasis on tradition is likely to reproduce gender discrimination based on the patriarchal values of the old Korean tradition, and the insistence on the recovery of homogeneity without self-examination on traditional culture may help strengthen the unequal gender order still remaining in the patriarchal system. Finally, gender stereotypes and gender division of labor are becoming further pronounced due to marketization

after the Arduous March campaign in North Korea. Women who were forced to enter the market, an anti-socialist place, complemented the defects of the North Korean socialist system related to the collapse of the distribution system, and this resulted in the formation of a unique gender division structure in which women have to take the responsibility as breadwinners. The spread of women's lifestyle relying on the market entails negative effects of blocking the opportunities for education and reducing learning capabilities of women born in the 1980s and 1990s.

Accordingly, strategies for the development of peace economy centered on women in South and North Korea reflecting their daily lives, experiences and viewpoints need to be formulated for them to lead the era of peace economy on the Korean Peninsula. The focus should be moved from exchange centered on a macroscopic nationalist agenda to practical exchange centered on real-life agenda related to women and family. It is necessary to promote mutually reciprocal exchange by highlighting 'women and family' and 'daily agenda focused on women and family' that have been overshadowed by nationalist agenda.

In addition, exchange and cooperation between women in South and North Korea through the medium of 'market' should be actively developed. North Korea, where more than 500 markets (Jangmadang) are operated vigorously, may well be considered as a market society, and women stand at the center of it. Women are connected to market in various ways, not only as consumers but as producers and distributors. Therefore, it is necessary to provide a medium for the exchange between women of South Korea as consumers and women of North Korea as producers (distributors), including visits to the Gaeseong Market and Pyeongseong Market, so as to facilitate the exchange and cooperation between women of South and North Korea as living persons.

### 2. Roles and tasks of women in South and North Korea for the era of peace economy

About 70 years have passed since the division of South and North Korea, leading to different experiences related to the division among younger and older generations, and now people who did not experience the Korean War form the mainstream of the politics of the Republic of Korea. It is also likely that younger generations, who lack not only direct but also indirect experience related to the division, may have grown up with the understanding that the political and military tensions as well as division and hostility between South and North Korea are quite usual and normal. In such circumstances, the establishment of the new Korean Peninsula regime based on peace economy should be pursued along with modifications in the legal system and policies as well as changes in people's thoughts and awareness.

First of all, it is necessary to establish governance in various dimensions among women under the purpose of the formation of the community for peace economy domestically. As there are still a lot of South Korean women who consider economic cooperation between South and North Korea as one-sided aid from the south to the north, it is required to create a structure which is built "jointly" by the two countries to attract the participation from these women. The governance-building should be made not only with feminist movement organizations that sympathize with peace economy, but also with women's organizations in the local government level and those representing different social strata and occupations. These efforts should be followed primarily by education on the peace economy and on the necessity to establish a women's community for peace economy on the Korean Peninsula. Peace economy is not limited to quantitative expansion of the inter-Korean economic cooperation but rather aimed at the establishment of the new Korean Peninsula regime that will replace the confrontational division system, and thus requires sufficient understanding and social consensus. In addition, opportunities for diverse discussions and communication on the significance of the creation of a single market based on a new economic scheme for the Korean Peninsula for individual women should be provided to facilitate development of an inter-Korean economic cooperation model led by women.

With regard to the inter-Korean relationship, it is necessary to conclude the Agreement on the Exchange and Cooperation between Women in South and North Korea.<sup>2)</sup> The agreement will help guarantee the continuity and stability of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation of women as an institutional system for the promotion of exchange, cooperation and rights of women in South and North Korea, and provide a new momentum for the Korean process of peace economy by inducing interest in women's issues from mutual governments. In addition, with the inter-Korean exchange and cooperation as a whole at a standstill due to North Korean economic sanctions, women's exchange, which is politically less sensitive, needs to be promoted. Women's issues are cross-cutting policy agenda, and exchange in various areas, such as economy, society, culture and health, can be enhanced through the agreement. It is also necessary

<sup>1)</sup> This discussion paper was written based on "Strategies for Peaceful Public Diplomacy Led by Women," a statement for the second quarter of 2019 by the Women's Standing Committee of the National Unification Advisory Council and "The New Korean Peninsula Regime and Peace Economy: Finding an Answer from Women," a statement presented at the 2019 Women Leaders' Invitational Debate to Mark the 1st Anniversary of the April 27 Panmunjeom Declaration organized by the National Unification Advisory Council.

