Korean Women in Leadership

Edited by
YONJOO CHO
GARY N. MCLEAN

CURRENT PERSPECTIVES ON ASIAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Current Perspectives on Asian Women in Leadership

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Yonjoo Cho • Gary N. McLean
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Editors
Yonjoo Cho
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, USA

Gary N. McLean
McLean Global Consulting
Jacksonville Beach, Florida, USA

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PART I

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

The Status of Women Leaders in South Korea: Challenges and Opportunities

Yanghee Kim and Yonjoo Cho

The topic of women in leadership is gaining attention in South Korea (Korea, hereafter). Daily newspapers introduce women leaders who have succeeded in taking leadership positions in diverse sectors because such women are rare. Universities and public and private corporations provide leadership development programs, and create women leaders councils and committees to strengthen their voices and networking and learning opportunities. In politics, where local contexts require political activities that affect people's quality of life, women's leadership is in high demand. As local councils deal with everyday issues in the community and directly affect the quality of women's lives, women's representation in local councils is higher (22.9%) than in Congress (17%).

In both public and private sectors, a male-dominated, authoritative culture has been prevalent in Korea for a long time. However, as globalization has become a norm, a culture of diversity has become necessary to help society adapt to change. When faced with a competitive global market, companies are required to adjust their marketing strategies to correspond with ever-changing customer needs. As women's buying power has

Y. Kim
Center for Gender and Leadership, Seoul, South Korea

Y. Cho (✉)
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA

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increased—women now make up 70%~80% of all consumer purchase decisions on home appliances, computers, cars, and houses—business strategies are expected to adjust to meet women buyers' needs.

Traditional male-dominated, paternalistic leadership is based on command and control, and is not effective in tackling challenges in an age of globalization. Among others, the most important task is to bring gender diversity into leadership so that organizations can be more agile and inclusive. Attention to women in leadership in Korea reflects such recent changes and demands. In this uniquely Korean context, we review the literature on women in leadership, discuss the status of women leaders in diverse sectors, examine challenges women leaders face in the gendered workplace, and introduce the government's women-friendly policies and programs designed to bring about more opportunities for women leaders.

Review of the Literature

The study findings of research undertaken on women in leadership in Korea since the mid-1980s are not as consistent as expected. Discussion on women in leadership (Chang, 2004; Kang, 1998, 2014; Kim & Kim, 2000) includes four research topics: women leaders, women's leadership, feminist leadership, and gender differences in leadership.

Women Leaders

Women leaders are defined as those women that take leadership roles. Interest in women leaders revolves around how many women have succeeded in taking leadership positions and what leadership styles women leaders bring in. Because men hold most leadership positions, leadership is understood as being related to male characteristics. The alienation of women from leadership affects the evaluation of women leaders. Kim and Kim (2000) emphasized that, to evaluate women leaders fairly, we need to examine the context they face because even when women leaders take the same leadership positions as men, their career paths and work experiences are fundamentally different from those of men.

Women's Leadership

Women's leadership means that leaders' behaviors and leadership styles reflect traits that are associated with women (Loden, 1985). Communication skills, caring, unauthoritative, and relational leadership styles are among

the characteristics of women's leadership; these characteristics are not necessarily inherent but, rather, are learned by socialization. To some extent, most women possess characteristics that are not necessarily attributes found only in women. An emphasis on women's leadership is prone to designate women as a single group, solidifying the dualism between men and women, and blindly advocating women's uniqueness.

Feminist Leadership

Feminist leadership does not focus on making a distinction between men and women but aims to recognize feminist values and to achieve the goal of those values through gender partnership. In feminist leadership, learning and growth through collaboration, empowerment of subordinates through participation and care, and transformational outcomes are encouraged (Martin, 1993). Yang (2007) examined possible contributions that the utilization of teams in the workplace bring to feminist leadership. Teams are known for making an organization's management possible as an individual organism, whereas traditional organizations are operated by the centralized command and control system. Teams' openness provides positive environments for increased women's power in the workplace. However, teams cannot guarantee women's power if team members do not share feminist values and a culture of gender equality. In this context, organizations are asked to integrate feminist leadership that values group members' relations and interactions in the current performance-based culture and system.

Gender Differences in Leadership

Kang (1998) examined the differences in leadership style of 51 managers in Korea. The study findings indicated that women in higher positions showed a male leadership style because women leaders felt pressured to act like men, who occupy a majority of leadership positions in the male-dominated workplace. Kim and Kim (2000) investigated how 600 men and women managers in 30 companies in Korea evaluated men's leadership and women's leadership. The study findings showed that the more men and women valued gender diversity, and the more they recognized that power as something they shared by collaboration and influence rather than control, the more they were positive about women managers. Men who had worked with women supervisors were also positive about women managers.

Gender differences in leadership are influenced by who evaluates leadership in the organization. The meta-analysis of 95 studies on leadership effectiveness undertaken by Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, and Woehr (2014) indicated that men considered themselves much more effective than women did. In addition, an organization's culture—whether an organization was male-dominated or female-dominated—mediated both genders' evaluation of leadership effectiveness. When organizations were male-dominated (e.g., the government), male leaders were evaluated as more effective, whereas in female-dominated fields (e.g., social services, education), women leaders were evaluated more positively. This study concluded that leadership style differences were generated not by nature but, instead, by socialization. Research also shows that when an organization's decision-making processes are based on gender diversity, this helps them succeed financially. Kang's (2014) recent study of 170 companies that had more than 500 employees and that were registered in the Korea Composite Stock Price Index (KOSPI), the representative stock market index of Korea, showed a positive correlation between the number of women managers and their organizations' financial performance, though small. The companies that had a higher number of women managers and executives between 2009 and 2013 had higher financial performance indices (e.g., return on sales (ROS), sales growth) than other companies.

The same study also compared companies that promoted women managers with companies that did not, and revealed that the companies that promoted women had a reduced decline in financial performance. For companies with no women managers during the period between 2009 and 2013, the ROS dropped from 1.69 to −2.81 (267% drop), whereas for companies whose rate of women managers increased in the same period, the ROS decreased from 3.64 to 2.39 (34% drop). The average drop of the ROS for all companies included in the analysis moved from 3.17 to 1.17 (63% drop). Although there could be many factors impacting companies' financial performance, the result of this study implied that one way to improve companies' financial performance would be to increase the number of senior women managers through the development of women managers. The study suggested that companies should collaborate with the government in order to prevent women experiencing career interruptions, most of which happen during the period after entering companies and becoming mid-level managers (Kang, 2014).

Women's Participation in the Labor Market

Although attention to women in leadership is increasing in global business markets, women's participation in the labor market in Korea shows a slow change. Korean women's economic participation is 51.3%, a rate 22.1% lower than male participation (73.2%) (Statistics Korea, 2015). Although investment in women's education has exponentially increased since the late 1990s, women's economic participation has not. For instance, the rate of female high school graduates' enrolling at college has more than doubled, from 32.6% in 1991 to 74.6% in 2014, but women's economic participation has only slightly increased during the same period, from 47.1% to 51.3% (Statistics Korea, 2015).

When we see gender differences in economic participation by education, the picture worsens. Both men and women with a college degree show higher economic participation than those who do not have a college degree. However, economic participation of women with a college degree is 64.4%, lower by 23.2% than that of men with a college degree (87.6%) (Statistics Korea, 2015). Given that gender differences in economic participation in developed countries narrow through education, Korea shows the opposite picture. Gender differences in economic participation increase by education, resulting in the largest difference in community college and college graduates (see Table 1.1). One possible reason behind the high participation rate for community college graduates may be due to the fact that community colleges in Korea provide education similar to that of vocational training institutes.

Table 1.1 indicates that women college graduates are not fully utilized in the labor market in Korea. One reason for the low economic participation of women concerns the career interruptions they experience; this is caused by marriage, childbirth, childcare, or household duties. Figure 1.1 shows women's economic participation rate by age groups. The rate of

Table 1.1 Gender differences in economic participation by education (%)

	Total	*Middle school graduation and below*	*High school graduation*	*Community college graduation*	*College graduation and above*
Women	51.8	34.0	55.5	67.1	64.4
Men	73.8	46.2	74.0	91.9	87.6
Gap	22.0	12.2	19.5	24.8	23.2

Note: All data are from Statistics Korea (2015)

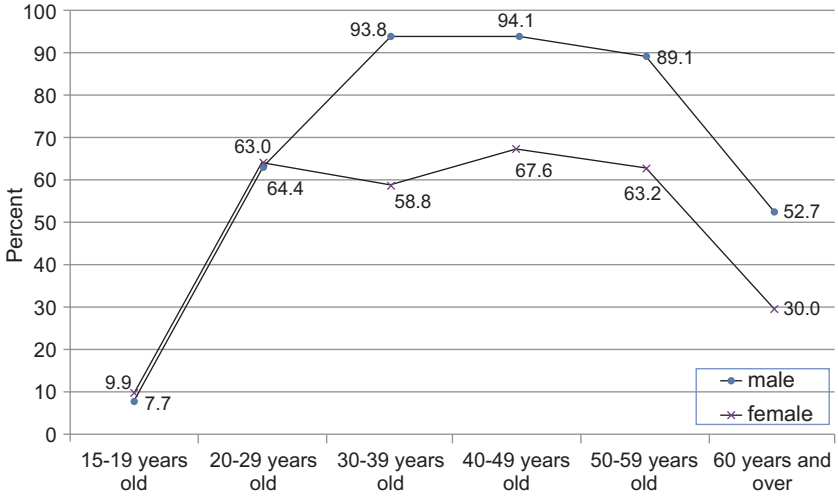

Fig. 1.1 Gender differences in economic participation rate by age
Source: Statistics Korea, 2015

women's economic participation is the highest among the age group 20–24 but decreases dramatically when women are in their late twenties and thirties, recovering in their forties.

