



Beteiligte Wissenschaftlerinnen aus dem Netzwerk Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung NRW: Linkes Bild: Prof. Dr. Ilse Lenz (links) und Prof. Dr. Michiko Mae; rechtes Bild: Prof. Dr. Ute Klammer (Fotos: ©JDZB).



Michiko Mae, Ludgera Lewerich, Marie Weishaupt

„Democracy Without Equality? Gender Policies in Japan, Germany and South Korea“ und „Equal Participation and Diversity“

Berichte zu Symposium und Kolloquium am 30.11. und 01.12.2017 in Berlin

Michiko Mae
Einführung

Über Gleichheit und aktive Teilhabe aller am gesellschaftlichen Leben wird gegenwärtig in vielen westlichen Gesellschaften intensiv debattiert; auf nationaler und globaler Ebene werden Geschlechtergleichheit und Diversität durch nationalistische, populistische und fundamentalistische Kräfte infrage gestellt. Angesichts dieser kritischen Weltlage ist es wichtig, international vergleichend zu betrachten, wie Gleichstellungsprozesse zu mehr Demokratisierung und Partizipation beitragen können. Während dies bisher eher auf Europa und die USA fokussiert thematisiert wird, wurde bei einer internationalen Tagung, die von Prof. Dr. Michiko Mae (Universität Düsseldorf) mit Unterstützung des Japanisch-Deutschen Zentrums Berlin, der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung und der Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS, vergleichbar mit der DFG in Deutschland) organisiert wurde, dieses wichtige und aktuelle Thema auf Japan, Südkorea und Deutschland bezogen untersucht.

Das ist deshalb sehr aufschlussreich, weil in beiden westlich orientierten ostasiatischen Gesellschaften eine deutliche Tendenz zu mehr Partizipation der Bürger/innen, zu mehr Berücksichtigung ihrer Diversität und in diesem Sinn zu mehr gleichen Rechten und Chancen und damit zu mehr Demokratie erkennbar ist.

In Japan wie in Südkorea sind in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten allgemeine Gleichstellungsgesetze verabschiedet worden; an der Gesetzgebung und der Umsetzung waren die Zivilgesellschaft und verschiedene Frauenorganisationen beteiligt. Durch die Förderung und eine stärkere Einbeziehung von Frauen in die Erwerbsarbeit und durch die Stärkung ihrer zivilgesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten wird in beiden Ländern versucht, Partizipations- und Demokratisierungsprozesse voranzutreiben. Die Bewältigung des demografischen Wandels in Japan, Südkorea und Deutschland ist ohne Frauen als Beschäftigte und Unternehmerinnen im Bereich sozialer Dienstleistungen wie auch als Mitarbeiterinnen bei NPOs etc. nicht zu leisten. Die derzeitige neoliberale Regierungspolitik in Japan erhofft sich von einer verstärkten Beteiligung von Frauen in der Arbeitswelt Impulse für die Stärkung der Wirtschaftskraft und für die politische Stärke Japans. Auch in Südkorea als neuer Hightech-Gesellschaft und sich herausbildendem Wohlfahrtsstaat sind solche Tendenzen zu beobachten; das Land erlebt seit etwa 2000 einen starken Demokratisierungsschub auch im Bereich der Frauenförderung. Ein Vergleich dieser beiden wichtigen ostasiatischen Staaten, die beide zunehmend durch die Entwicklung Chinas herausgefordert werden, mit Deutschland als führendem Land in Europa ist für beide Seiten sehr aufschlussreich. Die zwei-

tägige Tagung im Japanisch-Deutschen Zentrum in Berlin hat gezeigt, wie bei verschiedenen Modernisierungs- und Globalisierungsverläufen und in unterschiedlichen Gesellschaftsstrukturen und Kulturen die Partizipation und Demokratisierung weiter entwickelt werden können. Wie dies durch die besondere Förderung von Frauen (in Japan durch das Partizipationsgesetz seit 1999 und den Frauenförderungsplan seit 2014) und der Diversität (z.B. das Förderprogramm zur multikulturellen Koexistenz seit 2006 in Japan) mit ihren noch verborgenen Potenzialen geschehen kann, wurde in verschiedenen Feldern und an konkreten Beispielen analysiert.

Zu dem öffentlichen Symposium und dem Kolloquium, an denen renommierte sozial-, wirtschafts- und politikwissenschaftliche Expert/innen aus Deutschland, Japan und Südkorea teilgenommen haben, liegt nun von Ludgera Lewerich (Universität Düsseldorf) und Marie Weishaupt (Freie Universität Berlin) jeweils ein Bericht vor.