<sup>2)</sup> Cho Young-Ju, Kim Kyung-Hee, Kim Eunju et al. (2018), 『Life-oriented Gender Impact Assessment (II): Inter-Korean Relationship』, Korean Women's Development Institute.

to help North Korea to utilize the experience and know-how of South Korean women, through reconsideration of the roles of women in the economic development process of the south, in the process of the cooperation for the development of the north. This can be achieved by organizing meetings between businesswomen in the two countries, arranging visits of North Korean businesswomen to South Korean business scenes and education on market economy, developing vocational training and start-up assistance programs for North Korean women, and promoting exchange between the two countries' female researchers and relevant women's organizations in professional fields including health and medicine.

### 3. Enhancement of women's peace diplomacy as part of public diplomacy

Whereas South and North Korea entered the path to 'the end of Cold War' for denuclearization and peace after the April 27 Panmunjeom Declaration, signs of 'New Cold War' are appearing throughout the world as U.S.-China and U.S.-Russia conflicts intensify. These problems are complicating the path for the paradigm shift on the Korean Peninsula. The government of the Republic of Korea, which has to carry out the process for peace economy amidst the disagreement between the situations on the Korean Peninsula and the world in general, needs broader support of the global community than ever before.

Permanent peace and peace economy for the Korean Peninsula are also important to those other than South and North Korea, and thus cannot be achieved by the power of the South Korean government alone. Multilateral cooperation based on extensive exchange with numerous different countries is required along with the expansion of diplomacy to the private sector. In other words, the shift of diplomacy, to civilian diplomacy and public diplomacy, which transcends borders and promotes peace, is required.

According to Article 2 of the Public Diplomacy Act, "public diplomacy" means diplomatic activities through which the State promotes foreign nationals' understanding of and enhance confidence in the Republic of Korea directly or in cooperation with local governments or the private sector based on culture, knowledge, policies, etc. Public diplomacy here indicates diplomacy based on public-private cooperation differentiated from traditional diplomacy between governments, with which contacts between governments (local governments/private sector) and people of foreign countries are attempted. The peace and prosperity policy and peace economy process pursued by the government of the Republic of Korea should be actively utilized as a major policy measure promoting the support and understanding of the global community. Public policy should be used to help induce the voluntary participation from global citizens so that the transition to peace, which started to surface on the Korean Peninsula, may turn into a historical transition that will affect the world as a whole.

To this end, active efforts should be made for peace diplomacy led by women. In addition to peace diplomacy through international organizations such as UN, trilateral or multilateral exchange and cooperation need to be made comprising women's organizations and government bodies in South and North Korea and third countries. Participation of third countries not only enables indirect exchange in the current situation where direct inter-Korean exchange cannot be facilitated, but is also beneficial for both countries, especially as North Korea is a former socialist country. This is because it helps promote South Korea's understanding of changes in North Korean society and provides North Korea with an opportunity to share and learn the experience of openness. Therefore, the government and women's organizations in South Korea should energetically carry forward exchange with women's organizations and government institutions in former socialist countries that maintain amicable relationships with North Korea. Issues on the rights and interests of women and children are humanistic agenda on which consensus of the global community is widely formed, and thus enable various exchange activities, which can be carried out under the global support, regardless of sanctions against North Korea. Notably, as Vietnam was the site of the summit between North Korea and the U.S., and is currently rising as a development model for the north, sharing of Vietnam's experience related women's policy is expected to make considerable contributions to the roles and future activities of women's alliances in North Korea. At the same time, systematic and comprehensive research on the changes in women's lives after the opening of former socialist countries is needed, and it would be desirable if such research activities can be made not independently by South Korea but bilaterally between South and North Korea or South Korea and Vietnam, or trilaterally among South Korea, North Korea and Vietnam.

## Peace and Economy & Gender

### Discussant

### KIM Jeongsoo

Standing Representative

Women Making Peace

*Republic of Korea*

KIM Jeongsoo is currently the standing representative of Women Making Peace, Republic of Korea.