Figure 1.1 shows gender differences in economic participation due to women's career interruptions. Women's economic participation rate is 64.4%, surpassing men's (63.0%) in their twenties, but this drops to 58.8% in their thirties. A survey of women who have experienced career interruptions (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2014) showed that women's career interruptions at the beginning of their thirties are attributable to marriage (45.9%), childcare (29.2%), maternity leave (21.2%), and children's education (3.7%). About half of the women surveyed responded that "marriage" was the major reason for their career interruption, indicating that women's place is in the home after marriage. After sending their children to school, many women attempt to reenter the labor market in their forties and older. However, most women have to settle for low-paid, hard-working jobs, as there are not many decent jobs for women in the age group.

Women college graduates' career interruptions are so severe that their reentrance to the labor market is extremely difficult. These women have high expectations of workplace conditions and salary levels, and want to work in full-time, professional jobs, but those jobs are limited to just a few. Gender differences in economic participation and career interruptions are critical issues for women, leading to the lack of women leaders in organizations in Korea.

Status of Women Leaders in Diverse Sectors

In this section, we examine the status of women leaders in public and private sectors, including political, government, education, and public and private corporations.

Political Sector

The number of women in Congress has steadily increased, from 5.9% in 2000 to 17.0% in 2016, since the application of a quota system in 2004. In local contexts, women politicians have also steadily increased, from 3.4% in 2002 to 22.9% in 2014 (see Table 1.2). Women's participation in local councils is particularly critical in increasing the number of women in politics and innovating local politics to become more people-centered (Lee, Kim, Moon, & Oh, 2014).

Table 1.2 Women's participation in congress and local councils

Year	*Total in congress*	*Women in congress*	*%*	*Total in local councils*	*Women in local councils*	*%*
2000	273	16	5.9	–	–	–
2002	–	–	–	4167	140	3.4
2004	299	39	13.0	–	–	–
2006	–	–	–	3621	525	14.5
2008	299	41	13.7	–	–	–
2010	–	–	–	3649	739	20.3
2012	300	47	15.7	–	–	–
2014	–	–	–	3687	845	22.9
2016	300	51	17.0			

Note: All numbers are from Statistics Korea (2015)

Government Administration and Legal Sector

As of 2014, women officials made up 49% of the total officials in central government and 31.5% in local government. Women leaders in mid-level positions made up 15.2% in central government and 9.7% in local government (Joo, Song, & Park, 2015). In contrast, women leaders occupied only 4.5% of all senior leadership positions in the government sector.

In 2015, 48.2% of those who passed the government's annual examination for government officials were women, 64.9% for diplomats, and 38.6% for the national bar. These numbers show that women candidates who passed the government's examinations made up rather high percentages. Even in the legal area, which used to be male-dominated, the proportion of women legal officials increased from 3.1% in 2000 to 21.7% in 2014, resulting in an increase of 18.6%. As a result, women comprise 27.3% of judges, 26.9% of prosecutors, and 19.9% of lawyers.

Education Sector

In 2015, 76.9% of elementary school teachers were women, as shown in Table 1.3.

However, the proportion of women teachers decreases as the school level advances, comprising 68.6% in middle school, 50.1% in high school, and 23.6% in college, including full-time lecturers and above. The proportion of female principals and vice-principals also decreases as the school level advances. In elementary school, women comprise 28.7% of principals and 54.3% of vice-principals; in middle school, 23.2% and 30.1%; and in high school, 9.5% and 11.3%. In college, the proportion of full-time women faculty has increased from 15.9% in 2000 to 23.6% in 2015; however, this represents a rather low representation given that the proportion of women college students comprises almost 50% of all students.

Public Corporations

The number of senior women leaders in public corporations is fewer than that in the government and in private corporations. According to *Yonhap News* (2016), as of September 2016, women workers in the 30 public corporations included 19.5% entry-level workers, 8.5% managers, and 1.9% managing directors. This means that a majority of women workers in

Table 1.3 Proportion of women teachers in schools (%)

	Elementary school teachers	*Principals*	*Vice-principals*	*Middle school teachers*	*Principals*	*Vice-principals*	*High school teachers*	*Principals*	*Vice-principals*	*College faculty*
2000	66.0	7.0	8.9	56.8	8.7	8.9	29.3	4.5	2.7	15.9
2015	76.9	28.7	54.3	68.6	23.2	30.1	50.1	9.5	11.3	23.6

Note: All numbers are from Korean Educational Development Institute (2000, 2015) and Ministry of Education (2000, 2015)

public corporations take low-level positions. Two women executives who took executive positions in 2014 have recently retired, resulting in no women in executive level positions in public corporations (Oak, 2016). The number of women managers who could be promoted to executive level in public corporations is only 0.1%. As a result, public corporations are known as "women executives' tombs" (Lee, 2015, para. 1).

Private Corporations

There are few women managers and executives in Korean companies. Women workers occupy 37.5% of all positions in companies employing more than 1000 and 35.6% in companies employing fewer than 1000. Women managers comprise 18.7% and 17.3%, respectively (Ministry of Employment and Labor, 2013). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the proportion of women managers in Korea is 11%, ranking 115th of 126 countries surveyed (*Asia Today*, 2015). The ILO report indicates that, despite Korea's economic success, the country's low rate of women managers is due to traditional gender roles that limit their participation in the labor market.

The Korea Corporate Governance Service, in a survey of 694 companies, found that only 78 companies (11.2%) had women executives (Kim & Eom, 2014). GMI Ratings, the leading independent provider of global corporate governance, also surveyed 5,977 companies in 45 countries to see how many women work as executives (Gladman, 2013). The survey revealed that the proportion of Korean women executives was only 1.5%, ranking second to the bottom after Japan (1.1%), and well behind China (8.4%).

Park (2015), based on a survey of 280 companies affiliated with the top 30 companies in Korea, revealed that only 76 companies (27.1%) had women executives. While women comprised 24.2% of all workers, women executives held only 1.83% (195) of a total of 10,647 executive positions. Of all women in executive positions, the majority were managing directors (59.4%), and 9.1% were senior managing directors and executive vice-presidents. Women executives work in marketing (27.1%), Information Technology (IT) (19.2%), planning (18.1), R&D (Research & Development) (12.4%), support roles (6.2%), and human resources (5.1%). As many women executives tend to be hired from outside the company as experts mostly in marketing, public relations (PR), and law, women workers inside the company are less likely to feel that they have the same opportunity to become executives.

Women Leaders' Challenges

Women leaders in Korea face many challenges in the gendered workplace, where they experience organizational and cultural constraints. In this section, we discuss challenges women leaders face in the workplace: gender inequality related to the glass ceiling, glass walls, and glass cliff; token status; limited behavior patterns; and work–life balance and career interruptions.

Gender Inequality

Glass ceiling. Glass ceiling was originally defined as something invisible but sufficiently strong to impede women's promotion to leadership positions despite their strengths and achievements (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987). Glass ceiling may lead to women having low self-worth and diminished expectations about their career success.

Korea ranked at the bottom among OECD countries by scoring 25 (average: 56) in the Glass-Ceiling Index created by *The Economist* (2016). The Glass-Ceiling Index is expected to show where women have the best chances of equal treatment at work, combining data on higher education, economic participation, pay, childcare costs, maternity leave, and representation in senior jobs. Based on this index, the proportion of Korean women senior managers (11%) and that of women on company boards (2.1%) were much lower than OECD averages.

Glass walls. Glass walls describe women's isolation and alienation caused by the gendered workplace (Rostollan & Levene, 2006). While glass ceilings are barriers to vertical promotions, glass walls are barriers to horizontal moves to functional divisions and departments. In Korea, men tend to have work experience in diverse functions, including planning, finance, accounting, and sales, whereas women lack such diverse experiences, particularly in core functions, and end up working in supporting functions. Women leaders who have been promoted in the male-dominated workplace do not have a variety of networking opportunities that men do; they easily become isolated and alienated in the organization.

Glass cliff. Glass cliff is defined as women's exposure to risk due to the unstable positions in which they are situated after being appointed to executive positions by breaking through glass ceiling (Haslam & Ryan, 2008). Frequently, women are asked to lead organizations in crisis where

options are very limited. Haslam and Ryan (2008) showed that men and women are appointed in different management environments that organizations face. For instance, under pressure of restructuring from the government, a woman in Korea was appointed as the CEO of a traditional, male-dominated public corporation that was faced with large financial debts and labor disputes. In this case, as the woman CEO faced a typical glass cliff situation, she ended up failing to complete her task.

Token Status

Korea's first woman Supreme Court Judge, Kim Young-Ran, once stated, "I always felt pressured to succeed because, if I fail, no women will be appointed again as a Supreme Court Judge." Her remark reflects women leaders' difficulty in being a token in the organization. Kanter (1977, 1993) explored how women's proportional representation in work groups affects their workplace experiences. Her findings revealed that women feel highly visible due to their token status; such high visibility creates performance pressures as a result of which they usually either overachive or become socially invisible in order to avoid unwanted attention. As dominants (men) tend to exaggerate their commonalities with and differences from token women, these women feel isolated. In addition, women attempt to assimilate to men by the use of stereotypes regarding the social category of token women, which tend to be distorted to fit the dominants' generalization (Gustafson, 2008). Most women in male-dominant jobs experience token status, whereas men in female-dominant jobs do not have such negative experiences (McDonald, Toussaint, & Schweiger, 2004), indicating that the token status applies to gendered stereotypes in the workplace.

Limited Behavior Patterns

Many women leaders in Korea feel frustrated because of adverse social stereotyping. When they act like a female, they are judged as being too soft to be a leader. When women are honest about their feelings, they are evaluated as being too emotional to make a distinction between public and private matters. On the contrary, when women take initiatives as leaders, they are criticized as being too aggressive. In this context, women face negative evaluations because their leadership styles do not accord with

typical gender stereotypes. Women, therefore, are asked to act out limited behaviors and are not allowed to use Machiavellian political strategies because that does not correspond to typical female characteristics of being soft and innocent (Park, 2012).