Ludgera Lewerich

Democracy without Equality? Gender Policies in Japan, Germany and South Korea Conference Report¹

On November 30, 2017 the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB) hosted the symposium on "Democracy without Equality? Gender Policies in Japan, Germany and South Korea" in cooperation with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and with the support of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS). The purpose of this symposium was to bring together preeminent scholars in the field of gender studies from Germany, Japan and South Korea to present and discuss the state of gender equality in those countries. The title of the symposium "Democracy without Equality" might at first seem contradictory. Democracy is after all built on the ideal that everyone – men and women – is bestowed with equal rights. However, while Germany, Japan and South Korea can certainly be considered modern democratic states, full gender equality is guaranteed in theory but remains contested in practice. The state of gender equality in these states differs as do the policies implemented to guarantee it as well as the activism undertaken by civil society. The presenters at the conference all sought to shed light on different aspects of gender equality in their respective countries and to answer the question: "What is the state of gender equality and why is it so difficult to achieve?"

Opening

The secretary general of the JDZB Dr. Friederike Bosse first addressed the symposium with an

opening remark, welcoming organizers, speakers and the large audience in attendance. Afterwards Michèle Auga of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and Prof. Dr. Kodaira Kei'ichi² of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) also welcomed everyone to the symposium. All three speakers remarked the importance and timeliness of the subject of gender equality and democracy. Bosse highlighted both the progress already made in all three countries and the problems that still have to be solved – such as the fact that the number of female members of the Bundestag has decreased. Auga stressed the fact that gender equality is currently a contested issue, under attack by nationalists in all three countries. She further emphasized that the fundamental goal of gender equality is to achieve more participation and thus democratization. Lastly, Kodaira remarked on the importance of creating international research networks through symposia such as this one as they provide the opportunity to shed light on democratic systems of modern societies.

Introduction

After the opening remarks, Prof. Dr. Mae Michiko from Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, the initiator and organizer of the conference, introduced the topic of the symposium. In her talk "Democracy Through Equal Participation and Diversity" Mae started with a brief account of the history of the Women's Rights Movement in the USA in 1848. She highlighted the importance of its diverse roots, which included indigenous activists, and African Americans such as Frederick Douglass. Mae then explained the significance of comparing the cases of Germany, Japan and South Korea and gave a short overview of some of the most important aspects in their development of gender equality and gender equality policies. While all three countries have enshrined gender equality constitutionally and made significant progress, the gender gap is still quite large and these days women are increasingly divided among themselves. Noting that Germany influenced the formation of the modern nation-state in Japan, which in turn influenced that of South Korea, she pointed out that the nexus of nation, culture and gender still lies at the core of the nation state. This prevents full gender equality and in light of worldwide nationalistic and anti-democratic movements seems to even be a growing trend. Mae closed the introduction by expressing her hope that the symposium "Democracy without Equality?" will help create a more democratic and equal future by providing opportunities for participation and discussion.

¹ This report portrays the main line of argument of the conference and it summarizes the presentations and discussions according to the understanding of the author. We therefore ask not to quote single remarks as literal remarks of the speakers.

² Conventional Japanese and Korean name order is generally followed: FAMILY NAME – given name.

Keynotes

The introduction was followed by three keynote speeches on "Gender Equality and Participation in Germany, Japan and South Korea: Learning from Each Other?". The keynote section was chaired by Prof. Dr. Gesine Foljanty-Jost of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg who introduced the three speakers.

The first keynote speech was delivered by Dr. Eva Högl from the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), who has been a member of the German Federal Parliament since 2009. Högl first touched upon important milestones in the history of women's rights in Germany. She mentioned the Equal Rights Act in 1957 and the recent law change in 2017 legalizing same-sex marriage. She then turned to current subjects that are the focus of her political activities. Some issues she mentioned were the necessity to raise the quota for women in leadership positions, more transparency in wage allocation to fight the gender pay gap and better work-life-balance for working parents. Högl closed her speech by stressing the importance of international solidarity to achieve equality in all areas of life.

