A Comparative Analysis
of Women's Movements in South Africa and South Korea and
their Influence on Democratisation

by

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates women's movements in South Africa and South Korea during their transitions from authoritarian regimes to democratic states, comparing the movement's membership, goals, ideologies and repertoires of action. The study examines the influence of women's movements in the democratisation process and attempts to identify how this manifested.

Despite a growing body of literature of comparative gender politics and women's movements, no other study comparing the South African and South Korean women's movements during the period of democratisation has been identified. The comparative analysis was conducted on data gathered from desktop-based research and utilised a gendered lens to study the women's movements *vis a vis* social movement theory.

The comparison of these movements in countries that are similar in tradition, history and political participation, provides insight into the influence that mobilised women may have in agenda setting, policy creation and nation-building during critical junctures in the journey to democracy. The study also considers the outcomes of mainstreaming gender on substantive democracy and citizenship during transitionary periods.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die vrouebewegings in Suid-Afrika en Suid-Korea tydens die oorgang van outoritêre regimes na demokratiese state en vergelyk die bewegings se lidmaatskap, doelwitte, ideologieë en repertoires van aksie. Die studie ondersoek die invloed van vrouebewegings tydens die demokratiseringsproses en poog om die invloed daarvan te identifiseer en hoe dit sigself uitgespeel het..

Ten spyte van die toenemende literatuur rakende vergelykende genderpolitiek en vrouebewegings, is daar geen ander studies gevind wat die Suid-Afrikaanse en Suid-Koreaanse vrouebewegings gedurende hierdie spesifieke tydperk van demokratisering vergelyk nie. Die analise is uitgevoer op werkskerm gebaseerde navorsing en gebruik gender as 'n lens om vrouebewegings met 'n sosiale bewegingsteorie model te bestudeer.

Die vergelyking van hierdie soort bewegings in nasies wat soortgelyke tradisies, geskiedenis en politieke deelname het bied insig in die invloed van vrouebewegings op agendastelling, beleidskepping en nasiebou tydens belangrike gebeurtenisse in die reis na demokrasie. Die navorsing beskou ook die uitkomste van genderhoofstroming tydens oorgangstydperke op lang-termyn, substantiewe demokrasie en substantiewe burgerskap.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

In a world that predominantly favours democratic forms of government, the successful transition from alternative forms of rule towards democracy has enjoyed great support from the international community. Whilst democracy and the processes of democratisation take on a multitude of different forms depending on local and regional contexts, a myriad of studies have analysed these forms and the role of civic participation. There are certainly fewer studies that focus on the influences of women and women's movements on democratisation, especially when one considers at which point women were able to influence democracy with their votes.

In what Huntington (1993) describes as the Third Wave of Democratisation, a global trend emerged that saw more than 60 countries from 1974 onwards undergoing various forms of democratic transitions, occurring increasingly amongst developing countries. However, when accounting for women' suffrage in the operationalised definition of democracy, (Paxton, 2000: 105) demonstrates that there has been a continuous democratization period between 1893 – 1958. Nonetheless, one still considers elements that contributed to the advance of democratisation in the 1980s and early 1990s that included the culmination of the Cold War, the effects of the Asian economic crisis in South Korea and international sanctions against Apartheid South Africa (Jeong, 2004: 2). The participation of civic organisations and social movements in achieving political change was instrumental, often through the representation and participation of social groups that had previously been marginalised. The ultimate transition to democracy in both South Korea and South Africa was met with high praise from across the world.

One may initially feel perplexed by the comparison of these two countries and assume that there are few shared commonalities; however, in many ways, the Asian and African counterparts share several similarities. This includes commensurate population sizes, comparable democratic systems, similar labour-based markets and traditionally patriarchal societies (Fioramonti & Fiori, 2010; Mattes & Shin, 2005).

The attainment of democratic rule in South Korea was no simple task, but rather a result of decades of political upheaval that alternated between democratic and authoritarian periods of rule (Jeong, 2004: 29). From the declaration of independence, up until the current Sixth Republic, South Korea has borne the brunt of substantial political change in merely a few decades. During the 1980s, the process of ending military rule was aided by the organisation

of women collectives at a grassroots level, despite their exclusion from formal politics (Nam, 2000: 94). The two most prominent Korean women's movements were the Korean National Council of Women (KNCW) and the Korean Women's Associations United (KWAU). The KNCW was established in 1959 by middle-class women to promote equal rights for women and advocate for the abolition of the patriarchal family law system, whereas in 1987 KWAU, stemming from the minjung movement that opposed military rule, developed into a representative body for workers, students, and environmentalists, and defending the inherent connection between women's liberation alongside democratisation (Kim & Kim, 2014: 28).

South Africa too, is acquainted with political disorder and societal upheaval, most notably from the Apartheid-era, where racial segregation and discrimination dominated the political landscape. During the time of stark inequalities, the oppressed mobilised and rose up against a regime that shunned the rights of more than half the population. The collective action of civil society ensured a steady progression towards democratisation and women's mobilisation played a vital role in the struggle for democracy, despite the erasure of their presence from most historical accounts in favour of a male-dominated narrative. In 1913, women of colour launched a passive resistance campaign against pass laws and sexual abuse by police, which escalated into clashes between women and law enforcement and resulted in the formation of a movement (Hassim, 2015: 23). Women's activism as political agents in the southern African region gained traction and women such as Charlotte Maxeke, Mary Fitzgerald and Dr Kesavaloo Goonam emerged as leaders of various women's organisations. On 9 August 1956, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) supported by twenty thousand women marched to the government capital, the Union Buildings in Pretoria, to protest pass laws, a date that is now celebrated annually. In 1991 the non-partisan Women's National Coalition (WNC) became what is arguably the most critical structure for promoting women's interests during the process of democratisation. The WNC was a collective of women that were brought together by shared interests in achieving gender equality but had little else in common as members represented more than 70 different parties and ideological backgrounds (Ginwala & Meintjes, 2012: 2).

Underpinning a significant aspect of this study is the collective action of social movements based on the works of scholars such as Alvarez (1990), Beckwith (2013), McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly (2004), Della Porta & Diani (2006), Tarrow (1989), Tarrow & Tilly (2007), Taylor (1998) and Waylen (2010), which are discussed in chapter 2. The political trend of third wave democratisation across the world stimulated a great deal of academic literature and featured

prominently in comparative politics. Scholars who have conducted gendered analysis noted the paradoxical trend of vibrant women's activism during democratisation paired with an inability to translate pre-transitionary goals into post-transitionary gains (Waylen, 2010: 225).

This study draws from feminist approaches such as Alvarez (1990b, 1999), Baldez (2004, 2010), Beckwith (2000, 2010), and McBride & Mazur (2008), inter alia, who integrate the key terminology, conceptualisation and variables of gender politics and political science. Gendered analysis is mainstreamed and considered as a valid theoretical approach in explaining political phenomena. Baldez (2010: 203) suggests the mainstreaming of gender into political studies by broadening the narrow definition of democratisation, integrate gender through more research, shifting limitations and frameworks. Beckwith (2010: 164) posits that political research would benefit in several ways if research moved towards comparative frameworks, away from single-nation analyses of women and politics. This may include prompting scholars to maintain humility when making generalisations for research that does not explicitly include gender or an improved ability to analyse personal and political ambitions in specific political systems.

In both South Africa and South Korea, we see that women elected to establish representative bodies were driven not only by economic pursuits but also to address gendered issues within their respective social structures and customs. Della Porta & Diani's (2006: 21) statement that the needs and desires may drive activism through movements from the values and norms attached to a specific culture, highlights the need to explore these movements and their underlying motivations. Through understanding cultural nuances that may inspire movements and civic activism, we can subsequently determine if and how women's movements influenced democratisation.

Sources demonstrate that both South Korean and South African societies utilise a guiding set of principles based on religious doctrine that has permeated the private and public sectors - influencing family structures, business conduct, and legislative practices. Korean traditions largely stem from the Confucian belief system (Kirk & International Herald Tribune, 2000; Koo, 2016; Park, 1993; Song, 1979), while a Christian-based belief system dominates South African society (Schoeman, 2017). From within these traditions emerged the shared attribute of strongly patriarchal societies that subjected women (Malherbe, Kleijwegt & Koen, 2000) and largely restricted them to fulfil the archetypal roles of housewives, mothers and caregivers (Koh, 2008: 346) in what Pateman (1989) describes as the private sphere of society. This is true of both culturally homogenous Korea and diverse South Africa.

Deeply patriarchal family structures, exclusion from economic opportunities and weak representation of women in politics have resulted in the ignorance of women's needs (Johansen, 2011:1). According to Nam (2000:96) the establishment of women's organisations, particularly in the 1980s, was catalysed by the increased participation of women in paid work, subsequent experiences of discrimination in the workplace and a growing awareness of women's struggles across different social classes. For black South African women, there exists the additional burden of historical oppression and severe economic inequalities (Hassim, 2006a) where they have been unable to robustly participate in the formal economy or politics. This may be due to exclusion, lack of education, or unequal distribution of household and care work. A combination of these factors may have resulted in the formation of various women's organisations throughout history. The role and influence of these movements are investigated throughout this study.

Gender-based violence is another commonly shared feature between the two countries. In South Korea, violence against women has been described as an epidemic with statistics showing (OECD, 2018) that a woman is killed by a current or ex-partner every three days. In the latest report of crime against women from Statistics South Africa (Maluleke, 2018) evidence indicated that the murder rate for women in South Africa increased by 117% between 2015 and 2017, and demonstrated that an estimated 40% of South African women will experience rape in their lifetime, whilst only one in four rapes will be reported.

In addition to democratic and cultural aspects, one can also compare the similarities between the two economies and examine how economic policies had a domestic impact on the mobilisation of social movements. In the 1980s, the South African and South Korean economic development and savings rates were relatively similar (Chung & Das Gupta, 2007) and both countries are considered to be late-late-industrialising countries (Kim, 2014b: 24) referring to the fact that industrial development and modernisation occurred later than compared to other international competitors. However, their paths diverged later on as South Korea developed successful macro-economic export policies (Seguino, 1997: 106) and South Africa continued to struggle under international sanctions that were only entirely repealed by 1993.

Yet, if we look at the economic policies exercised prior to democratisation and also during, one sees a common thread that likely served as motivation for the mobilisation of civil society. Arrighi and Silver (1999 in Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 10) explain that:

systemic failure to meet the expectations of the working class from developing countries will fuel a new wave of sustained class conflicts, that will also reflect the growing feminization of the labour force and its stronger ethnic dimensions, following mass migration dynamics.

In both cases this systemic failure of the government to meet the needs of their working-class populace resulted in the mobilisation of civil society in the form of mass protests, with strong labour union support. This paper will demonstrate that feminisation of the labour force took place in both South Africa and South Korea, and further argues that women's movements played a significant role in organising workers, defending their interests and influencing policies that affected equality in the workplace (Goetz & Hassim, 2003: 49; Seguino, 1997: 105).

One is justified in believing that these Asian and African countries are vastly different, as is evident in the differences in their geographical size, the dimensions of their economies, the varying nature of their political systems and their cultural practices. In contrast to the generally homogenous South Korean society, South Africa encompasses a plethora of local cultures, ethnicities and languages.

However, it is clear that there are striking resemblances between these countries' political histories, patriarchal societies and economic development as well as the women's movements that emerged from this foundation. As the transition to democracy became turbulent, and the subjugation of minority groups exacerbated, organisations and movements mobilised to take action. The role of women's movements in the chosen case studies will be examined in detail, focusing on the role of women, the nature of their involvement and the consequences of their influence.

1.2.   Problem Statement and Aim of the study

It is the aim of this study to offer a feminist analytical framework that analyses the relationship between women's movements and the state during a democratisation period, as well as the influence that women's movements have on this relationship and subsequent democratic outcomes in South Africa and South Korea. By utilising a feminist approach, the project aims to broaden the interpretations of political science theory to include a gendered approach and consequently assist in forming feminist research methodology as part of mainstream research studies. This comparative study is conducted based on a most-similar systems design, as described by Przeworski & Teune (1970: 32).

The many similarities between South Africa and South Korea have been highlighted in various comparative studies which have investigated themes such as similar leadership styles (Jeong, 2004), corporatist institutions (Kim, 2014b), the viability of strategic partnerships (Shelton, 2009) and so forth. In the arena of gender studies, scholars have explored issues such as gender wage disparities (Van der Meulen Rodgers, in press; Seguino, 1997), unequal representation (Ruiters, 2008) and women's movements (Fallon, 2010; Hassim, 2002, 2004a; Hur, 2011; Maddison & Jung, 2008).

According to Bereni (2016: 463) the study of women's movements gained traction in the form of comparative studies during the 1990s, where it became increasingly structured, and theoretical debates between scholars laid a solid foundation for further research in the field. Despite the abundance of comparative studies on South Africa and South Korea, and on women's movements, to the best of my knowledge, there have been no studies conducted that directly compare South African and South Korean women's movements. I have not identified studies that interrogate and compare the influence of women's movements on South African and South Korean democratisation.

Therefore, the main research question that this study attempts to answer is;

did women's movements influence the democratisation of the South African and South Korean states, and how did it manifest?

This study investigates what circumstances led to the formation and mobilisation of women's movements, the pre-eminent women's movements during democratisation, their effect on society, and the relationship of women's movements with the state and other civil society organisations. Furthermore, I will compare the South African and South Korean women's movements, highlighting any similarities and differences that are identified during the course of the research that has been conducted.

1.2.1. *Caveats in Social Movement Studies*

At this point, I would like to highlight several caveats to the study. First, I would like to recognise that the theories and concepts used in this study were initially developed from, and applied to a Western status quo, and cannot be applied to African and Asian case studies without context. Therefore, theoretical flexibility and concept modifications have been included as precautions to ensure that the unique cultural nuances of South Africa and South Korea would be observed and highlighted in this study.

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Second, as this research is conducted from a feminist perspective, one acknowledges that research, particularly qualitative, cannot be altogether objective; however, there are ways in which to mitigate the extent of this. In feminist research, it is argued that knowledge is influenced by cultural constructions and that the world is socially constructed; hence, there can be no value-free research (Sarantakos, 2005: 54). One would further explain this through considering feminist standpoint theory as discussed by Harding (1987, 2004), which suggests that certain groups of scholars are better equipped to understand certain aspects of a study through their own experiences. The following three principal claims are associated with feminist standpoint theory: 1) knowledge is situated socially; 2) those in marginalised or unprivileged social positions are more likely to generate less distorted perspectives than the non-marginalised and; 3) research that contains or is focused on power relations, should begin with the accounts of the marginalised group.

Building a feminist or women's movement epistemology then would be best served by drawing directly from women's experiences as a point of departure. Harding describes standpoint theories as mapping "how social and political disadvantage can be turned into an epistemic, scientific and political advantage." (Fester, 2015: 131).

I have unique insights into the study as a South African and as a woman, and I acknowledge that my beliefs inform my perspective and may affect the objectivity of the study. For this reason, critical engagement must take place not only with the subjects of the study but also with the values of the researcher. Harding (1987: 9) refers to this approach of conceding to biases as the "reflexivity of social science" and argues that this contributes to the strength of feminist research. Through acknowledging my own biases and privileges, I am able to critically engage with my work and produce research of higher quality. Within this study, subjectivity has been partially mitigated by utilising both quantitative and qualitative data sources that are valid and reliable, as well as verifying all arguments that are made with additional data sources and research.

1.3. Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to not only investigate the influence of women's movements on democratisation in South Africa and South Korea but also to highlight the circumstances that contributed to the formation of these movements. The research in unique in its selection of comparing South Africa and South Korea, but more so because of the feature of women's movements during democratisation – a niche field that has not been compared to the best of

my knowledge. The research has been undertaken to conduct investigations into a social phenomenon related to women, and provide explanations to questions asked by women, opposed to traditional academic inquiries conducted from a traditionally male perspective.

1.4. Research Design and Methodology

1.4.1. Methodology

This project will take the form of a comparative study with a two-pronged macro-level approach - the first level a comparison of two countries and the second, an analysis of women's movements as case studies. Comparative designs are viewed by (Burnham, Lutz, Grant & Layton-Henry, 2004: 66) as one of the most important research designs within the field of political science because of its usefulness in highlighting similarities, ability to identify generalisations and enhancement of other aspects within social sciences.

It is also qualitative in nature, drawing primarily from secondary sources, including peer-reviewed articles, academic books and journals, newspaper articles and various other sources accessible via online materials - a suitable approach for a study of complex situations and relationships over extended periods (Babbie & Mouton, 1998: 271). The qualitative comparative approach has been selected to facilitate a well-rounded investigation that enables researchers to highlight and describe in sufficient detail the complex natures of the selected case studies. Ritchie & Lewis (2003: 5) acknowledge that in qualitative studies, attention is given to a broader context in which the dynamics of a study takes place. However, to strengthen and substantiate specific arguments, certain quantitative sources, have been included throughout the study. Every effort has been made to ensure that the sources used in this study are of a high degree of reliability and validity. There will be no form of data based on fieldwork or questionnaires undertaken by the researcher.

It is worth noting the differentiation between the comparative method and case study approach and to highlight that this project will follow a comparative method, as described initially by Lijphart (1971). This method allows systematic analysis of a small number of cases. Collier (1993: 105) states that the type of political phenomena that is to be studied influences the decision of how many cases to analyse in a comparative method. For revolutions and specific national political regimes, he argues that it is more productive to scrutinise a smaller number of countries over a long period of time, what several authors would describe as "comparative historical analysis".

The research is conducted from a feminist perspective, where qualitative research methods are frequently applied because it allows for several feminist theories (such as standpoint theory and reflexivity) to be utilised in such a way that it will significantly contribute to the increased quality of a study (Harding, 2004). Qualitative methods have defined limits that grant researchers the ability to study experiences and emotions, and subsequently transform that into stimulating literature. However, Beckwith (2010) reminds us that conceptualization and measurement are fundamental tenets of comparative studies, which are often neglected by qualitative scholars because of the possibility of spending an inordinate amount of effort on debating the 'true' meaning of a term such as 'democracy' or 'women's movement', only to neglect the description and analysis aspect. Beckwith encourages comparative politics scholars and gender scholars to substantively define and operationalise their selected concepts consistently throughout their research.

As per the majority of feminist studies, the level of analysis in this study will not be state-centric but rather focused on women's movements as political actors (Burnham et al., 2004). However, similar to Špehar (2007: 44) the research will work from a macro-perspective, moving inwards, by first looking at the relevant states, political alignments, policies and subsequent patterns of collective action. This study will investigate the unit of analysis - women's movements - and their relationship with the state as well as other political actors.

1.4.2. Limitations

The qualitative nature of the research has eliminated several limitations that would have been present in more empirical research. A primary concern is that of ensuring the reliability and validity of data sources used in this research, as well as ensuring its applicability to both case countries. As argued above, several studies have demonstrated the efficacy of the comparative method in studying certain political phenomena and systematic analysis of a small number of cases, however, it also poses several challenges. The "comparative historical analysis" poses the problem of having weakened capacity in sorting out rival explanations. This may be mitigated by increasing the number of cases, focusing on similar cases or reducing the number of variables. For this study, I have elected to mitigate this particular weakness of the method by choosing two demonstrably similar cases and limiting the number of variables to study. For other authors such as Kim (2014: 22) comparative analyses pose the challenge of analysing many different cases of context that could lead to difficulty in harmonizing explanations that are contradictory to one another.

It is broadly accepted that the patriarchal nature of academic research has resulted in an insufficient representation of women as researchers, and as research subjects, limiting the amount of available literature that focuses on women's movements as a unit of analysis. In addition to this, the vast majority of literature and theoretical frameworks are based on westernised cases and methodologies. Although this concern was addressed in point 2 above, I would like to elaborate and explain that great effort was taken to ensure that the sources in this project did not primarily stem from, or were based on, Western mainstream literature. Many of the referenced authors in this study are either feminist scholars and of South African and South Korean descent. Several of the articles observe non-mainstream case studies, such as women's movements in Latin America. The western-based frameworks utilised in this research was done so with the intention and amended to accommodate the nuances of the Asian and African case studies.

Additional limitations include the predisposed biases of the author, as discussed in point 1.2., which are noted and addressed. One may also have the assumption that access to resources regarding the South Korean case study would be limited due to language restrictions; however, I have found that that was not the case, and sufficient evidence had been obtained in English to support the research in this project.

1.5. <u>Content Design</u>

Constructive critique of key concepts and identifying analytical gaps in existing social science literature is central to feminist scholarship. The varying conceptualisations of key concepts in political studies and their surrounding debates by scholars will be discussed at greater length in the theoretical framework (chapter 2) to provide nuance. In this particular project, there are several key concepts and actors pertaining to the subject matter that may be understood differently depending on one's own experiences and perspective. However, to ensure that the meaning of these concepts is plainly understood and that the reader may understand its definition in this specific context, it is necessary to conceptualise and operationalise these concepts.

Democratisation

The conceptualisation of democracy and democratisation is severely contested in the academic space due to varying frameworks, features and models. Dufek & Holzer (2013: 117) argue that the empirical and normative approaches to democracy employ the same concept to capture differing ideals. Paxton (2008) provides several guidelines as to how democracy may be

understood and points out that attention to definition and measurement is of vital importance. In the literature review, we will look more closely at the debates surrounding the conceptualisation of democracy. For this project, we will utilise the following definitions;

Democracy - a popularised set of political institutions and practices, a system of social and economic order, whereby individuals collectively participate in making collective and binding decisions

Democratisation – the transitionary process of political transformation from a nondemocratic regime towards a full or consolidated democratic regime. It is not within the scope of this project to contest the various definitions and frameworks of democracy, but rather to apply an appropriate, gendered theory to the case studies within this project.

Women's movement - Similarly to "democracy", the term "women's movement" has neither a general definition nor a standardised methodology in empirical research. Beckwith (2000: 437) believes that the literature has thus far been unable to produce a definition appropriate for comparative political purposes, resulting in a significant conceptual gap. She attributes this to the rapid expansion of international scholarship concerning comparative women's movement studies that resulted in a variety of competing definitions that have yet to be thoroughly debated and reduced. Additionally, the conflation of concepts such as women's "-movements", "-organisations", or "-groups" has contributed to a lack of conceptual clarity.

Furthermore, Beckwith (2000:436) warns against the impulse of identifying any women's activism as part of a women's movement, or as inherently feminist. The habit of converging women's activism, women's movements and feminism have made it unnecessarily arduous to disentangle gendered interests from class and racial interests and to assess organisational intersectionality subsequently.

McBride & Mazur (2008:226) contend that on a foundational level, a women's movement is "collective action by women organised explicitly as women presenting claims in public life, based in gendered identities as women". However, on a more sophisticated level, one might also consider additional characteristics shared by women's movements such as actors and discourses surrounding ideas, goals and claims. McBride & Mazur also point out that conventional wisdom that assumes women's movements as a subtype of social movements deserves additional interrogation, because of the limited utility in using social movement theory as a methodological lens for studying women's movements. In chapter 2, I investigate the body of literature social movements (Buechler, 1995; McCarthy & Zald, 1977;

Staggenborg, 1998) surrounding and how these theories form part of the study of women's movements, and assist in distinguishing women's movements from other civil society groups.

Beckwith's (2000: 437) definition of a women's movement has been adopted for this project, for its comprehensive utility in comparative studies:

> … a subset of socio-political movements…characterised by the primacy of women's gendered experiences, women's issues and women's leadership and decision making, the relationship of women to these movements are direct and immediate; movement definition, issue articulation and issue resolution are specific to women, develop and organised by them with reference to their gender identity.

I wish to highlight that the women's movements examined in this project will not be conflated with feminist movements, associated with feminist ideology or assumed to be inherently feminist, unless explicitly stated otherwise. This includes in cases where a movement has substantive elements of challenging patriarchal standards, asserting women's rights and critique against gender inequality. One may note, however, that women's movements may transform into, or generate adjunct feminist movements (Alvarez, 1990b).

Additionally, the concepts of "women's movement" and "women's organisation" are not used interchangeably in this thesis. "Movement" implies the mobilisation of a large group of people based on a shared ideological stance and will to enact sweeping societal change, generally requiring leaders, not managers. An "organisation" implies the inclusion of formal structures and policies, as well as access to resources and may prioritise strategy in line with regulatory compliance and oversight, hierarchically executing decisions.

1.6. Thesis structure

Chapter 1 introduces the topic at hand by discussing the two case studies and subsequently contextualising the problem statement. Additionally, this chapter includes the research question, purpose and methodology, as well as a section on terminology.

In Chapter 2, the reader is presented with the literature review and the theoretical framework that discusses the representation of women in research studies regarding comparative politics as well as social movements. This section reviews significant literary contributions by scholars in the relevant field discusses the value of their contributions and looks at controversies that exist within the academic scope of this project.

Chapter 3 introduces us to and comprehensively investigates the first case study - South Africa. The chapter considers the historical and cultural contexts of South Africa within which women operated, from patriarchal customs to the Apartheid era human rights abuses. In particular, the chapter discusses the formation of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) in line with the national liberation movement and the creation of the Women's Charter.

Chapter 4 discusses the case of South Korea, in a similar structure to that of Chapter 3. The chapter discusses Confucian traditions, Korean dynasties and civil conflicts, and the taboo subject of "comfort women". Focusing on women's civic engagement, the chapter investigates the role of women in labour unions and social movements throughout rapid industrialisation, economic growth and democratisation. Primary consideration is given to two major South Korean women's movements, the Korean National Council of Women and the Korean Women's Associations United.

In Chapter 5 the theoretical concepts are applied to the case studies, and comparison of the two countries is conducted based on three overarching categories including: cultural influences; nature of the women's movements and; post-democratic gains and losses. The major similarities and differences of the two countries are identified and discussed in this chapter.

The final chapter serves as the conclusion to this thesis, where the research and analyses are reviewed while bearing in mind the initial aims and objectives of the project. Based on the findings, this chapter summarises the contributions of this project and draws certain conclusions. Furthermore, it also provides several recommendations for future research in the field.

1.7. Conclusion

It is my hope that the findings of this project may contribute to the mainstreaming of feminist methodology in comparative political studies and also highlight the often-overlooked contributions of women in important democratic milestones. Further, it has also been an interesting challenge to compare two countries that seem so different on the surface and to find that in reality, there are many shared qualities between South Africa and South Korea. The study will clearly demonstrate the differences in tradition, religion, economic growth and cultural make-up of the case studies, but it will also show the shared characteristics of dynamic civic engagements, the collective mobilisation of women for the promotion of women's issues, and tenuous relationships between women's movements and other democratic actors such as the state and other civil society organisations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

When researching women's movements online, it is rather interesting to see how search engines will associate the topic with one or both of the following themes – feminism and the women's suffragette movement. It's interesting because which appears on the search engine result pages is what informs the opinion of society, as this may be the only exposure many have to women's movements. One could be forgiven for thinking that women's movements are inherently feminist, American and fairly recently developed because that is the portrayal that mainstream literature provides. In reality, women's movements are diverse and complex and have been present throughout history during many critical junctures across the world. They are unique in ideological standpoints, membership demographics and gender-specific interests.

The study of women's movements is far more interesting than the first page of a search engine results page about them. Whilst the concept is not new, the field of study dedicated to these movements and the analysis thereof is a more recent development in the field of political science. The study of women's movements stems from the more generalised field of social movement theory and the literature has demonstrated strong ties between social movement theory and democratic studies. Beckwith (2000: 431) writes that the study of women and politics had advanced exponentially in the last thirty years of the twentieth century, continually adapting to include studies on women's political engagement and discursive mobilisation in struggles.

The rapid expansion of gender studies led to several misconceptions and lack of clarity surrounding key concepts. Harding (1987) discusses the lack of clarity between methods, methodology and epistemology and how this contributed to the difficulty in identifying a feminist method of inquiry, while Taylor (1998) identified five features of central to feminist methodology. Beckwith (2000: 436) also raises the issue of lack of clarity in feminist methodology and elaborates on the problems this creates in academia, discussed in further detail below. Achieving conceptual clarity has proven challenging in a field where intersectionality is recognised and included – from race, class, and religion to geographical locations. Authors adapted frameworks created for Western regimes to accommodate cases studies in developing countries.

There are many authors, including Alvarez (1990), Baldez (2003), Mohanty, Russo & Torres (1991) and Sekhon (1999) that have expanded women's movement literature to include studies

on "third world women" in developing nations such as Brazil, Chile and India. They have contributed to the foundation of knowledge on women's movements and enhanced theoretical frameworks to better understand gender as an analytical category and conduct nuanced studies that recognise intersectional terms (Beckwith, 2000: 434). In South African and South Korean studies related to social movements, authors such as (Fester, 2015; Freedman, 2006; Gouws, 1999; Hassim, 2002, 2004b; Lee & Lee, 2013; Moon, 2002b; Suh & Park, 1979; Tshoaedi, 2012a) are prominent contributors. The majority of the authors listed above have been contributing to the field in one way or another for several decades, steadily working towards mainstreaming gender studies in political science.