She has been involved in women's peace movement for 30 years. As a peace activist and scholar, she has focused on Peace Education and its relationship with education for reunification published several books and manuals on this area. She was the chief secretary for the First Lady of ROK and participated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> South-North Korean Summit in 2007.

She is now working as a civilian advisor for the Ministry of Gender Equality (for UNSCR 1325), the Ministry of Unification (for South-North Exchange and Cooperation Fund), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (for Action with Women and Peace) and the Kyunggi-Province (for Peace and Cooperation Policy). She also has been served as a senior advisor of the President of South Korea for South and North Summit since 2018. She is also the standing representative of women's committee of the Southern Committee on June 15th Joint Declaration.

Her organization Women Making Peace established in 1997, whose founding members were leaders of women's peace and unification movement in South Korea, and they are the first civilian leaders who went to North Korea across the DMZ to participated in the 3rd Seminar on Peace in North East Asia and Women's Role held in Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea in 1992.

Since its establishment in 1997, Women Making Peace has been a leading group in women's peace movement in South Korea in South-North Korean women' exchange, disarmament, peace education and conflict resolution programs at schools and local communities, and international solidarity for denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. Women Making Peace is also one of 4 South Korean women's organizations working with Women Cross DMZ, Nobel Women's Initiative, and WILPF(Women' International League for Peace and Freedom) for the Korea Peace Now Campaign, a global campaign to end the Korean War and bring a Peace Treaty until the year of 2020.



## Peace and Economy & Gender

### 1. I agree with the basic viewpoint of Dr. CHO Young-Ju's presentation on the 'Peace Economy and Gender Equality in the Korean Peninsula.'

It is reasonable to raise a question about the reality where gender issues are not included in the overall process of peace process in the Korean Peninsula, particularly in the inter-Korean economic cooperation process.

"In the course of the establishment of the strategies for the realization of peace economy in the Korean Peninsula and its implementation, gender viewpoints should be applied. In addition, the effort to build the peace economy in the Korean Peninsula has to be linked to the course of realizing gender equality (*from the presentation*)."

In paragraph ⑥ of the article 1 of the 'Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula (April 27, 2018),' "South and North Korea agreed to promote projects for balanced development of national economy and co-prosperity." The "Balanced development of national economy and co-prosperity," which represents the purpose and basic direction of inter-Korean economic cooperation, should also include "balanced development of peace economy through gender equality" as its viewpoint, basic direction, and purpose.

In order for a virtuous cycle between peace and economy to be created, the viewpoint of 'positive peace' based on human security, particularly the women's human security should be introduced. Only then could the complete meaning of the virtuous cycle between peace and economy be fulfilled.

The basic principles<sup>1)</sup> Kim Jeongsoo, "Peace and Prosperity in the Korean Peninsula, Role of Women", [Women's Peace Symposium] (Host: Korean Women's Development Institute, Korea Institute for National Unification, Jung Choun-sook, a National Assembly member, Network of Women Peacemakers for Reciprocal Exchange between South and North Korean Women), June 8, Source book, p. 7.

suggested regarding the peace and prosperity in the Korean Peninsula by women during the 'Women's Peace Symposium' on June 18, 2018 (Theme: Peace and prosperity of the Korean Peninsula by power of women) are as follows:

- ① A peaceful and prosperous Korea should be a gender-equal society.
- ② The transition process to a peace regime in the Korean Peninsula should proceed through multilateral approaches, including the participation of women and civil society.
- ③ In the process of planning the new economy in the Korean Peninsula and the cooperation for development of North Korea, establishment of gender-sensitive viewpoints, inclusion of the projects for the protection and empowerment of vulnerable social members and women, bridging the gap between South and North Korean women and balanced development through the cooperation of women entrepreneurs, and thereby the creation of the basis for peaceful co-existence of South and North Korean women are necessary.

Dr. CHO Young-Ju's presentation is understood that the peace economy in the Korean Peninsula has its task of the realization of gender equality, and the measures to materialize it are suggested therein.