In the second keynote speech Prof. Dr. Kim Eun-Shil of Ewha Womans University used the currently popular South Korean novel "Kim Ji Young, Born 1982" as the starting point of her discussion on the state of gender equality in South Korea. She compared the biography of the novel's female protagonist to important political advancements such as the Special Law on Domestic Violence in 1995 and the Gender Equality Act of 2014. Kim pointed out both successful implementation of policies to further women's rights and instances of misogynistic pushback directed towards feminist movements. Feminists in South Korea are also divided among themselves. According to Kim the younger generation of feminist activists generally distrusts the more established old-school feminists and female-lawmakers. Thus these new emerging women's voices need to be heard and integrated so as to work together to combat the gender discrimination women still often face in South Korea.

Makiyama Hiroe, a member of The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and the House of Councilors gave the third and final keynote speech on current gender policies in Japan and the challenges faced today. After a brief history of the development of gender equality policies in Japan, Makiyama pointed out that many laws may have been implemented, but gender equality has not been achieved. She especially noted that many people still neither have a strong awareness of the issue of gender equality, nor do they have an interest in it. Makiyama linked this lack of awareness to

an "allergy" for the concept of gender equality, as many people neither know nor understand the term. She stressed the many problems that women still face in the workplace and the lack of social policies to support them. According to her, the DPJ campaigns for implementing social welfare policies will address the wage gap, irregular employment and aim for better work-life-balance. Pointing out that women are often burdened both with work for pay and unpaid household work, she suggested more incentives for childcare leave for fathers, mandatory parental childcare leave and an increase of women's salaries as possible solutions.

The keynote speeches ended with a comment from Prof. Dr. Miura Mari of Sophia University who noted the importance of critical actors such as politicians who advocate for gender equality. She furthermore acknowledged that while young feminists often have doubts about politics, current issues of violence against women could be a uniting issue, triggering a revival of feminism.

Panel I: Participation, Diversity and Work in the Global Economy

The first panel of the day, "Participation, Diversity and Work in the Global Economy", was chaired by Prof. Dr. Annette Schad-Seifert from Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf. It opened with a presentation by Prof. Dr. Hong Seung-Ah of the Korean Women's Development Institute on "Challenges for Gender Equality in the Family and Work: from the Korean Experience". Like previous speakers, Hong acknowledged the steady progress made in South Korea towards a more gender equal society but also pointed to persisting unequal work opportunities for women in the South Korean labor market. About 48.2% of women were not economically active in 2015, many of them citing domestic work and childrearing as obstacles. Issues like unequal pay and long working hours exacerbate the problem and work-life-balance policies remain largely ineffective. Moving on to family structures, Hong shed light on the unequal share of domestic work and care, where women still mostly carry the burden. Persisting gender norms and a work-centered culture prevent men from taking more part in household work and childrearing. Thus, Hong concluded that gender norms inside the family have not significantly changed. She expressed hope that these issues will be tackled by the new administration, so that men will accept a larger role and more responsibility in the family.

In the second presentation Prof. em. Dr. Ilse Lenz of the University of Bochum talked about "Gender and Global Flexibilised Capitalism: Old and

New Segmentation Lines in Germany and Japan". She first touched upon the problem of the terminology of "globalization", citing different possible definitions and the parallel processes involved (economic, political, cultural, ecological globalization). Moving on to gendered work in globalization, Lenz pointed out the different forms of paid and unpaid work women are engaged in worldwide. In many occupations women are vulnerable to structural violence and exploitation – such as sex work and surrogate pregnancy work. While globally women increasingly participate in the labor market, they are more often part-time or temporary workers compared to men. In institutions that regulate work in the globalized economy – such as polity, enterprises, civil society and the family – women are included to a varying degree. For example only a minority of women are among policy makers in Germany, Japan and Korea. However, they are better represented in civil society as activists and leaders in women's movements. In her closing remarks, Lenz stressed various important steps necessary for changes at work, such as moving away from heteronormative regulations, an intersectional approach to gender equality and a general respect and recognition for women both at paid and civic work.

Prof. Dr. Ōsawa Mari from the University of Tōkyō gave the third presentation of the panel, "Japan and Germany have to make a Paradigm Shift to Contribute to World Sustainability". In her speech she focused on poverty and livelihood security. She shone a light on Japan's recent major crises like the economic crisis in 2008 and the triple disaster of 2011, which left half a million people without basic livelihood security. Due to the gender pay gap women were especially vulnerable. According to her, social vulnerability and class poverty in Japan led to large disaster risks. Globally speaking, an imbalance of current accounts – over-consumption in the US and under-consumption in Japan, Germany and China – are root causes for economic crisis such as the Lehman shock. Moving on to poverty rates in Germany, Japan and Korea Ōsawa noted that South Korea has shown much improvement in reducing poverty among children in recent years, while the situation seems more stagnant in Germany and Japan. Furthermore, working single parents in Japan face high poverty rates on par with countries like India or China. In her closing statement, she noted the relation between social trust and poverty rates and emphasized the importance of social trust as the basis for economic growth and disaster resilience.