Margolis (1993: 380) theorised that women's movements are global and share the inherent characteristics of wanting to enact transformation and reformulate societal norms, but highlighted that their common concerns did not diminish each movement's complex political, economic and cultural differences – hence why most studies by 1993 were single nation accounts. In 2000, Beckwith published "Beyond compare? Women's movements in comparative perspective" and by 2010, fourteen scholars had contributed to a symposium on comparative politics of gender. Scholars had moved toward creating frameworks that could be applied to movements without removing the gendered aspects that played such critical roles in understanding the establishment and influence of the movements. Several studies veered towards creating scholarship on movements and their influence on democracies (Harding, 1987; Moon, 2003; Ray & Korteweg, 1999; Waylen, 1993).

This study contributes to the comparative politics of gender, the comparison of women's movements and the study of how movements influence democracies and democratisation in non-Western regimes.

This chapter systematically explores and analyse the body of literature in the fields of democracy, social movements and women's movements – particularly those sources pertinent to the selected case studies in this project. The purpose of this chapter is to identify relevant authors, analyse their perspectives and methods, and determine what they had hoped to find with their research – to understand if this research is valuable. This chapter also looks into contradictory research, allowing me to identify flaws or biases, make suggestions, and also position my research within the field.

A broad range of texts has been collected to conduct a comprehensive investigation with each text and its author evaluated against several criteria, including provenance, the suitability of

techniques and methodology used, author credibility, perspective and objectivity, aa well as the contributions the author has made to the academic field. Considering that the project is desktop-based, the vast majority of the literature stems from secondary and tertiary sources including online news media, peer-reviewed academic articles, conference transcripts, and so forth.

2.2. Methodologies

2.2.1. *Studying women's movements comparatively*

Comparative studies has been used to answer questions such as why authoritarian states democratise, can citizens hold governments accountable through elections and court systems and investigates the conditions under which civil wars and revolutions occur? Sabetti (2007: 341) writes that comparative political studies had grown to become a data-rich research field with a heavy focus on democracies in Northern America and Western Europe, and praised Almond & Verba's *Civic Culture* (1963) as a ground-breaking study in "explaining democratic outcomes with cultural variables". Sabetti admitted, however, that the field did not fare well post-publication of the *Civic Culture* until the printing of *Making Democracy Work* (Putnam, 1993), which "expanded traditional understanding of the impact of culture on politics and unleashed social capital research into its current widespread…development."

Traditionally, comparative scientists have equated the definition of democracy with political stability or used the term synonymously with government performance, maintaining a state-centric analysis (Sabetti, 2007: 348). The shift away from national and state-centric conceptions was first noted with De Tocqueville (1856) who reframed his understanding of democracy to include self-governance processes, focusing on local democracies such as town councils, artisanal guilds and fraternities. Sabetti (2007: 350) posits that the state-centric conceptions of democracy are too narrow to comprehensively analyse the linkages between civic culture and democracy, arguing that the state is not capable of solving all societal problems and that by reconsidering the concept of democracy, one is able to identify complex mechanisms at play in comparative analyses. Sabetti (2007: 352) also considers the changing conceptualisation of civic culture, critiquing Almond & Verba's conceptualisation as definitional, not relational and omitting the unique processes that develop and inform the context of communities. The ideal method to study civic culture is not through a universalist lens, but by considering local contexts.

On the theme of ideal methods, conceptualisation and lenses, one must ask – how does one insert gender into mainstream political studies and conceptualisations? Goertz & Mazur's (2008) collaborative book on "Politics, Gender and Concepts" made significant contributions to the broadening of traditional concepts to include a gendered perspective. The contributing authors (Goertz & Mazur, 2008; McBride & Mazur, 2008; Paxton, 2008; Waylen, 2008; Weldon, 2008) each address a different aspect of gender in political theory, from gendering traditional concepts to explaining gender-specific concepts. They argue that by introducing gender as a complex concept into concept analysis, it will bring out hidden biases in standard conceptualisations (Mazur & Goertz, 2008: 7).

However, several scholars reject the approach of "add women and stir" to inserting gender in traditional analysis as it negates other, arguably better forms of integration and creates the perception of gender as an added afterthought. Paxton's (2008) gendering of democracy demonstrated how it is no small feat to just add gender to a concept by her example of recategorizing democracies through a gendered lens which ends of changing regime classifications significantly. Harding (1987: 5) also warns against the folly of trying to solve androcentrism by simply adding women to the analyses. For instance, by examining women's contributions in the public sphere as voters, revolutionaries, politicians or leaders, one expands one's understanding of women's roles in public life. This still focuses solely on androcentric standards by creating the false impression that only these roles in which men have participated and found worthy of study are the roles that shape social life. This narrow approach diverts away from interrogating the meaning and motivations of women's contributions to shaping economies and institutions.

Beyond concepts, how may scholars develop theoretical frameworks to the extent where gender seamlessly blends into analyses? Multiple authors (Baldez, 2010; Beckwith, 2000, 2010; Bereni, 2016; Caraway, 2010; Tripp, 2010; Waylen, 2010) have contributed to this sub-field, most notably in a 2010 symposium on a "Comparative Politics of Gender" that was based on a conference entitled "Towards a Comparative Politics of Gender: Advancing the Discipline along Interdisciplinary Boundaries". Beckwith (2010: 160) writes that "a comparative politics of gender would take seriously the extent to which gender is a major and primary constitutive element of political power", highlighting the necessity of gender as a meta-concept that comparative scholars should equip in their studies. She problematises the fact that gender cannot be used a meta-concept when the conceptualisation of gender is still unclear and based in the conventional understanding of "socially constructed meanings of masculinities and

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femininities" that come from stereotypical behaviours. Therefore, there are several definitions of gender, dependent on its contextual use. Gender is used as a categorical concept or as a process. It can be considered as the outcome of human agency, may be used to construct political outcomes, can explain how supposedly gender-neutral institutions work differently on men and women, and so forth, functioning as meta-concept with context-specific meanings (Beckwith, 2010: 161). Gender is socially constructed with various meaning dependent on time and space and is present at both the individual and institutional level – characteristics that, according to Beckwith, make gender a useful tool in comparative politics, which in itself studies and compares various contexts.

One example may be a comparative politics of gender. Baldez (2010), Tripp (2010) and Waylen (2010) discuss consider this question and others and subsequently investigate how a comparative politics of gender (CPG) might be framed, utilised or even limited. Tripp (2010: 192) defines CPG as an approach to political processes and institutions that considers gender as an integral facet, and states that contemporary scholars focus less on the differences between men and women as political actors, and more on understanding the intricate engagement between "masculinities and femininities" with "organisations, institutions and processes". By placing gender as a central concept in research, scholars may expand and enrich their ongoing research projects, but should also be encouraged to review previous analyses and revise conclusions that have previously been made (Beckwith, 2010: 164). Beckwith further suggested that CPG would encourage a shift from single-nation analyses to a comparative framework, and possibly change the western hegemony in political science to include contributions from elsewhere, a field that scholars (Mohanty *et al.*, 1991; Ray & Korteweg, 1999; Sanchez, 1993) had already begun to develop years prior to the CPG Symposium.

One will find that comparative approaches in research are very common to the discipline of political science for its broad perspective of political phenomena which allows an escape from ethnocentrism and assumptions of generalised behaviours. It is useful in comparing political elites, women in politics, revolutionary movements, democracies and new democracies (Mahler, 2013: 7). This utility can only be improved with a gendered lens.

2.3. Citizenship, Democracy and Democratisation

As mentioned in chapter 1, the mid-1970s played witness to what Huntington (1993) called the Third Wave of Democracy – a period of democratisation across Latin America, Southeast Asia and Southern Africa that inspired a significant expansion of academic literature on the topic

(Waylen, 2010:224). The problem the rapidly expanding field of study was the inherent lack of a gendered perspective, which frequently overlooked substantial contributions made by women in dismantling authoritarian regimes. Utilising the Social Science Citation Index and including political science journals dating from 1990, Baldez (2010:199) identified the most frequently cited democratisation articles and established that not a single one of the articles contained, nor referenced any work on women or gender. The erasure of women from critical junctures in history, although not surprising, prompted the scholars to forge a body of literature that includes both democracy and gender. Of course, this does not suggest that every case of democratisation included some form of women's organisation and would be unsuccessful without that aspect. Rather, one would suggest that the overwhelming majority of democratic transitions were aided by the contributions of women.

Waylen (1993: 575) states that the focus of top-down, agency-led approaches on military action and political elites, combined with a narrow definition of democracy and ignorance of gender relations is not a useful tool in studying gender and democratisation. The class-based, structure-led approach which focuses on the role of the middle-class and civil society is largely ungendered and shows some utility in analysing women's movements and democratisation. The third body of literature utilises a bottom-up approach that emphasizes the activities and role of social movements in reconstituted democracies. It discusses whether social movements began to emerge prior to democratisation and not as a result thereof. Waylen suggests that the main body of literature is ungendered, and that there may be marginalised sections where women are discussed, limiting the understanding of these concepts.

The very definition and measurement of democratisation is flawed, particularly when one looks at it from a gendered perspective as Paxton (2008: 47) has done. She notes that the fundamental problem lies not necessarily in the principle of gendering democracy but the practice thereof. She argues that conceptualisations that fail to include and acknowledge women as political participants affect the measurement of democracy in terms of describing emerging democracies, estimating the age or regional prevalence thereof, and the basic understanding of what causes democratisation. Waylen (1994) also supports this notion, stating that by creating a framework of analysis that analyses the relationship between gender and democracy and including the actions and impact of certain groups, the study comparative politics can be improved. Another likely impact of gendered analysis would be the reconsideration of what scholars previously accepted as fact, for instance, if participation and citizenship were gendered, then Switzerland, regarded as a longstanding democracy, would only be

acknowledged as a democratic regime from 1971, when women were granted suffrage (Paxton, 2008: 61).

Paxton (2008: 51) emphasizes the point of participation and how many traditional definitions of democracy frequently refer to how true democracy is based on the freedom of its citizens to actively participate and express their preferences through establishing organized groups, meaningful competition and an inclusive degree of political participation (Dahl, 1971; Diamond, Linz & Lipset, 1988) – a definition that (Waylen, 1994: 332) has critiqued as decidedly narrow with regards to acknowledging societal power relations and the inclusion of social and economic equality as well as political. Many scholars (Dietz, 1998; Dillabough & Arnot, 2000; Gouws, 2004, 2005a; Hassim, 1999; Jones, 1994; Phillips, 1991; Walker, 1990; Werbner & Yuval-Davis, 1999) have contributed to the body of literature relating to participation in democracy through citizenship and the intersection with gender.

Citizenship is a key component of participation and democracy and within feminist discourse, it is contested for its gendered nature. Feminist discourse is concerned with the complicated relationship between women and citizenship and object to the false universalism of the term as it assumes citizens as ungendered, abstract, disembodies individuals (Lister, 1997: 70). As Gouws (2005b: 3) queries; how can women be embodied citizens when they have the right to vote but have no access to water, electricity and housing? If women do not have equal access to rights and opportunities, then they have only formal equality and not substantive equality. There various informal or formal political systems through which citizens are able to express their demands for equality, substantive or otherwise, but the one most pertinent to this study is that of social movements.

2.4. Social Movements Theories for the study of Women's Movements

The foundation of this section has strongly been influenced by the works of Della Porta & Diani (2006), Tarrow (2011) and Tarrow & Tilly (2007), who have received positive reviews from scholarly peers for the sophistication and insight that they have exhibited. One critique to Della Porta & Diani (2006) specifically, but which I might argue is applicable to Tarrow as well, is the focus placed on experiences of developed countries which is often used as support for arguments that would have benefited from more specialised frameworks. In the field of social movements, one would also consider the works of Buechler (1995), Grey (2002), McAdam, McCarthy & Zald (1996), McCarthy & Zald (1977), Snow, Soule & Kriesie (2004), Suh (2011) and Taylor (1998), among others.

2.4.1. Repertoires of contention

Repertoires of action, also referred to as tactical repertoires (Grey & Sawer, 2008; Viterna & Fallon, 2008) or repertoires of contention (Basu, 2010; Beckwith, 2000; Biggs, 2013; Tarrow, 2011; Tarrow & Tilly, 2007) was introduced as a means to identify the subset of tactics that people employed to make claims against opposition. Tilly (1992) formally defined it as "the ways that people act together in pursuit of shared interests". Tarrow (2011: 39) further describes it as what people do when engaged in conflict with other, but also "what they know how to and what others expect them to do" and also notes that repertoires may change depending on a variety of factors (see below).

According to Biggs (2013: 408), gatherings tend to have limited repertoires within any given social space, which evolves over time through repetition, invention and innovation. Knowledge of different tactics is accumulated over time and may inspire action – particularly if it was deemed successful in another milieu, although knowing about a tactic and its success is not always enough reason to employ it in one's own movement. There must first be a degree to which participants consider the method suitable to their specific circumstances and also whether it is aligned with the movement's ideology and goals. Insofar the movement is not achieving its goals, repertoires will expand to include new tactics of contention that will be repeated on multiple occasions if found effective. In sustained periods of contention where movements exist over several years or decades, its repertoire of actions will naturally change, even when it has proven to be successful, but leadership and membership changes, memories fade and participants join and leave, or pass away. An example of repertoires may collective action protest, suicide protests, marches, vigils, boycotts, petitions, riots and with technological advance, one may also consider contemporary actions such as hacktivism, social media campaigns (hashtag's), distribution of art and certain types of music,

It is natural for social movements to evolve over time as their interaction and goals change, therefore their strategic choice will also change. One of the tools that movements use to forward their demands is that of protest. The concept of the protest cycle (Tarrow, 1989 in Mazur, McBride & Hoard, 2016) or "cycles of contention" (Tarrow, 2011: 199) is hailed as a useful tool in analysing the evolution of collective action over extended periods of time (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 188). Tarrow (1989: 14–15) stated that protests from a cycle when it's "diffused to several sectors of the population, is highly organized, and is widely used as the instrument to put forward demands". Although protest cycles may vary in duration and dimension, Tarrow

(2011:199) later describes shared characteristics of protest cycles in recent history which coincide with:

> … a phase of heightened conflict across the social system including: a rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilized to less mobilized sectors; a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed, the creation of a new or transformed collection action frames; a combination of organized and unorganized participation, and; sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities.

Changing political conditions would prompt action from "early risers" who would take advantage of political opportunities for activism, and if their collective action proved to be viable and successful, it would effectively encourage other groups to protest as well, as they have demonstrated both the vulnerabilities and capabilities of the elite (McAdam *et al.*, 2004). "Easy riders" refers to the movements that develop later and take advantage of the political opportunities that their predecessors had facilitated. When a new cycle of protest has yet to be initiated, Della Porta & Diani (2006: 200) argue that strong repression is then more likely to be successful. Whether a cycle, wave or campaign, the conceptualisations all refer to periods of intensified protest (Della Porta & Diani, 2006: 189) and by studying the different phases, one is able to identify how political opportunities are increased, reduced and produced.

Sharkh (1999: 214) has critiqued social movement theorists for their focus on answering why social actors mobilise but failing to investigate how they mobilise. I would contend that this has changed since Sharkh's article was published in 1999, based on the body of literature regarding resource mobilization that investigate how movements gather, but I agree with the notion that there is immense value to be gained from examining how movements organise, strategize and mobilise and the resource that enable the movement.

Tarrow (2011: 189) points out that in reality, the cycles of contention are vastly complex, and the relational nature of contentious politics includes many political actors that influence the ebb and flow of protest cycles, as well as movement goals, ideologies and methods. From the literature and my own observations, it is clear that repertoires of contention evolve, not only within specific movements to attain goals, but throughout time to adapt to societal and technological changes.

2.4.2. Resource Mobilisation Theory

According to Sharkh (1999: 214) resource mobilisation theory is different to new social movement theories (mentioned above) in that it "analyses resources that aggrieved groups mobilize to nourish a social movement". Strictly speaking, resources may include labour and capital (McCarthy & Zald, 1973), but in a broader sense it may also include the political opportunity structure, that is, the ability to gain access to power and manipulate the political system (Eisinger, 1973: 25).

McCarthy & Zald (1973, 1977) were first to conceptualise resource mobilisation theory, accentuating the significance of "organizational bases, resource accumulation, and collective coordination for popular political actors". Their emphasis on resources as a "how", that is to say, means available to collective actors, is considered by Tarrow (2011: 24) to have "lent a refreshing concreteness to the study of movements", but received criticism for their overemphasis on formal organisation and "professional movement organisations", and lacking consideration for the elements of grievances and emotion. Lee & Chin (2007) provide a simple explanation for the resource mobilisation model wherein they locate their study and describe resource mobilisation theory as "the formation and mobilisation of any mass movement depends primarily on changes in resources, group organisation, and opportunities for political alliances".

Lee & Chin (2007) argue that understanding the success of social movements, and women's movements specifically in their case, is benefited by studying tangible and intangible resources (for instance money and experience, respectively) as an integral component to research. The model provides insight into goals and behaviour of a movement. There is no notable agreement on which particular types of resources are more or less valuable, but Lee & Chin (2007: 1207) state that resources are combined to produce tactics and strategies that mobilises support and supports the movement's goals. A combination of tangible and intangible resources is an integral aspect to the movement' success, hence the movement must meet its resource needs and utilise them effectively. Additionally, linkages to other networks through alliances or coalition systems are highly favourable among social movements for the benefits that it possesses in terms of sharing resources, opportunities and having a stronger overall impact. Resource must be used strategically to achieve success.

Mazur, McBride & Hoard (2016) do not wholly agree with the sole focus on easily observed, tangible resources such as money and labour, because this provides an incomplete analysis.

Resources that receive less attention, such as informal networks and processes are often fundamental components of the successes of social movements. The resource mobilisation approach dictates that success or failure of a movement may depend on how mobilisation of resources changes over time, but the varying formality of resources makes it hard to measure.

2.4.3. Measuring the influence of social movement

Grey (2002) tackles the issue of how one can measure the influence of social movements. Some of the methods that Grey utilises in her own cases studies to measure influence or lack thereof includes identifying social movement discourse coalitions in a specific area of public policy, and pinpointing the nature of the actors in the coalition to determine whether or not they are state actors (2002: 17). More pertinently, Grey suggests that analysis of social movements' external targets, such as affecting the culture of society and political system, would be most constructive in measuring influence (2002: 4). The internal targets such as organisation and actors still possess value, but the external influence of social movements is what allows one to analyse the impact on democratic decision-making processes.

Social movements may be measured by their contributions in developing new arenas for public policy and Della Porta & Diani (2006: 234) and a specific demand, perhaps a change in policy, will often become non-negotiable and form part of the movement's collective identity.

According to McBride & Mazur (2008: 222), based on the assumption that women's movements are a type of social movement, one should be able to equip social movement theory to studying women's movements to the extent of exploring conditions for mobilisation, constraints on collective action and the impact on institutions. However, as with other traditional conceptualisation discussed above, McBride & Mazur (2008) argue that the conceptualisation for social movements in "underdeveloped". Beckwith (2013) and Mazur, McBride & Hoard (2016) concur that clear conceptualisation of ways that women's movements shift over time is needed to make progress in developing theories of change.

2.5. Women's Movements

In the 1960s and 1970s, new forms of political action in the post-industrial economy increased significantly and scholars became inquisitive about the rise in social mobilisation and non-institutional politics (Grey & Sawer, 2008:3). Social movement scholars developed theories such as new social movement theory, resource mobilisation and repertoires of contention – often focusing on how movements utilised rallies and violent dissent as tools, based on

movements led by men. Alternatively, the repertoires of movements led by women utilised a variety of instruments to promote their causes from street protests to lobbying political elites.

Women's movements as a subfield of social movement theory flourished in the 1990s as transnational advocacy networks rapidly grew across the global stage, global discourses on women's rights expanded and international funding for women-focused NGO's increased (Basu, 2010). The body of literature includes extensive discussion on state feminism, women's governance, comparative studies, democracies and conditions under which movements are successful. Studies have shown that women's movement can exist and operate under incredibly diverse political environments and so doing, identify unique political opportunities under various challenging circumstances. Authors generally locate women's movements in the national context from which they arise and which they seek to influence (Basu, 2010: 26) and this context also influences the definition and operationalisation of women's movement as a concept.

2.5.1. *Defining and operationalising women's movements*

Defining a women's movement is a conceptual challenge as there is no widely accepted definition employed by scholars across studies. As Špehar (2007: 45) points out, there is a range of definitions for the concept of a women's movement and these include both individual and collective actions, and cover a wide range of repertoires and forms of organisation.

Beckwith (2000: 434) emphasizes that one of the major challenges in conducting comparative political research on women's movements is the conceptual problem of not having a tested and well-grounded definition that could be employed across multiple comparative studies. She attributes this to the magnitude and speed at which comparative women's literature had emerged, resulting in an array of competing definitions that had not yet been tested and eliminated. Špehar (2007: 45) advocates that researchers should focus less on finding a perfect definition, and more on ensuring that the definition one uses is appropriate in answering the research questions in the context of one's study. Particularly in comparative research, the need for operationalised definitions are paramount as conceptual and operational definitions are interdependent. She further states that "an operational definition describes the operations that will specify the indicators of the concept to enable its measurement … it is the first step that leads to data for analysis" (Špehar, 2007: 46).

Numerous scholars (Hauser, Heyns & Mansbridge, 1993: 258; Jahan, 1995: 87–89; Kumar, 1995: 58; Mansbridge, 1995; Molyneux, 1998; Odoul & Kabira, 1995: 189; Quindoza

Santiago, 1995: 111–112; Sekhon, 1999) have created a multiplicity of definitions based on the case studies that they have grappled with. Geographic area, issues that are being challenged, the nature of participation, nature of resistance, and other factors have contributed to a lack of definitional clarity. Subsequently, definitions have been conflated and led to what may technically be considered a women's movements, actually be women's activism, hence inaccurately identified terminology. Beckwith (2000: 436) also argues that lack of definitional clarity leaves scholars ill-equipped to study "the political realities of self-conscious, empowered women acting collectively against other women." By this, Beckwith refers to the inability of assessing women's movement's intersectionality. We become unable to recognise reactionary, or violent, or nationalist women act with their own agency, nor are scholars able to look beyond women as a homogenous grouping and see how the movement may be classed or racialised.

Another issue that unclear definitions may result in, is the conflation of feminist movements and women's movements. Where the definition broadly includes characteristics such as challenging patriarchal norms, asserting women's rights or critiquing unequal gender standards, one may falsely assume that a women's movement is feminist (Beckwith, 2000: 436). Women's movements and feminist movements are not mutually exclusive. However, in several case studies there has been evidence to show women's movements developed into feminist movements under certain conditions. For instance, women's movements may develop self-consciousness about their interests of identities, and recognise that the class, race, or ethnic based interests are rooted in and supported by feminist theory and gendered feminist identities.

Considering the problems that a lack of clear definition creates, one is pressed to contextualise "women's movement" as a concise, evidence-based term that facilitates comparative political studies. Beckwith (2000: 438) points out that as political scientists, we are required to analyse our subjects under a multitude of circumstances under which they mobilise, build affiliations, and partner with other movements, in a way that is typical of all women's movements. She posits the following definition of women's movements, stating that they are:

a subset of socio-political movements characterised by the primacy of women's gendered experiences, women's issues, and the women's leadership and decision making. The relationship of these women to these movement is direct and immediate; movement definition, issues articulation, and issue resolution are specific to women, developed and organised by them with reference to their gender identity (Beckwith, 1996: 1038)

To distinguish the above from a feminist movement, one would add that feminist movements challenge the patriarchy. Alvarez (1990: 23) supports this key difference by distinguishing between "proactive and reactive" women's movements. The former challenges gender roles and unequal power arrangements whilst promoting equality and other women's rights. The latter accepts the existing gender role of society and based on those, advocates for women's rights. A few years later, Alvarez (1999: 184) refined the distinctions above into a definition for feminist movements that she wrote are:

> characterised as an expansive, polycentric, heterogenous discursive field of action which spans into a vast array of cultural, social and political arenas … [whose activists see themselves as] working to alter gender power relations that circumscribe their own lives as women.

Špehar's (2007) comparative study on women's movements in Slovenia and Croatia employed a different definition, based on Tarrow's (1989) social movement research and conceptualisation. She highlights in her definition that women's movements are not unitary actors, but rather a number of actors who have coalesced to act on an element of shared goals and in competing for ownership and definition over claims and tactics. Formally, she writes that

> a women's movement is a network of organisations, groups or individuals linked in a variety of ways interacting with public actions inside or outside state institutions with the goal of promoting gender equality and the advancement of women's interests in different sphere of social life.

These definitions are broad enough to include movements from all ideological strands whether they may be progressive, anti-feminist, right-wing, or otherwise. It also excludes women's activism taking place under the banner of a social movement where gender content is lacking, and leadership structures are governed by men. It acknowledges that women's or feminist movements may be racist, class-constrained or exclusionary and empirical studies would be required to assess the nature and extent to which feminist movement's interact with subordinate groups. Empirical evidence in one's research project could then be utilised to further narrow down one's definition in the relevant study.

I would suggest that further research categories can be included to expand the foundation of contemporary comparative women's movement scholarship by including not only women's and feminist movement's, but also intersectional movements. This denotes that movements

would not only be based on gender issues, but also its intersections with race, class, ethnicity, ability and others. Broader studies such as those conducted by Malherbe, Kleijwegt & Koen (2000), Seguino (1997, 2000), Sen (1989), Tshoaedi (2012b) and Unterhalter (2009) do look into intersectional issues, but fewer studies focus on this within the scope of women's movements specifically.

2.5.2. *Strategies and institutionalisation debate*

It is worth noting a few of the strategies and repertoires of action that women's movements employ, not only to differentiate their methods from other social movements, but also to investigate some of the motivating factors behind the decision-making process of selecting certain strategies and actions.

An example of gendered social movement research into the strategies and reasons of women's collective action is Baldez's (2004) book on women's movements in Chile, dedicated to and titled *Why Women Protest.* In the book she articulates theoretical ideas on "tipping, timing and framing" to explain why women protest in the Chilean context. Via the theory of "framing", she investigates the conditions that facilitated the mobilisation of women's movements and the underlying factors that motivate their drive to protest.

Špehar (2007) investigates the distinctive forms of women's activism from both inside and outside institutions to expand their rights as citizens and as women – a debate that is long-standing in women's movement scholarship in terms of which approach is more effective – working inside or outside state institutions.

Research has shown three strategies predominantly utilised by women's movements to influence public policies for equality and this includes the "autonomous, integrationist and double strategy" (Špehar, 2007: 48). The strategy of women's groups or organisations that remain autonomous is often suggested to be the best course of action by several scholars (Alvarez, 1990b; Špehar, 2007; Waylen, 2008) for achieving gender equality goals. This strategy enables the articulation of women's issues and suggested as the best method for challenging structural relations of power between genders. A major concern with non-autonomous women's movements is the risk of being institutionalised and co-opted by the state, resulting in cases where the organisation loses touch with the lived experiences of its constituents and their agendas are watered down as they become more like that institutions that they challenged. By remaining autonomous, the movement is free to pursue its own strategies and create its own political agenda, and have a great impact (Špehar, 2007: 48). The proponents

of autonomous organisations believe that women's movements are still able to influence public policy despite being restricted in their activities, as demonstrated in Waylen's (1993, 1996) scholarship on Third World women's movements policy influences.

There is also a body of literature that suggests that institutionalisation is part of the natural progression of a women's movement, which inherently carries its own benefits and disadvantages. These authors argue that integration of women's movements and organisations into state institutions was crucial for gender equality policy creation, especially considering the array of state machineries that have been built across the world to advance gender equality. Špehar (2007: 10) writes that in 2004 the Division for the Advancement of Women compiled a Directory of National Machineries for the Advancement of Women, which showed that 165 countries had state machineries that were meant to advance women's rights and gender equality. Mazur (2002) argues that women's policy machineries can be the necessary and effective link between movements and state responses, where women's movements can utilise the machinery to achieve descriptive and substantive representation of women. It is apparent that autonomous movements are required to achieve the first steps of gender equality and integrated organisations are necessary to maintain gender equality in state institutions over a sustained period.

Finally, the school of thought that relates to "double strategy" (Dahlerup, 1988; Philips, 1995 and Lovebduski, 2005 in Špehar, 2007: 49) claims that increased numbers of women in political roles such as party members, parliamentarians and so forth, is a precondition for gender policies to change and develop. Studies that support this argument show that a critical mass of women in legislative positions ensured improved childcare allowances in Norway and a higher prevalence of gender equality discussions in political arenas that are able to affect change for women. Women are able to exert influence within state machineries on public policy but are only effective with equal engagement from autonomous women's movements. As Špehar (2007) clarifies: "state machineries for the advancement of gender equality and women politicians are powerless without a corresponding women's movement in the civil society sector".

I would argue that the best strategy is dependent on the local context in which the women's movement is placed, taking into consideration the strength of independent institutions, the political culture, the presence of charismatic leaders and the efficacy of existing state machinery in addressing citizens' concerns.

2.6. South Africa And South Korea

There is an abundant body of literature authored by South African writers who either conducted research on, or were personally involved in, women's organisations and their participation in the processes of democratic transition. It can be argued that contributions from local authors have provided unparalleled insight into the South African case study and furthermore, have been able to uniquely capture and demonstrate to readers the distinctive nuances that influenced the outcomes of South African women's movements participation in democratisation. There are several prominent authors in this field include Albertyn (2003), Fester (2015), Geisler (2000), Goetz & Hassim (2003), Gouws (1999, 2004, 2005a, 2016), Hassim (2004b, 2006, 1999, 2002), Seidman (1999), Tshoaedi (2012a) and Walker (1991), all of whom have made exceptional contributions through research various aspects of women and politics, including citizenship, trade unions, mobilisation and so forth.