### 2. The necessity of the economic empowerment of South and North Korean women for the realization of the peace economy and gender equality in the Korean Peninsula – Task and Challenge for changing gender-unequal structure, culture, and ideas

"When the promotion of social and economic development in South and North Korean societies is set as the purpose of the realization of peace economy in the Korean Peninsula, empowerment of minorities, including women in both societies, should be simultaneously promoted. Along with the creation of opportunities for economic gains, challenges for changing gender-unequal structure, culture, ideas need to be made."

"Patriarchal culture of North Korean society & absence of gender-equal culture and education"

"The appearance of economic activities of North Korean women is the mixture of the characteristics usually revealed in capitalist societies and those of North Korean society. Overall tendency is that gender stereotypes and gender division in labor are more intensified by the characteristics of the North Korean regime (*from the presentation*)."

Women's movement in South Korea has maintained its various efforts to change the patriarchal structure, culture and ideas of Korean society. Notwithstanding the fact that the changes in laws and institutions have prepared the basis for economic empowerment of women, that alone has not automatically secured gender-equal economic status for women. There still exist gender-unequal structure, culture, and ideas in all quarters of the society.

#### ❏ The Problem of Patriarchal Power of Men

We still have quite a challenge, including the process of economic empowerment of North Korean women and the additional tasks that have to be handled thereafter for the realization of gender-equal Korean Peninsula.

The exchanges and economic cooperation between South and North Korean women has to offer the opportunities to change the patriarchal and gender-unequal structure, culture and ideas that commonly exist in both societies.

However, it has been difficult to adopt agenda from gender viewpoints or to address gender equality issues in the exchanges between South and North Korean women so far. Social and cultural exchanges participated by women from all fields of the society need to be expanded.

When the exchanges and cooperation between South and North Korean women rises to the level sufficient enough to form a mutual trust between South and North Korean women, gender equality issues will be able to be adopted as a major agenda in the exchanges between South and North Korean women.

Building a mutual trust between women in South and North Korea will start from identifying what are the "needs and demands of North Korean women." At the present stage, the core task in the exchanges between South and North Korean women is setting the agenda for building mutual trust, for which establishment of strategies and practice of specific actions are required.

As for the information on the exchanges between South and North Korean women in 2018 and 2019, there was a joint meeting for solidarity between the South and North Korean Councils for Reconciliation and Cooperation in November 2018, and the meeting between women's circles from both sides on the venue of joint event on Lunar New Year's Day in Geumgang-san mountain in Feb. 2019. In this meeting women from the north emphasized ▲ substantial and meaningful implementation of the contents of joint declaration of summit meeting, ▲ efforts of South Korean women for the lifting of sanctions against North Korea in international community. It was rather a delivery of the position of North Korean representatives to the civic society of South Korea than a demand based on the necessities and understanding of women. In addition, the women representative from the north expressed their agreement on reciprocal exchanges and cooperation between South and North Korean women from various areas such as business, labor, culture, sports etc.

<sup>1)</sup> Kim Jeongsoo, "Peace and Prosperity in the Korean Peninsula, Role of Women", [Women's Peace Symposium] (Host: Korean Women's Development Institute, Korea Institute for National Unification, Jung Choun-sook, a National Assembly member, Network of Women Peacemakers for Reciprocal Exchange between South and North Korean Women), June 8, Source book, p. 7.