An introductory statement followed the presentations of the first panel. Dr. Tsuji Yuki from

Tōkai University commented on the presentations' analysis of economic processes in both national and global contexts. The following discussion revolved mainly around questions about the gender pay gap, ways to better utilize women's potential and a general discussion of the meaning and usage of the term "gender" in German, Japanese and Korean.

Panel II: The Future of Equality and Diversity: Perspectives from Germany, Japan and South Korea

After a coffee break the symposium continued with the second panel "The Future of Equality and Diversity: Perspectives from Germany, Japan and South Korea". It was chaired by Prof. Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott from the Freie Universität Berlin and opened with a presentation by Prof. Dr. Ute Klammer of the University of Duisburg-Essen. In her paper "The Future of Equality and Diversity – Perspectives from Germany" Klammer introduced the findings of the recently published second report on gender equality in Germany. She emphasized the continued gender inequality in the labor market despite the rising employment rate, as women continue to often work part-time. Klammer noted the importance of looking at gender inequality through the lens of the life course perspective. Early phases – when women for example take maternity leave or do unpaid work such as care – often affect later life stages. While norms are changing, the male breadwinner model often prevails after childbirth due to different reasons, such as the low rate of public childcare facilities. This leads to the re-traditionalization of gender arrangements once women become mothers. In addition, the business culture of availability conflicts with family life and middle management often blocks gender equality. Laws enacted to combat inequality in the workforce remain ineffective in many areas. Klammer closed her talk with policy recommendations such as an improvement of the infrastructure of childcare, a legal right to return to the same or an equivalent job after parental leave, and the introduction of gender budgeting for the national budget. According to her, persisting gender inequalities are very costly, while equal employment of women would stabilize the social security systems, and as such gender equality is a prerequisite for a modern innovation policy.

Prof. em. Dr. Ueno Chizuko of the University of Tōkyō and founder of the Women's Action Network (WAN) gave the second presentation of the panel, "Equal Representation for What?: a Goal or a Tool?". Ueno noted that the mobilization of women in the labor force is often an imper-

ative due to the shrinking workforce caused by a low childbirth rate, and as a response to globalization. Nevertheless, as noted by previous speakers, women continue to be marginalized in the labor market. In Japan for example, they are often systematically excluded by the Japanese style management system. As more and more women participate in the labor market, societies have to deal with the question of how to transfer the care burden that women took on before. After introducing three options – socialization of care, marketization of care and familialization of care – Ueno noted that each option comes at a price: either a high tax burden, underpaid migrants (mostly women) having to shoulder the care work, or (Japanese) women continuing to work without pay if the care stays within the family. Ueno raised many different questions on how the goal of gender equality as equal representation can lead also to controversial discussion – such as the inclusion of women in the military. She also characterized care as a deeply human activity from birth until death. It is nonetheless often seen as a dependent activity, thus framing women as dependent once they take on the role of caretaker. Men on the other hand are framed as active and independent. According to her, women do not want to be male clones and the experience of caring can actually serve to learn and practice non-violence. Ueno proposed the involvement of men in caring activities as a solution to end sexual harassment and violence and as a way to work towards a better society, friendly to women and social minorities.

The third and last presentation of the panel, “Mismatch between Democracy and Gender Equality in Attitudes in Korea”, was given by Prof. Dr. Kim Kyoung-Hee of Chung-Ang University. Comparing South Korea and Japan, Kim noted that both countries are ranked highly in global indexes for levels of democracy but do not do very well in the Global Gender Gap Index. The lack of women’s economic participation in South Korea is one reason for the low rating served as the starting point for her research. Looking at survey data on attitudes towards democracy and gender, she focused on two sub-variables: gender role attitude and sex-related tolerance. While Japan and South Korea show similar attitudes towards gender roles and democracy, a difference in the variable of sex-related tolerance – such as homosexuality or abortion – was noticeable. South Korea showed less tolerance on these issues in the data than Japan. After introducing four different clusters, Kim linked the lower sex-related tolerance to current hot issues in South Korean society, where misogyny continues to be a problem, abortion remains a strongly

debated topic and anti-homosexuality activists retain a strong influence. In her conclusion, she pointed out different attitudinal patterns on gender and democracy in Japan and South Korea and proposed that the factors making up those differences need to be considered further.