The foundation of chapter 3 was heavily influenced by the works of Fester (2015), Gouws (2016), and Hassim (2004b, 2006b) who have been integral to the development of indigenous scholarship on gender and women's issues in South Africa. The main focus in the South African case study was to highlight how women organised and mobilised in spite of widespread oppression over several decades, looking at the Federation of South African Women, the first Women's Charter that was signed, the women's march to the Union buildings in 1956, the ANC Women's League and finally, in 1994 the establishment of the Women's National Coalition and the second Women's Charter. All of the above are integral components to the slow democratisation process of South Africa. Sharkh (1999) suggests that the interplay between social movements and the state in South Africa, particularly how the women's movement took advantage of resource, makes the country an ideal case study to test social movement theories.

Whilst the literature conducted thus far has been able to successfully demonstrate that many women actively participated in various stages of the democratic transition, it has also shown that many contributions attributable to women have largely been erased or accredited to men. Tshoaedi (2012b) tackles this issue within the sphere of trade unions and demonstrates the power and influence that working-class women had in promoting gender equality amongst trade unionist. Fester (2015) does a comprehensive study on the history of women's collectivisation, mobilisation and repertoires of action across several decades. Hassim approaches multiple aspects of women's movements including: the interplay between women's organisations and democracy (2006b), a guide to the ANC Women's League (2015), the

process of democratisation (2006a) and an overview the role of the women's movement in the transition into democracy (2002). Gouws, writes about the feminist aspects of citizenship (2005a), the national gender machineries in South Africa (2004) and the theories surrounding women's activism (Gouws, 2016a,b).

There is also a rich body of South Korean feminist scholarship with contributions from authors who locate South Korean studies within the greater Asian and East Asian scholarship (Edwards, 1996; Jayaweera, 1987; Kim & Fu, 2008; Lee, 2003; Lee & Clark, 2000; Palley, 1990; Yen & Yang, 2011), those that focus on gender relations and gender equality within South Korea (Bardsley, 1999; Hlasny, 2011; Jones, 2016; Monk-Turner & Turner, 1994; Na, Han & Koo, 1979; Palley, 1990; Song, 1979) and those that specifically study the nuances of South Korean women's movements (Chin, 2000; Kim, 2017, 2004; Lee & Chin, 2007; Lee & Lee, 2013; Maddison & Jung, 2008; Moon, 2002a).

Of these, I gained immense insight into the South Korean women's movements from Lee & Lee's The Women's Movement in South Korea Revisited (2013) and Moon's Women and Democratization in the Republic of Korea (2002a) and Carving Out Space: Civil Society and the Women's Movement in South Korea (2002).

 Lee & Chin compare the Korean women's movement to similar case studies in Latin America conducted by Waylen's (1994) and argue that a weak political base and the rapid democratic transition had prevented structured organisation and meaningful impact. They caveat the argument by saying that women's movements had had more impact on society post democratisation, because of their ability to work alongside new institutions and parties. Authors such as Chin, (2000), Hur (2011), Kim & Kim (2014) and Nam (2000) disagree with this sentiment, stating that the role of women's movements in various stage of the Korean democratisation process was indeed vital. First, the women's movement involvement in the broader democratic grouping succeeded in broadening the democratisation agenda to include gendered social issues and in essence, become intersectional. For instance, educational campaigns on the dangerous effects of tear gas doubly represented humanitarian and environmental concerns. According to (Nam, 2000: 103), representing women worker's interests doubled as democratically aligned activism for worker welfare in terms of improved working conditions and higher wages, as well as feminist issues such as maternity leave, workplace sexual harassment and equal pay. These arguments are further discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

2.7.   Conclusion

There is undoubtedly a broad field of academic literature concerning democracies, social movements, and women's movements specifically, with the rise of gendered theories gaining traction towards the latter part of the 20th century. More importantly, political theories have rapidly developed in the post-industrial era after World War II to adjust to the changing nature of the political phenomena that we study. The rapid growth of literature led to unstable methodological and theoretical foundations which prompted many debates between scholars about what the correct ways are in which to conduct political science. Gender scholars (Harding, 1987; Hill Collins & Chepp, 2013; Margolis, 1993; Mazur, 2002; McBride & Mazur, 2005; Taylor, 1998) made clear efforts to include gender into mainstream studies and were faced with several conceptual and methodological challenges. Inserting gender into democratic studies and comparative analyses is difficult considering the nature of gender as a concept to both influence and be influenced by its contextual positioning. The application of a gender perspective on democracy, social movements and methodologies had opened a new sphere of scholarship, while also resulting in the opportunity for scholar to relook at some of their previous works and receive different outcomes based on the inclusion of gender. This is demonstrated by best by Paxton's (2008) engendering of democracy and the subsequent recategorization of democratic waves and reconsideration of when true democracy really started once women's suffrage was included.

In social movement theory, we have seen a clear divide between classical scholarship and what is deemed as "new social movement theory" in response to the increasingly complex nature of movements in the twentieth and twenty first centuries. Scholars developed additional theories in an attempt to better understand social movement behaviours and motivations, hence the creation of resource mobilisation theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Tarrow, 1989; Tilly, 1992), the cycles of protest (McAdam *et al.*, 1996; Tarrow, 1989) and repertoires of contention (McAdam *et al.*, 1996, 2004; Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Tarrow, 2011). From this also grew new methodologies and understanding of women's movements and their comparative analyses (Beckwith, 2000, 2005; Grey & Sawer, 2008; Kennedy, Lubelska & Walsh, 1993; Margolis, 1993; Ray & Korteweg, 1999; Taylor, 1998; Waylen, 1993).

An overarching theme with the section above is the agreement amongst scholars that there is a general lack of agreement about the conceptual and operational definitions of key terminology in the field. The definition of gender is largely dependent on the context it is used in, a social movement is defined by an array of characteristics and not one prerequisite and the lack of

definitional clarity in women's movements has resulted in the conflation of women's movements with women's organisations and/or feminist movements. The reason behind this may be due to the fact that the cases which we study are intrinsically complex and the tools that we use are versatile, enabling researchers to operationalise a definition for the specific context in which it is used. The quality and validity of the research that scholars embark upon is improved by the ability to utilise adaptable tools, approaches and lenses.

The comparative study of women's movements is more diverse than other sub-fields of political science in that it studies both developed and developing nations, it studies participants from varying races, ethnicities, economic classes and sexualities, and the authors themselves are more diverse, including women scholars and more people of colour. The comparative studies on South Africa and South Korea have generally compared shared economic characteristics in terms of post-industrialised growth and international trade, but fewer studies have been conducted on the commonalities between South African and South Korean social movements. Although I am aware of Fioramonti & Fiori's (2010) study on the evolution of civil activism in South Africa and South Korea, which makes a valuable contribution to understanding how democratic consolidation impacts civil society, it does not include a gendered aspect.

It is here that I position my research, within the field of comparative studies and social movement and women's movement studies, where there is a clear gap in the comparison of women's movements in South Africa and South Korea, which I conduct alongside analyses of how the movements influenced the respective democratisation processes.

Chapter 3: Women's Movements in South Africa

3.1. Introduction

The history of Southern Africa is both rich and complex, spanning several eras from the first nomadic tribes, to the current democratic republic that exists today. Over the course of several centuries, South Africa has experienced colonialism, war, bloodshed, apartheid and peace – a truly unique history that has filled countless books. This chapter identifies critical junctures in the history of women's movements in South Africa and analyses the subsequent influences in the transition to democracy.

As Baldez (2010:199) points out, there is a "glaring inattention to work on gender within mainstream political science" and this same inattention is evident in the body of historical literature concerning South African democratisation. The contributions and participation of women activists in the national liberation movement have been overlooked in favour of male-dominated narratives. This is evident through the fact that when referring to anti-Apartheid icons, the first names that spring to mind include Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo or Albert Luthuli.

To be clear, I do not suggest that women's participation has wholly been erased, as the work of authors such as Albertyn (2018), Fester (2015), Geisler (2004), Gouws (2005a) and Hassim (2002), and many others have been instrumental in establishing a comprehensive foundation of South African feminist work. However, as Fester (2015: 14) points out, in the representation of women in 'big struggle names' and mainstream media, there is a propensity for only mentioning women such as Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Albertina Sisulu – and often in the same breath as their famous spouses. This thesis will attempt to provide a nuanced representation of women's efforts in the democratisation process through incorporating the work women scholars and activists whose work is lesser known, yet still holds valuable insights.

The chapter first gives a brief overview of South African history to discuss racial, class and rural-urban divides and how this shaped society. One will describe the milieu in which women lived, contextualise their circumstances, and discuss earlier forms of feminism that may have existed during this time. This section serves as a guide to South African history from 1900 onwards and introduces the reader to the complexities of how race and class shaped society.

The second section discusses the Apartheid era and addresses key features of the regime including significant laws, major political events and analysing the roles women portrayed

during this time. The discussion focuses on key political events, political parties and the mobilisation of civil society organizations in disrupting the status quo – events such as the Congress of the People, the Anti-pass laws marches. I also examine the mobilisation of women-led unions and the civil disobedience aimed at breaking down the Apartheid regime, despite the ban on political parties such as the ANC.

The following section forms a fundamental part of the study and investigates the emergence of women's movements as well as the circumstances under which these organisations were formed. I argue that the political circumstances surrounding the formation of a movement significantly influences the organisation's nature, membership, ideology and goals. This argument is applied to the Women's National Coalition (WNC), which is largely considered as the most influential, albeit temporary, structure to have represented women's interests during the South African transition into democracy. Moreover, this section examines the organisations that collectively formed the WNC, analyses the various gender-specific interests that these parties sought to represent, and reviews the second Women's Charter.

Finally, I interrogate the strategies and results of the WNC's efforts to ascertain whether the movement has in any way affected the process of democratisation, and how? I argue that women's movements not only affected the transitionary process and decision-making in the early 1990s, but also significantly impacted the structuring of state machinery that would support constitutional democracy through a permanent platform for gendered issues to be addressed. This has subsequently impacted the structure of contemporary South African society.

3.2. Women in South African History

3.2.1. A Brief History and Cultural Context

Even before Apartheid, South Africa was a segregated society, as a consequence of British colonialism, based on race, class, cultural differences and a stark urban-rural divide. Multiple ethnic and cultural groups inhabited the southern African region due to migration, slavery and colonialism, which invariably led to serious conflicts.

In 1902, the Anglo-Boer war ended and in 1910, the Act of Union was signed as a compromise over land between the English and the Afrikaners, without any consultation with the indigenous communities or women. During the war, many women penned their experiences in diaries and letters, with themes such as Bessie Grobbelaar's "passive… innocent… suffering mother" or what Elsabe Brink argued was a male-given notion of "volksmoeder" or "mother of the nation"

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(Van Heyningen, 2009: 27), which all served as a means of controlling women. These letters were later translated and incorporated into creating a brand of Afrikaner nationalism that aimed to emphasise characteristics of Afrikaner culture, in this case particularly, the suffering that Afrikaners had endured.

Afrikaner culture is deeply rooted in Christian religious teaching and traditional family values. Men were considered the head of the nuclear family unit who would be responsible for ensuring financial stability of the family. Patriarchal notions expected men to ensure that their families attended church, lived according to strict moral values and promoted the Afrikaner nationalist agenda. In turn, women were firmly situated within the private sphere as indicated by the public/private dichotomous divide, as explained by Pateman (1989: 120). Women were considered as feminine objects of beauty subservient to men, and fulfilled roles of mother and caregiver (Mans & Lauwrens, 2013: 57). In the early twentieth century, these patriarchal notions were promoted through church, state and media, and was the accepted status quo.

At the same time, migrant labour had resulted in African men leaving their homesteads to work for extended periods of time in the mines. The traditional rural family structure in tribal society where men were the authorities of households was blighted. The brunt of agricultural work, caregiving and other familial responsibilities were borne by black women. In search of financial relief, many moved closer to towns where they could find work as domestic servants (Gasa, 2008: 129). However, the government had imposed pass laws which severely restricted free movement of black people by requiring them to carry a service book, documenting their employers and residence.

In 1912, the South African National Native Council (later the African National Congress [ANC]) was established as an all-male organisation to represent and defend the interests of African people. In response, Charlotte Maxeke established the Bantu Women's League in 1913 (Walker, 1990). Maxeke was one of the first black South African female graduates, after studying in the United States of America, where she was taught by W.E.B. Du Bois, the African-American civil rights activist, sociologist and author (Jaffer, 2016). She had gained knowledge in feminist ideals and attended suffragette speeches by Emmeline Pankhurst and other prolific feminists (South African History Online, 2018a).

3.2.2. Women in political organisations and unions

Fester (2015: 31) underscores an interesting facet of the majority of national political movements in South Africa which is that they included some form of women's auxiliary. The

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first South African political organisation to be created was the African Political Organisation (APO) established in 1902, and a Women's Guild in 1909. The National Liberation League formed in 1935 also created its own women's branch - the NLL Women's Bureau. Research has not stipulated what the agenda of these auxiliary organisations were, or if they were feminist in nature but considering the nationalist struggles which they were opposing, one would consider their nature as predominantly nationalist.

On the other hand, the Bantu Women's League was very much political and formed with the intent of promoting black women's rights. The League decided to challenge the stringent pass laws through civil disobedience in 1913 and hundreds of women marched to the Mayor's offices in Bloemfontein where they destroyed their passes in public (Wells, 1983:56). Many women were arrested, and a group of white women joined in the protest, but unfortunately, after repeated appeals to various levels of decision-making, the campaign lost momentum in 1914, with no changes made to the laws.

As the First World War (WWI) broke out, South African men left to participate as soldiers and labourers for the British Empire as the Union of South Africa and Great Britain were allies against the Germans. There are differing accounts on the amount of men that participated in the war, but according to Grundlingh (1987) and Johnson (2018), an estimated 146 000 white soldiers, 50 000 black labourers or "auxiliaries" and 15 000 mixed race South Africans served during WWI. Many soldiers and labourers were sent to serve in the South West African and East African campaigns against Germany, with the rest travelling to France, battling at the Somme and Delville. This departure, paired with rapid urbanisation, resulted in women of all racial groups veering towards the labour market and taking up employment across various sectors, although there was a demand for unskilled workers in the industrial sector (Walker, 1991: 42). The momentum of industrialisation continued after the war and women were increasingly employed in the clothing, food and tobacco industries. However, in the absence of regulation, conditions were dismal, and women were given unskilled jobs with the lowest wages.

Men objected to the sudden influx of women in the formal economy, but even male resistance to female agency could not dispute the fact that women needed certain rights that enabled them to create environments which ensured their children would be raised securely. Perhaps one of the first unifying factors to bring about mobilisation amongst women in spite of deep racial, class and urban-rural divides was that of motherhood. Alongside increased independence and vehement objections to tedious living conditions, women started to join trade unions and

organisations that would represent their interests. This included the Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union (WEAU) and the Women's Suffragette Movement. WEAU was initially influenced by the work of Olive Schreiner, but it's policies gradually became more exclusionary and demanded whites-only policies (Fester, 2015: 29). More inclusive, was the Coloured and Native Women's Council and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). In joining trade unions, a principle of equality was being established as women could now request better working conditions, maternity leave and equal wages (Meer, 2005: 37). Women's participation in trade unionism increased during Apartheid and is discussed in greater detail below.

The online repository source, South African History Online, mentions several other instances of women organising and gathering in protest against oppressive government laws that restricted their freedom during this period. This includes the rural activism of the Herschel district during the 1920s (Bozzoli, 1987: 324–357), the Potchefstroom anti-pass campaigns in 1930 (Wells, 1993:66-67), and the Natal beer riots in 1929 (Bozzoli, 1987:292 - 323). Even though political decision-making in the Union government remained the exclusive domain of white men, a twenty-year campaign by WEAU and the suffragette movement successfully resulted in the right to vote in 1930 – for white women.

During the 1930s, unemployment became a widespread issue across racial lines and urbanisation became increasingly popular as more people sought to join the labour market. The aftermath of World War II in the 1940s pushed the South African economy onto a different trajectory, as the traditionally mining and agriculturally based economy began to shift towards an industrial economy. Living conditions were dreadful as both urban and rural people of colour were unable to earn decent wages. These conditions instigated a surge of political activism. The ANC's stagnation came to a halt as its Congress Youth League (CYL) grew more militant. Socialist ideologies, particularly from the CPSA, began to appeal to workers who earned poor wages in a time of increasing living costs. Grassroots movements were formed across the country, including the Women's Food Committees (Walker, 1991) in response to economic hardship and food shortages and the Alexandra Women's Council to confront squatting regulations, amongst other pressing issues.

Finally, in 1943, women were accepted into the ranks of the ANC as full members to join the national liberation struggle (Walker, 1991) and, according to their official website (ANC Women's League, 2015), the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) was formed in 1948 (see

Section 3.3.2), albeit as an auxiliary to a male-dominated movement without the necessary "autonomy to pursue independent actions" (Geisler, 2000: 608).

In analysing women's perceived roles in society during this time, we can observe a clear fracture appearing in the public/private dichotomy that Pateman (1989) addresses. From the 1920s onward, necessity had dictated a change in gender roles and women could no longer solely engage within the domestic confines of the private domain. Chassen-Lopez (1997:181 in Fester, 2015: 55) describes this as women "invading patriarchal spaces". For (Waylen, 1994: 353), the emergence of women's movements indicates a fundamental change in society and breaking down of traditional division of the public/private domains. It is worthwhile to mention that a generalisation of the perceived public and private terrains is unwise. One is reminded that the boundaries of private domain for Western women is not necessarily similar to that of African or Oriental women (Amadiume, 1987).

Fester (2015) discusses at length the multiple identities that women fulfilled in various situations, but highlights the role of women as mothers and how this interlinks with citizenship. Women's roles progressed into the male-dominated, public domain where they asserted their agency and their citizenship. Through protesting pass laws, demanding the right to vote and ensuring adequate representation on decision-making bodies, Fester (2015: 56) stresses that women claimed their own citizenship and moved beyond the confines of a public/private dichotomy through their political actions, which continued throughout the Apartheid-era.

3.3. Apartheid

In 1948, the National Party won elections wherein only white people were allowed to vote and created policies that entrenched the Apartheid state. Segregationist policies were systematically implemented throughout the 1940s and during the 1950's, the execution of oppressive legislation began to tangibly manifest in the livelihoods of people of colour.

3.3.1. FSAW, the Women's Charter and the Women's March

It was in the 1950s that women's participation in the struggle for a more equal society gained momentum in earnest. Three women, Florence Matomela, Ray Alexander and Frances Baard decided to form a national women's organisation (South African History Online, 2018b) that would operate as an umbrella organisation and co-opted several major organisations were in participating in this 'women's committee' including the ANCWL, trade union members and other provincial organisational members. In April 1954, 230 000 women were gathered in Johannesburg, represented by 146 delegates and the Federation of South African Women

(FSAW or FEDSAW) was established as participants pledged their support to secure full equality of opportunity for all women regardless of colour, class or disability. A national executive committee was created at this congress and Hilda Bernstein presented a draft version of the first Women's Charter that included demands relating to equal rights in relation to property, marriage, employment, paid maternity leave and education. Fester (2015: 14) argues that the Women's Charter of 1954 and its associated demands is validation of the fact that gender struggles emerged long before the 1990s as is commonly mistaken.

In 1955, the Freedom Charter was produced after the historic Congress of the People in Kliptown, and it incorporated the demands of the Women's Charter. Even in the organisation of the Congress of the People women had a significant impact through mobilising grassroots organisation, recruiting new support and arranging accommodation for 2000 delegates. Unfortunately, according to Walker (1991: 183), women's involvement was limited in the decision making processes. Additionally, only 721 of the 2848 delegates were women and only one woman was a platform speaker.

As the 1950s wore on, the Apartheid government implemented additional pass laws that extended to women, severely restricting their freedom and across the country political organisations resisted the oppressive laws through organising. The ANCWL established provincial branches throughout rural and urban communities, and FSWA had a growing mass membership across the country that regularly participated in highly visible and 'militant'(Walker, 1991) demonstrations. Multiple, successful anti-pass laws demonstrations and a major gathering in Pretoria at the Union Buildings in 1955 contributed to the success of FSAW and in preparations began for a national march.

On 9 August 1956, a delegation of approximately twenty thousand women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria and delivered signed petitions against the Urban Areas Act of 1950, or more commonly referred to as the pass laws, at the office of prime minister J.G. Strijdom. This event resulted in FSAW's recognition and validation as a credible political organisation and in democratic South Africa, 9 August is annually celebrated as a public holiday - Women's Day. However, the organisation ultimately failed in its goal to have the pass laws revoked.

Civil society continued to actively participate in demonstrations and anti-pass campaigns and civil disobedience was omnipresent. On 21 March 1960, the Sharpeville massacre occurred, irrevocably escalating tensions between the state and those who sought to subvert it's

oppressive regime (South African History Online, 2018b). Sixty-nine unarmed, black Africans were killed in a display of brutal police repression that was internationally condemned and resulted in temporary cessation of national liberation efforts as a national state of emergency was declared. Organisations such as the ANC and PAC were banned, forcing members into exile and prompting a widespread decline in resistance organisations. The additional banning and confinement Lillian Ngoyi, Florence Matomela and Helen Joseph effectively inhibited any action of the three main leaders of FSAW, effectively terminating the revival of the organisation.

3.3.2. *Civil disobedience and women-led organisations*

In the 1970s, new sources of resistance blossomed in the form student activism against apartheid education, workers organisations, and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), primarily led by Steve Biko. Women's participation in resistance manifested as the Black Women's Federation in 1975, formed under the leadership of Fatima Meer and inspired by the ideology of BCM. Under increasing international and domestic pressure on the Apartheid government, the state also had to contend with economic sanctions, military pressure and diplomatic estrangement (South African History Online, 2018b). After the 1976 Soweto Uprising and Biko's death in 1977, all black consciousness movements were banned.

In the 1970s and 1980s, another form of resistance began to stir, in the form of worker uprisings. The role of men is very much the dominant narrative in trade union history, whilst minimal reference is made to "initiatives and leadership of women in workplace struggles" (Tshoaedi, 2012b: 59). Working class women were invisible and because of cultural perceptions, seen as docile and subordinate, and therefore unlikely to initiate, much less participate in, working class struggles. The booming industrial economy in the 1960s had matured in the 1970s, but workers were subjected to exploitative labour practices that elicited multiple strikes demanding increased wages and recognition of trade unions. In 1973 workers engaged in strikes that spread from Durban to industrialised centres across the country. By 1977, an economic recession had begun due to international criticism and withdrawal of foreign capital (South African History Online, 2018b) while trade unions were legalised.

Although women formed 70% of the labour force across various industrial sectors, gender-specific issues were not considered. Cultural predispositions led to the belief that men were the main sources of income for their families and therefore were often paid more. In terms of racial disparities, women did not earn the same income either, as a hierarchy existed where white

women earned the most and black women earned the least. Women such as Lydia Kompe and Emma Mashinini were prominent women figures in the mobilisation of workers and early establishment of trade unions. There were several major issues that women faced in workplace, highlighted by the South African Labour Bulletin (in Tshoaedi, 2012: 62) in a 1980 report on strikes. This included: an overwhelming concentration of men in supervisory positions which afforded them better wages and a position of power; a subsequent abuse of power where women were forced to conduct sexual favours; forced medical check-ups; forced pregnancy tests; and lack of job security after giving birth. Meer (2005: 38) emphasises how women brought up issues of exploitation within their own homes as well, with the unfair division of domestic labour, placing domestic burdens squarely on the shoulders of women. Due to low wages, women were not able to contribute to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and subsequently had no access to any form of income to care for themselves of their families if they had no work.

Through actively engaging in political organisations and "expanding the notion of exploitation", women highlighted the unfair division of the burdens of labour and this illustrates once again the slow breakdown of the public/private divide. A woman's labour did not exclusively occur within the home or community, and this issue is still debated today as contemporary laws do not make provision for informal and/or unpaid care work. Many women are not able to take advantage of economic opportunities available to them and participate in the formal economy because they are obligated to care for ill family or community members for little or no remuneration. This lack of participation in the formal economy hurts both the individual and prospects of economic growth for a country, particularly in cases where valuable skills are lost.

As union participation increased, workers were physically disciplined and one's membership had to be kept secret for fear of victimisation (Tshoaedi, 2012b: 69). Women mobilised within unions, but also formed forums wherein they could support each other and would develop strategies to ensure that gender-specific interests were advanced in negotiations (Meer, 2005: 38). Unions were repressed by government and union members intimidated by employers, but information about trade union activities was exchanged amongst workers who worked at different factories, and when changing to a different job or sector - a frequent occurrence - workers would share skills and mobilise in their new workplaces. Workers mobilised and cooperated in solidarity, regardless of difference in sectors, but placed heavy emphasis on race-based issues whilst ignoring gendered interests.

In 1986, the Port Alfred Women's Organisation refrained from going to work in protest of a rape case that had been poorly conducted by police, resulting in no charges being brought against the rapist. The Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), the United Women's Congress (UWCO)and the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) all formed during the 1980s in collective action against laws and customs that repressed women (Meer, 2005: 39). In 1987 the United Democratic Front (UDF) Women's Congress was formed as the movements mentioned above joined together in combating gender inequality and discrimination.

Interviews conducted with women trade unionists revealed interesting details about the reality of workplaces struggles, including the fact that women were more likely to challenge management as many women perceived their male counterparts as fearful and weak for not joining unions or speaking up against injustices (Tshoaedi, 2012b: 74). Gender relations were steadily changing during this time and the role of women in trade unions substantiates the argument that the public/private divide had begun to shift. Women assumed leadership positions within the trade unions and successfully promoted worker's interests such as maternity leave, increases and better conditions.

As trade unions gained influence and the anti-apartheid struggle intensified, union membership increased and became aligned with the broader national liberation struggle. Mainstream historical accounts suggest that men in organisations such as trade unions and political parties ostensibly welcomed the notion of "non-sexism", however, Meer (2005: 36) contends that women were still met with resistance as men refused to alter their behaviour towards women or relinquish any power. The inability of men to acknowledge that labour exploitation was occurring within their own domestic sphere, hampered women's progress in achieving equal rights. Women interviewed by Tshoaedi (2012) lamented the fact that male workers made it abundantly clear that they did not respect, nor trust in the leadership of women and sexually harassed women attempting to be incorporated into trade unions. Increases in male membership shifted trade unionism into a more masculine environment and resulted in open hostility towards the elected women leaders such as Faith Modise, Emma Mashinini and Thembi Nabe. Women leadership declined as patriarchal influences permeated the unions and men blatantly refused to be addressed or instructed by women.

Malehoko Tshoaedi (2012: 78) has made valuable contributions on this topic and raises another valid point which is worth noting: the same patriarchal tendencies of unequal distribution of power, domination and disrespect for women in leadership positions extended beyond trade unions and into political organisations such as the ANC, resulting in women facing challenges

from the their employers, colleagues and political leaders. Labour movements and political organisations alike failed to recognise and problematise gender inequality.

3.3.3. *Trade Unions and COSATU Women*

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was founded in 1985 as a trade union federation and during the launch negotiations in the 1980s, women consistently demanded a representative organisation that would recognise women's presence and contributions to the workers struggle. They insisted that the COSATU logo not only include men, but also the image of a woman. The organisation adopted a resolution to combat gender oppression in the workplace, society and within trade unions. The COSATU women's conference was first held in 1988 and was a significant national gathering where women's issues in a patriarchal society were comprehensively discussed and robust debates were held where knowledge and ideas were exchanged to find solutions to gender inequality issues (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 7). A lot of the issues that were raised at the conference had been the same issues raised in previous years by various other organisations – maternity and childcare leave, equal wages, sexual harassment and failure of authorities to recognise and address harassment issues. Many of these issues were raised again in later conferences and in gatherings of the Women's National Coalition in the 1990s.

In the 1989 national congress the issue of sexual harassment and violence against women was brought up as a discussion point and was immediately dismissed by the male delegates as a private issue, inferior in importance to other political issues. Women delegates insisted and "claimed the public space … to put the spotlight on gendered personal experiences" (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 7). The proposal was ultimately rejected, but the fact that sexual harassment had been brought into a public debate, and openly addressed for hours, had had a significant impact on how women were able to raise gendered issues, speak up against men's poor behaviour and enact their own agency. This enabled them to raise similar issues with confidence at the1990 conference where the Worker's Charter was presented without the inclusion of women worker's demands. The Charter was revised and presented at the 1992 conference with inclusion of resolutions on equal opportunities, violence against women and adequate parental leave. The Charter was a salient document in COSATU's negotiations for worker's rights in the democratisation process (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 10), therefore the highlighting of women's issues at the same time as worker's issues ensured that emancipation for women would not be delayed and forgotten. In Chapter 5 I compare the trade unions in South Africa to those in South Korea.