Work–Life Balance and Career Interruptions

Due to women's career interruptions, their economic participation pattern shows an M-curve pattern (see Fig. 1.1). Only 16.7% of women who returned to work took full-time jobs, 9.1% part-time jobs, and 15.9% voluntary work (Oh, Min, & Lim, 2009), meaning that, following career interruptions, women's reentrance to the job market is extremely difficult in Korea. Even in cases of successful reentrance, women's jobs tend to be lower than they held before in terms of salary levels and positions. Kim and Lee's (2011) study revealed that women's career interruptions caused wage and income loss by 21.9% from the previous wage and income, reaching 28% for women with a high level of education (college and above). The government has helped women who want to reenter the labor market receive vocational training and placement services, but Kim and Lee's study showed that only 12.5% of those women benefited from the services, indicating that there is a strong need for the expansion of such services for more women needing support.

Major reasons for women's career interruptions lie in the lack of support in their work–life balance. Although the views of younger generation males regarding childcare and household duties have slightly changed, the foremost role for women is still considered to be housework, due to the traditional gender divide in the family. For example, while women spend 3.8 hours per day performing household duties, men spend only 0.7 hours, the least time among the OECD countries (Miller, 2016).

In order to prevent the loss of female talent, many companies implement programs to support a healthy work–life balance, such as flextime, maternity/paternity leave, and a family day. However, only women take advantage of those programs. The number of men who take paternity leave for childcare is slowly increasing but paternity leave comprises only 4.4% of all leaves taken by men due to negative images and the possible impact of paternity leave on promotion and salary. For example, Hong's (2014) recent survey of 1,000 male workers revealed that 64% were interested in taking paternity leave, but only 2% actually used the program.

In this context, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2016) has enacted a family-friendly corporation certification system, but the rate of certification is low. In addition, the common practice of long hours of work damages work–life balance in Korea. Policies should provide both men and women with opportunities to strike a balance between work and life.

Opportunities for Women Leaders

We are living in times when innovation and creativity are in high demand, but Korea is still rooted in authoritative hierarchies, a paternalistic culture, and male-dominated workplaces. Recent research on the organizational health and climate of Korean companies by the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KCCI) and the McKinsey Consulting Company (2016) examined Korean corporate culture when facing challenges in a period of low growth. In the survey of 40,951 employees from 100 companies, women employees' evaluation using nine indices of organizational health was strikingly low compared with their male counterparts, meaning that women face unhealthy situations and practices in the organization. In order to promote women's leadership positions, organizations should make extra efforts to develop women's leadership skills and competencies, and to improve their organizational culture so that it could be more gender-inclusive and women-friendly. To that end, organizations should eliminate barriers to women's promotion to senior leadership positions by adding a gender diversity index in key performance indicators (KPI) and provide (gender) diversity training to the management team (team leaders and above) so that all managers can make better decisions on promotions and leadership development opportunities as well as performance appraisals.

In this context, women leaders should bring in both descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation refers to increasing the number of women leaders in organizations, while substantive representation requires that leadership undergo fundamental transformation in ways that incorporate women's experiences and perspectives. It is important to remove barriers to women taking leadership roles without any discrimination in their career paths. Women's promotion to leadership roles will further gender diversity in the male-dominated workplace, leading to an organization's competitive advantage in the long run. In this context, organizations are called upon to create an organizational

climate and culture that embrace diversity and inclusion as part of their employees' organizational life. For example, Hanwha and Kolon, two large companies in Korea, have recently provided diversity training for team leaders so they can take an active role in promoting diversity in their organization.

Efforts have been made to increase the number of women leaders in various sectors. In order to raise women's representation in politics, the government provides an incentive through financial support to political parties whose candidates comprise more than 30% of women. In addition, in order to develop women's leadership, gender-balanced job assignments, alternating administration jobs, and training for women officials are in place. Public corporations, such as government-affiliated organizations, have a lower level (13.9%) of women managers than private corporations (19.2%). The government plans to increase the number of women managers to 23.6% by 2017 through the goal setting and performance evaluation of 303 public corporations (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2016).

In higher education, the government plans to implement a target for women faculty hire with the intention of increasing the number of women faculty in national and public universities; complying universities will be provided with incentives while underperforming universities will receive consulting services. The government is also setting a target figure for women principals and vice-principals in K-12 schools (36% by 2017) (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2016). With regard to the police and the military, the government will increase the number of women police officers and soldiers to be hired and promoted, and will also increase the number of women students in police academies. In order to avoid gender discrimination, the government will monitor the pregnancies of women soldiers and police personnel and resignation before and after delivery.

In 2014, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the World Economic Forum and created a task force called Gender Parity and Empowerment of Women. The task force was formed to narrow the gender gap and to provide member companies and public corporations with a forum and consulting services for developing female talent and senior women leaders. The government also established an academy for women talent in the Korean Institute for Gender Equality Promotion and Education to provide leadership training programs for women managers in public and private sectors.

Conclusion

Although a variety of policies and programs for women's promotion to leadership positions have been implemented, these initiatives have not yet brought an expected impact. A major reason for this lack of impact is that the initiatives were not based on a long-term framework aimed at incorporating gender diversity and gender equality in society but, rather, were focused on generating a quick fix. The current male-dominated leadership, therefore, should be charged to promote gender diversity and gender equality—though this inclusive leadership may be challenging to Korea's hierarchical structure and traditional culture, which emphasize the gender divide in male-dominated leadership practices.

Women leaders in Korea are asked to overcome the double bind generated from their identities as leaders and as women in order to take leadership roles. Both short-term and long-term efforts for the development of women's leadership are called for. Further research is needed to investigate women's leadership experiences so as to theorize them in a meaningful way. In practice, the barriers women leaders face, including individual and contextual factors, should be identified and overcome through the implementation of a variety of women-friendly policies and programs that are sustainable.

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Dr. Yanghee Kim is the president of the Center for Gender and Leadership, Seoul, Korea, which provides services for research on women in leadership, leadership development programs, and consulting on the topic. She has conducted research on women's issues at the Korean Women's Development Institute between 1989 and 2008. Her research topics include gender egalitarianism, gender mainstreaming, and eco-feminism. She has published two books (*Women, Leadership, and Women Leadership* and *Gender Differences in Leadership in Korean Firms*) and multiple articles in Korean. She serves as an advisor for the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, and teaches women leadership in universities. She has served as a board member for the Korean Association of Women's Studies and the Korean Society for Woman Psychology. Dr. Kim received her Ph.D. degree in Applied Social Psychology from Loyola University, USA.

Dr. Yonjoo Cho is an associate professor of Instructional Systems Technology focusing on HRD at Indiana University. She worked as an HRD professional in South Korea, in business, non-profit, and academic sectors, for more than ten years. Her research interests include action learning in organizations, the interdisciplinary nature of HRD/Instructional Technology, and women in leadership. She has published a book entitled *Trends and Issues in Action Learning Practice: Lessons from South Korea* with Routledge (Cho & Bong, 2013). She serves as an associate editor of the *Human Resource Development Review* and also serves on the editorial board of the *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *European Journal of Training and Development*, and *Action Learning: Research and Practice*. She has served as the chair of the Academy of Human Resource Development (AHRD)'s Korea Special Interest Group (SIG) and the president of the Korean Academy of Human Resource Development in Americas (KAHRDA), a Korean community of HRD scholars and students affiliated with the AHRD. Currently, she is serving on the Board of the AHRD. She received her Ph.D. in Instructional Technology from the University of Texas at Austin.

PART II

Barriers and Challenges

CHAPTER 2

Korean Women in Leadership: Family Roles

Eunsun Joo

Korea, left in ruins following the Korean War (1950–53), has grown to become the eleventh largest economy in the world (International Monetary Fund, 2016). Despite its recent economic ascent, which some have called the Miracle on the Han River, Korea has been an agrarian society for most of its 5000-year history. As such, many of the cultural, customs—and, more importantly, the traditions of the past—still exert an important influence on how Koreans live and behave. Koreans are well-known for being assiduous, diligent, and family-oriented, and many of these traits are based on historical roots (Kim, 2011). Koreans also share a strong sense of communalism and collectivism, which starts ultimately at the level of the family and extends to the region from which they come and the school they attended (Choi & Katsumi, 2013).

This type of strong group network and sense of association can have positive aspects. One of the major benefits is that it allows individuals to tap into a variety of resources from the group, including information, networks, and financing. During the 1997 Asian financial crisis, which had a considerable impact on the Korean economy, a national campaign to collect gold drew more national participation than anticipated, with individuals lining up to sell their personal gold assets to help the country recover.

E. Joo (✉)
Duksung Women's University, Seoul, South Korea

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However, communalism also has negative aspects, ranging from nepotism to discrimination against other groups. Communalism in Korea is also tied to expected roles and responsibilities, which are defined along the lines of age, sex, and socio-economic status; these defined roles are influenced strongly by Confucian philosophy, which was imported and took strong hold in Korea from the fourteenth century onwards.

Many Koreans accept and try to follow the ideal of *soosin jega chiguk pyeongcheonha*, from the Confucian scriptures *Dae Hak*, which translates as cultivate self (*soosin*), manage family (*jega*), govern country (*chiguk*), and rule the world (*pyeongcheonha*) —meaning that only after one first cultivates him/herself and manages his/her family can s/he govern the country and rule the world (Y. S. Lee, 2016). Following this ideal, the way of managing family is considered equivalent to the management of other organizational forms, including government, and as such should be accorded similar rules and guidelines. Thus, the patriarchal and hierarchical relational structure, a core component of Confucianism, is espoused at the level of the family as well as society.