### 3. Suggestions for the realization of the peace economy in the Korean Peninsula and gender equality

- ① When the 3<sup>rd</sup> national action plans (2021~2023) of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security are established, "Inter-Korean women's exchange for the realization of gender equality" should be set as one of the goals, and the detailed targets, action plans, establishment of evaluation index, etc. should be implemented at the level of 1325 NAP.
- ② Currently the realm of "relief & recovery" under the 2<sup>nd</sup> 1325 NAP is proceeded centering on the ODA/international development cooperation currently implemented by KOICA.
  - This needs to be expanded to include the development cooperation for North Korean women or the development cooperation for economic empowerment of South and North Korean women.
  - To this end, investigation, study and establishment of strategies are required.
  - Necessity of the allotment of the funds for inter-Korean exchange and cooperation to this field.
- ③ As suggested in the presentation regarding the diversification of the agenda of inter-Korean women's exchange and cooperation (exchange and cooperation in educational dimension: nurture of professional manpower of ICT, gender equality education, etc.), measures to concretize the relationship between North Korea's strategy for economic development, which focuses on ICT, scientific and technological revolution, and the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution, and economic empowerment of North Korean women need to be prepared.
- ④ The peace process in the Korean Peninsula should be achieved together with the formation of the Northeast Asian Peace Regime/the Northeast Asian Multilateral Security System. Since July 1, 2019, economic relations between Korea and Japan have changed from that of cooperation to that of competition/conflict. As Japan removed Korea from the "whitelist of countries" (whitelist of countries mentioned by Japan refer to the allies without security risks in judgment of the Japanese government. They enjoy preferential treatment for exports of Japanese goods in terms of approval procedure, etc. Before Korea was excluded, twenty-seven countries, including Germany, Italy, Netherlands, America, Canada, England, etc. belonged to the whitelist of countries.), Korea and Japan are on the verge of heading for economic war. The economic separation or division of labor between Korea and Japan in the global economy based on the cold war system requires a transition to a new economic structure in the peace process of Korean Peninsula a peace regime in the Northeast Asia. In this context, building of the peace economy between South and North Korea has become more urgent, and in this course lie the tasks of the involvement of gender viewpoints and establishment of a gender-equal peace economy in the Korean Peninsula.



## Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women

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## Peace Economy in the Korean Peninsula and Women

What's most important for the realization of peace economy and gender equality in the Korean Peninsula is not just a matter for women. Therefore, we need a plan centered on the empowerment of the North Korean people in consideration of both genders.

Empowerment of the North Korean people is a process in which various actors in North Korea cultivate the power with which they can change the reality in a direction more beneficial to their lives and create such an environment. This requires a multi-dimensional approach. Notably, goal setting is important in terms of policies. At present, the policy goals for empowering the North Korean people should be the formation of liberal democratic actors in North Korea, improvement in living conditions and human rights of North Koreans, a democratic market system, and growth model for poverty reduction. These goals correspond to the future vision of 'A unified country in the Korean Peninsula that can develop in a sustained way.'

To achieve these goals, a holistic approach should be taken combining micro-level, macro-level and middle-range approaches. The focus is put on micro-actor level, which is connected to the macro-structure and middle-range levels. Specifically, limitations and abstraction of macro policy up to the present should be overcome first, while building on political, economic and social environments and policy experience handled on the macro-level.

Second, emphasis is put on the cultivation of self-respect, confidence and the willingness to change the current conditions of North Koreans so as to establish liberal and democratic actors in the country on the micro-level, with the cognition of actors placed in the center. This is linked to integration policies including the improvement in human rights of North Koreans and affinity between the people of South Korea and North Korea. Third, a connection is made to measures for promoting liberal and democratic systems on the middle-range level.

This is intended to contribute to the development of more practical policies for unification and social integration. In relation to this, unification and integration are recognized as one process linked to 'integration of South and North Korea.' In this process, the attention is paid to leading groups of actors that can accelerate what are most essential — the liberal and democratic changes in North Korea. The three categories of groups of actors to which social conflict and integration theories pay attention are class, generation and region.

Based on the considerations on policy goals and social groups presented above, it is possible to describe the significance of the application of theories and experience related to empowerment theory in North Korea as follows.

First is psychological empowerment. Psychological empowerment is a process in which a member of society develops confidence to handle, even in difficult situations, matters that he/she considers important or tasks assigned to him/her and will of action based on his/her self-respect. Therefore, key elements of psychological empowerment are self-efficacy based on self-respect and confidence of individuals, competence and knowledge. This has especially important implications on measures related to consciousness-raising of North Koreans, including those in middle and lower classes and the Jangmadang generation, as well as promotion of human rights.

Second is structural empowerment. Attention is paid to the impact of the social environment on the actions of individuals, with a focus on the process in which the environment is created and experiences, opportunities and resources are provided to enable empowerment of individual actors. The main elements of structural empowerment are access to opportunities, information, resources, and support, as well as official authority and unofficial authority. They are directly and indirectly linked to policies related to North Korea and support measures. In particular, it has implications on informatization centered on the middle and upper classes as well as young adults and middle-aged people in North Korea, formation of economic elites, growth of critical intellectuals and civil society, etc.