3.3.4. *Women's Emancipation versus National Liberation*

The banning of the ANC from 1960 to 1990 disrupted many operations as members went into exile in neighbouring sub-Saharan African countries and further abroad (Hassim, 2004b: 434). The ANC Women's League was suspended, and following recommendations from the Morogoro Conference, the Women's Section was formed. Women were constantly confronted by the notion that national liberation was more important than women's emancipation and to be feminist was to be un-African or undermining the efforts of the struggle. Hassim (2004) extensively discusses the demands and recourse that women had to take to ensure that not only were they represented at all levels of decision making within the organisation during the course of national liberation, but that gender equality would continue to be a priority in the shift towards a democratic South Africa.

Fester (2015: 25) discusses at length the contentious issue of feminism in women's history and the traditional schools of thought that believed feminism to be "un-African and …imperialist bourgeois". Other preponderances tended to see feminism as a challenge to gender inequality and an effort to transform gender relations, whereas others still, resisted against "feminism" in preference to "womanism", which Fester supports. She also highlights the fact that different versions of feminism used by scholars in the African context is shaped by their unique experiences and challenges and what their interpretation is attempting to address. The lived experiences of African women are diverse and characterised by "enormous geographical and political fluidity", according to Lewis (2001:4, in Fester, 2015: 27).

After the ban against the ANC and other political organisations was lifted in 1990, there was a renewed vigour in the liberation movement. However, there were certain clashes between the returning exiles who assumed that they would return to leadership positions and take charge (Hassim, 2006b: 118), and the activists who had sustained the liberation efforts over several decades and had developed their own style of resistance (Fester, 2015: 122). These conflicts manifested during decision making at conferences, during negotiation processes and was present in the Women's National Coalition (WNC).

3.4. The Women's National Coalition and the Transition into Democracy

By the time several political organisations were unbanned in 1990, the South Africa economy was in tatters and F.W. de Klerk had come to the realisation that reform was the only way forward (South African History Online, 2018b). Women's movements in South Africa were dually committed to the promotion of women's interests and the fight for national liberation

and during the course of the 1990s it became very clear that the demand for women's emancipation had to be addressed before any national liberation efforts could be supported. Perhaps one the greatest challenges to South African women's movements both prior to democratisation and post-democracy, was whom to align themselves with strategically? Their governments, respective political parties or simply to organise autonomously? Tripp (2000) suggests that it is the very autonomy of women's movements which allows for greater ease in member cooperation across communal identities, resulting in more effective organisations. The need for a unified women's movement that could focus on women's interests separately from party politics was recognised and this culminated in the formation of the Women's National Coalition.

3.4.1. *The Women's National Coalition*

In 1990, the ANCWL held the Malibongwe women's conference in Amsterdam that drew a large attendance of local South Africans from trade unions, women's community organisations and other political organisations. It was during this conference that the suggestion was made to create a national women's movement that could represent women's interests in the democratisation process and spearhead the fight against gender inequality (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 10) and the Women's National Coalition became what was arguably the most important organisation for women's issues during the democratic transition with the broadest spectrum of representation.

The WNC was a non-partisan collective of women from over 81 organisation affiliates and 23 regional women's organisation alliances related to various organisations such as the ANC, IFP, NP, Rural Women's Movement, South African Domestic Workers Union and Union of Jewish Women (Tripp, Casimiro, Kwesiga & Mungwa, 2009: 122) – all with the primary aim of ensuring the inclusion of gender equality as a key tenet in the new South African constitution.

There were already many women's organisations that conducted research, advocated and consulted on a grassroots level, (Fester, 2015: 207) including the Black Sash, Rape Crisis and the Grail before the WNC was created. That meant that there were many diverse approaches to tackling different facets of gender inequality and an increased possibility of conflicts situations. The WNC for all its diversity, brought together a variety of what Fester (2015: 121) referred to as "antagonisms" – racial tensions, feminists and conservatives, apartheid-era political parties alongside progressives, challenging leadership styles and personality clashes.

After the ANCWL was unbanned, the organisation sought to reclaim its power and re-enter the political sphere as a formidable actor and a foremost leader on women's interests. Many existing women's organisations, such as the UDF women's congress, merged into the ANCWL and collectively became the largest women's representative body – including working women. The COSATU women's structure refused to be absorbed by the ANCWL because the nature of the organisation was already formalised in the workplace on a national level, held annual conferences and representative of working-class women. COSATU women refuted the ANCWL's suggestion to disband women's forums and posited that the ANCWL's extended absence from the political playing field had left them ignorant of the significant achievements working-class women had made against male-dominated industries through trade-unionism (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 11). The ANCWL's challenge to centralisation of power resulted in issues of legitimacy as to which organisation could best understand and represent working-class women's interests. COSATU believed that the ANCWL was a multi-class representative body which posed the risk of stifling working women's issues.

Another example of clashes that Fester (2015: 122) mentions relates to how meetings were conducted – which was professional, efficient and in English – never lasting more than two hours and limiting translations and lengthy explanations. However, this benefited certain members such as lawyers and politicians, but excluded many others who were not able express themselves confidently in English or ask for translations or explanations on unfamiliar topics in their home languages. This lack of flexibility created barriers and resulted in the alienation of grassroots members and those who primarily spoke Xhosa, with many never returning to meetings. Other contentious issues included the meeting times and venues that were often arranged at the leisure of middle-class black and white members who had both flexible working hours and had access to cars for travelling, whereas working-class members were only able to attend meetings outside of formal working hours. The socio-economic disparities between members of different classes and geographical backgrounds made it clear that the basic needs for various groups were very different – for example rural women sought access to clean water, sanitation and electricity while urban women had a different set of needs (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 15). Women had varying experiences of gender oppression, informed by social and geographical locations in society.

Nonetheless, the WNC was successfully launched and members made the necessary compromises and negotiations until a majority consensus could be found on issues such as citizenship and grassroots empowerment strategies. The mandate was to unite all women under

one platform (Tshoaedi, 2012a: 13). Frene Ginwala, Sheila Meintjes, Ann Letsepe and Pregs Govender were elected as convenors at the founding meeting and within a year a national office had been set up in Johannesburg with a functional research team and legal working group. The WNC's technical councillors and research team embarked upon a two-year project to create focus groups across the country and listen to women's aspirations and grievances (Ginwala & Meintjes, 2012).

It was decided that a nonpartisan Women's Charter be created through extensive research, co-ordination and grassroots action to represent the concerns of women from all South African backgrounds. The Women's Charter was envisioned as a political document, not a legal one, as an appendix to the newly developed Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Through representation of previously excluded constituencies, not only were provisions made for women's needs in the new constitution, but their needs would continue to be addressed going forward, as democracy was consolidated. From this, the participation of women in decision-making and formulation of policies was paramount and not only those that were politically elite and privileged, but women from every walk of life where state control would influence their lives. An estimated three million women participated in the focus groups and their inputs were processed and analysed before being included in the Women's Charter.

One of the foremost aims of the Charter (1994) was to demonstrate that traditional approaches to democracy and human rights had been dominated by the experiences of men, and stated that:

> If democracy and human rights are to be meaningful for women, they must address our historical subordination and oppression. Women must participate in, and shape, the nature and form of our democracy.

3.4.2. *Negotiations – the WNC's role in CODESA I, II and the MPNF*

Early discussions about peace resolutions and democratic negotiations were conducted in 1990 amidst ongoing tensions between the government, the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and other political actors who wanted to take advantage of the opportunities for power and positions (Fester, 2015: 199). The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) emerged as traditional and religious groups respectively, that, according to Fester, posed significant challenges to the promotion of women's rights through their will to preserve culture, tradition and religion at the expense of women's freedoms.

Also in 1990, the ANC released a declaration that women's liberation would be addressed separately, as it could not be considered a natural outcome of democratisation and would therefore be reprioritised– a success for women's movements (Johansen, 2011: 80). Gender discrimination would no longer be considered as a secondary aspect of racial inequality (Seidman, 1999: 291). However, during the 1991 ANC national conference, the ANC refused to set gender quotas, despite Nelson Mandela's strong support, and this rejection incited women activists to publicly declare association with feminist ideals that were in contrast to male party members. The ANCWL stated that despite changes in the organisation and in the nature of the oppression that they were facing, women still experienced discrimination within the ANC and that women were "… used mainly for catering and mobilisation" (ANC Women's League, 2015).

Twenty-six political parties and organisations signed the National Peace Accord (NPA) in 1991 which created Peace Committees, a Commission of Inquiry and deployed 15 000 peace monitors to create conditions conducive to dialogue and peacebuilding. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations formally commenced in December 1991, with nineteen participating groups, but was suspended. Women protested about the lack of women's representation at the discussions and the ANCWL request to the league to grant separate status from the ANC as a "strategy to make convention structures more representative" (Hassim, 2006b: 152). This request was denied, but a proposal for a Gender Advisory Committee (GAC) to monitor working committees and provide recommendations on gender implications was accepted. The major issues was that the recommendations were not binding, but Cathi Albertyn noted that despite the limited powers of the GAC, it was a success for ensuring that women's issues were included in the formal negotiation agenda (Hassim, 2006b: 153).

Many criticized the GAC for its inability to develop clear positions on policy issues and for its weak organisation, in spite of the fact that CODESA 2 was convened in Johannesburg in 1992 and collapsed shortly afterwards in light of the Boipatong Massacre where 46 people died. ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and government's Rolf Meyer continued bilateral talks which resulted in the Record of Understanding that outlined a draft constitution, transitional institutions and set an election date for April 1994 – actions which elicited great frustrations from other parties and organisations who were excluded but participated in the Multi-party Negotiation Process (MPNP) of further talks (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018: 4).

However, in this crucial decision-making process where political elites gathered, one begs to ask the question - where were the women? In 1991, Winne Madikizela-Mandela, Albertina Sisuslu and Gill Marcus were included in the National Executive Committee of the ANC and several other women returned from exile to fill senior political role in various opposition parties. This can be attributed to the fact that gradual changes in society through constant insistence from women party members, external pressure and international trends led to a greater public acceptance of gender concerns into the structures of negotiations (Seidman, 1999: 293) and election of women to leadership positions. The process of democratisation that would reshape South African society would only address women's issues on all levels of policy and decision making if there was adequate representation of women.

The underrepresentation of women at CODESA negotiations – a mere 5% – was enough reason for the WNC members to overcome internal divisions and demand that gender equality be promoted in the new constitution (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018: 6). The WNC is widely agreed upon amongst scholars to have been an important, albeit temporary structure that organised, coordinated and promoted women's demands during the negotiations. Apart from shared gender-specific interests, there was little else that united the heterogenous membership, therefore an inclusive Women's Charter that was representative of all South African women was paramount.

The Charter's proponents included certain demands such as assertion of reproductive rights, full equality at home and in the workplace, inclusion of women in decision-making forums, rejecting gendered discrimination and asserted the unequivocal right of women to control their own bodies (Seidman, 1999: 299). The Charter was completed in 1994 after several years of fieldwork and despite many dissimilarities, the second Women's Charter was ultimately completed and absorbed into the Constitution in 1996.

At the MPNP dialogues, women's organisations and former GAC members held protests until the Negotiation Council agreed to accept the WNC proposal of increasing all party delegations to four members – including one woman per delegation with full voting rights. However, improved representation did not necessarily lead to all demands being addressed. One such issue was the conflict between the WNC and traditional leaders over the inclusion of gender equality as a constitutional principle to override customary law – a measure that the ANC only supported after the ANCWL warned that it would boycott elections (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018: 7).

With a donation from the Danish government, the WNC set up a Multi-Party Negotiations Process Monitoring Collective in 1993 that served to create cooperation between negotiation observers and women negotiators. This ensured that women outside of the negotiation procedures were kept well-informed about the proceedings and given the opportunity to provide feedback on issues such as equal access to education, economic opportunities and so forth (Hassim, 2006b: 155). This feedback paired with the WNC's country-wide focus groups and consultations, ensured that demands delivered at the MPNP articulated the positions of the public.

3.5.   Successes and failures of the women's movement

Grey (2002) tackles the issue of how one can measure the influence of social movements, as discussed in Chapter 2. Some of the methods that Grey has utilised in her own studies to measure influence or lack thereof includes identifying social movement discourse coalitions in a specific area of public policy, and pinpointing the nature of the actors in the coalition to determine whether or not they are state actors (2002:17). In this case, we would look to the WNC as an actor and democratic negotiations as an area of public policy. We know that the WNC include a variety of actors, but that the organisation as a whole was not a state actor. More pertinently, Grey suggests that analysis of social movements' external targets, such as affecting the culture of society and the political system, would be most constructive in measuring influence (2002:4). The internal targets such as organisation and actors still possess value too, but the external influence of social movements is what allows one to analyse the impact on democratic decision-making processes. Considering the goal of the WNC to promote gender equality and democracy, one could argue that Grey's approach to measuring a movement's influence would be a suitable lens to apply in this case.

Literature regarding women and democratisation (Alvarez, 1990a; Meer, 2005; Waylen, 1994, 2007) has largely shown that it is unusual for women, organised as women, to contribute in transition negotiations, with the majority of transitions resulting in disappointing outcomes for gendered issues. Alvarez (1990) states that "gender has become politicised" within institutional politics and Waylen (1994: 340) argues that this politicisation has led to the placement of gender issues on the liberation agenda purely for the sake of gaining women's support. After achieving political goals and transitioning into democracy, women's issues typically remain unresolved, electoral representation does not significantly increase, and women remain excluded from power structures. Furthermore, social movements are often excluded and demobilised under civilian-ruled democracies (Waylen, 1994: 342) with case studies showing

that women's movements that retain their autonomy and organise around gender interests become marginalised and without intervention, conservative policies are implemented that effectively stunt the possibility of increasing welfare provisions and satisfying women's needs.

3.5.1. Women's emancipation and national liberation

Perhaps the greatest success for South African women's movements in the transition to democracy was the fact that women were not marginalised during the nationalist struggle, but rather succeeded in incorporating gender equality concerns into the democratic debates (Hassim, 2002: 693), albeit subordinate to racial equality. The transition to democracy was considered a success, based on a peaceful transition, the creation of independent institutions, and positive ratings on democracy barometers from sources such as the Freedom House Index (Johansen, 2011: 77).

From a gendered perspective, South Africa is also considered an exception in democratic transition studies due to the WNC's active participation in negotiations and the results of their efforts that have culminated in a state gender machinery, progressive policy outcomes and high levels of representation (Waylen, 2007: 522). Britton (2002: 41) contends that women's interests were recognised in the new South African Constitution because of the WNC's Women's Charter. Essentially, women were finally a visible constituency. This speaks to Gamson's (1975: 29) measure of success of gauging the advantages that were acquired for the movement's constituency. The very fact that women were now recognised as a constituency speaks to the WNC's success and the additional inclusion of gender-sensitive policies into the Constitution solidifies it.

However, when looking at women as a constituency, one cannot make the mistake of believing that a homogenous group of women were equally represented and gained equal benefit from the Women's Charter. As discussed under 3.3.1, the diversity of the WNC's constituents led to several points of contention on the issues of representation, flexibility and inclusivity. The drafting process of the Charter was considered by COSATU women to be elitist and exclusionary as working women were unable to directly influence any decision making. It was alleged that the Charter could not be fully representative of working-class women's needs as decision-making power was centralised to a small group of educated, urban, middle-class women. Tshoaedi (2012b: 18) writes that the conflicts were a manifestation of a struggle for control and ownership of the process but that COSATU women unionists were seen as strong, experienced leaders who asserted themselves and their constituents needs in the WNC and thus

ensured that the Charter reflected local contexts. In article five on "Development, Infrastructure and the Environment", the Charter highlighted the basic needs to clean water, sanitation and electricity (Ginwala & Meintjes, 2012: 8) and in article eleven, "Health", access to adequate healthcare services and women-specific health issues were articulated (Ginwala & Meintjes, 2012: 11).

This articulation of demands from the women at all levels and spaces in South African society lent the WNC credibility and legitimacy in the demands that it made during the MPNP discussions (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018: 8).

3.5.2. *Representation and Women in Leadership*

A concerning pattern in post-transition democracies that Jancar (1985) mentions is the lack of women elected to state leadership positions. In Waylen's (1994) study of Latin American democratic transitions, women's representation in parliament was only 5.3% in Brazil, 5.6% in Chile and 6.7% in Argentina. According to Hassim, (2006b: 932) the underrepresentation of women severely limits the strategic range of possibilities available to develop interests and furthermore, a lack of legislative representation diminishes the ability of women to hold the government accountable.

In South Africa, this post-transition pattern was avoided for several reasons. Firstly, during the period of exile, women pursued international higher education and military training which warned them of the dangers of postponing women's liberation for the sake of national liberation (Britton, 2002: 36). Women were equipped with sufficient knowledge and influence to insist that women's issues be substantively included in the liberation agenda. Secondly, the ANC subscribed to a voluntary 30% quota in an effort to demonstrate its commitment to gender equality and Britton (2002: 54) suggests that this pressured opposition parties into reconsidering their own gender imbalances. Hassim (2006b: 932) posits that even in participatory democracies in postcolonial countries, quota campaigns are necessary to combat the exclusionary nature of formal institutions of democracy.

In 1994, women members of parliament totalled 28.3% of elected representatives (Britton, 2002: 65). In 2017, women filled 41.7% of ministerial positions in the South African parliament (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). Martin Chungong, Secretary General of the Geneva-based Interparliamentary Union (IPU) opined that the presence of women in key decision-making platforms is not only vital "for gender equality, but also for democracy and the legitimacy of the process thereof" (TimesLive, 2018).

Figure 3.1. Women's Representation in Parliament 1994 vs 2019
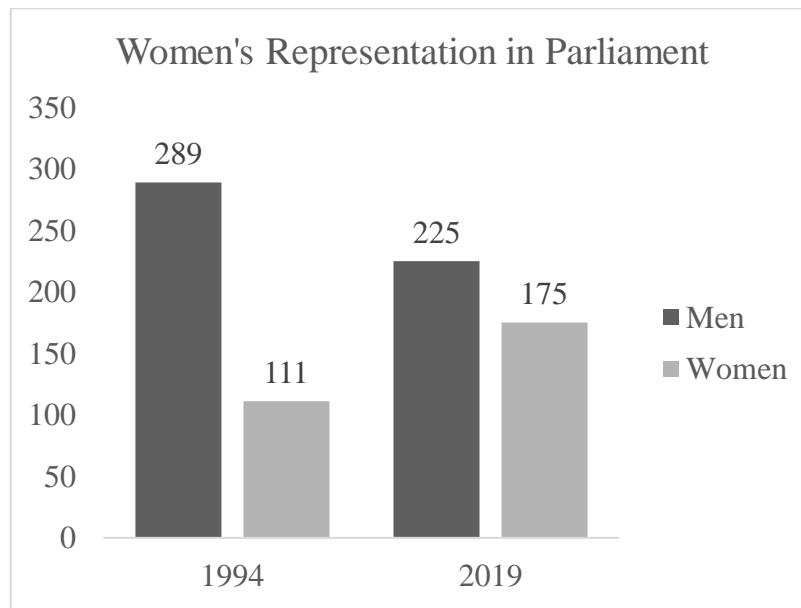
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019

Hassim (2006b: 933) discusses several issues with women's representation in government. The first is the implicit assumption that increased numbers of women in elected positions will result in advancing gender equality on the national agenda. Quota campaigns would supposedly empower women to hold sway in key decision-making areas such as policy formulation, budgets and government policies, however, elite women are often placed in these positions who fail to represent grassroots interests, hold government accountable, or actively pursue advancement of women's interests. Furthermore, accessing institutional representation does not necessarily equate to the ability of transforming the institution, or being able to further women's interests, either through co-optation or lack of substantive influence. Here one can clearly see the differentiation between substantive and descriptive representation and participation, meaning that we can see women in leadership positions and we are aware of the legislative changes that are made, but on a grassroots level, there are no positive changes to women's daily livelihoods. Mangaliso (1997) writes that gender inequality is established and reinforced in the home, often going unaffected by external forces and government policies, which means that democratic benefits are not extended to women who are poor, black, vulnerable or "subjected to private patriarchies" (McEwan, 2005: 183).

3.5.3. Citizenship, gender-focused institutions and the risk of institutionalisation

Another measure of success or failure that one may consider is the achievement of citizenship. It is one of the key tenets of democratic studies and implies recognition of certain rights to those who are able to attain citizen-status. Fester (2015: 11) contends that 'citizenship is a key indicator of democracy and women's equality'. Reflecting back onto the theoretical framework of Chapter 2, scholars have theorised that citizenship forms an integral part of a democratic society, regardless of the ongoing debates about the exact nature and gendering of the concept. I agree with Batliwala and Dhanraj (quoted in Fester, 2015: 218) that "citizenship is not a fixed and bounded terrain".

The incorporation of women into fully fledged citizens is not an easy task when considering that women have certain exclusive concerns and needs which need to be accommodated by the state (Fester, 2015: 42), such as ensuring bodily integrity and sexual autonomy and self-control over reproductive rights, a concern which should not extend to men. Another consideration is the exclusion of care work from the dimension of citizenship, which has significant gender implications as care work in South Africa is predominantly performed by women (Sevenhuijsen in Gouws, 2005b:5). Care work demands time and resources, dictating women's level of political participation and if it were included as a dimension of citizenship then "the importance of care as a social value will be acknowledged". These concerns are best served through the creation of state machinery and institutions that are mandated with gender-specific issues and are provided with the necessary resources and skilled personnel that are equipped with dealing with gender-specific issues.

The WNC helped create several inclusive commissions during the MPNP and interim constitution stages and several later became permanent structures. The Gender Advisory Committee was the first inclusion of gender-specific political interests into negotiations and was set up during CODESA, making non-binding recommendations, and collapsed with CODESA. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was created to include commissioners that represented South African society, hence a third of commissioners were women and introduced special women's hearings. Finally, there was also the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) that became an independent, statutory body that consisted of 12 members that served five-year terms. The CGE has been severely criticised for its lack of significant impact on gender equality (Hassim, 2006b: 222).

Hassim (2006b: 932) discusses democratisation from an African perspective and mentions how women's movements take opportunities to "redesign political institutions … that produce fairer outcomes for women". One may consider the National Gender Machinery (NGM) that was created as one such example of how women as citizens were accommodated in the new democracy. However, the subsequent failure of the NGM to create tangible and sustainable results in the lives of South African women does leave one to ponder if this was indeed a success for the women's movement? One believes that the intent and effort that went into the creation of the NGM and its initial success can be accredited to the WNC, however, its subsequent failure to address pertinent women's issues and promote equal citizenship cannot solely be blamed on the WNC as they had no role in further administration and accountability practices of the NGM.

The question of whether the women's movement became institutionalised can also be used as a measure of success or failure. Grey (2002: 5) states that:

> institutionalisation has been seen as an instrument of social control and inclusion in the political process and inclusion in the political process signals attempts by the political elites to co-opt challenging groups.

The WNC enacted a ruling that women in government positions should not be allowed to simultaneously hold a government and WNC leadership position, to allow other women a chance to participate and also to avoid conflict between the movement and party ideologies. This resulted in a mass exodus of strong leaders into the political arena and left a power vacuum in the WNC that rendered it rather powerless. This is not explicit institutionalisation of the movement, but the loss of many strong leaders to the state institution and their subsequent disjunction with grassroots women's interests, resulted in a halting of progression of women's movements. Gouws (2016a) notes a trend of engagement with institutional spaces that lead to small, "temporal localised movements", which refers to short-term alliances or coalitions that intensely mobilise and only exist around pieces of legislation until the bill is passed through parliament. The temporal localised movement woks as an effective strategy of keeping the state accountable to women, and Gouws illustrates this through her analysis of the Shukumisa Campaign (see below).

3.6.   Post-democratisation gains and losses

Many provisions were included in legislation to promote and protect women's interests, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women

and a specialised parliamentary committee to oversee its implementation (Improvement on the Quality of Life and the Status of Women), the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), department specific gender goals, and several white papers (Johansen, 2011: 82). However, concerns have been raised about the poorly resourced and inefficient CGE and OSW, further restricted by understaffing, perplexing goals and ideologically inexperienced staff that are unwilling to promote gender equality as a political project (Meer, 2005: 44). mandates Additionally, the overlapping mandates of the bodies have resulted in structural problems stemming from the poorly defined boundaries of the mandates of the these structures (Gouws, 2006). The overlap has resulted in confusing expectations and an inability to fulfil its mandated functions.

Women's movements and organisations have diminished in their capacity to hold government accountable and to hold influence over certain policy decisions, but in Gouws' article (2016: 411) on women's activism in South Africa, the repertoires of action by organisations such as the Shukumisa Campaign signals two things: 1) a distinct move away from traditional means of engaging the state to promote social movement interests and 2) validation that civil society is still participating in democracy through collective action and social movements to promote interests such as awareness about gender-based violence.

Fester (2015: 279) points out the concerning gap between the Constitution and the lived reality of women's lives which does not reflect equality, protection and promotion of women's interests. She points out particular women's groups that through several intersections of oppression are not even close to equality, whereas political elites, urban and middle-class women are much more likely to have achieved some semblance of equality.

Gouws (2016: 411) explains that amongst the 'competition to establish a dominant frame' that justifies and explains violence against women by men, the cultural frame is most prominent. She continues to say that this frame can only 'change through attitudes and social norms, rather than appealing to law". I understand this sentiment to mean that deeply rooted cultural views in South Africa that have led to the oppression and victimisation of women will be difficult to challenge and that the pathway to achieving intersectional equality for women will be paved with arduous attempts at changing deeply held beliefs and practices. Indeed, Zald (in Grey, 2002: 6) argues that the impact of social movements on culture, frames and policy are extraordinarily valuable and therefore, additional research in the impact of social movements to public discourse is needed.

Some organisations have received critical acclaim, despite their one-dimensional approach of seeking only emancipation for white women, whereas others have been rooted in intersectionality, before the term even became widely recognised within feminist theory or feminist activism. A very interesting detail that has presented itself during the course of the research process is the prevalence of women who, despite actively participating in women's movements and organisations, did not consider themselves to be feminists or ideologically aligned with the principles of feminism (Fester, 2015; Waylen, 1994: 346). This is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

The stagnation and fragmentation of the WNC post-1994 did not mean the end of all women's movements. There have been several instances of resurgence in women's and feminist organisations since democratisation, including the 2006 establishment of the Progressive Women's Movement (PWM) in Bloemfontein. Gouws (2019:5) describes the PWM as an example of women's mobilisation through the state, specifically the ANCWL, which has significant implications for the autonomy and independence of civil society groups. There were several instances of country-wide protests in 2016 at university campuses where student movements launched silent protests against the rape and sexual harassment of women students at South African universities. Gouws (2018) notes the interesting divergence of this women's movement to that of previous generations, in that the students were openly aligned with feminist ideology. The movement, #EndRapeCulture, self-identified as "intersectional, radical, African feminists" was and framed their repertoires of action accordingly. Most recently in September 2019, the rape and murders of multiple women throughout South Africa's Women's Month led to widespread protests across city centres where thousands of people joined in to protest gender-based violence (Francke, 2019), similar in nature to the #TotalShutdown marches that took places in 2017. The ongoing violence against women sparked a grassroots Anti-GBV (gender-based violence) movement, the online campaign #AmINext and protests at parliament in Cape Town, as temporal localised movements, as described by Gouws (2016).

Figure 3.2. A Timeline of Key Historical Events for Women's Movements in South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA

1912
ANC is established

1913
Bantu Women's League established by Maxeke

1930
White women get the right to vote

1943
Women are allowed to become ANC members

1948
NP wins elections. Official start of Apartheid
ANCWL established

1954
FSAW established and Women's Charter produced

1955
Congress of the People and Freedom Charter produced

1956
Women's Anti-pass laws March

1960
Sharpeville Massacre. ANC and other political organisations banned

1973
Worker strikes spread across the country

1975
Black Consciousness Movement grows, **Black Women's Federation established**

1976
Soweto Uprising

1985
COSATU launched

1987
UDF Women's Congress established

1988
COSATU Women's Conference

1990
ANC ban lifted. ANCWL Malibongwe Conference, relaunched
Democratic negotiations begin

1991
National Peace Accord signed by 26 parties. CODESA begins

1992
Women's National Coalition formally established
COSATU Worker's Charter

1994
Women's Charter completed
First Democratic elections, Apartheid ends

1996
Constitution completed; National Machinery for Women established (CGE, OSW, JCQLSW)

2000s
First woman deputy president appointed
Progressive Women's Movement launched

2010s
Widespread university protests against campus rapes
Anti-GBV protests across South Africa, march to Parliament, #AmINext campaign

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3.7. Conclusion

The literature has demonstrated that whilst there was no shortage of women activists during the struggle for democracy, it is clear that their contributions have been largely erased in favour of a narrative that is dominated by the achievements of men. I also wish to argue that this trend has been changing since the 1990s with contributions to field made by authors such as Gouws, Hassim, Fester, Meer, Waylen and a new generation of feminist scholars who are drawing from their work to produce new knowledge in the field of South African gender studies.

This chapter has illustrated South Africa's history through a gendered perspective, focusing on the collective action of women in the form of social movements in reaction to certain laws, traditions and circumstances.