Under the Confucian social order, for women, there is an expectation of sacrifice not only with regard to men, but also with regard to the family. The role of women as mothers in the family is primarily that of the caretaker, and there is also an explicitly and implicitly differentiated treatment of daughters compared with sons. Also, the separate role accorded to women extends beyond the family to society in general, where it has been considered acceptable for women to have a diminished level of involvement and opportunities.

However, while communal traditions and Confucian ideals are deeply rooted in Koreans' psyche, and though it may have been agreed as being natural—or at least tacitly accepted—when Korea was still primarily an agrarian society, these traditions and ideals have come to clash with the realities as Korea has entered the modern age. Following liberation from Japanese occupation in 1945 and the Korean War in 1950–53, economic growth has been accompanied by the active participation of women in the workforce, both willingly and out of necessity, and the new roles and expectations of women are conflicting in many spheres with traditional values.

Along with the changing role in the workplace, an equally fundamental change is taking place in the family. There is a growing trend for women not to marry and not to have children, part of which is due to a rejection of traditional norms and expectations (Ho, 2014; Kim, 2016). The dynamics within the Korean family are also changing, with a much more

egalitarian relationship among the household members, especially in the dimension of gender, as there is improved participation of husbands in household activities, and sons and daughters are treated much more equally (S. M. Lee, 2016).

Despite shifts in social attitudes, there remains a large divide in the overall equality of women versus men, and the role they are expected to play in both the family and society. Women in Korea face a greater hurdle than men regarding entry into the workplace, the types of positions they are offered, and the opportunities they are accorded to advance. Particularly, it is still difficult for women to develop and practice leadership roles in society, despite their increasing participation in the workplace and beyond, as with the election of Korea's first woman president in 2013. As was explained earlier, Koreans regard how the family is managed as a mirror of how society is managed, and thus, the cultivation of leadership for women needs to start early and within the family.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section introduces the meaning of family in Korea, focusing on the historical and cultural characteristics of Korea that influence social norms and the psyche of Koreans. The second section looks at the role of women's family members along with different stages and roles that are expected as daughters, mothers, and wives. Also, the difficulties of balancing work and family are examined along with the link between family and women's leadership development. The third section looks at the challenges remaining and hopes for the future for women's role in Korean society, including suggestions for women's leadership development.

The Meaning of Family in Korea

Korea has a long history of over 5000 years, during which the country has developed a unique culture. Korea has been influenced and fought over by its larger neighbors, particularly China to the north and Japan to the south. Korea has endured countless invasions over its 2000 years of recorded history (Lee, 1989). And during these experiences of outside invasions, the Korean government or kingdom was of little help in protecting its people. As such, Koreans have learned to protect themselves by forming groups based on common linkages. In addition, tight-knit groups were important and natural under an agricultural society, particularly as farming is highly collaborative work.

In Korea, as an agrarian society, the extended family and other blood relationships took priority over all else, even the law and government in many instances. The ties of region were also very important, as farming was a very communal activity, and there was also a distrust and wariness of strangers from other communities. It is interesting to note that family names in Korea are connected to specific regions, where the ancestors originated. For example, Kim, the most common surname in Korea (Statistics Korea, 2015b), has over 100 branches associated with it, two of the major ones being Kyungjoo Kim and Ahndong Kim (Korea Education Research Institute, 2007). Kyungjoo and Ahndong are regions within Korea. Similarly, other surnames are associated with multiple regions. Regional ties play an important role even to this day. It is not uncommon when strangers of the same surname meet to ask to which region their surname is attached. If they share the same location family name, they regard themselves as distant relatives and bestow affection and favor that is not accorded to someone without such ties. Also, until recently, it was legally not allowed for persons with the same surnames to marry in Korea. Although that has changed and same surnames can now legally marry, parents are still averse to such marriages.

The emphasis Koreans place on extended families and communities can be seen in everyday vernacular as well. When addressing an older woman server in a store or restaurant, Koreans often call them *yimo* or *ajumma*, which means aunt, and younger women servers as *unnie*, which means older sister, all expressing a form of informality. This type of vernacular reflects Koreans' desire to equate a friendly or close relationship by confirming a family-like relationship even in situations where the actual relationship is that of a business and customer.

In modern times, the dimension of communal associations (*jee-yeon*) has evolved beyond just family (*hyal-yeon*) and region to include school ties (*hak-yeon*). It is not uncommon for persons from the same school or college to help each other out or provide favors for each other, in many cases to the detriment of others with no such ties. And when the ties form multiple dimensions, of a combination of two or more of family, region or school, the impact is multiplied.

The importance Koreans place on the family and community is largely shaped by Korea having been primarily an agricultural society, as well as countless experiences of being invaded by neighboring countries and the government not providing the necessary protection for its people. An agrarian society also defines many of the responsibilities depending on the status of its family members. For men, the primary role was farming; for women,

it was to give birth to as many children as possible, especially sons, and at the same time to participate in farming and household duties. It is not too difficult to imagine the hardship of women, giving birth to an average of 7–8 children and working from dawn to dusk. Within the household, men were accorded priority over women and the elder over the younger. During mealtime, men were served first at a separate table, where only grandfathers and fathers were allowed a place. The children were given a separate table; the women ate in the kitchen, but only after the men had finished eating. However, the largest influence on defining the relationship of family members, as well as that of members of a community, has been Confucianism (Duncan, 2000).

One of the key philosophies that Korea imported from its neighbor, China, is Confucianism, which rapidly permeated every level of society and retains, even to this day, a place in the Korean psyche. In relative terms, however, the introduction of the ideas of Confucianism is quite a new phenomenon, and the social and relational order that it demands, including at the level of the family, was not always the norm in Korea. Prior to the introduction of Confucianism in the *Chosŏn* dynasty, Buddhism was the most dominant and prevalent philosophy that influenced the minds and everyday lives of Koreans (Duncan, 2000).

Around the first century CE, the Korean peninsula was divided into three Kingdoms, *Silla*, *Koguryŏ*, and *Paekche*. The *Silla Kingdom* unified the peninsula in 668, and the *Koryŏ* dynasty succeeded Silla in 935. During the time of *Koryŏ*, from where the name Korea comes, Buddhism flourished and was praised for its humanistic and egalitarian ideals. However, internal conflict within the royal court, particularly surrounding key Buddhist monks and their corrupt followers, led to a coup of the kingdom by Yi Song-gye, who took power and declared himself the founder of the *Chosŏn* Dynasty, also called the *Yi* Dynasty, in 1392. Yi Song-gye, after taking power, took aggressive measures to eliminate the old royal family and led a campaign to purge Buddhism. In its place, Yi Song-gye established a new bureaucratic aristocracy along with a new socio-political structure, at the heart of which was Confucianism. The Confucianism adopted and tailored by Yi Song-gye was actually more strict and authoritarian than the original Chinese version, referred to as Neo-Confucianism in Korea, and was used as a guiding moral and political principle by which to govern society and maintain the class system. The *Chosŏn* Dynasty prospered for nearly 500 years, until it gave way to Japanese colonial rule in 1910 (Lee, 1989), though this date is controversial.

The doctrine of Confucianism, at least the version that was interpreted and adopted in Korea, had a profound effect on all of society. Indeed, despite being an agrarian society, Korean culture was far less hierarchical and more egalitarian prior to the adoption of Confucianism. Women enjoyed considerably more freedom, and higher social status preceded the *Chosŏn* Dynasty. Three women rulers occupied the throne during the *Silla* Kingdom, acting as regents for young kings. Also during this period, the right of women to head the family was acknowledged, and lineage was defined not only through men, but also through women. Daughters as well as sons had responsibilities for ancestral ceremonies, and the remarriage of widows was not abhorred. Thus, it seems that women in the early *Chosŏn* Dynasty enjoyed considerably more egalitarian treatment until the middle of the *Chosŏn* Dynasty, when Confucianism took root.

The spread of Confucianism contributed to the establishment of scholarly knowledge, especially in an organized and centralized form, in a similar fashion to the educational and civil service entrance exam system of modern-day Korea. To spread the ideology of Confucianism, the government sponsored the education of upper-class students and potential civil servants. Typically, only men of upper-class families were provided educational opportunities, with women receiving education only exceptionally among progressive-minded families.

Although the formal education and learning of Confucian principles were limited to the upper class, the ideology itself influenced the everyday lives of Koreans at that time, especially the idea of the three cardinal human relationships, *samgang*, and the five moral imperatives, *oryun*. First, *samgang* claims that the three most important hierarchical relationships that must be followed are between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. Thus, it is taught that the hierarchical relationship that exists between a ruler and subject should also exist within family members. The *oryun* lays out how that hierarchical relationship should be practiced, by defining the five interpersonal virtues: righteousness between sovereign and subject; rapport between father and son; separation of functions between husband and wife; proper order between siblings; and faithfulness between friends (Deuchler, 1992). According to the Confucian doctrines, women were not accorded rights to inheritance or property ownership, or rights to continue lineage; a woman was only provided with the burden of taking care of her husband, children, and parents in-law. It is interesting to note that Confucianism as adopted in Korea, especially from a women's perspective,

was more repressive, discriminatory, and paternalistic than can actually be found in the *Analects of Confucius* (Park, 2016).

Despite Confucianism being a relatively recent phenomenon in the long history of Korea, it has the largest residual effect today, as it established the culture and social norms of a period closest to modern-day Korea. The values espoused in the doctrine of Confucianism, in the version that began to take root during the *Yi* Dynasty, are still considered virtuous ideals, although many struggle to harmonize it with the modern realities that are much more egalitarian and individualistic.

Women's Role in Society

Much has changed regarding the role of women in the Korean family, although much also remains the same. Even though there is no longer outright discrimination of women within the family nowadays, there is an implicit expectation for women to sacrifice more than men for the sake of the family. This is also true in terms of society's expectations along gender lines.