Third is relational empowerment. It takes notice of formal and informal systems in the middle-range level, where macro-level and micro-level meet, established or changed through human relationships in a society. Key elements of relational empowerment include the goal of pursuing significant power, actions for achieving the goal, the impact of actions on the relationship for achieving the goal, etc. From the policy perspective, it is closely related to leadership theory, organization theory, etc. focused on relationships that exercise major influence on the formation or changes of institutional systems. This has a lot of implications for the formation and organization of liberal and democratic actors centered on the elite class, people in the middle and upper classes as well as young adults and middle-aged people who want change in North Korea.

Fourth is authentic leadership, and it is important in terms of maintaining the consideration of empowerment in developing our means of and manuals for establishing relationships with the North Korean people and government. Notably, 'Elements and Behaviors of Authentic Leadership' whose significance has been proven through various experiences can provide the means for building relationships with North Korea in inter-Korean exchange, human rights discussions, and diversified aid programs for the north. It also provides implications for our attitudes and policies on North Korea and unification, aimed at confidence building and improved relationship between South Korea and North Korea. In other words, it can be used as a manual for the implementation of the confidence building process.

Meanwhile, to realize the multi-dimensional empowerment process in which macro-level and micro-level are connected, numerous foreign and domestic experiences and theories related to empowerment can be integrated to draw the following implications for application to North Korea.

First, psychological empowerment of the North Korean people is most important to directly affect collective civic actions that enable social change or innovations. Despite expansion of the theoretical and practical significance of empowerment and its scope of application since the 1970s, all methods of empowerment on the macro-level and middle-range level are based on the self-efficacy, competence, knowledge, etc. of individuals.

Second, an empowerment policy is a process that supports the North Korean people as actors to have self-respect, confidence in problem solving, and will to overcome difficulties. It also provides assistance in the process they develop their inherent competencies and change their values, attitudes and actions amid their relationships with society. Ultimately, it's the process in which individuals empowered in their interactions with the social environment contribute to changing the structural conditions of the groups, organizations, etc. they belong to. Thus, it can be understood as a process of changing the North Korean system based on the understanding and needs of the North Korean people.

Third, in this regard, in designing the plan for developing liberal and democratic actors in North Korea, we need to focus on the psychological level and integrate the structural level in arranging action plans based on relationships. This idea was verified in the process of the evolution of empowerment. As advocates of structural empowerment, who emphasized political and social environments, integrated the elements of psychological empowerment, it developed into relational empowerment in which organizations, leaders, etc. are stressed. At the center of such a development process lie tasks for cognitive innovation, which lead to changes in the actions of individuals.

Fourth, to develop empowerment policies appropriate for the Korean Peninsula or customized for the North Korean people, careful consideration should be made first concerning specific elements that involve the division of regions, classes and generations or mutual conflicts. Our integration policies do not start from zero. We have the history and culture of the Korean Peninsula, current conditions including marketization and informatization, as well as the tradition and changed history of North Korea. Therefore, we need to consider the historical impact, tradition, and culture of North Korean society, as well as actors from mid- to long-term perspective. In designing a detailed plan for collective empowerment to accelerate changes in North Korea, it is necessary to take account of regional factors. Based on regional factors, attention should be paid on class factors in structural terms and generation factors in phenomenal terms.

Fifth, it may be beneficial to set out empowerment as a key concept of our policies toward North Korea. For example, we can consider mainstreaming empowerment in our North Korean policies and those of the global community. Mainstreaming is a process of bringing people, ideas, concepts, etc., which used not to belong to the mainstream, into mainstream. Mainstreaming the concept of empowerment in the unification policies toward North Korea means that we set development of the self-respect, confidence and will of North Korean people as a key component in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all unification policies and programs related to North Korea, including those in political, economic and social fields.

This is also a main element in development aid strategies of the global community for underdeveloped countries at present. By mainstreaming empowerment in policies toward North Korea, it would be possible to prevent unnecessary provocation or repulsion from North Korean people and government while promoting empowerment of the country's people.

It is possible to benchmark the similar case of 'gender mainstreaming' around the world. Gender mainstreaming signifies reflection of gender equality in all areas of public policy. It provides a kind of norm and guideline for policy implementation by the government and all relevant actors based on the analysis of the impact of all policies on the two genders, under the ultimate goal of establishment of a gender-equal society.