It has become increasingly evident that boundaries separating the public and private spheres of participation have been steadily broken down as social, political and economic necessity has warranted the participation of men and women in both spheres. This chapter showed that women organising and collective mobilisation took place long before the 1990s, and in many different forms such as auxiliaries, independent groups, regional movements, trade unions and national organisations. We have seen how women entered the political arena to address gender-specific issues from creating their own auxiliary movements as branches to existing political parties, to staging protests against oppressive laws that limited their economic opportunities and discriminated against them based on their race and gender – such as the women's anti-pass laws march in 1956.

This chapter also served to illustrate that women in South Africa cannot be viewed as a homogenous group with shared interests when there are so many different intersections of culture, race, language and geographical locations that inform the challenges that each woman faces. The intersections significantly influence the ability of women to achieve equality. Further to this, the research has demonstrated how women's movements have changed how they organise and mobilise. Gouws (2016) refers to the changes in how women's movements organise, explaining that different organisations may utilise different strategies such as forming state-run organisations (PWM) through auxiliary organisations (ANCWL), utilising technological advances and the broad appeal of social media, and finally mobilisation around different gendered issues.

These differences, or intersections, were critical to the mandate of the WNC to unite all women under one umbrella, but also posed the organisation's greatest challenge of ensuring that all

women's issues are heard and addressed. The stark differences between the priorities of working-class women and middle-class women threatened to jeopardise the work of the WNC, which tried to balance the different interests it represented, L but was ultimately led by mostly educated and middle-class women. However, strong leadership and consistent pressure from organisations such as COSATU and the Rural Women's Movement ensured that the Women's Charter ultimately became a document of compromise that represented the needs of most South African women.

The WNC's efforts in mainstreaming gender in the negotiations process, transitionary period and finally, during democracy itself is a remarkable feat when one considers that national liberations has often come at the expense of women's emancipation in other democratised states. The creation of an NGM and permanent institutional structures such as the CGE laid strong foundations for addressing gender inequalities. The current lack of progress cannot be attributed to the WNC, but rather to a lack of resources, political will and passionate individuals.

Chapter 4: The South Korean Women's Movement

4.1. Introduction

As with its predecessor, this chapter aims to provide the reader with a comprehensive insight into the history, culture and other salient nuances of South Korea as a case study to form a solid foundation of understanding upon which South Korea and South Africa may be compared at a later stage.

This chapter will start by briefly discussing the history of South Korea, placing focus on how Korean society developed and was shaped by the influences of Confucianism, colonialism, and conflict. Each of these aspects impacted Korean society differently, but I will give special attention to how gender ideology has been shaped by these historical events. Drawing from the scholarship of Chung (2011), Kim & Kim (2014), Koh (2008), Lee & Lee (2013) and Moon (2002a,b), I will examine the ideology of Confucianism and how varying interpretations manipulated the ancient scriptures to ensure a patriarchal society.

Regarding conflict and colonialism, scholars such as Bardsley (1999), Lee (2006), Nam (2000) and Toman (2009) have made valuable contributions to the field and their work has been referenced in this study. Included in this section is the prominent issue of Korean 'comfort women' during wartime, the lesser-known roles of women in war, and the increasing nationalist discourse that permeated society.

In consideration of another important aspect of Korean society, the following section will analyse the rapid industrialisation of East Asia and further scrutinise how the drastic changes to the South Korean economy impacted its people and the political regime. Korea's export-led growth strategy created a favourable climate for big businesses through state policies that awarded "export subsidies, low-cost loans, tax breaks and market protection" (Seguino, 1997: 438). This was in contrast to the labour sector where severe restrictions were placed on labour unions, discriminatory hiring practices were used by businesses and government alike, and women's employment patterns were disrupted by state policies that benefited industries where female representation was notably low. Studies conducted by Hlasny (2011), Jarman, Blackburn & Racko (2012;) and Seguino (1997) have focused on different issues within South Korean labour practices, but each have investigated the impact of an industrialised, export-manufacturing economy on Korean gender ideology. Discriminatory hiring, unequal pay and other unfair labour practices prompting labour union responses are extensively examined to allow for well-informed comparison to be conducted between the two case studies at a later

stage. This study suggests that the economic transformation of the late twentieth century had a great impact on the gender relations of modern-day Korea, both positive and negative, which will be illustrated with examples.

Succeeding the topics above, I will be able to fully engage with the content that forms the basis of this study, which is the establishment and impact of women's movements during the democratisation of South Korea. Moreover, I will focus on the repertoires of action used by women's movements and the changing political opportunities they were faced with. A thorough examination of South Korean society enables one to identify key gender-specific issues throughout several decades of economic and political upheaval, and one is also able to observe civil society's responses to these issues, gauging the impact of movements on issues.

4.2. South Korean women in history: the changing forms of women's liberation through dynasties and wars

4.2.1. Confucianist influences on shaping Korean society

In most societies, there is often a predominant system of ethics that contributes to shaping the characteristics of a particular society and in Korea the most influential system of ethics was that of Confucianism. In South Korea, Buddhism inspired some of the earliest Korean traditions between its introduction in 372 by the Chinese Former Qin state, until its popularity decreased significantly in the late 1300's (Vermeersch, 2008: 3). Even as the variety of religious convictions expanded to include shamanism, Islam and Christianity, Confucianism remained a consistent cultural influence on Korean society. While Confucianism is not strictly considered a religion, it described as a "system of social and ethical philosophy… to establish values, institutions and transcendent ideals… the sense of religious identity and common moral understanding…" (Berling, 2018).

At this point I would like to clarify that the aim of thesis is in no way intended to reduce the Confucian ideology to an oppressive tradition that inhibits liberal democracy. Rather, I draw from the perspective of authors such as Moon (2002a) who conducts research from a nuanced approach and which does not limit Confucianism to being the "static essence of Asia" (Moon, 2002b: 39), nor the sole influence of meaning to South Korea. Confucian ideals are deeply entrenched in social fabric of Korean society and influence key aspects of everyday life, but I also acknowledge that other factors such as colonialism and capitalist industrialisation contributed to the formation of Korean society as it is known today.

The essence of classic Confucianism was that of a strict, hierarchical order that provided a framework to regulate social behaviour (Chin, 2000: 92) and was adopted into governmental structures in 982, under the reign of King Sŏngjong (981 - 997), a keen advocate of Confucianism. Buddhism had expanded far beyond the confines of simply a religion under the Koryŏ dynasty, to the point where temples had commercial interests, land ownership, tenants, and slaves. Under the Chosŏn dynasty (1392 - 1910), scholars proposed Neo-Confucianism to the new ruling elite as an alternative to Buddhism. It that promoted moral, and ethical governance, emphasized the redistribution of wealth, and was successfully incorporated into state ideology, scholarship and social norms (Baker, 2008: 138).

However, it was also applied to the familial structure, affording men the patriarchal role that included ruling and protecting over his subordinate wife and children. Women were obligated to participate in the three ways of subjection, meaning that throughout different stages of their lives, women were subjects of the fathers, husbands, and eventually, eldest sons. Women were not considered to be capable of rational thought and were prevented from voting, decision-making and all forms of ownership (Chin, 2000: 94). Moon (2002b: 477) investigates the impact of Confucianism on Korean society and states that in the fourteenth century, Neo-Confucianism strongly influenced the increasing masculinisation of Korean civil society. Moon points out that women would be placed in subordinate positions to men when it related to production and reproduction, but also that the status of men in the private sphere was elevated to provide them with certain rights, benefits and symbolic authority that was not provided to women. The relevance of Confucianism in gender relations in South Korea are discussed in greater detail in section 4.2.2 below.

4.2.2. *South Korean dynasties and the women resisting through writing*

Whilst a complete anthology of South Korean history will not be included in this thesis, there are certain historical events that have been included to provide nuance to the case study. Korean history dates back to the Neolithic period and includes several centuries of ancient conflict between warring tribes. Multiple kingdoms existed and were led by different leaders until the Three Kingdoms were established and later unified in c. 668. Once again, the kingdoms were unified under dynastic rule in the late 9th century, first under the Koryŏ (or Goryeo) dynasty (918 - 1392), followed by the Chosŏn (or Joseon) dynasty (1392 - 1897) and finally, the Great Korean Empire (1897 1910) (Association of Korean History Teachers, 2005: 162).

The three dynastic periods of rule are particularly relevant to this study due to the increasing influence of Confucian ideology on the shaping of Korean culture. Under the Koryŏ dynasty Buddhist teachings flourished throughout the country, twelve universities were established, and a system of laws was codified alongside an introduction of a system of civil service (Lee, Park & Yoon, 2005: 360). The Chosŏn dynasty was developed based on Confucian ideology and several reforms of social, economic and administrative nature were strongly influenced by Confucian ideals (Association of Korean History Teachers, 2005: 162). A notable development during this era was that of the Korean alphabet, Hangul, which was promulgated in 1446 and subsequently inspired many literary, scientific and cultural advances. Of these literary advances, this study will focus specifically on Confucian texts that were written for women, by women (Koh, 2008).

These texts have assisted researchers in identifying the first instances of women's empowerment and resistance against oppressive social norms derived from Confucian scriptures. According to Koh (2008: 354), "the history of the women's movement is rather short; however, the history of women's resistance to male domination on an individual level is much longer". Koh (2008) analyses several literary sources that to support her stance on female empowerment and argues that these writings demonstrate how women from their respective era's enacted their agency through developing strategies for gender equality in a male-dominated society Koh (2008: 354). *Naehun* (Teachings for Women) was authored by Han, the mother of King Sŏngjong who had to intervene in political affairs and fulfil certain royal duties, due to her son's young age at the time of his crowning. Her royal position and unique influence afforded her the experience and ability to publish *Naehun*, which was to be used as an educational instrument to educate upper-class women in Confucian teachings specifically tailored to them Koh (2008: 355). Kim Hoyŏnjae, an academic who grew up in an aristocratic family, wrote *Chagyŏngp'yŏn,* allegedly inspired by her lonely marriage, where she illustrated a key Confucian tenet of self-cultivation, hoping to inspire other women in similar circumstances to her. The final example that Koh (2008) uses is *Ŏnhaeng Sillok,* written in the eighteenth century by the academic Kwŏn Ryuhandang, to include a blend of Confucian and Western ideas that was both accessible and relatable to women of lower economic status.

These writings were all written acknowledging that women were different from men, and therefore deserved separate instruction on how to fulfil their unique roles to the best of their abilities, an idea which in itself was revolutionary. However, with the exception of Kwŏn Ryuhandang, these writings were created by women in positions of privilege and accessible

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only by middle-class women who were able to read. In terms of considering these texts as "empowering" Koh (2008: 357) explains that women had to be educated in Confucian ideals such as "Good wife, Wise Mother" (*hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*) or "behave in a proper, feminine way" (*ye),* but highlights the fact that within their historical context and the era in which these text were published, these ideals exhibited women's agency, and the ability to ensure equality through exercising their own brand of freedom and power. In a modern setting, Korean feminists would consider the "wise mother and good wife" teachings as an attempt to "maintain the anachronistic patriarchal order of Korean society", or "product of Japanese colonial education system in Korea which tried to … propagate obedient female colonial subjects" (Choi, 2009: 2).

To others, the Chosŏn dynasty signalled a remarkable change in Korean society where the patriarchal system began to acknowledge the importance of providing women with limited education in Confucian teachings of womanly virtues (*pudŏk*).This was deemed necessary facilitation for women to fulfil their roles as educators of future citizens (sons) and being capable of assisting their husbands (Choi, 2009: 22). For social agents, gendered roles were cunningly used as strategic platforms to empower women, as education expanded the domain in which women could participate and the scope of roles available to them. The writings discussed above have not only demonstrated the ability of academics to examine Confucianism through various frames of reference, but also shown the ability of women to contribute to society and fulfil an array of roles within their identity as women (Koh, 2008: 361).

The scope of participation wherein women traditionally engaged in changed dramatically during the final days of the Chosŏn dynasty, as Korea was plagued with severe internal and external conflicts, including the assassination of rulers, rebellion and foreign invasions. The Korean Empire was annexed by Japan in 1910 and fell under Japanese colonial rule.

Korean resistance against Japan's rule manifested itself in a series of public demonstrations that protested the mistreatment of Korean citizens by Japanese occupiers and was named the March 1st Movement, as it took place on 1 March 1919. The March 1st Movement is considered as one of the stimulating factors of the Korean Independence Movement, which spurred on more resistance. An estimated two million Koreans participated across 1500 separate protests, whilst crowds gathered in Seoul to hear the Korean Declaration of Independence read out loud and form a peaceful procession. The demonstrations were met by a show of violence suppression by Japanese local and military police, resulting in the massacre of thousands of Koreans, and public executions (Ebrey & Walthall, 2014).

Out of the thousands of political activists that were arrested during the course of the Korean Independence Movement, we focus our attention on seventeen-year-old Yu Gwan-sun, a student at the Ewha Womans [sic] Academy. Founded in 1886 in Seoul, it was the first mission school for girls and later became Ewha Womans [sic] University, where it was central to women's rights movements and produced many notable alumni (Darcy & Song, 1986: 672). Gwan-sun and her family actively participated in the March 1st protests, where her parents were among the innocent people that were killed, and she was arrested (Jeong, 2018). Gwan-sun was tortured by military police to extract information about other protest collaborators, which she did not reveal, and she was subsequently sentenced to five years imprisonment at Seodaemun Prison. In prison, Gwan-sun organised a prison protest to mark the anniversary of the March 1st Movement, for which she was placed in solitary incarceration as punishment. She endured severe beatings, rape and other forms of torture during her detention, and at the age of eighteen on 28 September 1920, she succumbed to her injuries (Jeong, 2018). Yu Gwan-sun's death resulted in more lenient political measures of control, but she also became a symbol of resistance to the independence movement, who referred to her as "Korea's Joan of Arc" (Kim, 2014a).

Koh (2008) discusses the incongruousness between feminism and Confucianism, asking whether in fact the two are compatible in modern South Korean society? Through her analysis of the literary texts above, she examines the nature of the content and the accessibility of Confucian literature to women. She concludes that Confucianism and feminism are compatible, based on the reasoning that historically, the interpretation and application of Confucian literature was limited to men, whereas currently, women are also engaging with Confucian classics to contribute their perspectives to society (Koh, 2008: 361).

4.3.   Conflict in Korea – wars, industrialisation and revolt

4.3.1. Korea in War (World War II and Korean War)

During World War II, the Japanese Imperial army forcefully drafted Korean citizens into the international conflict and subjugated Korean women into sexual slavery , or what is commonly referred to as "comfort women" (Bardsley, 1999: 138). Comfort stations were established for the following reasons; 1) to prevent Japanese soldiers from raping civilian women in the areas where the military had been stationed; 2) to avoid the spread of venereal diseases, and; 3) to placate the simmering discontent of soldiers which threatened grass-roots revolts (The Korea Times, 2007). Both Oriental and Occidental scholars have extensively published work covering

various angles of the comfort women issue (Kim & Lee, 2017; Mackie, 2017; Yamashita & Kovner, 1998). An estimated 200 000 women and young girls were forcefully conscripted under the guise of "patriotism" to work in factories or restaurants (*chŏngsindae*), but instead, had to endure brutal treatment at the hands of Japanese soldiers (Kim & Lee, 2017: 201). Unspeakable violence was repeatedly carried out on the comfort women and many died or were rendered sterile from either the medication given them to avoid pregnancy and disease, or the abuse their bodies endured (Sanghani, 2015). To the Imperial Army, a woman's age, social status, education and appearance did not matter, and girls as young as ten years old, who had not yet reached puberty, were taken. In many cases, women such as Lee Yong-soo and Yi Ok-seon, survivors from the war, had been forcibly abducted by military men (Kim & Chae, 2015). Solely married women were exempt from conscription, due to the deeply entrenched patriarchal notion that a woman was the property of her husband, and oftentimes, even that was not enough.

The issue of 'comfort women' is a taboo subject in South Korea for several reasons and because of its taboo status, it has taken several decades and herculean efforts on the part of women's movements to achieve restitution for the victims. Traditional customs prescribed certain value to a woman's purity and through the actions of Japanese soldiers, Korean comfort women were seen as 'defiled' and thought to have brought shame upon their families (Kim & Lee, 2017: 200).This was despite the fact that so many women were unwillingly forced into sexual slavery during the war. Some women who had returned home were met with rejection or disgust, some chose never to tell their families what had happened to them, and some chose to never return home.

A second reason for the taboo surrounding 'comfort women' is the fact that the Japanese exploitative treatment of Korean women is considered a symbolic portrayal of the direct attack on the pride and masculinity of Korean men, which according to (Kim & Kim, 2014: 15) highlights the contentious issue of national pride. The shame manifested itself through rejection and denial of the comfort women issue. During investigations that took place as part of the post-World War II military tribunals, the interrogation of soldiers, labourers and prisoners of war resulted in an abundance of evidence referencing military brothels, kidnappings and forced prostitution. During the international military Tribunal for the Far East (also referred to as the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal) that convened on 29 April 1946, issues regarding sexual abuse, sexual slavery and inhumane treatment of prisoners were hardly mentioned, with the only charges being brought against defendants relating to war crimes (Mackie, 2017: 251).

In the Dutch War Crimes Tribunal, defendants were indicted for sexual crimes against European and Eurasian women. From a feminist framework, this highlights the concept of intersectionality and it becomes apparent that the suffering of European women had taken precedence over that of Asian women (Mackie, 2017). For many years, the comfort women issue was not discussed, and no legal recourse was taken to find justice for the women who had endured so much. Later in this chapter, one will look at the women's movements that actively participated in challenging the ineffable narrative about 'comfort women', and those who sought justice for the surviving comfort women.

During periods of war, gender roles for women become indistinct as the country plunges further into turmoil and in many cases, including that of the Korean Civil War, women had to fulfil a variety of different obligations that were previously executed by men (Lee, 2006: 89). Between 1950 and 1953, a tempestuous civil war broke out pitting the north (supported by China and the Soviet Union) and the South (supported by the United States and other Western democracies) against each other, devastating the peninsula and resulting in the combined military and civilian casualties of 1.3 million Koreans. Public infrastructure, housing and industrial capacity was largely destroyed, casting many into impoverishment, whilst a hostile relationship was created between the two Korea's, according to Eckert *et al* (1990:345 in Kim & Kim, 2014: 21). Women were placed in the rear lines of warfare and carried out duties that varied from cleaning and care work to fulfilling sexual desires. In 1950 the Volunteer Troops of Korean Women was established to encourage and mobilise unmarried women of a specific level of education in joining the army, where they received military training. They would then take up administrative position left open by male soldiers, or be deployed to the rear lines (Lee, 2006: 94).

It can be said with confidence that the presence and contributions of women in the Korean War had been largely erased. Marginal representation of women exists in literature that was produced later on. The Republic of Korea's Ministry of Defence launched a five-volume war history series entitled 'Korea in War', that served to record the progression of the conflict from 1951 onwards. The books included archives, statistics and diary entries with detailed accounts, none of which contained any record or mention of women (Lee, 2006: 106).

After the war ended, Korea emerged as an independent nation, but with a newfound ideological split that mirrored the same ideological conflicts of communism versus democracy that was forming on a global scale. The domestic environment has been described by Chin (2000: 95) as a "tug of war between opposite ideological camps" which resulted in the split that still exists

today between the north and south of the country. Under the leadership of Ri Sŭngman (also popularly known as Syngman Rhee), a government was established in 1948 in the South of Korea that was based on democratic principles and a constitution that, on paper at least, promoted equal rights for all citizens. However, the war left behind many orphans, large groups of disenfranchised people and many single-headed households where, for the first time, women became the sole providers for their families. With action from local organisations, the government increased its focus on various welfare programs (Lee, 2000: 95).

4.3.2. The KWNP and KNCW

Under Ri's authoritarian regime, civil societies were permitted and tolerated as long as they were demonstrably anti-communist (Kim & Kim, 2014: 21), which essentially allowed the possibility of a women's movement and the promotion of equal rights, as long as their ideological framework aligned with anti-communism. Subsequently, the Korean Women's National Party (KWNP) was founded and ran campaigns in support of women's issues, anti-corruption and assisted in the election of the sole women politician voted into the national legislature. The Korean Women's Association, Korean Association of University Women and Society for the Research of Women's Issues are a few of the many different organisations that had been established and later joined under the banner of the Federation of Korean Women's Groups (FKWG). The FKWG was brought together by the first female lawyer in South Korea, Lee Tai-young, to promote women's rights and seek equality in matters of "marriage, divorce, child custody and inheritance" (Kim & Kim, 2014: 21).

In 1960 Ri's regime came to a swift end and after a brief attempt at democracy, Pak Chŏnghŭi (also referred to as Park Chung-hee) established a military dictatorship through a *coup d'état* in 1961. Initially, all social and political organisations were disbanded, but after successfully consolidating his power, Pak followed a similar directive regarding social movements as Ri and officially allowed several pro-government, anti-communist organisations to function. This included the Korean National Council of Women (KNCW), which was originally established in 1959 by middle-class women as an umbrella organisation consisting of both individuals and institutions. The founding president of the KNCW was Kim Hwal-lan, the first Korean woman to receive a PhD and the first Korean president of Ewha College in 1939 (Nam, 2010: 73). She also represented South Korea five times at the United Nations Council and assisted in establishing the Institute of Women's Affairs in 1952 and The Korean Times Newspaper (Kwon, 2006). Under the leadership of Kim, the KNCW joined the International Council of Women, supported women politicians, advocated for the abolition of the patriarchal family law

system and promoted equal rights for women (Nam, 2010: 78). Notably, the KNCW never challenged the authoritarian Pak regime, which is perhaps why it was not only sanctioned by the Pak government, but also appointed as the overseer of government-run women's centre initiatives that provided educational classes relating to women's welfare (Kim & Kim, 2014: 22).

As much as the KNCW was effective in promoting gender equality, it had several key flaws that (Chin, 2000: 96) describes as an unwillingness to "confront fundamental feminist issues". First, the KNCW did not challenge the Pak regime's suppression of political opposition and anti-democratic tactics (Hur, 2011: 184). Second, the KNCW allowed Pak to mobilise women through their association to support his political agendas, but not once in his eighteen years of power did Pak appoint a single woman to official government structures, nor had his party ever had a single woman politician as representative in the National Assembly (Kim & Kim, 2014: 23). Finally, the KNCW were complicit in Pak's export-led growth strategies that exploited working-class women through exceptionally low wages paired with dangerous working conditions (Seguino, 1997: 103). Chin (2000: 96) suggests that the KNCW's dependence on the state financially, and in other ways, had resulted in a complete loss of autonomy and (Nam, 2000: 96) describes the women's movements of the 1970s as "co-opted and controlled by the military regime". Furthermore, the KNCW membership base was dominated by middle-class women, alienated from and unconcerned with the sexual inequality and problems that faced working class women.

Considering the discussions presented above, one may argue that the early women's movements of South Korea were certainly progressive in their goals of breaking away from tradition and working towards gender equality and improved social status for women, but one may also argue that they certainly lacked the ability to be inclusive of women's needs beyond the educated and middle-class bourgeoisie that it represented. The period of rapid industrialisation that followed led to a massive increase in women's employment within the manufacturing industry (Seguino, 2000: 442). Where previously there was no need for a representative body that promoted working women's rights, the need for one quickly developed in the 1960s.

4.3.3. *Unionisation and Industrialisation: Rapid economic growth, women's participation and the intersection between the labour – and women's movement*

Pak Chŏnghŭi's export-oriented growth strategy for Korea in the 1960s brought about a period of rapid industrialisation and economic prosperity for the previously war-torn country, whilst simultaneously creating a culture of exploitation and human rights abuses, particularly for working class women.

Pak's government implemented various policies that prioritised big Korean conglomerates controlled by one person or family (*chaebŏl*), as well as strategies that included government ownership of financial institutions and regulations that allowed exploitative labour practices (Minns, 2001: 181). In the space of thirty years, the South Korean economy had expanded at a pace that outstripped its peers from the 1960s, joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and became known as one of the first Asian 'tigers' economies (Minns, 2001: 180).

In the aftermath of Japanese imperialism, World War II and the Korean War, South Korea's fragile economy stagnated and the unstable government under Ri's leadership proved incapable of adequately utilising international aid (Jain & Dasgupta, 2018: 176). Government policies such as those mentioned above spurred rapid economic development and alongside militaristic discipline in factories with exploitative labour practices cemented South Korea's position as regional economic powerhouse (Minns, 2001: 182). The economic growth strategy also demanded the incorporation of female labourers and due to both patriarchal customs and limited availability, the majority of these workers were young, unmarried women. Seguino's (1997) extensive data collection from several publications of the Bank of Korea's *Economic Statistics Yearbook*, showed that the share of women in manufacturing employment had increased from 28.1 per cent in 1972 to 43.2 per cent in 1990, concentrated specifically in export industries such as "wearing apparel, textiles and electronics". These industries were noted to have been "primary sources of export earnings since 1975" (Seguino, 1997: 107).

However, from a feminist perspective, it becomes clear that there was a dual structure of exploitation in place against working-class women; exploitation through abominable working conditions and further discrimination because of their gender (Chin, 2000: 97).In spite of the positive statistics above paired with sustained growth of output and a decline in unemployment rates, women's wages had not improved alongside that of men, resulting in an increased wage gap. Research into gender discrimination and job segregation (Seguino, 1997: 112)

demonstrates that women who expect to leave the labour force once getting married and/or falling pregnant, would choose jobs that require less human capital and lower wages. This is based on Polachek's theory (1981, in Seguino, 1997: 112) that human capital, referring to skills, knowledge and specialised training, would gradually decrease during one's absence from work and a job with limited human capital attainment would incur less penalties for intermittent employment. This theory from Polachek makes sense when applied to the South Korean context. Additionally, women were further disadvantaged through a lack of funding for on-the-job training, limited training options in traditionally female industries (such as knitting), and failure to include women in training that would promote their earning capabilities and future prospects.

Furthermore, hiring procedures for the same position was discriminatory due to gender-based restrictions and employers indicating clear preference for male employees. This argument was substantiated by the fact that even though women labourers would have incurred less costs in capital-intensive sectors such as heavy steel and automobile manufacturing that required investments in machinery and infrastructure, men were still the preferred candidates. Additionally, certain advertised jobs had imposed age-restrictions on the positions, with the maximum age for women being 25, and 30 for men (Seguino, 1997: 113). This had the result of lowering women's average earnings through restricting job tenure. Finally, women were expected to contribute to the household by participating in both the formal and informal employment sectors, as emphasis was placed on women's domestic responsibilities. The exploitative treatment of workers was not a sustainable practice as labourers within various industries were expected to work up to 55 hours a week, industrial accidents had reached the highest rate worldwide, and wages were certainly not sufficient for dignified living.

All of these issues discussed above would have duly benefited from a structured representative organisation that could promote worker's interests at a management level and protect worker's rights – essentially the establishment of trade unions. However, trade union activity was severely suppressed by the authoritarian regimes of both Ri and Pak until 1983 when Chŏn slightly relaxed control over opposition activity. The previous strict repression was partly because of the ruling elites' mutually beneficial relationships with the *chaebŏl*, and partly because of the extreme aversion to any activity that was reminiscent of communism or socialism. Harsh restrictions were placed on trade union activities through labour legislation that prohibited union establishment and furthermore targeted labour-intensive industries,

where women were more prevalent, prohibiting strikes and labour disputes in firms that had foreign-investment (Seguino, 1997: 115).

Since the government's export-growth led policies were implemented in the 1960s, women's increased participation in the formal employment sector and subsequent discrimination had led to an increased awareness of gender-specific problems and facilitated the development of a certain gender consciousness (Nam, 2000: 96). The combination of oppressive government policies and the inability of the KNCW to address intersectional women's issues, led to the rise of an independent women's movement that emphasised a variety of issues, including for the first time, topics such as sexual harassment, human rights violations and poor working conditions (Chin, 2000: 97). The movement was considered a "radical branch of feminism" in the 1970s and based on shared ideological standpoints, the movement forged alliances with the student -, labour-, and democratic movements in opposition of the authoritarian regime.

Similarly, to the South African case study, women were markedly active in trade unionism as demonstrated by the Chonggye Garment Workers' Union (CGWU). The CGWU operated illegally to organise workers and provide basic literacy training, experiencing constant harassment from law enforcement authorities (Minns, 2001: 182).

The importance of democracy amongst the people had already presented itself at a grass-roots level in the local union elections of 1976 and 1978 at a textiles company in Inchon, where a male candidate supported by management was defeated by a 'militant woman' candidate (Minns, 2001: 183). In order to ensure a fair election, labourers staged sit-ins, demonstrations and strikes, and other industries followed suit, garnering an increase in public sympathy on the one hand, and increased police brutality on the other. The democratic elements that had become increasingly prevalent amongst unions had assisted in garnering the support of students, feminist movements and Christian churches that opposed the militaristic regime, creating a broad-based movement later referred to as *minjung*.

4.4. Women's Movements, Minjung and the Democratisation period (1980-1987)

De Tocqueville's 1848 conceptualisation of democracy emphasises the importance of voluntary participation in the development of democracy and (Kim, 2000) agrees with the widely accepted notion amongst Korean scholars that democratisation in South Korea was largely due to the role of civil society. Moon (2002b: 36) notes how substantive democratisation is often characterised by the proliferation of grassroots organisations and

includes characteristics such as an increased quality of life for previously marginalised groups, as well as newfound representation and participation by social groups.