Women's sacrificing for the family has been extolled as a virtue, and the theme is a common one in many of the traditional stories and tales where a woman is the main character. These are the stories that are in textbooks and taught in classrooms. In the story of *Shimchung*, a daughter who takes care of her blind father by herself, the protagonist eventually sells herself to sailors for two hauls of rice to feed her father so that she may be sacrificed to appease the sea god. *Shimchung* jumps into the sea, falling to the bottom of the ocean. When the sea god hears of *Shimchung*'s sad story, he praises such sacrifice as a virtue and eventually reincarnates her to reunite with her father. Another popular tale is that of *Chunhyang*. Couched in a love story, *Chunhyang*, the main female character, falls in love with an aristocrat who goes off to take his civil service examinations. While waiting for her love, the local governor is smitten with her and demands her affections in return or else be punished physically. Despite being tortured, *Chunghyang* maintains her womanly integrity and later is saved by her love.

Another story is that of the mythical celestial figure *Hwanung*, who was believed to have descended from heaven to Korea with 3000 followers. A tiger and a bear prayed to *Hwanung* that they would become humans. On hearing their prayers, *Hwanung* gave the animals 20 cloves of garlic and a bundle of mugwort, ordering them to eat only those foods, remaining in

a cave for 100 days. While the tiger gave up, the bear persevered and was transformed into a woman. *Hwanung* then married the transformed bear, who gave birth to a son named *Dangun*. *Dangun* is the mythical figure who is said to be the founding father of Korea. Although these are fairy tales, the ideas they espouse of women's patience and sacrifice as being virtues still resonate to this day.

The preference for sons by Korean families is no longer as strong as it used to be and the skewed sex ratios of the past have now returned to the biological mean (Chung & Das Gupta, 2007; Eun, 2013). The sex ratio, as measured by the number of men per 100 women in the population, has decreased from 116.5 in 1990, to 110.2 in 2000 and 105.3 in 2015 (Statistics Korea, 2015b). When there was more prevalent discrimination against women, and a stronger preference for boys, childbearing would often continue until a son was born. Thus, in some cases, women would continue to give birth, even with four or five daughters already, to try to deliver a son. However, with less discrimination against daughters as opposed to sons, and a much lower birth rate and higher childrearing costs, such practices are no longer prevalent.

Also, in Korea, it is now the case that the rate of advancement into post-secondary education is higher for women than for men. According to Statistics Korea (2015b), the rate of college entry for women was 74.6%, while for men it was 67.3%. The participation of women in the labor market has grown steadily with the employment of women standing at 49.9% in 2015, up from 47.0% in 2000 (Statistics Korea, 2015a). For comparison, the employment rate of men in 2015 was 71.0%. In certain fields of the labor market, such as the civil service, there is about an equal number of women to men at entry levels. Among entry level civil servants, 43.9% were women in 2015.

However, despite the significant progress that has been made, there are indications that there is still much more room for improvement. This is especially true as one looks at the differences between women and men climbing the career ladder. For example, among grade school teachers, 76.9% are women, but when one looks at the gender of principals, only 28.7% are women. Also, as mentioned previously, among entry level civil servants, 43.9% were women, but among high-level government worker positions, only 9.7% were occupied by women. The contrast is even starker in the private sector workplace, as one can find hardly any women in positions of top management, with a few exceptions in owner families.

Such findings indicate that there still is a considerable degree of discrimination towards women in Korea. But it is also a reflection of the

difficulties women have to balance a career with obligations to the family. Korean women's labor market participation follows an M-shaped curve, as there is a high level of labor market participation early on in their career, with a large withdrawal period in the middle, and then a return to the labor market later on. In 2015, the employment rate of women by age groups was 68.6% for those aged 25–29 years old, falling to 54.1% for those aged 35–39, and rising again to 68.6% for those aged 45–49 (Statistics Korea, 2015a). This coincides with the decision of women to quit their jobs when they marry and rear children, then return to the workforce after the children have gone off to college. However, due to the discontinuity of their career paths, women return to a lesser position in the workplace. It is the expectation— not only of Korean women themselves, but also of their husbands and society—that responsibility for the family should come before their career. It is also one of the reasons that women are afforded fewer opportunities, even after starting a career, as it is implicitly assumed that women will leave their jobs once they marry.

The difficulty of balancing work and family lead many women to choose family and give up their careers. A growing number of women, however, are choosing the opposite; that is, to have fewer or no children and to delay, or even avoid, marriage altogether. According to Statistics Korea (2015c), the age at which women first married in 1990 was 24.8 years, while in 2015 it increased to 30.0 years. Also, when asked about their opinion of marriage, 43.6% of women responded that it was not essential in 2015, while only 37.1% responded in a similar manner in 2010.

But the pressures that make it difficult for Korean women to balance career and family come not only from outside, they also come from inside—the actual family of the women. Indeed, in many households it is taught and emphasized that family should be placed before career and before the individual desires of women. Being a good mother and wife is still regarded as the highest virtue a woman can achieve.

Also, in regard to leadership, there is a discrepancy between expectations of women compared with men in society. While sacrificing for family is expected of women, sacrificing for the company or work is expected of men. Many Korean men regard not attending the birth of their child or other major family events as normal due to work demands preventing their presence. Loyalty and sacrifice for work is regarded as a virtue for men and is also seen as a key component of men's leadership. In the case of women, not staying late for work or not prioritizing work over family is construed as showing a lack of leadership. This is a perception that women

lack leadership when, in fact, they are not given the proper opportunity to show whether they do or do not have the capability to lead.

The reasons that there are few women in leadership positions in Korea are not only due to barriers in society or the workplace, but also due to roles and expectations placed on women that are formed within the family. A case can also be made that lower expectations are communicated to daughters, both explicitly and implicitly, which may be a contributing factor to how those daughters behave when they later go out into society. Within the Korean family, there are subtle or unintended types of discrimination that still take place. For example, daughters are encouraged to pursue certain fields where there is less direct competition with men later as one enters the workforce, such as majoring in education to become teachers. This type of subtle discrimination is borne out by the fact that, despite the seeming equality that is afforded women in the workplace, the higher up the career ladder, the less likely women are found in roles of leadership.

What is even more interesting is that, often, within the family, it is just as much mothers who practice this type of subtle discrimination or expectation management. The current generation of mothers in Korea has been brought up in an era in which Confucian values were still strongly taught by their own mothers. They have gone through womanhood at a time when there was greater discrimination in the workplace or in society in general, and being given opportunities of leadership positions was even rarer. Thus, it is difficult for many of the current generation of Korean mothers to instill qualities of leadership in their daughters, because most have not had the experience of leadership themselves. The young Korean women who are entering society and the workplace currently must, therefore, learn the qualities of leadership from the bottom up, and by themselves, with little reference or teaching within the family to rely on.

Challenges and Hopes for the Future

The twenty-first century has been called the age of the three Ws: world, web, and women (Peters, 2016). And the active participation of women in Korea is also an increasing need, especially as Korea faces the prospect of a declining population due to low birth rates and an aging population. In 2009, Korea introduced a new 50,000 won note (US$50), which is the largest denomination of paper currency. There was a debate as to which historical figure should be on the new note, and *Shin Saimdang* was chosen; she lived from 1504 to 1551 and is recognized as one of the greatest woman role models in Korean history. *Shin Saimdang* is noted for her

abilities in poetry, calligraphy, and embroidery, and her greatest talent was as a painter. But, in Korea, *Shin Saimdang* is recognized not just for her artistic talents, but perhaps even more so for being a nurturing mother. *Shin Saimdang* was also the mother of *Yi Yulgok*, one of the two most famous Confucian scholars of the *Yi* Dynasty. Thus, even today, the ideal image of women is one who can balance her own abilities, though still in traditionally female outlets, while still being able to manage all her family duties, especially that of properly raising children.

Career barriers that hinder women exist internally as well as externally and, for women to advance, changes need to take place on both fronts. First, in terms of internal factors, women are more sensitive to relational factors (Gilligan, 1982; Greene, 2003; Miller, 1991) and tend to define their identities more in terms of relations with others (Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986); thus, women are more sensitive to the societal and cultural environment that surrounds them (Kessler, Spector, & Gavin, 2014; Prime, Cartor, & Welbourne, 2009). As such, when women make career choices, they take into more serious consideration factors such as how it will impact the relationship with their husband and mother-in-law, as well as how it will affect the other main responsibilities of raising children and taking care of the household (O'Brien & Fassinger, 1993). This type of situation is even more pronounced among Korean women who, due to the influence of Confucian ideals, feel obliged to balance career and family. They feel a high degree of guilt when they fail to do so. For women to break through these self-imposed barriers, they must first gain a clear understanding of self based on self-reflection, and then they should attempt to change their perception of the situation. The psychologist, Horney (1945), emphasized the importance of empowering women and encouraging self-reliance, and reducing their dependence on men for economic and emotional needs. She described her goals for counseling women as follows:

> The woman must acquire the capacity to assume responsibility for herself, in the sense of feeling herself the active responsibility force in her life, capable of making decisions and of taking the consequences. With this goes an acceptance of responsibility towards others, a readiness to recognize obligations in whose value she believes, whether they relate to her children, parents, friends, employees, colleagues, community, or country. (p. 241)

Horney's recommendations resound loudly in the case of Korean women, who have an almost obsessive compulsion regarding their responsibility of raising their children. Many Korean mothers achieve through

their children those goals they themselves were unable to achieve, and this kind of self-projection of Korean mothers is psychologically unhealthy both for themselves and their children. This is exacerbated in the hypercompetitive educational environment of Korea, where the family spends an inordinate amount of resources to educate their children while, at the same time, having excessive expectations of the children to achieve. According to survey results by Statistics Korea (2015c), 47.5% responded that the burden of raising children was the major hindrance to women's career development. Even though childrearing is important, there needs to be a shift in mindset in Korea that it is women who must take responsibility for most of the burden of doing so, especially by mothers themselves. Women need to start letting go of the desire to be primarily responsible for raising the children, need to let go of the guilt they feel when they fail to do so, and build up the courage to ask for or demand help from those around them. Women need to be more demanding of their husbands to share the burden of childrearing; they also need to seek more help from their employers and co-workers to manage their home life and the workplace. However, many women fear that asking for such help either will be futile or will receive backlash at work for such requests.