The subsequent discussion started with an introductory statement given by Dr. Shin Ki-Young from Ochanomizu University who summarized the important points from all three presentations. Shin highlighted the general inefficiency of government policies to tackle the problems raised in the talks, as well as the slow progress made towards gender equality. Gender equality needs to be realized in all areas of life, as no gender equality means no true democracy. The subsequent lively discussion revolved around questions of how to better prioritize gender in the political field, ways to fight rising precariousness, and the potential success of recently implemented laws.

Panel Discussion

In the following panel discussion – chaired by Mae – the panelists Ōsawa, Hong, Klammer, Ueno and Kim Kyoung-Hee talked about important strategies and means to promote more gender equality, political participation of younger generations and the concept of democracy in general. Comments from the audience raised the issue of different, often contesting feminisms and the need for an intersectional approach, that also looked more closely at issues of class, ethnicity, sexuality etc. All panelists agreed on the importance of such an approach. Ueno stressed that if gender equality is achieved on the back of other disenfranchised groups, it is not social justice.

The active participation of the audience in the panel discussion and the high attendance showed a great interest in the topic of gender equality and democracy and the timeliness of the issue. The symposium managed to shed light both on goals achieved and issues still remaining to be resolved. Through the comparison between Germany, South Korea and Japan, many similarities and differences in the social situation of women and policy responses for more equality became apparent. The manifold ways in which societies and governments try to work towards a gender equal and thus, a more democratic society broadened the knowledge of and perspective on the discussed topics. While it became clear that much work still remains to be done in order to achieve gender equality, the symposium served as a great opportunity to bring together scholars from all three countries. It has helped to create the international networks whose importance was stressed in many of the presentations.

Marie Weishaupt

Equal Participation and Diversity

Conference Report

The colloquium "Equal Participation and Diversity" was hosted by the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB) on December 1, 2017, in cooperation with the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) and with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). The event brought together an interdisciplinary and international group of renowned gender scholars. This colloquium was organized in the context of changing economies and growing investigation about gender equality in industrialized societies. Drawing from examples stemming from the Japanese, South Korean and German cases, scholars engaged in discussions concerning the latest development of gender policies and their social and economic influences.

Panel I: Innovative Political Approaches towards Gender Equality and Diversity

The first panel on "Innovative Political Approaches towards Gender Equality and Diversity" covered current approaches and reforms towards gender equality and diversity, tackling the issue of gender mainstreaming, gender budgeting and issues of implementation and assessment. The first presentation on "The Rise and Fall of Gender Mainstreaming in Germany – Lessons to Learn" was based on a paper by Dr. Regina Frey from the Institute for Social Work and Social Education, unfortunately unable to attend the event, and presented by Prof. em. Dr. Ilse Lenz. Focusing on the German case, the paper highlighted gender equality as a basic principle in the German constitution and social law, as well as in the functioning of federal governance. However, it appears that there is a relative absence of initiatives taken in order to promote it. Gender Mainstreaming (GM) has been introduced through a federal cabinet decision as a leading strategy to achieve gender equality, but an overall policy implementation (such as a comprehensive gender budgeting system) lacking at the federal level undermined possible outcomes. Concrete measures are being observed at a sub-federal level, but institutional mechanisms still lack at the national level, making it challenging to tackle persistent gender inequalities. The complex debate around the concept of "gender" within civil society complicates the process of implementing national measures. The presentation ended on several recommendations, putting an emphasis on promoting research concerning Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) and improving Gender Budgeting (GB) at a European level, while calling for

the creation of institutional mechanisms at the national level, accompanied by an assessment and monitoring system, and a further discussion at the societal level.

The second presentation by Prof. Dr. Miura Mari from Sophia University on "Revisiting Social Investment in Japan" addressed the topic of social investment in contemporary Japan. Pushed by demographic changes, reforms had to be implemented in the last two decades, and since 2009, social expenditures have grown, with for example the multiplication of daycare facilities to support working women. However, Miura underscores the absence of consideration on human capital formation, and the sustained assumptions over gendered labor division. According to her, the Womanomics launched by the Abe government, rooted in neoliberalism and anti-feminist conservatism, promoted women's activation but without questioning gender discriminations, the male breadwinning system, and the link between womanhood and motherhood. The shift from a manufacturing nation to a knowledge-based economy does not seem to have been acknowledged by recent governments, leading to the absence of investment in career paths for women. If the Womanomics were aiming at "making women shine", it appears that reforms have neither led to a better representation of women in the economic sphere nor to an overall debate on gender inequalities.