According to Hur (2011: 181), Nam (2000: 94) and other feminist scholars, the vast majority of Korean scholarship relating to civil societies and democratisation has predominantly focused on class struggles and formations, neglecting gender and women's activism. Nam (2000: 95) argues that this can be attributed to three main factors: 1) the overshadowing of male-dominated labour uprisings in heavy industries which was the primary driving force behind economic growth and therefore, more important ; 2) insufficient historical data recordings as women's uprisings were not deemed substantial enough to document and; 3) the general omittance of women's movements and their contributions as they are not deemed as salient actors of democratisation processes. Considering the information above, this section will discuss the participation of civil societies in the democratisation processes of Korea, but in line with the research questions and aims of this project, place emphasis on the role of women and women's movements specifically.

4.4.1. Civil Society, the Minjung movement and women

The 1980s period in South Korea witnessed a significant rise in grassroots civil societies that were strong proponents of democracy, particularly in the form of the *minjung* movement. *Minjung,* directly translated as "people" is strongly associated with the idea of the popular will of an oppressed community (Minns, 2001: 183). Membership commonly included students, journalists, intellectuals, church leaders which later reached out to include the labour movement. *Minjung* not only refers to the movement as an organisation or collective, but also a cultural phenomenon that included *minjung* academic thought in sociology and theology, *minjung* music and performances, as well as rituals.

The movement supported the labour movement and leftist ideals, which the anti-communist military regime found unacceptable, and led to the imprisonment of, and violent recourse against many *minjung* proponents (Clark, 1995: 99). Students in particular were actively involved in promoting the worker's struggle and the growing militant resistance against the regime and *chaebŏls*. Women workers had formed autonomous labour movements, staged militant strikes and demonstrations against Pak's oppressive regime.

In 1979, Pak Chŏnghŭi was assassinated, prompting a political crisis (Minns, 2001: 187). General Chŏn Tuhwan (also referred to as Chun Doo-hwan) staged a military coup in 1980 and continued the harsh repression of civil society through brute force, massacring an estimated

2000 civilians in Kwangju in 1980. Succeeding the Kwangju massacre was several years of intense resistance against the Chŏn regime's increasingly violent crackdown on the labour movement. The resistance included the 1980 Sabuk coal miners riots that led to the declaration of martial law. An example of women's collective resistance is the 1982 Wounpoong Industrial Company sit-in protest against unfair dismissals, where women were removed by police by means of violence and tear gas, and 58 women were hospitalised.

Very importantly, a new generation of resistance had arrived during this period, which possessed experience and sophisticated political knowledge that it had gained from the previous generation. The resistance of the 1980s had an extensive repertoire of actions (see chapter 2) that it would use to withstand the oppressive Chŏn regime, ranging from suicide protests to strikes that garnered widespread public sympathy (Biggs, 2013: 421).

Women in particular had begun to actively challenge structural and cultural oppression in Korea as they established organisations such as the Women's Association for Equality and Peace, the Women's Association for Democracy and Sisterhood, a government-sponsored research institute and the Council on Women's Policy (Chin, 2000: 98; Nam, 2000: 96).

Scholars proposed several reasons for the increase of women's movements at the grassroots level in the 1980s. First, and quite simply, the increase of women in the labour force resulted in the subsequent increase in awareness of gendered issues. Second, the Chŏn government had attempted to compensate for its lack of legitimacy and harsh repression through 'wooing women's organisations" (Chin, 2000). Women had taken advantage of the opportunity by applying pressure on the government for policy changes, creating gender-focused research institutes and assisting in bringing about the 1987 Equal Employment Law. Third, there was a worldwide expansion of feminist discourse throughout the 1970s and 1980s that was supported and promoted by international organisations such as the United Nations (UN). An international women's movement had been created that hosted international conferences and inspired the U.N. Decade for Women. Fourth, there was a gap within civil society that marginalised women and did not cater for gender-specific issues, thus prompting the creation of new avenues through which women could represent their interests and not be expected to follow the male agenda. Finally, the historical suffering of women labourers and increased awareness of violent means of suppression used against them in protests had finally elicited a response from the progressive middle-class and others, who redistributed and provided ideological, material and organisational resources.

The 1980 Kwangju massacre had had a lasting effect on civil society and the mobilisation of radicalised movements in the pursuit of a democratic state. Movements that were dubbed "radical" because of their left-leaning ideologies that were reminiscent of the ideological warfare of the Korean War (Minns, 2001: 189) had gained traction, as demonstrated by the rapid spread of *minjung* ideology and the adoption of its theoretical and political orientations by women's -, student's – and human rights movements. Intersectionality had inexplicitly become part of the women's movement, as did the steady integration with the broader struggle for democracy.

4.4.2. *The Women's Movement and democratisation*

As the resistance against decades of authoritarian regimes and the democratic movement advance, the purpose and ideology of the women's movement had begun to change as well. This section will discuss key events that led to the creation of an umbrella organisation that would represent the shared interest of various women's groups, both as a political constituent in its own right, and as political actors within the greater liberation movement. Moreover, this section will assess the impact of the women's movement on Korea's democratisation whilst also considering the previous iterations of Korean women's movements and investigating the key differences.

Bowing to the pressure of international organisations and heavy criticism, the Chŏn administration joined the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and established the Korean Women's Development Institute in 1983 as a perfunctory gesture, when the reality was that government had been unresponsive to issues of gender inequality (Suh & Park, 1979: 339). In 1984, social control policies were relaxed, and the dissent of the public became stronger, mobilising resistance against the dictatorship increasing the independence and scope of women's organisations.

As part of the student movement in the early 1980s, Kwŏn Insuk, a student activist who supported the labour movement, falsified her credentials to get employment in a factory and support the unions from the inside. Her fraudulent application was discovered and resulted in her imprisonment in 1986 (Minns, 2001: 186). Kwŏn's interrogation lasted for ten days, as she was tortured, raped by a policeman, sexually assaulted and attempted to commit suicide (Nam, 2000: 100). News of her abuse was publicised and over thirty women's organisations issued statements of protest, whilst the government attempted to paint Kwŏn as a promiscuous, dramatic liar. She survived the ordeal, later referred to as the Puch'ŏn Sexual Torture Incident,

and was imprisoned for eighteen months. Organisations, movements, associations and groups off all varieties supported Kwŏn in litigation, protests and moral support, with 166 members of the Korean federation of Bar Association joining her defence team, resulting in Kwŏn's release and a five-year sentence for the police officer. She became the first woman to take legal action against the South Korean government for sexual assault (Lynn, 2007: 34) and inspired the formation of the Korean Women's Associations United.

The sexual violence against Kwŏn and other activists, alongside the failure of government to initially prosecute the policeman who had violated her, reinforced the notion of male domination over women's sexuality and the undemocratic nature of the regime, provoking widespread public anger. The Puch'ŏn Incident contributed significantly to the democratisation of South Korea through its ability to mobilise and consolidate the support of diverse opposition groups and emphasised the plight of women's issues in the broader democratic movement. Her ordeal represented key tenets of feminist thought such as sexual violence as a weapon in conflict within a uniquely Korean context. One would also note that Kwŏn became a notable feminist scholar and is currently President of the Korean Women's Development Institute, a government research think-tank under the South Korean Prime Minister's office (Kwŏn, 2009).

4.4.3. KWAU

At the peak of Chŏn's power in 1987, and in the wake of the Puch'ŏn Incident, twenty-one progressive women's groups joined together and formed the Korean Women's Associations United (*Yŏsŏng tanch'e yŏnhap,* hereafter KWAU), an umbrella organisation that actively opposed Chŏn's military state (Moon, 2002b: 125). KWAU later grew to represent women's, workers, poor, middle-class, religious, student and environmental interests, joining the broader democratic movements (Nam, 2000: 101) and declared their support for democratisation, acknowledging that the women's movement could not be separated from the democratisation movement (Kim & Kim, 2014: 29) as women's liberation was inherently connected to democracy. Because KWAU was a progressive organisation that represented the interests of an oppressed community, they were often considered as part of the *minjung* movement.

However, a distinction is to be made between the KWAU and *minjung* in terms of their differing frames of thought. KWAU is an independent women's movement with a shared ideology and goals amongst its members that is rooted in feminism and women's liberation across all socio-economic levels. Groups of oppressed women emerged from within the *minjung* movement where women's labour and human rights issues were central concerns

(Hur, 2011: 186). KWAU served as an umbrella organisation for women's chapters from several *minjung*-associated movements including workers, students, the religious and so forth, where women's issues were prioritised. In the post-democratic period (see section 4.4. Post-democratisation), organisations affiliated with *minjung* had bifurcated into two general sectors focusing on either the worker's movement and the struggle against capitalism (a continuation of *minjung*), and the other, a civic movement focused on democratic participation. KWAU joined the latter.

In certain respects, the KWAU can be compared to the Women's National Coalition in South Africa (See chapter 5 for comparative analysis) as both functioned as umbrella organisations that represented a diverse set of interests and had the common goal of achieving democracy and equal rights for women. The KWAU was a critical resource in providing a platform where leadership could collaborate the efforts of resistance groups, consolidate collective power and redistribute resources to operate more efficiently (Nam, 2000: 101).

A salient question one must pose is, what did the KWAU's repertoire of contention consist of, as per social movement and feminist theory? It's very existence as an umbrella organisation for the special purpose of representing gendered interests was a tool for protestation. The KWAU was highly successful in not only mobilising its support base which hailed from various ideological backgrounds, but also visibly demonstrating that support through public demonstrations, sit-ins and protests. Members would wear hemp cloths in their hair that symbolise the demise of dictatorship (Hur, 2011: 187). KWAU would organise educational campaigns regarding the harmful dangers of tear gas used by police, garnering widespread public sympathy and support. They were also critical of the KNCW and their "narrow focus" on strictly one section of society's women – the middle-class. Hur notes that the organisation contributed towards the discovery of multifaceted identities, beyond the singular perception of just being a worker, or just being a housewife, and concurrently, helped members discover and utilise their own agency.

The movement was also aware of the fact that the realisation of democratic society alone would not be sufficient in addressing women's issues when structural causes of women's oppression needed to be addressed and transformed (Nam, 2000: 101). Their slogan "Together and Separately" demonstrated an understanding that collaboration with civil society organisations was required to end authoritarian rule, but that they also embraced feminist thought in the pursuance of fighting the patriarchy and ending authoritarianism (Kim & Kim, 2014: 30). In

Chapter 5 I address this question in much greater detail and provide a comparative analysis between the repertoires of action of South Korea versus the South African women's movement.

4.5.   Successes and Failures of the women's movement

How does one measure the success or failure of a social movement? According to Lee & Chin (2007: 1208):

> … largely determined by strategic factors and the political processes in which they become enmeshed … the patterns of alliance building between movement organisations and other political actors are crucial … similar groups must pursue a coalition-lobbying strategy to achieve their common goals.

Based on this definition, one would agree that the women's movement of Korea was largely successful during the 1980s, as evidence above has shown considerable alliance building between movement organisations and the ability to consolidate strategies into achieving shared democratic goals. In (Suh & Park, 1979: 327) the Korean women's movement is described as "sufficiently cohesive and flexible as to provide demands for gender equality with an increasingly visible and respected socio-political platform".

4.5.1. *Women's emancipation and national liberation*

Lee & Chin (2007: 1208) are of the belief that the women's movements did not portray a major role in the transitional stage of democratisation, because women's issues such as equal wages, discriminatory hiring practice and workplace harassment did not take precedence over democratisation. Furthermore, KWAU's collaboration with the National Alliance for Nationalist and Democracy Movements (NAND) was a contentious issue amongst members. Middle-class women's groups such as Alternative Culture and the Coalition of Church Women's Organisations vehemently argued against joining NAND as they wished to prioritise women's rights above class-based equality (Nam, 2000: 102). Once KWAU joined NAND, based on a majority vote, several conservative organisations left the umbrella coalition, weakening its political base and suggesting internal conflict. Lee & Chin compare the Korean women's movement to similar case studies in Latin America from Waylen's (1994) work, and argue that a weak political base and the rapid democratic transition had prevented structured organisation and meaningful impact. They caveat the argument by saying that women's movements had had more impact on society post democratisation, because of their ability to work alongside new institutions and parties. Authors such as Chin (2000), Hur (2011), Kim & Kim (2014) and Nam (2000) disagree with this sentiment, stating that the role of women's

movements in various stage of the Korean democratisation process was indeed vital. First, the women's movement involvement in the broader democratic grouping succeeded in broadening the democratisation agenda to include gendered social issues and in essence, become intersectional. For instance, educational campaigns on the dangerous effects of tear gas doubly represented humanitarian and environmental concerns. According to Nam (2000: 103) representing women worker's interests doubled as democratically aligned activism for worker welfare in terms of improved working conditions and higher wages, as well as feminist issues such as maternity leave, workplace sexual harassment and equal pay.

In other examples, response to the Puch'ŏn Sexual Torture Incident first originated from thirty women's organisations protesting against the sexual torture of women, and later transformed into an intersectional issue when multiple organisations with various agendas became involved to protest police brutality, lack of government legitimacy and despotic treatment of activists (Nam, 2000: 99). The contribution of the Puch'ŏn Incident to democratisation, with specific reference to Kwŏn Insuk has already been discussed above. Another incident that occurred in 1986 involving the Korean Broadcasting Service (KBS) and the "gross mistreatment of a female employee" prompted several organisations to jointly participate in a small boycott against the KBS to campaign for women's rights. The small boycott grew into a large-scale protest when participating organisations recognised the protest as an opportunity for wide-scale collaboration to promote women's rights and form valuable alliances in the process. Additionally, the organisations publicly criticized the government of complacency in KBS' sharing of distorted information and enabling the broadcaster's impropriety (Lee, 2000: 103). This strategic critique was especially effective and irksome to the government because it retained ownership of the KBS. The KBS boycott also supports Nam's argument (2000: 103) that women's movements were successful in broadening the scope of the democratisation agenda to include "broader social issues".

Incidents such as the KBS boycott and the Puch'ŏn Sexual Torture Incident demonstrated the contribution of women's groups to strengthening the organisation power of civil society movements. The incidents showed the level of success with which various civil society groups could collaborate, and also highlighted the need for an umbrella organisation under which collective efforts could be coordinated. For that, one must consider KWAU's ability to amalgamate twenty-one organisations with vastly different ideological perspectives and concerns as a success. Ensuring the cooperation of so many political actors demanded great skills in negotiation, mediation, consultation and tact. Lee (2000: 134) credits KWAU with

"galvanising the democratic movement, which succeeded in bringing the authoritarian leadership to the negotiation table".

4.5.2. Representation and Women in Leadership

The democratic movement and KWAU's establishment in the 1980s coincided with a sharp increase in worldwide democratisation. As the Soviet Union and communist regimes were collapsing, so did several Latin American dictatorships (Waylen, 1993). In June 1987, Chŏn announced that he had chosen No T'aeu (also known as Roh Tae-woo) as his successor in the presidency, prompting widespread anti-government, pro-democracy demonstrations. The protests culminated in the People's Peaceful March of 26 June, where 1.3 million participants protested in 37 cities across South Korea (Maddison & Jung, 2008: 47). The mass demonstrations were instrumental in destabilising the regime and forced No T'aeu to accept a direct presidential election system and an amended constitution on June 29.

A revised Constitution was approved in October 1987 by national referendum and elections were held in December 1987, where No T'aeu was democratically elected as president, although allegations had surfaced that suggested only his supporters were allowed to vote. His successful campaign for the presidency was not so much due to his popularity or political expertise, as it was due to the weaknesses of a divided opposition. Deep conflicts within the opposition movement between presidential candidates and former leaders of the democratic movement, Kim Taejung (Kim Dae-jung) and Kim Yŏngsam (Kim Young-sam), resulted in the inability to present a unified candidacy and the eventual result of No T'aue's success.

However, women's movements were able to increase representation of women in the National Assembly to 13 percent in 2004 from 5.9 percent in the previous administration. It must be noted that this was due to a quota system that had been implemented (Kim & Kim, 2014: 118) after significant efforts to introduce gender quota legislation by a non-partisan solidarity network comprised of both conservative and progressive women's organisations. The women's movement's initial strategy for improving women's political representation was through offering citizenship education classes for women, recruiting potential women leaders, running campaigns that supported women candidates, and supporting grassroots political participation in local elections (Shin, 2015: 356). Due to limited resources and local organisation, many women candidates, most of whom ran as independents, remained marginalised.

The women's movement adapted its strategy to focus on pressuring political parties in including more women candidates through the implementation of a voluntary quota. Whilst

left-leaning parties were more receptive to recruiting more women candidates and all parties were seemingly receptive to recruiting women candidates, when the time came to finalise candidate selections, the political parties woefully failed in enforcing their gender quotas (Shin, 2015: 357). At best, women were given descriptive candidacies in districts where the party was unlikely to secure an electoral win, regardless of the candidate. The realisation that political parties were gatekeepers against women's political ascent emboldened the solidarity network to pursue their commitment to improving women's descriptive representation. According to Shin (2015: 357) the collaboration between opposing ideological groups proved effective because of their shared, non-controversial goal of achieving descriptive representation for women. They were able to collaborate because the issue was not substantive, and suppressed diversity for the sake of mobilising around a short-term goal, that was gender quota legislation.

In the 2000s, changes to election law by the Constitutional Court and ongoing debates on electoral reform proved to be an opportune time for the women's movement to draw public attention to the mediocre levels of elected women in office. Other civic groups positively responded to proposed quota laws and gender quota clauses were included in the 2002 election laws revision, requiring 50% of party list candidates in proportional representation seats to be allocated to women, and 30% of candidate seats to women in single-member, local district elections. To ensure compliance with the new quota regulations, strong sanctions were devised for the 50% party lists, but no enforcement measures were included in the law to address non-compliance in the 30% single-member districts where the majority of political seats are elected (Shin, 2015: 358). Similar to South Africa, the women's movement was able to improve descriptive representation, but failed in creating or supporting the substantive representation of women.

Figure 4.1. Women's Representation in South Korea's Parliament 1987 vs 2019
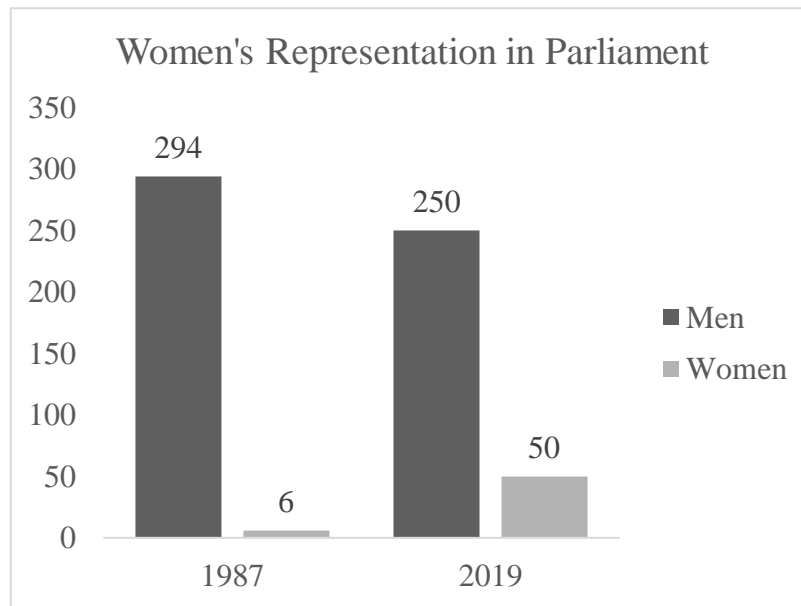
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019

4.5.3. *Citizenship, gender-focused institutions and the risk of institutionalisation*

The women's movement failure to push for gender-based legislative reforms during the democratic transition period meant that a valuable opportunity to influence government policies, agenda setting, and institutional frameworks was lost. This had implications for the women's descriptive and substantive citizenship such as no institutional framework or national gender machinery to protect and promote women's rights which can be compared with South Africa, but renewed efforts to improve women's rights in the post-democratisation period proved to be descriptively successful. This is discussed in chapter 5.

The gendered construction of citizenship in South Korea is multifaceted and heavily influenced by patriarchal standards. South Korean citizenship is primarily defined through bloodlines, rather than birthplace (Hundt, Walton & Lee, 2018: 436), therefore non-ethnic Koreans have struggled to gain substantive citizenship. Prior to democratisation, Korean citizenship was predominantly conferred to children born to Korean men. Additionally, foreign wives of Korean men automatically received Korean citizenship, but not foreign husbands of Korean women. In the context of South Korean family structures where bloodlines are considered to be furthered only by men, this posed several implications for women's substantive citizenship in South Korea. Amendments to the Korea Nationality Law in 1997 allowed for citizenship to be conferred to children born to Korean parents of either sex, and stricter criteria has been implemented to citizenship by marriage applicants.

Moon (2005: 121) writes extensively about gendered citizenship in South Korea, stating that "women's citizenship rights have been denied in ways parallel to men's" for decades. Patriarchal traditions diminished women's formal citizenship in the sanctioning of practices such as patrilineal kinship (mentioned above), failure to address gender-based violence and marital rape and withholding ownership rights from women. Although women's citizenship was not addressed during the transition to democracy, consistent efforts to change legislation concerning citizenship have restored some political and civil rights for women, such as the Nationality Law, Military Service Law and abolition of the Head of Family system.

Figure 4.2. A Timeline of Critical Events in South Korean history for Women's Movements

SOUTH KOREA

918-1392
Koryŏ dynasty – Confucianism grows in popularity

1393 – 1897
Chosŏn Dynasty - Privileged women receive Confucian education
Western influences permeate Korean society

1886
Ewha Womans Academy established

1910
Japan annexes Korea

1919
March 1st Movement for Independence

1920
Activist Yu Gwan-Sun dies in prison

1940s
WWII: Korean nationals enslaved into sexual slavery - "comfort women"
Korea liberated from Japanese rule
Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal
Ri elected president

1950
KWNP established
Korean War begins

1954
Korean War ends with Armistice Agreement

1959
KNCW established

1960
Ri steps down after widespread protests
New constitution formulated

1961
Pak stages coup, establishes military dictatorship

1963
Third Republic proclaimed; rapid industrialisation underway
Minjung movement grows

1970s
Workers unions mobilise and rise up

1972
Martial law declared; Pak becomes permanent ruler

1976
Local union elections. Strikes, sit-ins, students mobilised

1979
Pak assassinated.
Chŏn stages military coup, authoritarian regime continues
Resistance intensifies, violent state repression

1980
Kwangju massacre, 2000 civilians killed

1986
Puch'ŏn Sexual Torture Incident
Constitution changed to allow for direct presidential elections

1987
KWAU formed
First democratic elections held, No T'aeu elected

1990s
First civilian president elected
Asian Economic Crisis

2010s
Increased violence against women sparks radical feminist movement; Megalia established

In the process of fighting for women's rights, institutionalisation of previously autonomous women's groups occurred, most notably the umbrella movement, KWAU. The advantages and disadvantages of institutionalisation were discussed among the KWAU leadership structure, with the ultimate decision to register as an incorporated body with the state to secure funding and improve its position of influence in order to mainstream gender and participate in policy creation, reviewing and measurement (Moon, 2002b: 37). This is further discussed below.

4.6.   Post-democratisation

Chapter 5 conducts an in-depth analysis on the status of women's movements and gender equality after the democratisation process has concluded, including a comparison to South Africa. However, there are other aspects that do not necessarily fall within the scope of the comparative analysis but are still worth discussing in this section. This includes a brief discussion on how democratisation impacted the working class, which played a significant role alongside the women's movement in achieving democracy and second, a short review on the current status of women in South Korea.

After the democratisation period, KWAU had begun to adapt as a political actor, capable of participating in democratic processes such as policy discussions, and mainstreaming gender in state decision-making processes as a strategy to fight gender inequalities (Kim & Kim, 2014). However, other political actors from the *minjung* movement did integrate with the new government as seamlessly as KWAU and others. A salient aspect to consider is the fact that labour disputes had continued during the 1980s and 1990s, after democratisation, with many labourers and activists being imprisoned. Middle-class sentiment had started to turn against the labour movement once democracy had been achieved as the continued strikes had placed their own material interest in jeopardy, considering that they, the middle-class, employed labourers. According to Minns (2001:90) and Nam (2000), many workers from certain sectors were still not legally allowed to join a union and several movement leaders were placed in prison or had their assets seized. Some organisations from the women's movement engaged with the issues that labourers faced through protesting against factory closures (before and after the Asian Financial Crisis), raising funds for the labour movement and raising awareness (Nam, 2000: 104). However, the overall failure of the democratic and women's movements to remember the plight of labourers after democratisation, is an avenue of scholarship which academics in various fields may still choose to investigate more thoroughly. Further analysis of this matter does not fall within the scope of this project.

Although the women's movement was able to adapt to the new democratic state and influence policy making to a certain degree, one begs to question whether legislative change was able to translate into substantive change and make tangible differences to the everyday lives of women? Even though legislation such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Act and Prevention of Family Violence Act were passed, were these acts enforced in practise? Is legislative change sufficient in changing the status quo, or is cultural change needed for behaviour to adapt to a gender equitable state? (Moon, 2002b; Palley, 1990; Thorborg, 2005)

Just after democratisation, Palley (1990) conducted a study on women's status in South Korea by investigating inequities in women's opportunities, concluding then that women still faced underlying problems rooted in the Confucian moral code, especially within the workplace. Palley (1990: 1153) highlights that perceptions about the role of women were slowly changing inasmuch that women's rights were openly discussed more frequently, as cultural diffusion from the West spread through media, education and business dealings. She suggests that substantive change in behavioural culture is constrained by tradition. Moon (2002) makes a similar suggestion, arguing that the conservative nature of democratisation had proven that formal democracy could continue to coexist with policies that hindered women's meaningful representation and participation as political actors. Normative gender divisions in the family of labour, care work and other patriarchal traditions prevent women from achieving substantive citizenship and fully benefiting from gender equality and improved women's rights in a democratic state. Democratisation is a meaningful process when it reaches marginalised groups in the private sphere which they frequent.

In addition to lack of substantive change, an increase in gender-based violence has in the 2010s has had a catalytic effect on the uprising of a new, radical women's movement in South Korea. The brutal killing of a young woman in 2016 a women's bathroom near a train station in Gangnam, by man who confessed to hating and targeting women for allegedly belittling him, sparked a national uproar and the creation of a feminist website called Megalia (Economist, 2016). Megalia was founded as a radical feminist online community, based in South Korea and primarily highlights gender-based issues that take place in South Korea, including alleged societal misogyny and the sharing of pornographic materials on a local hosting platform without the consent of women in the material. Their repertoire of contention has been described as extremist for its mirroring of misogynistic language that features on male-dominated online platforms, explicit imagery of bloodied genitalia and alleged manipulation of public opinion. Initially, Megalias's online activism was seen as a revitalisation of women's resistance against discrimination in the home and workplace, but accusations of misandry and exacerbating "gender wars" has led to the radical group receiving severe criticism from other feminist and women's organisations (Steger, 2016).

4.7.   Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that South Korea's history of colonial oppression and military dictatorship was not only resisted by broad-based social movements demanding independence

and democracy, but also included women's movements in different capacities and representing different constituents.

One of the main take-aways from the democratisation of South Korea was the realisation that through marginalising women's issues for the "greater good" of achieving democracy, this did not guarantee increased representation, participation and realisation of demands in the post-democratic period. The restoration of democracy left little room for women as independent political actors to integrate into the male-dominated political system (Nam, 2000: 110) and furthermore, they had struggled to find their identity. Despite legislative attempts at ensuring equality in the public arena and reviewing discriminatory laws in multiple sectors (Kim, 2016: 109) this has not always translated into substantive change. The position of women in South Korea has become a point of concern due to increased violence against women (Steger, 2016), the continuation of unfair hiring practices (Hlasny, 2011)and lack of substantive representation and participation.

The institutionalisation of women's movements post-democratisation provided organisations such as KWAU the opportunity to secure financial support and legitimisation which enabled it to reprioritise women's rights and mainstream gender into government policies, electoral reforms and other legislative changes. KWAU is no longer differentiated from other traditionally conservative women's movements in that it has lacked the ability to enforce substantive and progressive change to women's status, but this has been also been attributed to the deeply entrenched patriarchal values of conservative Korean society that has curtailed gender-based reforms in the public and private sphere.

Chapter 5: A Comparative Analysis of the women's movements in South Africa and South Korea

5.1. Introduction

The previous two chapters have provided a comprehensive and nuanced discussion of the women's movements that were present in South Africa and South Korea during the turbulent era of democratisation. Both chapters introduced cultural influences such as religion, familial hierarchies, social inequalities and oppression that were contributing factors to the formation of a social movement. These movements identified the need for collective representation of women's issues, even though the nature of the issues, methods of response and ideological framing were disputed amongst the various movements.