Many Korean women, either voluntarily or involuntarily, choose to sacrifice their own goals and aspirations for the sake of the family. For example, many women leave the workplace once they get pregnant, either giving up their careers or returning to the labor market much later and under disadvantageous circumstances. And, frequently, we see Korean mothers projecting their own sense of guilt and sacrifice onto their children and providing care to them with conditions and expectations attached. According to Kim and Hoppe-Graff (2001), Korean women feel greater pressure than in the past to balance career with family, leading to a quality of life that is worse than in the past as a result. The self-imposed burden to be a good mother is leading to more Korean women forgoing childbearing altogether, fearing that they will not be able to raise children to their satisfaction if they have a career. We need to consider how continuing an environment that leads to such dichotomous thinking will impact society.

For effective change to take place, external changes need to accompany the internal changes of women. Foremost, given that women tend to view the world more in terms of relationships to others, the role of men is very important. Despite improvements, many Korean men still report that they feel women must manage the household and childrearing along with their careers (Park, 2009). Women, in turn, reported that they find it difficult

to maintain a proper career without the understanding and support of their husbands (Cho & Bang, 2005).

Men participating in household management needs to increase, also. There is still a widespread perception that the main contribution of husbands to the family is to be the breadwinner. According to a Statistics Korea (2015c) survey, the rate of participation in household work by women was 92.9%, while that for men was only 69.9%. Thus, for women better to balance their careers and family, a change in the mindset of men also needs to take place, so that they are not only more supportive and understanding of women's situation, but also increase their physical participation in household work and thereby reduce the burden on women.

In addition, supporting policies by the government need to be reinforced, along with more active participation by workplaces. Numerous policy initiatives towards alleviating the problem of decreasing birth rates have been introduced by the government since 2000. These policies are aimed at providing a better environment for women to balance their careers and family, such that they do not give up on having children to pursue their career goals. Policies regarding longer maternity leave, childcare leave, and unemployment benefit provisions after childbirth are some of the many efforts the Korean government have tried in order to alleviate the problem of low childbirth rates. However, there is little evidence that such policies are having sufficient effect, as the rate of childbirth has not changed significantly. More time and effort need to be given in addressing the issue, such as expanding flexible working hours and allowing telecommuting. Though the third stage government policy (2008–12)—dealing with matters such as the utilization of women resources, the protection of women's interests, and gender equality policy—has been partially successful, wage disparity and employment instability among women still remain huge problems (Kang, Shin, & Park, 2015). Finally, a collective shift in societal attitude is needed for real change to take place. For example, starting in 2007, childcare leave policy was extended to men as well as women, and men with young children may now take up to one year off from work in their current workplace, although this leave may only be taken once. However, because of internal pressures and fear of damage to their careers, few men actually take advantage of childcare leave policies. The percentage of men among those taking childcare leave was 5.6% in 2015, an improvement from 2.0% in 2010, but still low (Ministry of Employment and Labor, 2016). Thus, while many supportive policies are in place, these cannot overcome the societal pressures and expectations that run counter to such policies being practiced.

My Story

In concluding this chapter, I would like to share some of my own experiences that embody many of the family and cultural dynamics that I have presented. My parents were born during the Japanese occupation of Korea, and they went through the Korean War during their childhood. My mother was raised with very traditional values and, in marriage, she considered her foremost duty to deliver a son. However, she gave birth to three daughters, of whom I am the oldest, but no son. This is something that still lingers with my mother even to this day. To compensate for not having a son, my mother dedicated herself to supporting her family and took pride from what she sacrificed.

Growing up, my parents instilled in me an expectation to succeed and carry on the family name. I wanted to please my parents and tried my best to meet their expectations, in particular to follow my father and become a university professor. My father always told me that I could achieve anything if I tried hard enough, and he never placed any boundaries on me because I was a woman. Looking back, I feel some resentment in the fact that my parents' devotion to me in part depended on meeting the aspirations they had for me. However, I also realize that it would have been difficult for me to be where I am today without the drive that my parents provided. Guilt was also a motivating factor, seeing the sacrifices my mother made for me and the family.

My parents were motivational forces for me, both in their words and in their actions. I took inspiration from my father, who was an elementary school teacher for over ten years before deciding one day to go to the U.S.A. to pursue a Ph.D. in education. At that time, his colleagues tried to talk him out of it, but he was determined, and my mother fully supported his decision. My father went ahead by himself for the first several years of his studies while we stayed back in Korea. During this time, my mother took care of the family by herself, relying on the little money from my father's retirement pension. I had considered my mother only as a caring supporter, but, when my father was away, I saw another side of her—a woman who was confident and assertive. I realized what my mother lacked was not ability, but only opportunity, and that I could also overcome any challenges as a woman.

I have spent 20 years as a faculty member at a women's university in Korea and have had the privilege of teaching many talented women. Over the years, in seeing my students find their place in society, I have seen

firsthand how the opportunities and positions of women in Korea have improved; however, at the same time, there remain barriers that need further attention. The changes that need to take place in our society to reduce the burden and discrimination that women face cannot all be achieved by a few policies or several individuals. Both women and men in all parts of society and aspects of life must do their part to affect change in a positive way; patience is also needed, as the process is one that takes time. As I look at my own daughter and also my students, I strive to instill in them self-esteem and confidence to overcome the barriers that they face as women and hope that the seeds sown today will bear fruit as they enter society.

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Dr. Eunsun Joo is a professor of Psychology at Duksung Women's University in Korea where she has been employed since 1997. She holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Department of Psychology, Mental Health Research Program. Her main research interests center on gender and cross-cultural aspects of counseling and psychotherapy. Dr. Joo is also active in the education and training of women counselors in Korea. She is a Certified Focusing Coordinator and Trainer, U.S.A., and Certified Counseling Psychologist and Supervisor in Korea. She founded the Korean Society for Psychotherapy Research. Dr. Joo has published many research articles in international journals, as well as book chapters, especially on mental health issues of Korean women. Her recent contributions include a chapter in *Therapy without Borders: International and Cross-cultural Case Studies Handbook*.

CHAPTER 3

Overcoming Cultural Constraints: Essential to Korean Women's Leadership Success in Korea

Heesoon Jun

According to the International Monetary Fund (2016), South Korea (Korea, hereafter) ranked 11th while the U.S.A. ranked 1st in the world on gross domestic product (GDP) out of 189 countries. Korea's economic growth was as competitive as growth in the U.S.A. As Korea was considered an underdeveloped country when I left to study in the U.S.A. in 1967, learning this information brought special meaning to me. Seeing structural changes in buildings, roads, and subway systems when visiting home (Korea) was a powerful experience. I witnessed that, through Koreans' determination, hard work, and cooperation, Korea had transitioned from an underdeveloped country to a developed country.

However, when it comes to the gender gap, Korea is still grouped with underdeveloped countries in its global ranking (World Economic Forum, 2014). In 2014, Korea ranked 115th and the U.S.A. ranked 20th, while both countries were in the top range for economic growth and development (Korea 13th, and the U.S.A. 1st). Korea was "one of the ten lowest-performing countries on wage equality for similar work indicator" (World Economic Forum, 2014, p. 28). In 2016, Korea's GDP ranked

H. Jun (✉)
Evergreen State College, Olympia, WA, USA

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higher (11th) than that of 2014 (13th), but its gender gap ranked 119th out of 147 countries, ranking 28th from the bottom (OECD, 2016; World Economic Forum, 2016).

To close the gender gap, the Korean government and businesses have made certain structural changes, such as passing the Equal Employment Opportunities Act of 1987 and the Affirmative Action Act of 2004, resulting in a minimal increase in the number of women leaders. However, women do not function widely as leaders because gendered organizational and institutional cultures, policies, and rules remain the same (Cho et al., 2016; Kim, 2013; Patterson & Walcutt, 2014). As reported by Patterson and Walcutt (2014), governmental agencies did little to affect the status quo. Over the nine years between 2002 and 2010, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) recommended only 3 of 9,739 cases of sexual discrimination to the prosecutor for disciplinary action. Over the five years between 2007 and 2011, the Korea Ministry of Employment and Labor (KMOEL) recommended only 30 of 28,232 cases to the prosecutor. Over the five years between 2007 and 2011, disciplinary action was the outcome for only 15 cases out of thousands that breeched national gender laws.

Regulatory enforcers' failures are good examples of the fact that structural changes alone are not sufficient to dismantle ingrained gendered beliefs. In order to decrease the gender gap, structural changes need to be supported by functional changes at a deeper level, such as beliefs and attitudes (Jun & Lee, 2017; Jung, 2017; Platt & Polavieja, 2016; Ruthig, Kehn, Gamblin, Vanderzanden, & Jones, 2017).

In this chapter, I review what has been done to reduce the gender gap and increase the number of women in leadership positions in Korea and discuss concepts from social psychology and cognitive neuroscience research findings to provide insight into why those approaches have failed. For my literature review, I searched EbscoHost, JSTOR, Science Direct, and Summit. I went to Korea to conduct my own research with women leaders. However, when consulting with Korean women leaders in the field, the consensus was that obtaining accurate information on my topic (unconscious and ingrained beliefs) would be difficult. I can understand this, as it has been difficult to find valid research findings on the topic in western studies. I appreciated their feedback and spent the rest of my stay in Seoul visiting resource centers they suggested.