In the third presentation on "Bringing Back the Policy Potential of Gender Mainstreaming to Challenge Gender Inequality in Korea", Prof. Dr. Kim Kyoung-Hee from Chung-Ang University covered the issue of Gender Mainstreaming (GM) in the case of South Korea, with perspectives on the newly elected Moon government. GM has been implemented in late 1997. Working with feminist organizations and civil society, the government enacted several laws and acts, creating institutional mechanisms to ensure the promotion of gender equality. However, with the return of a neo-conservative government in 2008, gender impact assessment started being implemented without a clear concern for GM. With time, GM became technocratized, emptying the concept from its political contents and objectives. According to the discussant, the reasons for such a technocratization would be the absence of clear definition for the term "gender", but also the powerful neoliberal ideas embedded in the economic discourse that tainted the issue of gender with notions of efficiency and effectiveness rather than equality. The presentation ended on the plans announced by the newly elected government to bring GM into the political debate through the establishment of a Presidential Com-

mission on Gender Equality and the strengthening of the Ministry of Women and Family.

Panel II: Participation and New Forms of Securing Work and Family Life

The second panel on "Participation and New Forms of Securing Work and Family Life" revolved around contemporary challenges surrounding gender equality in politics and in the labor market with regards to the different reforms of the welfare system. The first presentation by Prof. Dr. Hildegard Maria Nickel from Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin on "More Gender Equality? New Patterns of Conflict in Gender Relations" relied on the ongoing Hans Böckler Foundation (HBS) research project conducted at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin entitled "Participation and Reproduction: The Employment and Gender Policy Roles Played by High Skilled Workers and High Level Managers at the German Rail Operator Deutsche Bahn AG". According to the presenter, even if there is a growing integration of women into managerial positions, leading to a reflection on women's role with regards to production and reproduction, leadership culture in the company still ignores the necessary balance between professional and private lives, an issue that is even more exacerbated by the use of communication technologies. The resistance of male workers, despite a rise of awareness among male managers and skilled workers, also impedes the possible changes in the working environment. New boundary struggles between production and reproduction, as well as new gender traps, are obstacles to the integration of women in the labor market, especially when it comes to managerial positions. Nickel underlines the need to think further about the issue of gender-fair distribution of labor in the workplace and to expand the reflection to embrace lifestyle in a holistic manner.

The second presentation by D. Tsuji Yuki, Associate Professor at Tōkai University, titled "A Challenge to Patriarchal Political Arena, or What? Analysis of Koike Yuriko's Uprising in the 2017 National Election" was centered on the rise and fall of Koike Yuriko, with her election as Tōkyō's governor in 2016 and her failure to secure a large number of seats during the legislative elections in 2017. As the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP, conservative) did not endorse her for the 2016 gubernatorial elections, Koike decided to create a local party "Tomin First" (Tōkyō Citizens First Party) and challenged the Japanese two-party system revolving around the LDP and the DPJ (The Democratic Party of Japan). With a populist but neoliberal program, highlighting gender imbalance in politics and including wom-

en's policies, she was able to collect votes from liberal, but also conservative competing parties, with a higher support coming from female voters. Koike also challenged the Japanese familialist welfare regime by offering an approach leaning towards a neoliberal model, promoting a universal breadwinner system and therefore the expansion of female employment. According to the presenter, the victory of Koike's party at the 2016 Tōkyō election illustrates the citizens' dismissal of a patriarchal party (the LDP) and the demand for alternative policies to face new social issues. Nevertheless, the new party created for the national election, the Party of Hope, only secured 50 seats in the Lower House, showing the limits of her program. Koike was criticized for enhancing ideological coherence within her party, not devoting herself to her status as Tokyo's governor and implementing a top-down party governance. Increasing the number of female candidates was therefore not enough to secure a victory. Koike's parties showed that the party leadership's intervention can bring a change and increase the number of female candidates within the party, but also showed that a more democratic running of the parties themselves was expected for voters to endorse them.