This chapter highlights the cross-national, key comparisons between the two case studies, drawing on Beckwith's (2005) scholarship comparing women's movements. During the course of the research, it became apparent that there is a multitude of comparable factors upon which to build the argument of this thesis. As such, a most-similar systems approach was adopted (Przeworski & Teune, 1970). The strategies of comparison were derived from the works of authors such as Baldez (2003), Beckwith (2000), Margolis (1993), and Seidman (1994). I have selected three categories of comparison for my analysis: 1) cultural influences; 2) the nature of the women's movement and 3) post-democratic gains and losses.

The previous chapters have already demonstrated that cultural contexts significantly influence normative gender roles, women's access to opportunities and motivations for dissent. Analysing the religion, patriarchal customs, traditional family law and attitudes towards political participation, which in this study, are very similar, allows scholars to identify characteristics that may embolden or discourage women's mobilisation and draw inferences from these conclusions. Examining nature of women's movements by considering their origins, the constituents they claim to represent, and their repertoires of contention provides insight into why certain decisions were made, what prompted the movement to implement or adapt its strategies and how their history shaped their futures. Finally, I will compare the post-democratisation gains and losses of each movement, considering the legislative, policy, representative and participative changes that occurred. By analysing the post-democratisation status quo on gender equality and women's rights, we are able to more clearly define what the women's movement did well, where it could have improved and where it failed. Taking into consideration the movement's institutionalisation and ongoing influence on democracy, we can

also draw conclusions on how women's movements can adapt to survive after the democratic transition has completed.

5.2. Cultural Influences

5.2.1. Religion and belief: Christianity and Confucianism

The influence of Confucianism on South Korean society can be equated with the influence of Christianity in South African society – both permeate the social fabric a country to influence the country's economy and political culture.

Drawing on the work of South Korean scholars well-versed in Confucian teachings, it is clear that Confucian ideals were utilised to create systems that guided political, economic and social practices, and influenced familial structures (Koh, 2008; Moon, 2002b). Both Christianity and Confucian ideals have been utilised to create systems that guide political, economic and social practices and influenced familial structures. Confucianism afforded men the patriarchal role of ruling and protecting their subordinate wives and children. Wives were expected to serve their husbands and were prevented from voting, decision-making and ownership of property (Chin, 2000: 94). Expectations of women's obedience was best described by Palley (1990) as "to father when young; husband when married; and son in old age".

In South Africa, women were sometimes appointed to the roles of chiefs or religious leaders. However, colonial rule Christianity - spread by missionaries - afforded men preferential treatment; women's agency to participate in the public sphere was restricted, creating a dependency on men (Geisler, 2004: 22). Chanock, (1985, in Geisler, 2004: 20) highlights that although colonialist in nature, this arrangement suited black men, and refers to it as "the most effective way in which African men could exert influence and power" over women, through codifying real and manufactured customary African laws that dictated the "registration of marriages and divorces, increased marriage payments (*lobola*), and the favouring of patrilineal over matrilineal rules of inheritance…".

5.2.2. Political Culture and Patriarchy

An interesting observation from my research indicated that political participation in nationalist, liberation or social movements was not socially condemned if one were a man, as it was often seen as a noble pursuit in achieving equal rights for the working-class or oppressed peoples. However, as women were largely perceived by society to be overly emotional or confined to the roles of caregivers and homemakers, their roles as political actors and dissidents was often discouraged. A clear example of this is political gatherings where women's auxiliaries such as

the ANCWL in South Africa were expected to function as "a network of solidarity rather than as a mobilising agency" (Hassim, 2004b: 435). This relegated women to roles such as organising catering and entertainment. Women in leadership positions were undermined and unacknowledged, as Tshoaedi's (2012a) study on trade unions demonstrated.

Cultural influences are a vital part in creating the distinct nature of a movement within a local context. It often dictates the gender roles which women are expected to fulfil, yet cultural nuances can also create conditions that embolden women to mobilise against perceived discriminations and disadvantages inherent in their culture or political system. The influence of cultural customs often conflicts with beliefs of a democratising or modernising society, such as worker's rights or gender equality. This poses the question of "which values should be privileged" (Margolis, 1993: 383). This is especially true for the selected case studies where pro-democracy movements acknowledged women as political actors to gain their support but did not necessarily recognise or prioritise women's issues as part of the movement's goals.

In the social movements that have been studied since the 1980s, we have seen a clear shift away from purely political organisations to movements that are based on community and focus on the individual level (Bereni, 2016: 467). Within the community, a subculture is created where members can participate in a range of socio-cultural activities that are aligned with or support the ideals of the movement. Such activities include festivals, book readings, or establishing support services. Socialisation contributes to the creation of a collective identity that has a holistic impact on the participant's life, influencing their actions. This, in turn, can permeate the political sphere, prompting changes in policy, legislation or regime changes. (Bereni, 2016). The culture of a movement will influence its repertoires of actions (see chapter 2 and section 5.2), as well as the changes in policy, legislature or regime it wishes to accomplish. For instance, the diverse constituency of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) ensured that many different cultures were represented in the fight for gender equality. This was especially important during democratisation when the WNC and the Rural Women's Movement demanded that gender equality as a constitutional principle would override customary law.

5.2.3. Customary and Family Laws

There are significant similarities between South Africa's customary laws and South Korea's family laws – both of which are shaped by tradition and culture.

Gouws (2016: 52) examines the binary opposition between the cultural rights of indigenous people and the universal rights protected by the constitution, concluding that in South Africa, patriarchal agreements between traditional leaders and state legislators to codify customary laws has resulted in increasing gender inequality through misrecognition and maldistribution for women. Recent political events in South Africa have increasingly demonstrated the use of customary laws as a tool to defend and justify the violation of women's rights on a cultural basis and subsequently diminish the progress made in achieving gender equality (Gouws, 2016b: 37). In chapter 3, I highlighted the conflict between the WNC and the Council for Traditional Leaders in South Africa (CONTRALESA) during the democratic negotiations in deciding whether women's rights would be subject to customary law, with the WNC ultimately succeeding.

The colonial-era Korean family law dictated that only men could be heads of households and women's legal status depended on their relationship to the men around her. These laws remained in place until the Civil Code was revisited in 1957, 1962, 1977 and 1989 until finally the family head system (*hoju*) was abolished in 2005. The patriarchal system was flawed in many ways, not least because it allowed an infant child to become head of the household if he were the only man (Kim & Kim, 2014: 16). Public discourse in the 2000s about the changing family laws was split between supporters who believed it would significantly benefit women and it was time to modernise, and its detractors who saw the abolition as an attack on the social cohesion and family structure of South Korea.

Both systems, as discussed in previous chapters, were detrimental to the progression of gender equality and women's emancipation, but there were still many women who struggled to prioritise their belief of gender equality over their deeply held belief system.

5.3.   Nature of the Women's Movements

In both the South African and South Korean case studies, there were several women's movements present at various critical junctures in the journey towards democracy. The nature of the movement was significantly influenced by the milieu in which it operated. As the previous two chapters demonstrated, each of the women's movements discussed in this research was different in size, ideology, access to resources, and membership. This section discusses the differences and similarities between various women's movements and highlights the major women's movements historically present in South Africa and South Korea.

5.3.1. Women's Movements and the Journey to Democracy

In his 1848 book of *Democracy in America,* De Tocqueville (2000) emphasized the importance of voluntary associations in developing and maintaining democracy. Modern scholarship considers the proliferation of grassroots organisations as indicative of substantive democratisation (Moon, 2002b: 36). The authoritarian states of South Africa and South Korea were undeniably challenged by a plethora of grassroots organisations that represented various constituencies – including women.

Research has demonstrated that the creation and evolution of women's movements have not been limited to a particular stage in the cycle of contention. In South Africa specifically, the earliest forms of women's mobilisation appeared in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with the establishment of the Women's Enfranchisement League in Durban in 1902, the African Political Organisation's Women's Guild in 1909 and the Maxeke's Bantu Women's League in 1913 (Walker, 1990). These organisations planted the seeds of gender equality and democracy that would gradually manifest over the next few decades.

While there is no formalised or organised start to the women's movement in SK, resistance was pursued through other channels. I refer to chapter 4's discussion where resistance and empowerment manifested through literary texts written during the Chosŏn dynasty by women of privileged means in the upper- and middle- socioeconomic classes (Koh, 2008). The establishment of the Ewha Womans [sic] Academy was another form of resistance that promoted women's education and produced several notable alumni that later participated in women's rights movements. In 1945, Ewha became the first college to receive permission from the government to transform into a university, and was the first officially organised South Korean university (Darcy & Song, 1986).

The slow progression towards a democracy that included women made a breakthrough in South Africa in 1930 after a twenty-year campaign, when white women gained the right to vote and the first female member of parliament, Leila Wright, was elected in 1933 (Walker, 1991). Naturally, this did not represent substantive democracy as the right to vote did not extend to people of colour. The establishment of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) in 1948 and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) in 1954 was indicative of the fact that women's political involvement had expanded significantly. FSAW was created with the intent of ending apartheid and building an organisation that ensured equal rights and access to opportunities for all women – encapsulated in the Women's Charter

adopted in 1954 (Kuumba, 2002: 512). The Women's Charter was a critical document with progressive demands that was incorporated into the Freedom Charter and adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People.

The FSWA-organised march to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956 demonstrated a significant leap in "militant resistance" among women; with over 20 000 women in attendance. The march is recognised as a crucial moment in the history of women's rights and democratisation, to the extent that it is commemorated every year as a national holiday (Women's Day), on the anniversary of the march. To fully appreciate the significance of this act of resistance, one is reminded of the fact that many women travelled for days in order to participate, defying their fathers, husbands and political parties to stand silently in the heat, in disciplined defiance (Hassim, 2006b: 26). After most major political organisations were banned in South Africa, alongside key individuals of the leadership structure, the multiracial and influential movement collapsed in 1963.

In comparison the FSAW movement, South Korea's women's movement – while aiming to educate women – was largely a tool of the authoritarian administration. In 1948 - the same year that Apartheid started - Ri Sŭngman established an authoritarian regime under which women were given the right to vote, and civil society organisations were tolerated provided that they were demonstrably anti-communist. Furthermore, several women served as elected officials in the National Assembly, two of which were appointed as ministers by Ri – an uncommon practice in Korean political history (Park, 1999: 433). The Korean Women's National Party was created, as well as the Korean Women's Association, Korean Association of University Women and Society for the Research of Women's Issues, all of which later joined together as the Federation of Korean Women's Groups (FKWG).

The Korean National Council of Women (KNCW) that formed after Pak Chŏnghŭi's military *coup d'état* is comparable to FSAW insofar that both organisations were led by educated, middle-class women and functioned as umbrella organisations whose goals were to achieve gender equality. The key difference between the two is that abolishing apartheid was central to FSAW's mandate, whereas the KNCW did not challenge Pak's regime for its anti-democratic policies. FSAW was an independent organisation and promoted worker's rights, where KNCW was dependent on the state's financial assistance and was complicit in the exploitation of the working-class women (Kim & Kim, 2014: 23).

Table 5.1. Differences between the major women's movements of the 1950s

Differences between the major women's movements of the 1950s	
South Africa: FSAW	**South Korea: KNCW**
Aimed to abolish apartheid	Never challenged Pak's authoritarian regime
Independent organisation funded by members	Institutionalised and dependent on the state's financial assistance
Intersectional representation	Complicit in working-class exploitation
Diverse membership across classes and races	Middle-class membership

Hassim (2006a: 47) writes that the 1980s was a turning point in South African politics anti-apartheid resistance was revived and women emerged once more as a powerful political constituency. Democratisation and women's movements were rapidly approaching their zenith. The renaissance of the women's movement was supported by organisations such as the United Women's Congress (UWCO), the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) and Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), whose activism "shaped ideological content and strategic direction of the women's movement…" (Hassim, 2006b: 48).

Although each organisation had its own goals, members, alliances and resources, they "sought to articulate new forms of grassroots democracy" in creating an accountable and transparent organisational structure that opposed the regime. They thus established the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF had a democratic vision that was driven by people rather than elites and devised political approaches to dismantle apartheid. Feminists within the UDF demanded comprehensive democratic reforms that would not merely equate to a regime change, but also address inequalities in the private and public spheres (Hassim, 2006b: 49). However, the declaration of two states of emergency and redirection of efforts into supporting the anti-apartheid movement had crippled the strength of the women's movement (Hassim, 2002: 694). This, coupled with merging with the recently unbanned ANCWL, resulted in an unclear mandate for the role of a women's movement beyond the liberation cause. There was a clear need for a national representative structure that would articulate women's issues separately from the ANC, which led to the creation of the Women's National Coalition (see chapter 3). The importance of the WNC in ensuring an intersectional representation of women's interests during democratisation was vital and partially achieved through the Women's Charter. I refer to chapter 3 for a detailed discussion on the establishment and actions of the WNC.

In the South Korean case, Moon (2002: 36) discusses the various autonomous women's associations that accompanied the transition into democracy, the largest of which was the Korean Women's Associations United (KWAU). Moon alleges that the other women's organisations during this period were instruments of the authoritarian state, serving as tools to help implement policies related to anti-communism, nationalism and state ideologies. There was significant antagonism between KWAU and the other organisations. KWAU was different from other organisations in that it openly opposed the repressive state with a feminist orientation and articulated gender-specific goals and needs that represented a diverse constituency of women including rural and urban poor areas (Lee & Lee, 2013: 57).

The WNC and KWAU were key civil actors in the field of political empowerment for women in new democracies, even more so in countries where patriarchal and conservative values would seek to undermine women's issues (Lee & Lee, 2013: 63). During their respective democratisation periods, the WNC and KWAU shared more similarities than their predecessors, FSAW and KNCW, which were distinctly different. A notable characteristic shared by most of the major women's movements discussed here is that they were created as umbrella groups, based on coalitions that were formed across nationalist, ideological and ethnic boundaries (Beckwith, 2007: 325). Ideologically, it is interesting to note the prevalence of women who, despite actively participating in women's movements and organisations, did not consider themselves to be feminists or ideologically aligned with the principles of feminism (Fester, 2015; Waylen, 1994: 346).

Both WNC and KWAU represented diverse constituencies; promoted gender equality and gender-specific needs; were established as separate organisational structures from the nationalist movement and; served as umbrella bodies for many smaller women's organisations. However, while the WNC was able to consistently prioritise women's rights and put gender equality on the democratisation agenda (evidenced by the inclusion of the Women's Charter in the Bill of Rights), KWAU was unable to maintain the pressure and gradually succumbed to the prioritisation of national liberation over women's rights.

That is not to say that KWAU's efforts were inconsequential, as there were several constitutional changes that benefited women (see below) once a democratic state had been formed. Similarly, as much as the WNC was able to articulate women's rights and translate this into legislation successfully, other shortcomings became evident once the democratisation process had concluded and democratic consolidation had begun (see Section 5.4).

5.3.2. Membership and Intersectional Representation

Both South African women's organisations discussed above, FSAW and WNC, were representative of various women's interests and constituencies. During the launch of FSAW in 1954, the movement was explicit in its aims to represent all South African women, regardless of race, colour or creed, proven by the fact that 146 delegates were present, representing 230 000 women across the country (South African History Online, 2018b). Despite the severe racial and cultural tensions in the 1990s political climate, the WNC managed to create a "triple alliance of key women activists, academics and politicians of all races" (Waylen, 2007: 532) to engage with the democratisation process. The non-partisan collective included over 81 organisation affiliates and 23 regional women's alliances, representing women of different races, socio-economic positions, urban and rural areas, and articulating their needs in the Women's Charter (Tripp *et al.*, 2009: 122). The WNC succeeded in making women a visible, diverse political constituency during the transition.

The membership of the South Korean Women's movements differed in their demographics and their representation. The KNCW was made up of educated, middle-class women who promoted women's issues such as equal rights and the abolition of patriarchal family laws, but excluded a considerable portion of the working-class population in the industrialised country (Chin, 2000: 96). They did not challenge working-class suppression by the state or fundamental feminist issues, as described in chapter 4 (Hur, 2011). Conversely, KWAU was the amalgamation of 21 voluntary associations, later increasing to 28 member associations. It was unique in its oppositional stance towards the repressive state and the feminist nature of the organisation. It was intersectional in the interests that it served, representing a diverse constituency that included clerics, farmers, housewives, factory workers and the urban poor (Moon, 2002b: 37).

Some of these organisations had received critical acclaim, despite their one-dimensional approach of seeking only emancipation for certain groups of women, whereas others have been rooted in intersectionality before the term even became widely recognised within feminist theory or feminist activism. The membership and intersectionality of a movement are essential in the study of democratisation because it assists scholars in identifying who has been represented and included in the transition. This speaks to Paxton's (2000: 105) operationalisation of democracy, where we cannot accurately measure democratisation when all the people within a country's borders are afforded citizenship rights, a topic that Gouws (2005) discusses in great detail and is further examined in chapter 3.

Furthermore, the membership of an organisation would also influence its ideological standpoint and many of the organisations that fell under the umbrella of KWAU, WNC, FSAW or the KNCW, did not want to be referred to as explicitly feminist- for myriad reasons. In chapter 2 I discussed Beckwith's warning to scholars to not mistakenly conflate women's movements with feminist movements, and in chapter 3 I briefly discuss the resurgence of new women's movements that on university campuses who have self-identified as radical feminists.

5.3.3. Repertoires of Action

This project would be remiss if it did not include a comparison of the repertoires of contention employed by the two countries' women's movements. Understanding the strategies of resistance provides meaningful insight into the political culture of a country, the avenues civic groups take to frame and voice their issues, and the nature of a movement through how it strategically employs resources and opportunity structures (McAdam *et al.*, 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Hassim (2002: 694) highlights the importance of considering the nature of a democratic transition when analysing what political opportunities are available. In establishing a liberal democratic state, one's race, gender and ethnicity do not affect the accordance of citizenship rights, and as such, the women's movement would be able to promote an agenda of gender equality for the new political system during the decision-making process, through a range of strategies.

South Korean civil society developed a culture of protest during its resistance of authoritarian rule and built a repertoire of actions that included industrial strikes, impeachment marches, candlelight protests, and specifically, street protests. The political culture of conveying public interests and concerns via collective action grew from a lack of "systematic interaction between the state and the public" (Rohimone & Wyeth, 2019). South Korean protest culture includes a complicated "social-psychological dimension" referred to as *han*, which Rohimone & Wyeth (2019) describe as feelings of sorrow, anger and helplessness in response to injustices or suffering that citizens experience, stemming "from a perceived lack of security and power". Han is South Korea's unique, cultural flair on collective rage and is an integral aspect of understanding the reasoning and motivation behind protests. Sustained protests in South Korea is not a sign of political dysfunction, but rather proof of an engaged public.

Alongside many other Korean civil groups, the women's movement pursued avenues of resistance that would change public opinion and entice more citizens to participate in the liberation movement through the use of mass media, open discussion meetings, rallies, protests,

campaigns and petitions (Dae-Yop, 2006: 87). They published work in newspapers and magazines and ran educational programs for their members, employing these various strategies on legal and institutional levels.

In both South Africa and South Korea, protests and strikes have proven to be the most effective strategies for movements to communicate their interests publicly, although it has not proven to necessarily be the best strategy in achieving the movement's goals. The 1948 elections that heralded the Apartheid era, also introduced a new style of protest that included boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience. In 1952 the ANCWL joined the Defiance Campaign, a coordinated resistance effort across South African cities that marked a clear change in protest strategies for the anti-apartheid movement (South African History Online, 2019). This change in protest strategy did not overturn the apartheid laws but was successful in rapidly increasing the membership of the ANC, receiving international recognition at the United Nations, and creating a precedent for non-racial cooperation against apartheid policies. The shift away from passive resistance to more militant strategies spread across the country and continued to grow amongst other movements, such as the anti-pass campaign where 20 000 thousand women marched in 1956 and burnt their passbooks in open defiance (Walker, 1991).

In the 80s and 90s, violent protests were still commonplace; however, movements had begun to incorporate different strategies in their repertoires of action, due to changing political opportunity structures. Hassim (2002) writes that there were competing repertoires of action during this period, even amongst women's organisations, who focused on emphasising creating organisational depth, participatory decision making and grassroots democracy. Within the UDF, coalition building was used a means to take advantage of political opportunities, but for the ANCWL and women in trade unions, this was perceived as strategy that "undermined the radical content of the liberation movement's demands" (Hassim, 2002: 709), as for trade unions especially, this would mean limiting their struggle to liberal democratic ideals.

Chapter 3 discusses in detail the strategies of the WNC during the democratisation talks that were held from 1992 – 1994, including the demand for direct women's representation and participation at the CODESA negotiations. Their participation through lobbying at multiparty negotiations ensured that women's issues were brought to the table and acknowledged. When women's interests were jeopardised, the WNC and its members protested and threatened boycotts, committed to achieving emancipation and liberation simultaneously.

In comparison, there are many similarities between the strategies of the South African and South Korean women's movements during the democratisation process, albeit with different motivating factors. The fact that the WNC and KWAU were both umbrella bodies meant that they each had access to a vast collection of strategies from the many different organisations that formed part of the greater organisation. The diverse nature of participating organisations meant that there was a variety of tactics in the organisational repertoire that included violent and non-violent means, varying styles of protests and demonstrations, lobbying and boycotts, and each of these actions could be applied strategically to the political opportunity structure that was presented, for instance, the threat of boycotting national elections and therefore eliminating a large voting bloc unless women's interests are included, or; closing down industrial factories and affecting economic output to ensure that working women's class rights are included.

5.4. Post-democratisation gains and losses

The process of democratisation brought about a new collection of influential political actors and paired with globalised economies and expansion into international trade; the state was no longer able to make unilateral decisions that affect all citizens (Kim, 2014b: 250). This highlights the necessity of the movement's changing their goals and strategies as they adapt to the new democratic arena in which they wish to participate.

5.4.1. Legislative and policy changes

Under Mandela's presidency in South Africa, it was only after the Bill of Rights was introduced with the new democratic Constitution in 1996 that all South African women were recognised as equal citizens, with sections 9,10, 11 and 12 of the Bill stipulating as such. A study by the Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2018: 10) supports the notion that the women's movement played a pivotal part in the democratisation process, particularly during negotiations and contributing to the constitutional content creation. The WNC's lobbies for legislative reform did not produce acts exactly like the ones mentions above, but rather, assisted in the establishment of institutional frameworks that would promote gender equality such as the permanent Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) , the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), the Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (JMC) as state structures under the National Machinery for Women (Johansen, 2011: 82).

Gouws (2005: 78) describes the aim of gender mainstreaming as the institutionalisation of women's equality through the depoliticization of gender and creating national machineries was one way of achieving that mainstreaming. Gouws (2005: 74) describes national machineries for women as "structures created in the state to promote state feminism" and notes that they are often criticised for being co-opted by the state, being inaccessible, or being insensitive to the demands of women. The National Machinery for Women or National Gender Machinery (NGM) in South Africa was created to serve as a mechanism that would address women's inequalities by developing further structures, mechanisms and strategies in achieving gender equality for all women in public and private spheres (Manjoo, 2005: 243). The NGM of South Africa has been praised for its advanced and integrated nature in comparison to other countries (Gouws, 2005a: 75) but, concerns have been raised about the poorly resourced and inefficient CGE and OSW, further restricted by understaffing, perplexing goals and ideologically inexperienced staff that are unwilling or unable to promote gender equality as a political project (Meer, 2005: 44). However, when measuring the success of the NGM based on representation, accountability and delivery, as done by the Gender Research Project, the CGE and Joint Standing Committee on the Quality of life and the Status of Women have been regarded as successful (Gouws, 2005a: 76).

With pressure from women's movements, and later the NGM, several liberalised state policies have been passed for the benefit of gender equality, including; the Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act in 1996, affording women bodily autonomy and reproductive choices; the Maintenance Act of 1998, which alleviated the financial suffering of single mothers by enforcing support from biological fathers; the Customary Marriages Act 120 of 1998 that successfully abolished the minority status of women under customary laws; the 1998 Domestic Violence Act, which protects victims of gender-based violence through state assistance and; the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000, which prohibits discriminatory practices and provides a framework for redress (Human Development Department, 2009).

The vestiges of the authoritarian regime in South Korea were similarly eroded as constitutional provisions were implemented across multiple spheres of Korean society, including the revision of several laws. Several scholars (Freedman, 2006:64; Hur, 2011; Maddison & Jung, 2008; Nam, 2000; Suh & Park, 1979) contend that in democratic South Korea, civil society was strengthened, press freedom was expanded, and women's movements experienced significant changes, through proliferating and generally dividing into two categories of mainstream groups

(affiliated with KNCW) and radical groups (affiliated with the KWAU) (Lee, 2000: 134). KWAU recognised the opportunity to create political spaces for women that operated within democratic state institutions and provided an institutional platform to participate in policymaking (Hur, 2011: 188). The democratic government's liberalised state policies towards civil society groups and organisations created an opportunity for the KWAU to develop political spaces for women within the legal, democratic framework (Hur, 2011: 188). The antagonism in South Korea between KWAU and other women's organisations manipulated by the state, diminished after democracy was established and negotiations between civil society groups and the newly elected government began to take place. Although established as an oppositional group outside the state, KWAU registered in 1995 as a legal women's association and received funding from the government.

Under No administration's (1988 - 1993), the approach to gender equality was demonstrably different to that of his predecessors, particularly in gender-related legislation in the areas of family law, equal employment and childcare (Lee, 2000: 135) where KWAU lobbied for legislative reform. Specifically, these laws included "the revised Equal Employment Opportunity Act, the State Public Officials Act (abolishing sex-specific recruitment), the Third Revision of the Family Law in 1989; and the Infant Care Act in 1991" (Kim & Kim, 2014: 31). His administration also oversaw the establishment of the Second Ministry of Political Affairs to "coordinate women-related policies across ministries".

KWAU addressed women's issues that were not solely restricted to an exclusive group, but included issues that had affected women for decades, and had had a multi-generational impact, such as the topic of comfort women. KWAU lobbied on behalf of the inclusion of anti-rape and sex trafficking as part of the government's agenda, resulting in the establishment of the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan as a non-governmental organisation. Kim Haksun became the first woman to come forward about the experiences of comfort women in 1991 on a televised broadcast, and this encouraged another 61 former Korean sex slaves to come forward (Kim & Lee, 2017). The Ministry of Health and Welfare was instituted by the government to assist former comfort women in the form of financial aid, health care and public housing.

Suh & Park, (1979:344) discuss the dedication of numerous women's groups in championing efforts to introduce the Special Act on Sexual Violence with additional legislation in 1994, despite patriarchal and Confucian traditionalists objections. Following on the issues of addressing comfort women and sexual violence against women, further legislation was put in

place during the 1990s to support female victims of sexual abuse. This included the 1995 Assistance of the Livelihood of Women forced into Sexual Slavery by the Japanese Military, Basic Act for Women's Development, and Prevention of Family Violence Act (1997).

By the mid-1990s the democratic movement had organically dissolved, but the same male-dominated hierarchies present in the 1980s had reproduced within other civil society organisations and had left women searching for an identity beyond just "progressive and democratic", similar to South Africa (Kim & Kim, 2014: 33). The oft-repeated patriarchal nature of several organisations brought to light the hierarchical structure of the movement that had marginalised women's issues for the sake of democracy. In 1995, 56 women's organisations from both progressive and mainstream convictions, including the KWAU and KNCW, jointly formed the Women's Coalition to support women in public office. The Coalition failed to reach its goal of filling 20 per cent of government seats with women, and this emphasized the lack of influence and decision-making power that women had over gender policy. However, it was successful in increasing women's representation in politics and developing new strategies for gender mainstreaming.

After the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, further legislative successes for women's issues included the Abolition of Family Registration System (2003), which addressed a huge equal right's issue in South Korea (Hur, 2011: 189). This particular legislation was appealed in the court systems, and proceedings were delayed until 2005 when the Constitutional Court announced that the *hoju* (family registration) system was no longer considered to be compatible with the Constitution. It had required women to be registered under a family name, where the household was headed by a man - either the woman's father, husband, or even her infant son (Maddison & Jung, 2008). The system was officially abolished in 2008 and replaced with an equitable family registration system, signalling a great success for feminist activists who had been protesting against and consulting for the government on this bill since the 1970s. The success of this abolition was accredited to the collaborative efforts of KWAU and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, an example of gainful cooperation between the government and non-governmental organisations (Koh, 2008: 346).

There were several more legislative changes after the advent of democracy in South Korea than in South Africa, and I directly attributed this to the efforts of the South African women's movement in ensuring that women's emancipation and national liberation occurred concurrently. I argue that the true value of the Women's Charter is apparent here, as the Constitution gave equal rights to all citizens, regardless of race, gender and class, from the very

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beginning through the Bill of Right, which included the Women's Charter. The prioritising of national liberation at the expense of women's emancipation in South Korea resulted in a legislative framework that would only gradually improve woman's rights over several decades, hence the numerous changes and additions to legislature above. This also resulted in the absence of a National Gender Machinery framework to address gender equality as in the case with South Africa.

In comparing the overall legislative and policy changes that the two countries have implemented, it is clear that there have been significant attempts in creating laws that protect women on multiple levels, including the private sphere, within their homes (Customary Marriages Act and Abolition of Family Registration System), to the public sphere in their jobs (Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act).