Cultural Beliefs

Children learn their cultural beliefs and values by interacting with multiple social agents, such as parents, siblings, society, schools, churches, temples, peers, teachers, media, music, books, and social media throughout their socialization process. They are rewarded for conforming, and punished for not conforming, to cultural beliefs and attitudes (Baker, Tisak, & Tisak, 2016; Emilson, Folkesson, & Lindberg, 2016; Halpern & Perry-Jenkins, 2016). The Confucian principle, *Te* (德, Te or De), symbolizes power or virtue and has been cited as the major contributing cultural belief for the gender gap in Korea (Cho, 2013; Cho et al., 2016; Kim, 2013). *Te* is one of six Confucian principles that states that men set moral guidelines and are in charge of women (Gardner, 2014). *Te* is constructed on hierarchical and dichotomous/binary thinking and automatically leads to in-group favoritism. In-group favoritism divides *us* vs. *them* and *superior* vs. *inferior* (Bruckmuller & Abele, 2010). Ingrained Confucian "hierarchical thinking remains entrenched in the society" (Patterson & Walcutt, 2014, p. 33). It is embedded in laws, institutional and organizational policies, rules, organizational cultures, and family relationships. A "glass fence" symbolizes *Te* and states that a man's job is outside the house and a woman's job is inside the house (Kim, 2013, p. 253). Korean children grow up hearing their father calling their mother *jibsahrahm* (jib = house, sahrahm = person) when speaking to others (their equal or above in terms of age and status). Children learn who has the power in the family and see the constraints put on their mother. Children also learn to behave gender appropriately, and gendered socialization leads to systemic gender privilege for boys/men and systemic gender oppression for girls/women (Valian, 2004; Vial, Napier, & Brescoll, 2016). This means that governmental, institutional, and organizational laws, policies, and rules benefit boys and men for who they are and oppress girls and women for who they are. Girls and women become their own oppressors through a process known as *internalized oppression*. The inner experience of girls and women who have been systemically oppressed for who they are (e.g., girls and women) is dramatically different from that of boys and men who are systemically privileged (Choi, 2015; Kim & Gahng, 2015; Kray, Howland, Russell, & Jackman, 2017). Both systemic gender privilege and oppression become internalized by repetitive exposures at personal, institutional, and cultural levels (Ahn & Yoo, 2016; Cho, 2013; Giles & Heyman, 2005; Hong, Jung, & Hauh, 2016; Im & Swadener, 2016; Jang, Zippay, & Park, 2016; Knowbloch, Callison, Chen,

Fritzsche, & Zillmann, 2005). Thus, elementary school girls valuing boys more than girls is an example of *internalized oppression* (Brown & Beigler, 2004; Connell & Lynott, 2016). When men expect women to follow their standards and norms, consciously or unconsciously, it is an example of *internalized privilege*. When women follow men's standards and norms, either out of fear or automatically, it is an example of *internalized oppression*. Both *internalized oppression* and *privilege* implicitly or explicitly play an important role in perpetuating gender discrimination and sexism.

How Cultural Beliefs Are Ingrained

Cultural beliefs are ingrained through repeated exposures to such beliefs through modeling, rewards, and punishments from multiple agents. Children practice in-group favoritism for their own cultural and family values and beliefs throughout the socialization process (Cho, 2013; Giles & Heyman, 2005; Kang & Kim, 2016; Kim, 2016; Lee, 2011; Moreno & McLean, 2016; Sojo, Wood, Wood, & Wheeler, 2016; Susskind, 2003). Beliefs about in-group favoritism are presented to children implicitly and explicitly and become ingrained through repeated multidimensional and multilayered exposures to various social agents simultaneously and persistently (Servos, Dewar, Bosacki, & Coplan, 2016). *Asymmetric perception*, *attribution error*, and *social projections* are examples of in-group favoritism and are catalysts for perpetuating sexism and gender discrimination. In-group favoritism by default is intergroup discrimination, indicating that the in-group is superior to the intergroup. *Asymmetric perception* is individuals' tendency to praise themselves more than others and to detect others' biases readily but without awareness of their same biases. The review of the research literature found that, without evidence, participants thought they were more objective and less biased than others (Adams, 2016). Similarly, individuals favor the in-group over the intergroup in *attribution error*. They believe that positive behaviors are internal traits of the in-group, and negative behaviors are internal traits of the intergroup. In other words, in-group disposition is believed to be inherently positive, whereas that of the intergroup was inherently negative. An example of *social projection* is individuals' frustration when others do not meet their implicit assumption, *you are like us* (Abrams, 2011). In-group favoritism distorts the facts in order to support their gendered beliefs (Im & Swadener, 2016; Servos et al., 2016).

Can cognitive neuroscience research provide answers for cognitive distortions in in-group favoritism? Cognitive neuroscience is the integration of cognitive psychology and neuroscience and focuses on the brain and its structure, its development, and its function as the brain interacts with the environment (Wu, Lluo, & Feng, 2016). One of the major contributions of social psychology and cognitive neuroscience research is in revitalizing the role of the unconscious in forming beliefs, values, attitudes, prejudice, and stereotypes (Banaji & Greenwald, 2016; Jun, 2010; Schneider & Chein, 2003). According to Banaji, the unconscious process that triggers automatic thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of stereotypes and prejudice cannot be stopped by the best of intentions (Banaji & Bhaskar, 2001). In addition, beliefs are processed *unconsciously* by interpreting new information to *validate existing habits and emotions*, whereas knowledge is processed *consciously* by integrating new information with existing information (Eichenbaum & Bodkin, 2001). According to cognitive neuroscience, the neural pathways of belief distort the facts to validate existing habits (*in-group favoritism*) and emotions and operate unconsciously (Eichenbaum & Bodkin, 2001). Thus, in in-group favoritism, our perception is influenced not by the facts but, rather, by our beliefs, expectations, assumptions, group memberships (e.g., race, gender, class, religion, region, sexual orientation, age, and education), and social contexts. Learning that belief and knowledge are processed by different neural pathways and changing ingrained beliefs are challenging because "belief is a disposition to behave in a manner that is resistant to correction by experience" (Eichenbaum & Bodkin, 2001, p. 177).

Structural changes to close the gender gap fail because structural changes are not supported by changes that are functional and at a deeper level, such as beliefs and attitudes. The Equal Employment Opportunities Act (1987) and Affirmative Action Act (2004) were passed without proper training for regulatory officials to change gendered beliefs and attitudes so they could identify their own internalized privilege and oppression to carry out their responsibility as regulatory enforcers. Governmental and private agencies hired a few women leaders without changing organizational policies, cultures, and rules to accommodate women leaders. No specific strategies to dismantle ingrained gendered beliefs were implemented to change organizational policies and cultures. Deconstructing ingrained gendered beliefs that operate unconsciously and are resistant to change should be the main priority for closing the gender gap.

Thus, a short workshop on the subject of gender equity lasting from one to seven days only results in an illusion of closing the gender gap. In such a short period of time, we can achieve only a superficial level of understanding (knowledge) and not a deeper level (ingrained) change, as knowledge is processed consciously and belief is processed unconsciously.

What Role Do Ingrained Beliefs Play in the Gender Gap?

Ingrained gendered beliefs play a major role in the persistent gender gap in Korea. The main reason for this persistent gender gap is the pervasiveness of ingrained gendered beliefs that manifest as gender prejudice, discrimination, and sexism. Sexism is deeper than gender prejudice and discrimination and exists in governmental and institutional policies, laws, and rules, implicitly or explicitly. In sexist societies, advantages, power, and control are given to men over women (Cho, 2013; Cho, Kim, et al., 2015; Kim, 2013; Kim & Gahng, 2015).

A woman says, "The root of many barriers against women is fear. Fear of people not liking her, fear of making mistakes, … fear of failure, fear of not being a good mother, wife, or daughter" (Kim & Gahng, 2015, p. 8). This is an excellent example of a woman who internalized oppression as a result of systemic oppression and so is oppressing herself. She is marginalizing herself, just like her oppressors, without conscious awareness, due to her ingrained gendered beliefs. The inner experiences of women who have been targets of systemic gender oppression are dramatically different from men (Choi, 2015; Kim & Gahng, 2015; Vial et al., 2016). Their experiences affect the core of who they are (van der Kolk, 2015). Cho, McLean, et al. (2015) demonstrated that women leaders continue to be the targets of sexism and discrimination in the workplace. Women leaders' statements—such as "delayed in promotion," "passed over in promotion," "lack of proper recognition," "bosses' unintentional yet blatant sexism"—were presented as examples of institutional sexism resulting from organizations' continuing policies and rules that were made by men for men because of *internalized privilege* (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015, p. 529). These organizational policies, rules, and practices perpetuate a lack of opportunities for women leadership development, team building, networking, and business. Changing organizational cultures that favor men is a challenging task due to the active role of ingrained and unconscious gendered beliefs on gendered organizational cultures and policies (Sparks, Cunningham, & Kritikos, 2016).

Path to Overcoming Cultural Constraints

As described, gendered beliefs are deeply embedded in our psyche, nervous system, institutions, and culture. According to Young (2000), oppression is "systemic constraints on group[s]" and is structural. This structural oppression cannot be eliminated by new laws "because oppressions are systematically reproduced in major economic, political, and cultural institutions" unconsciously (Young, 2000, pp. 36–37). Gender privilege is also systemic, structural, and often invisible to privilege holders. The fact that oppression is highly visible to the oppressed and privilege is invisible to privilege holders makes it difficult to close the gender gap. In this context, shifting paradigms in thinking from binary to holistic, and learning from conceptual to transformative is essential in order to examine the multiple factors and their intersectionality contributing to developing ingrained gendered beliefs.