In the third presentation on "Reconciliation of Work and Family without Gender Equality: South Korea's Dilemma", Prof. Dr. Hong Seung-Ah from the Korean Women's Development Institute discussed the issue of Work Life Balance (WLB) in the context of South Korea. The increase of women on the labor market in the past decades has led two-earner families to become prevalent in Korean society, creating a demand to reconsider the issue of WLB, but more generally social policies. The presenter started by presenting three main policy areas in which reforms were made in order to accommodate the societal changes. First, childcare services were created in 1991 in order to support working parents. But it appears nowadays that 58.4% of children taken care of in those facilities have non-working mothers, questioning the full impact of the reform. Second, Parental Leave was expanded in 2001 in order to balance work and childrearing, including full paternal leave starting in 2007. However, data still shows a lower rate of men taking a leave, an issue related to organizational issues within companies (disadvantage in promotions and job arrangements) but also economic struggles (parental leave compensations are too low to ensure economic stability). The last measure was improving Work Flexibility in 2010, with the goal of creating new jobs and increase women's economic participation. It could have led to a better balance between family life and work, but

it appeared that women often use their extra free time for childcare, children's education and housework, in a much higher proportion than men. Even though South Korea has engaged in a rapid reform of its social policies, many issues still remain. Structural rigidities penalizing fathers who take time off work and maintaining care work mainly onto women's shoulders; there is a need to encourage and strengthen policy implementation and men's participation, but first of all, there is a need to put gender equality on the agenda once again, in order to question the link between caregiving and womanhood in the Korean context.

In the last presentation of the second panel on "Gender Inequality in a Growing Service Economy? Non-Standard Workers in Germany and Japan", Prof. Dr. Tanaka Yōko from the University of Tsukuba addressed the issues related to non-standard work in Germany and Japan. With the expansion of the service sector, both countries have seen a growing number of non-standard workers. This shift brought three issues possibly leading to the devaluation of work, especially for female workers: a difference in skill formation, a devaluation of gendered vulnerabilities and a persisting male breadwinner system.

Even though it is undoubted that the general employment structure is now shifting towards a female-oriented non-standard work in the service sector in both countries, Tanaka highlights the presence of important differences in the two cases. In general, part-time work in Germany is considered as a variation of full-time employment, giving access to a better wage, benefits and bonuses, and it concerns mainly young workers. In the Japanese case, part-time work is detached from full-time employment, with little prospect for a career, pay raise, no access to benefits and bonuses, and it affects mostly women, bringing in a gendered dimension.

According to the presenter, these differences are rooted in the labor conditions of full-time employment. The conditions being constraining in the Japanese context, with unlimited working hours, possible compulsory periodical relocations and expected devotion towards the company, many people (and especially women) prefer overlooking the disadvantages of non-standard work. In Germany, collective agreements led to a form of social protection of part-time workers and to the possibility to transition from part-time to full-time employment. Even if the service sector is growing in both countries, the two examples show how labor policies can impact non-standard workers differently, with important consequences on female workers' trajectories.

Panel III: Paths towards Participatory Societies

The last panel of the symposium on "Paths towards Participatory Societies" was dedicated to recent developments of the concepts of womanhood and manhood, and their implications for participatory societies. The first presentation on "The Men's Need for Gender Equality" offered by Prof. Dr. Stephan Höyng from the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Berlin tackled the need for more gender equality from a masculine perspective. If feminist groups have often highlighted the existence of male privileges rooted in patriarchy, the presenter argues that patriarchy also comes with constraints that burden men (lack of self-care, pressure to succeed professionally, limited time for childcare, etc.). Within the labor market, capitalism led to the link between masculinity and certain types of sectors, pulling men away from care work or social work. There is the need to understand that a hegemonic masculinity influences the construction of identities and that it also creates tensions for men. Drawing on data showing men's vulnerabilities related to health and life expectancy, but also the gender based division of labor, Höyng stresses the importance of gender equality for both women and men, deploring the lack of public policies aiming at reconfiguring masculinity. Civil groups now advocate for a redefinition of this concept, especially towards a caring masculinity. As a conclusion, Höyng underscores the dangers of creating new forms of normative masculinity and the need to reconstruct gender relations in a democratic manner.