5.4.2. *Representation and Participation*

One must differentiate between descriptive and substantive representation as discussed by Chin (2004), Gouws (1999, 2005), McBride & Mazur (2006, 2008), McEwan (2001) and Waylen (2010: 225). Waylen (2010: 225) highlights the need for substantive representation of women in the legislature, policy agencies and other decision-making units, noting in her conclusions that an active women's movement is key in articulating gender issues, but not necessarily sufficient for ensuring substantive representation in democratic transitions.

Gouws (1999: 54) notes that "substantive equality … takes into account the social and economic condition of people … where substantive equality is absent, the experience of citizenship has become meaningless…". This quote highlights the fact that for women's movements to have succeeded in their goals of achieving equality and creating access to opportunities for all women, substantive equality, representation and participation had to have been achieved.

Waylen (2007: 522) suggests that most democratic transitions fail in this regard, often neglecting to bring about any positive gender outcomes. South Africa is an exception in democratic transition has managed to improve descriptive and substantive representation through its constitution and the national gender machinery institutions. However, Waylen acknowledges that women's representation is less substantial when considering the decline in women's mobilisation, failure to include women's issues during agenda-setting and the fragmentation of the women's movement. Women's descriptive representation has certainly

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improved based on the number of women in positions of leadership positions. Goetz & Hassim (2003) note that the increasing numerical representation of women only serves to question how have they leveraged this electoral power to address women's inequalities substantively. Vetten, Makhunga & Leisegang (2012: 5) argue that "participation and representation of women in formal governance means very little of women … have no ability to influence policy-making on behalf of other women … and are politically redundant if not accountable for delivering policy outcomes".

Chin (2004: 299) reflects on how local representation in South Korea has influenced women's empowerment and notes that women in South Korea lack substantive equality in comparison to men, due the high barriers of entry hindering women's access to political participation. The nominal legal gains that supposedly ensure equality with men are seemingly unimportant when women's underrepresentation in politics results in the inability to solve women's issues at the state level. Pak & Park (2019: 6) write that the modern representative democracy of South Korea "lacks the systematic inclusion of societal actors in the policymaking process" and attributes this to the prioritisation of economic development and national security at the expense of individual rights.

Comparatively, there is a significant discrepancy between the representation of women at a parliamentary level in South Africa compared to South Korea, which may be attributed, in part, to the gender quota systems put in place by the ANC. The figure below visually demonstrates the vast differences. Although the imposition of quotas is questionable in terms of their ability to lead to an increase in substantive representation (Vetten *et al.*, 2012), the research would suggest that a combination of a quota system and the national gender machinery has succeeded in creating a semblance of descriptive and substantive representation of women.

Figure 5.1. A Comparison of Women's Representation at Parliamentary Level

Percentage Comparison of Women's Representation at Parliamentary Level in South Africa and South Korea
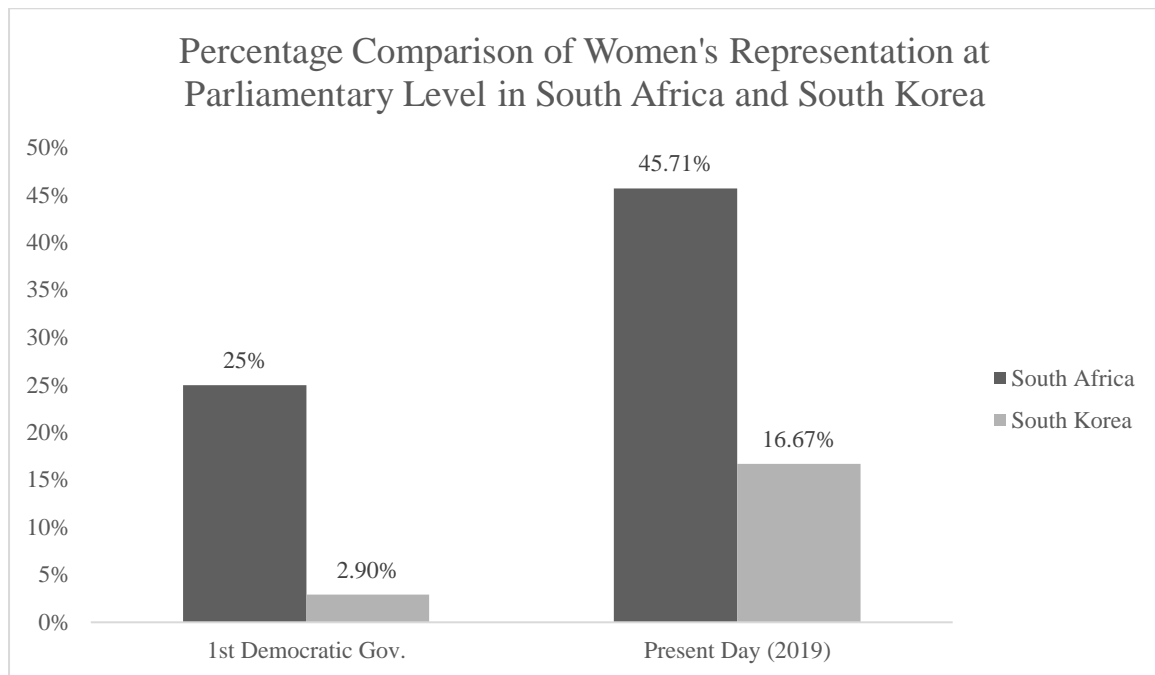
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019

Fester (2015: 279) points out the concerning gap between the Constitution and the reality of women's lives, which fails to reflect equality, protection or promotion of women's interests, and notes that women in representative positions are unable to entirely represent other women. Her argument is based on the premise that there are groupings of women who are unable to achieve equality because of the oppression that they face. In contrast, political elites, urban and middle-class women are much more likely to have achieved some semblance of equality. Furthermore, the movements that were created to represent and promote all women's issues, have been co-opted by the state and have ceased to fulfil their mandate – also referred to as institutionalisation.

5.4.3. Institutionalisation

The fears surrounding institutionalisation were discussed briefly in chapter 2 and made reference to the fact that institutionalisation of a movement may have benefits as well as disadvantages. Mazur, McBride & Hoard (2016: 658), not that institutionalisation may refer to "assets found through the presence of women's movement actors in government institutions… who may adopt a strategy of working within a variety of state institutions to achieve their goals". Rohimone & Wyeth (2019) argue that although protests have proven effective in raising issues on wider platforms, it does not necessarily afford civil society the opportunity to "plan, draft, implement, and monitor policies in conjunction with the government". Therefore, many

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organisations may see institutionalisation as the best "asset" through which to participate in policymaking. Through institutionalisation, a women's movement can establish a presence in legislatures, bureaucratic structures, political parties, coalitions and unions – which puts women in places where they can represent their constituents more effectively. However, Mazur *et al.* (2016) highlight that the number of women's movement actors in formal non-movement structures is not an accurate depiction of women's political representation, due to the differences between symbolic and substantive representation (as discussed previously).

In South Korea, the alliance between the government and women's movement remained strong throughout Kim Taejung's tenure and that of his successor, No Muhyŏn (also known as Roh Moo-hyun), as gender mainstreaming was adopted as a strategy in fighting gender inequalities across multiple policy areas. The collaboration bore success on a grassroots level as well, as, during the 1990s and early 2000s, female participation and representation increased due to a quota system that required political parties to allocate 50% of candidate seats on party lists and 30% in local district elections (Kim & Kim, 2014: 184). According to Kim (2016:n66), a working relationship had been formed between several organisations affiliated to the women's movement and the Kim Taejung administration, which proved to be instrumental in creating the President's Special Committee on Women's Affairs in 1998, which was later reorganised as the Ministry of Gender Equality in 2001.

Kim Yŏngsam, a politician, labour union supporter in the 1980s, and a staunch critic of Pak Chŏnghŭi, emerged victorious in the 1993 presidential election with 42 per cent of the vote and as the first civilian president. For this reason, Hur (2011: 187) and others consider 1993 as the start of Korean democracy and new political opportunity. Kim's administration encouraged women's groups to register as incorporated bodies, which allowed groups such as the KWAU to have a genuine influence on policymaking, receive government funding and ally with other organisations to promote women's issues.

KWAU's institutionalisation by the government has been a major cause for concern as many feminists critique the diminishing qualities of an organisation that made it relevant in the first place. Some research has shown that the involvement of feminist organisations in state machinery or affiliation with specific political parties has resulted in its fragmentation and weakening (Maddison & Jung, 2008:43). A comparative study with Australia's women's movement in Grey & Sawer (2008) found that KWAU's overwhelming influence within the state had created a privilege differentiation between old, established feminists within institutions, and young, autonomous feminists that were excluded from contributing to agenda-

setting and resource distribution, and were unable to participate in policy processes (Maddison & Jung, 2008: 43).

Gender equality is considered one of the premises upon which modern Korean democracy is based (Koh, 2008: 360) and despite the gains that were made within the confines of the law, authors such as Kim & Kim (2014), Lee & Clark (2000) and Moon (2002a: 36) question the extent to which Korean democracy has genuinely empowered women as a social group. There is the question of whether organisations such as KWAU have been institutionalised and co-opted by the government, much like the KNCW in the 1960s, diluting its efficiency and ability to represent the interests of all women (Kim & Kim, 2014: 34). Fundamentally, the KWAU's autonomy and progressiveness are questioned, placing it alongside mainstream organisations such as the KNCW.

The WNC actively avoided institutionalisation by creating a rule that leaders would not be allowed to retain their position if they held political office. Thus, the WNC's top leadership structure collapsed as the leadership moved to positions in the state and bureaucracy.

5.5. Major Similarities and Differences

The multi-layered social movements in South Africa and South Korea shared a specific goal, which was to oppose the authoritarian rule, eradicate it, and establish multi-party, liberal democracies (Fioramonti & Fiori, 2010: 28). Women's movements were in support of this goal, but with the added condition of a democracy that empowered women and ensured gender equality. Naturally, the differing cultural and political contexts of these countries also resulted in different results for the women's movements.

5.5.1. Peaceful transitions

Historians and political scholars alike (Inman & Rubinfeld, 2013; Shin & Park, 2003) agree that the peaceful transferral of power from authoritarian rule to democratic governments in both South Africa and South Korea was a remarkable feat. In Asia, South Korea was the only new democracy to do so while also transforming the outdated, crony capitalist system to a market economy that is competitive and transparent (Shin & Park, 2003: 3). Despite the intense constitutional negotiations that took several years of bargaining and was marred by disruption and violent conflict, the South African transition into democracy is also considered a peaceful (Inman & Rubinfeld, 2013: 2).

5.5.2. Women in Trade Unions and the Working Class: Representing all constituencies

Kim (2014) writes extensively about the post-democratisation relationship between the state and societal actors in South Korea and South Africa, analysing the changing significance of these entities' equal status on the political playing field and their increasing influence. The role of labour and trade unions is significant for the democratisation of both countries as several studies (Kim, 2014b: 2; Sanchez, 1993; Tshoaedi, 2012b) have shown that trade unions often emerge in newly industrialising countries to rise against authoritarian regimes and exploitative workplace practices.

The collective strength of the working-class ensured that their interests were represented within the democratic movement and their issues addressed during the process of democratisation. In South Africa, COSATU is an important political actor through its participation in a tripartite alliance with the ANC and South African Communist Party, as well as the influence its women members held as part of the WNC (Kim, 2014b: 250). COSATU has held considerable sway in the political landscape long after democratisation and its decision-making influence is supported by its ability to mobilise its massive membership in protest or support of political issues. An example of COSATU's political influence, post-democratisation is exhibited through the organisation's support of Jacob Zuma to replace then-ANC president Thabo Mbeki in 2007 (Kim, 2014b: 250). The South Korean trade unions that still exist today and serve to promote pro-labour policies, show significant electoral support to presidential candidates that align with their ideology (Kim, 2014b: 250; Wells, 1995). In the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, candidates that espoused pro-labour policies enjoyed strong support from a wider labour platform and ultimately won the elections.

5.5.3. A convenient time for women's emancipation

One of the major differences between South Africa and South Korea in terms of women's liberation was when it happened. Both the KWAU and WNC were aware that women's liberation would only occur in the event of national liberation from the authoritarian regime, however, the key difference between the two case studies here is that KWAU agreed on prioritising women's rights after democratisation had taken place, whilst the WNC demanded that women's liberation coincided with national liberation.

In South Africa, women would knock down the doors of meetings and demand to be present in the decision-making process that directly affected their lives. Women were determined to boycott the democratic process unless their grievances were included. For that determination,

women are allowed bodily autonomy, the right to vote, the right to safe and legal abortion, the right to ownership and enjoy the same rights and responsibilities as any other South African, regardless of their gender, race, ability or education. It has eliminated several hurdles that women now face in other countries where women's rights were not a cornerstone of democratic nation-building. For instance, an article written by *The New York Times* (Kirk & International Herald Tribune, 2000) highlighted the fact that women in South Korea only represented 3 or 4 per cent of the National Assembly and that despite making up 46 per cent of the labour force, they were the first to lose their jobs in economic declines because there was so little representation in executive or board positions. What made this issue persistently challenging to address was the fact that women's organisations could not collaborate with other civic action movements because of their disinterest in women's issues, and their prioritisation of forming a nationwide protest movement against corrupt legislators. The civic movement leadership had made it abundantly clear that they were not willing to address or include any women's issues as part of their agenda, despite the fact that the women's movement was expected to join the civic movement's campaign. This is reminiscent of the *minjung* and democratisation movement of the 1980s, where women's issues were not satisfactorily addressed, and an umbrella organisation had to be created in the form of the KWAU in order to for women's issues to be prioritised. The KWAU was successful in bridging the gap between various organisations and creating an intersectional women's movement that identified, discussed and protested on behalf of women's rights.

Although women's movements actively participated in the democratisation process of both countries to ensure gender equality and women's empowerment was included on the agenda, the outcomes of formal and substantive democracy have varied between South Africa and South Korea. Moon (2002: 36) questions to what extent democratisation had empowered Korean women who have been structurally marginalised because of their gender. She investigates the relationship between women and democratisation and highlights the enduring conservatism in democratisation that has resulted in formal democracy, but a lack of substantive change.

Figure 5.2. A Comparative Timeline of Salient Events for South African and South Korean women's movements

SOUTH AFRICA	YEAR	SOUTH KOREA
	1913 1886	
Bantu Women's League		Ewha Womans Academy est.
	1930 1940s	
White women vote		WW II Comfort Women Korea liberated from Japan
	1948 1948	
Apartheid begins ANCWL est.		Ri elected Authoritarian rule est.
	1954 1950	
FSAW est. First Women's Charter		KWNP est.
	1956 1959	
Women's March		KNCW est.
	1980s 1960s	
National liberation movement (UDF, COSATU, UWCO)		*Minjung* movement
	1990s 1970s	
Unbanning of ANCWL Democratic negotiations start		Working class rises up
	1992 1986	
WNC forms		Puch'ŏn Sexual Torture Incident
	1994 1987	
Second Women's charter 1st Democratic Elections		KWAU formed 1st Democratic Elections
	1996 1990s	
National Machinery for Women est. (CGE, OSW, JCQLSW) Choice of Termination of Pregnancy Act		Asian Economic Crisis Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan est.
	1998 1990s	
Customary Marriages Act 120 Domestic Violence Act Maintenance Act		Equal Employment Opportunity Act State Public Officials Act Infant Care Act Special Act on Sexual Violence
	2000s 2000s	
Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act Increased levels of violence against women. Mobilisation of women's movements		Abolition of Family Registration System Increased levels of violence against women. Mobilisation of women's movements

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed several points of comparison between - and provided a critical analysis of - South Africa and South Korea. I have critically evaluated the local context of each country and considered the local nuances in my comparison of the respective women's movements.

South Africa and South Korea are demonstrably similar in their patriarchal, conservative cultures that are influenced by religions and belief systems. These factors permeate the public and private sphere, limiting women's access to political opportunities. Both countries have struggled with racial and ethnic inequalities that have led to severe inter- and intranational conflicts and imposed additional suffering on women through exploitative practices, such as sexual slavery and restricted freedom of movement. The crux of this chapter has been the comparison of the South African and South Korean women's movements, of which four organisations have enjoyed historical and analytical preferences – FSAW, WNC, KNCW and KWAU.

The memberships of both South African movements were largely diverse and representative, similar to KWAU, whereas the KNCW was limited to including and representing middle-class women and explicitly exclusionary towards the plight of the working class. The research also demonstrated that because the movements, with the exception of the KNCW, were all umbrella bodies representing a plethora of constituents, their repertoires of contention varied, depending on the experience and style of their membership. The WNC and KWAU were the most prevalent in the democratisation process, and while they shared similar goals and protest styles, a clear divide appears when analysing the prioritisation of women's emancipation in relation to national liberation.

KWAU's willingness to prioritise liberation above women's issues resulted in a protracted and incremental period of achieving women's rights, and a constitution that had frequent amendments after democratisation to ensure that women's rights were secured. However, KWAU's participation in the democratic period remained consistent, and the organisation has since formalised institutionally, influencing gender policy initiatives alongside the state. Conversely, the WNC's contributions during the democratic transition and to the creation of constitution were far more impactful as their efforts translated into the establishment of national gender machinery that could promote gender equality and address women's issues

from the beginning of the democratic period. Unlike KWAU, the WNC failed to sustain its momentum after the transition had taken place.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1. Introduction

Although the body of literature surrounding women's movements is still limited, this study has demonstrated the remarkable potential of women's movements to significantly influence society and the outcomes of democratisation processes. I selected South Africa and South Korea for this comparative study on the basis of several shared characteristics that I identified through extensive research, and insights I have drawn from the works of several other authors including Fioramonti & Fiori (2010), Jeong (2004), Kim (2014), Mattes & Shin (2005) and Shelton (2009).

Mattes & Shin's (2005) comparison stemmed from their need to find two suitable case studies where they could test their arguments on traditional values and democracy. They selected South Africa and South Korea based on the shared characteristics of: "extensive agrarian production and traditional culture"; "occupation and colonisation by foreign powers"; "rapid transitions to partially industrialised economies in the mid 20th century"; "successful examples of Third Wave democratisation" and; "both are the most developed countries on their respective (mainland) continents" (Mattes & Shin, 2005: 2). Kim (2014) selected South Africa and South Korea for her study on failed corporatism because of the similar authoritarian governments, periods of democratisation, strong labour organisations and relationships between the state, private businesses and labour.

Of course, one must acknowledge the differences between the two countries as well, as Fioramonti & Fiori (2010) did in their study on the evolution of civic activism. They acknowledge the diverging developmental paths of the two countries (Fioramonti & Fiori, 2010: 24) but focus on the role of civil society in the democratisation process, as well as the ability for civic groups to adapt to the dynamic context of democratic consolidation.

Each of these studies has provided valuable insights into the similarities and differences between South Africa and South Korea, and their work has contributed significantly to improving the field of comparative research. The goal of this project was to contribute new knowledge and augment the field with my own insights by focusing on the influence of women's movements in the context of the democratisation process. To the best of my knowledge, there have been no other studies conducted that focus on comparing the South African and South Korean women's movements that participated in the democratisation process.

This chapter will summarise the main findings of this project and discuss the results of the study, as well as its implications, bearing in mind the research questions that were posed in chapter 1. Further to this, I will also discuss recommendations for future research in this field.

6.2. Main Findings

6.2.1. *The Nature of Women's Movements: the Cultural Context of Traditions and Ideologies*

One of the primary findings of this study was the fact that the mobilisation of women did not only occur during the height of democratisation or civil society activism but rather that women as political actors are present during every stage of the cycles of contention as described by Tarrow (2011). Additionally, the nature of a movement is strongly influenced by its social and cultural context, and in the cases of South Africa and South Korea, the local women's movements were influenced by patriarchal traditions that stemmed from deeply held religious beliefs – Christianity and Confucianism respectively.

These traditions relegated women to the private sphere of society (Pateman, 1989) where access to opportunities was restricted, and they were limited to the roles of wife, mother and caregiver. However, in periods of conflict, financial hardship or during the struggle for national liberation, women's participation in the public sphere was accepted and even encouraged, as auxiliary groups, mobilising agents or support structures (Hassim, 2004a: 435). This participation did not extend to input on policy discussions, the inclusion of women's issues or decision-making capabilities due to preconceived notions relating to a women's rational and emotional sensibilities. Furthermore, many women struggled with reconciling their traditional beliefs with their ideological beliefs on gender equality, struggling to decide which values to prioritise (Margolis, 1993: 383).

These values shape the ideological standpoint of a movement, and it is therefore important that scholars refrain from conflating women's movements and feminist movements. Beckwith (2000, 2005) and others (Alvarez, 1990b; Baldez, 2004) discuss how certain definitions may subsume women's movements as feminist, based on substantive elements such as women's rights and challenges to patriarchy, but fail to highlight that women's and feminist movements are conceptually distinct. Of the women's movements in this study, several have explicitly declined to identify as feminist for various reasons but may often do so to avoid alienating conservative members under their umbrella structure and risk losing support. Others cannot be

classified as feminist because of not meeting specific conceptual criteria such as openly challenging patriarchal standards or being intersectional (Beckwith, 2000: 438).

6.2.2. *The Relationship of Women's Movements with Civil Society*

The study has investigated the relationship between women's movements and other civic groups, in particular, other social movements under the authoritarian regime that mobilised in the pursuit of democratisation. In both South Africa and South Korea, women's political participation has been intrinsically linked with the liberation movements, from the 1956 Women's March *vis a vis* anti-pass laws in South Africa to Yu Gwan-sun's participation in the March 1st Independence March that ultimately led to her torture and death.

During the democratisation process in particular, the WNC's relationship with the national liberation movement and KWAU's relationship with the *minjung* movement, the research shows that while both movements were relevant political actors in support of democratisation, it was only the WNC that was able to ensure the prioritisation of women's emancipation concurrent with national liberation. KWAU was unable to prevent national liberation from taking precedence over women's participation but later contributed to significant legislative gains for women's rights in the post-democratisation era.

Another interesting aspect to consider was the difference in membership for the selected women's movements. Both FSAW and the WNC in South Africa represented a diverse collection of constituents with differing ideological and political standpoints (Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative, 2018: 10), similar to KWAU from South Korea, whereas the KNCW was restricted to the educated middle-class (Lee & Lee, 2013: 57).

Considering the industrialised nature of both countries, it is also worth noting the collective strength of the working-class and their significant contributions to the women's and liberation movements in supporting the democratisation of both South Africa and South Korea (Tshoaedi, 2012a). In South Africa, COSATU still enjoys significant political sway and a strong constitution that protects workers' rights. In contrast, one of the main critiques against the *minjung* and women's movements was their failure to improve the rights of the working-class post-democratisation.

6.2.3. *Post-democratisation*

As part of the comparative analysis, it was necessary to analyse the post-democratisation gains and losses of the South African and South Korean women's movements to ascertain their influence in the longer term. The main finding of this section was that the WNC's efforts in

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producing the Women's Charter and the ANCWL's persistence in including women's interests at the negotiating table, resulted in a comprehensive constitution and remarkable bill of rights that afforded equal status to all citizens regardless of gender, race, orientations and creed with progressive national gender machinery that descriptively protected women's rights (Hassim, 2015). The failure of prioritising and integrating women's interests with the liberation movement's interests during the democratisation process in South Korea resulted in a severe delay in legislative changes that would improve women's rights and afford them equal citizenship status to men (Suh & Park, 1979). Further to this was the absence of comprehensive national gender machinery, equipped with the necessary clout to promote and protect women's rights.

The second post-democratisation aspect that was discussed is the continuity of the women's movements after the authoritarian state was ousted, their institutionalisation, and their ongoing fight for women's rights. The WNC collapsed as its leaders were not allowed to serve on the WNC executive while holding political office, and many leaders were forced to leave the WNC as they took up positions in local and national government. A study by the Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2018) acknowledges that the movements abilities were constrained by the perpetuation of patriarchal attitudes by some political parties and traditional leaders; the social and political fragmentation of the movement's members and; the inability to maintain its momentum past the negotiation stage. Furthermore, the ANCWL which was previously an integral part in securing women's rights, became a liability to women's rights in the 2000s as it increasingly became more concerned with demanding space in government and defending ANC leaders accused of crimes against women, and less focused on formulating a coherent policy agenda or contributing to the strategic success of national gender machineries (Hassim, 2015: 150).

Although the women's movement in South Korea lost its "ideological radicalism" (Kim & Kim, 2014: 8) when it became institutionalised, it succeeded in creating positive gains for women's rights after democratisation through collaborating with the state in establishing and revising policies on women's issues mainstreaming gender. Kim & Kim (2014: 30) write that the expansion of the civil society arena after the end of the military dictatorship in South Korea gave the women's movement organisations ample opportunity to grow and diversify. More importantly, they were able to form an ideological and organisational identity outside of their relationship with the *minjung* movement, concerned with women's issues that were not necessarily related to democratisation. However, KWAU's proximity to the state and ultimate

institutionalisation had transformed the organisation from a progressive, autonomous umbrella movement to a conservative corporation indistinguishable from its conservative predecessor, the KNCW.

Although both movements succeeded in descriptively improving women's rights through legislative changes, one must question whether their efforts have translated into substantive change? In chapter 3 and 4, I briefly discuss the current status quo of women in South African and South Korean societies, where I highlight the challenges that women still face in both countries including; barriers to accessing economic and political opportunities; discriminatory practices in the workplace and; significant violence against women. Although the current women's movements fall beyond the scope of this project, I have included this brief overview of women's challenges today to demonstrate how the women's movements of the democratisation period have influenced the state of democracy today, looking into where their efforts produced fruitful results, and where it has not.

6.3. Did women's movements influence the democratisation of South Africa and South Korea?

Looking at the various critical junctures that have shaped South Africa's journey to democracy, the research has substantiated that women have been dynamic political actors in different capacities. The Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2018:10), supported by studies from several prominent authors (Gouws, 2005a; Hassim, 2002, 2004a; Kuumba, 2002; Robins, 2008; Špehar, 2007) argues that the women's movement significantly influenced the negotiation and constitutional content creation phases of South African democratisation. Its influence stemmed from the ability to build intersectional coalitions; strategic repertoires of action in promoting gender equality and women's rights and; the networks between civil society organisations on a local and international scale.

Women's resistance in South Korea has historically been linked to liberation efforts against colonial regimes and military dictatorships, with women from different socio-economic backgrounds mobilising in support of democratisation and an autonomous Korean society (Kim & Kim, 2014: 116). Although the official stance of the umbrella organisation KWAU, was to first support democratisation and then women's liberation, it still influenced the democratisation process of South Korea through its repertoires of contention and strong networks with other organisations in the *minjung* movement. It also demonstrated a remarkable

ability to adapt to the changes in the political arena and modify itself in a way that would enable it to once more focus on women's liberation.

6.4. Recommendations for Further Studies

Several other countries share similar characteristics to that of South Africa and South Korea, who also underwent democratisation during Huntington's (1993) Third Wave of Democratisation of the 1970s – 1990s period, many of whom were likely influenced by women's movements. Several scholars (Alvarez, 1990b; Baldez, 2003, 2004; Waylen, 1993) have investigated the women's movements under authoritarian rule in Latin America and there is limited scholarship (Jacobs, 2009; Johansen, 2011; Maswikwa, 2015) on the role of women's movements in the context of African democratisation. I would argue that there is potential for further discoveries in studies concerned with the role of women's movements in the democratisation processes of developing nations. Additionally, I believe the field would benefit greatly from further comparative studies that utilise multiple country cases in order to identify other salient trends related to women and democratisation.

I would also recommend further investigation into why the WNC was not able to construct a sustainable organisation structure that could have continued to grow after democratisation, and if institutionalisation would have ensured more substantive change for South African women. For South Korea, one might recommend further investigation into the interplay between KWAU and other women's organisations, analysing how the movement may have operated had it not institutionalised, but continued to rely on its established networks in civil society.

Further investigation into women's movements and their influence on democratisation may assist other movements in the process of democratisation or ongoing promotion of gender equality in a transitioned state on the various means available to them to protect women's rights, formulate policy setting and reviewing and mainstreaming gender.

6.5. Conclusion

This thesis has found that women's movements in South Africa and South Korea were able to influence the democratisation process, with different outcomes for women's rights. Each movement exhibited unique characteristics which subsequently impacted its ability to promote women's rights concurrently with national liberation efforts against authoritarian regimes.

The WNC in South Africa saw short-term success in its delivery of the Women's Charter that was absorbed into a constitution that has received international acclaim, whereas the KWAU in South Korea failed to have an immediate impact on gender equality, but long-term efforts

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have resulted in significant legislative gains for women's rights. The WNC's success in establishing a national gender machinery has been diminished by the current government's inability to formulate policies that protect and promote women's rights. KWAU's inability to include a comprehensive framework of women's rights during the democratisation process has led sustained efforts to introduce numerous acts that address gender inequality in lieu of national gender machinery.

In both countries, we have seen an improvement in descriptive representation of women and the improvement of formal equality of local women, but there are still severe shortcomings in substantive changes, evidenced in the continued lack of access to socio-economic opportunities and gender-based crimes.

Depending on the theoretical framework and the standpoint of the reader, one could certainly debate the degree to which the movements influenced democratisation.

The future role and nature of women's movements in South Africa and South Korea are unclear, but there are clear indicators as to the gendered issues which any potential political actor should focus their attention on.

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