The second presentation on "'Shining Women' Policy Under the Abe Government: A Japanese Version of Gender-Mainstreaming?", held by Dr. Shin Ki-Young, Associate Professor at Ochanomizu University, offered an analysis of the "All Women Shining Society Policy" in Japan, asking if this policy could be considered as a new form of Gender-Mainstreaming (GM). In 2013, Prime Minister Abe pledged to promote a "society where women shine" as a part of his economic growth strategy, leading to the Act Concerning Promotion of Women's Career Activities in 2015. Tackling many issues, such as the promotion of women into leadership positions, the return to the labor market after childbirth, men's parental leave, or support for childcare, it aims at mobilizing the dormant power of female workers. Focusing mostly on the business sector, the government has produced numerical targets in order to promote women's participation. But according to the presenter, the achievements are still underwhelming. Even if all national and local governments have produced action plans, as well as 99.9 % of firms with more than 300

employees, the implementation is still lacking, notably because of an absence of enforcement measures. Since 2017, the Women Shining Society policy has expanded in order to incorporate more issues, such as violence against women, health, or single-parent support. If it seems that gender equality would be at the heart of those policies, the discussant underscores the conservative stance of PM Abe against the promotion of gender equality before his arrival in power, concluding that the ultimate goal of his policies is the full-scale mobilization of the working force in order to promote a strong nation-building, not through better gender equality, but through the contribution of women to economic growth.

The last presentation on "Pleated Hair, Hair Rollers and Undyeing Hair: the Challenges of Women's Participation in Public Participation in Korea" was given by Dr. Kim Hyun-Gyung from Freie Universität Berlin. Taking on the examples of three public figures (Park Gun-Hye, Lee Jung-Mee and Kang Kyung-Hwa) and their hairstyles, the presenter offered an analysis of the presence of women on the South Korean public scene. The modern public and political spheres are still male dominated, explaining why women tend to get more attention, especially about the way they look. In the Asian context, as it was in the European one, women are often associated with the private sphere, leading to their underrepresentation in modern democracies. After being elected as president in 2012, Park's pleated hair was used to remind the population of the paternalistic social activities and image of her mother, while promoting policies reminding of her father's presidency. However, her tidy hair became the center of criticisms after the Seawol ferry incident in 2014, as it was interpreted as a symbol of unnecessary vanity and corrupt femininity. On the other side, the constitutional court judge Lee, who voted in favor of the impeachment of Park in 2017, was publicly seen with hair-rolls in her hair, and became a symbol of the difficulties to bring together professional and private lives for women. As a last example, the discussant brought up the example of Kang, currently the first female Foreign Minister in South Korea. Her undyed hair, going against the pressure for female workers to look young and feminine, created the image of an independent, capable professional woman. However, her education abroad and career path created a gap between her and working class women, deepening a gap among women in a post-developmental state. The discussions that arose from those three women's hairstyles show the importance of appearance, especially for female figures, in democracies because of the necessity to represent oneself in the public sphere.

Discussion

Before moving onto the general discussion, Makiyama Hiroe, a member of the House of Councilors in Japan, was invited to express her opinion about the event and possible questions. She expressed the need for more female politicians in Japan, in order to tackle the gender imbalance, but also in order to represent female voters better. She asked female researchers to pay attention to the initiatives implemented by female politicians, such as the group Kanajo ("Women of Kanagawa Prefecture") in order to make their actions more visible.

The general discussion revolved around two main topics: the common issues between Germany, Japan and South Korea, and the differences that need to be considered. It appeared that the current entrenchment of the welfare state, under the idea that it is too costly, is shared between the three countries, and that neoliberal policies in general tend to lead to a representation of women as economic actors, without systematically raising awareness about gender equality. But with the major social changes happening, with for example demographic change and structural changes within the family as an institution, it might be important to go beyond the traditional vision of family and address other issues. It also seems that the three countries have seen progress with regards to gender inequality, even though many issues still remain; there is therefore a need to carefully analyze the new issues and put them in a transnational perspective, by comparing the changes and evolutions in different countries. In terms of differences, scholars pointed out the need to carefully define concepts, such as "gender equality", "democracy" or "feminism", as they might convey different meanings. Reminding of the context is extremely important when addressing issues such as "family policies", "masculinity", "femininity", "hegemony", as concepts are constructed within this particular context.

Overall, the colloquium has allowed researchers to bring together different perspectives from three similar, but still quite different countries, and to open a discussion about gender equality and social participation in rapidly changing environments. Different trajectories of change are observed nowadays, with tensions between neoliberal/conservative policies and empowerment, as well as between different kinds of feminism, but there is still an overall need to address and discuss the issues gender equality, democracy and social justice further.

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