Paradigm Shift in Thinking

Western research findings in social psychology indicate that binary thinking has been the basis for shaping a culture's standards and norms. Szkudlarek, Mcnett, Romani, and Lane (2013) interviewed seven prominent leaders in cross-cultural management education and concluded that viewing the world from both western (linear) and eastern (non-linear) perspectives was an essential component of addressing increasingly complex realities. This is an example of how binary thinking blinds our ability to conceptualize the complexities of the real world. Culture is multilayered and multidimensional, with both linear and non-linear perspectives that cannot be clearly defined as either/or, especially due to globalization and social media. At one level, some components of the Korean culture are binary (e.g., the persistent ingrained gender gap). These components have been reinforcing traditional Korean privilege for men and the oppression of women, implicitly and explicitly, for centuries (Cho, 2013; Kim, 2013). At another level, Koreans idealize components of western culture and either internalize them (e.g., the popularity of *Gangnam Style* music videos, plastic surgery to look like western women, pressure to learn English from preschool), or mix them with Korean culture (Lee, 2016). Both westerners and easterners live in rapidly changing and complex cultures, but binary thinking limits their ability to perceive the interwoven complexities of the two cultures.

We need a thinking style that allows us to examine complex issues from a holistic perspective (Jun, 2016). Examining gender alone, as if it operates in isolation, does not lead to seeing the whole person whose multiple identities interact with each other in different cultural contexts. When gender is examined from a holistic perspective, we find variations between (men, women, and transgenders) and within genders (among men, among women, and among transgenders). We notice that the degree of internalized gender privilege and oppression varies in relation to their degree of internalized privilege and oppression in other identities, such as race, class, sexual orientation, age, disability, region, religious affiliation, and language. For example, before I was born, my parents lost three children in infancy. Due to this experience, once I was born, they were satisfied with watching their baby girl living her life. They let me choose a girl's middle and high school with a strong emphasis on liberal education. My high school teachers introduced me to Sartre, Kierkegaard, and Kant, and I came to the U.S.A. to fulfill my dream of studying existential issues in depth. However, my status changed abruptly in the U.S.A. from being majority to minority, privileged to oppressed, self-confident to self-doubt. My sense of self was shattered, and fear of losing a student visa as the result of my poor academic performance haunted me daily. What gave me the strength to pick up my shattered self was focusing on the process of my best and not the outcome of my best.

I struggled with my work–life balance due to ingrained Korean cultural beliefs, but I had no problem with asserting myself at work. My internalized oppression based on my belief about gendered roles from Korean culture was stronger than my internalized belief about gender equity and work–life balance experienced in my family and schools. However, my family's and schools' internalized privilege was stronger when at work. My family privilege came from my father's status and income. His income enabled me to attend private, elite girls' middle and high schools and to come to the U.S.A. to study. Observing my own context-dependent and complex gender identity has enabled me to imagine the complexities of others' gender identity.

We do not have access to our own ingrained values and beliefs because we learned them without conscious awareness. They reside in our unconscious and are not accessible to us, yet they influence our intrapersonal (relationship to ourselves) and interpersonal (relationship to others) behaviors. Korean socialization practice used to emphasize introspection, but it has been replaced by extending academic activity hours from morning to night; school children go to school during the day and most of them go to

institutes (학원) during the evening to improve their academic skills. In 2011, roughly 72% of all elementary, middle, and high school students attended private institutes, placing further financial burdens on parents (Lee, 2016). It is a challenging task to practice introspection when it is no longer a part of the socialization process. Hong et al. (2016) stated that women leaders need to design leadership to fit them to be effective, rather than copying someone's successful leadership design. Knowing the whole person requires the ability to introspect and reflect because our beliefs, values, and biases acquired through implicit learning are not available to us at a conscious level. Accessing our own thinking styles is one way to reclaim our introspection.

The first step to a paradigm shift in thinking is accessing our own thinking styles. Progoff (1992) depicted the important difference between thinking about writing and the act of writing. He wrote, "Thinking about what you would write is not the same as actually writing … we cannot … understand how the dynamics of its principles operates without working with it over a period of time" (Progoff, 1992, p. 11). Knowing our thinking styles is necessary for us to assess our gendered beliefs, as research findings indicate that binary thinking is the basis for shaping gendered beliefs. Four thinking styles play a part in perception, attitudes, identities, and worldviews (Jun, 2010): holistic thinking, linear thinking, hierarchal thinking, and dichotomous thinking. *Holistic thinking* is non-judgmental and is based on a multilayered and multidimensional perspective; it is about giving equal weight to our opinion as well as others'. *Linear thinking* is *projecting* and *generalizing* on the basis of the past and marginalizing or discriminating against others on the basis of old and ingrained beliefs. *Hierarchal thinking* is judging people from a superior or inferior position, and *dichotomous thinking* is a two-box mindset (e.g., *sexist* or *non-sexist*).

The second step to a paradigm shift in thinking is through reflective writing. The key to success in accessing a deeper level of information is to write without censoring and judgment. The purpose of reflective writing is to access intrapersonal communication. Judging inner dialogue (intrapersonal communication) as *appropriate/inappropriate*, *good/bad*, not representing the ideal image of what you should be does not lead to self-awareness. An example of specific reflection-oriented writing instructions is to jot down your thoughts or feelings for about ten days and read them all at the end of the tenth day to learn about you. Another example of specific questions is about inappropriate hierarchical thinking: "If you used inappropriate hierarchical thinking, describe the first time you were

exposed to it. Did your parents, siblings, and/or school teachers use inappropriate hierarchical thinking styles while you were growing up? What did they say? How did these statements shape your interpersonal communication?" (Jun, 2010, p. 32).

The third step to paradigm shift in thinking is practicing holistic thinking. Gender is an important element of a woman's identity. However, her gender does not represent who she is as a whole person. A woman's gender interacts with her race, class, sexual orientation, impairment/disability, level of education, age, religious affiliation, region, language, and socio-cultural contexts to determine who she is and her worldview. Women's issues need to be examined by holistic thinking that allows multilayered and multidimensional analysis because they are complex (Haarmans, Vass, & Bentall, 2016; Jun, 2010; Kendall & Wijeyesinghe, 2017). As we acquire holistic thinking, we begin to think about the gendered workplace from a broader perspective. We understand variations among women within and between groups. Reflective uncensored writing on multiple identities (race, gender, class, sexual orientation, disability/impairment, age, religious affiliation, and region) and their intersections lead us to view ourselves as a whole person. Reflective writing on dominant identity, what is the relationship between a dominant identity and other identities, and the relationship between these identities and contexts, enables people to see themselves from a multidimensional and multifaceted perspective. If one's dominant identity is not gender, the relationship between dominant identity and gender identity leads to having a different view about gender than if gender is the dominant identity. For example, if one belongs to a class privileged group and that is one's dominant identity, the person may not feel gender oppression because class privilege blinds people from being conscious of their gender oppression. As a result, they may not notice workplace gender discrimination (*due to internalized class privilege*), but they may listen to all sides if their dominant thinking style is holistic.

Paradigm Shift in Learning from Conceptual to Transformative

Holistic thinking without affective processing does not change ingrained beliefs because they are resistant to change. Conceptual understanding needs to be accompanied by transformative learning that integrates intellectual processing with affective processing. It is learning to reframe your ingrained beliefs with new knowledge until there is a deep structural change in thoughts,

feelings, and behaviors. A shift in learning from conceptual to transformative requires that learning be processed by both cognitive and affective processing. "Neuroscience research shows that the only way we can change the way we feel is by becoming aware of our *inner* experience" (van der Kolk, 2015, p. 208). This process begins to liberate people from ingrained beliefs, internalized privilege, and internalized oppression. It brings life-changing experiences because it requires engagement in in-depth processing and reflection (Flumerfelt, Ingram, Brockberg, & Smith, 2007). Transformative learning is facilitated by one's ability to introspect, reflect, feel, and be aware of inner experiences without judgement, to observe internal and external worlds as they are, to practice mindfulness diligently, to write without censoring, and to be honest internally.

Integration of Paradigm Shifts in Thinking and Learning

My theory and practice are the result of teaching with colleagues from various disciplines at a liberal arts college. Multi-quarter (2–3 quarters) interdisciplinary programs with narrative evaluations rather than grades have helped me be a student of my colleagues and to examine critically connections between psychology and their disciplines. Learning from colleagues in biology (developmental, evolutionary, mechanical, molecular neurobiology) and in consciousness studies was instrumental in developing the program that integrates the cognitive neuroscience, social psychology, and multicultural psychology with clinical experiences. It is on the forefront of deconstructing ingrained cultural beliefs. The program has been successful with individuals in leadership positions since 2009. I was delighted to find a few studies that examined implicit gender bias and leadership performance from a cognitive neuroscience perspective (Connell & Lynott, 2016; Lal, 2016; Sparks et al., 2016).

In order to bring life-changing experience by transcending ingrained gendered beliefs, people need to know who they are. This means that they learn to value and accept who they are and not who they should be. It is through this process that they redefine meaning, goals, and priorities and learn to navigate their path from their inner self and not from an ideal or expected self. As they accept themselves emotionally, as well as intellectually, it is easier to dismantle ingrained beliefs because they realize that they do not represent them. When they are grounded within themselves with holistic thinking and conscious awareness of inner feelings, their perceptions,

communications, behaviors, beliefs, values, and attitudes start to change. This is the process in which they honor themselves and begin to be liberated from ingrained gendered beliefs.

As people increase holistic thinking and accept themselves as they are, their binary thinking decreases. One's view of self, family, workplace, and the world also changes. They no longer frame interpersonal relationships from a hierarchical perspective on the basis of a single category or event. They realize that *you messages* do not express how they think, feel, or want. For example, if people say, "You are selfish," to their partner, this does not indicate what the partner did that made them think that the partner was *selfish*, how they feel about their partner, and what they want from their partner. It does not show evidence for the conclusion that their partner *was selfish. You* messages provoke defensiveness of the other, rather than facilitate workable solutions, because they blame and/or label the other.

People then realize the value of communicating by *I messages*, because they focus on feelings, thoughts, and behaviors that facilitate workable solutions. For example, a woman may ask questions regarding gender discrimination by citing facts and using an *I message* (individual perspective), including *I am wondering how I can function as a leader when I am excluded from the leaders' meetings. Would you explain to me why I was excluded? I would like to propose that we have team building in the office during work hours, so I can participate*. People may ask what was expected based on their job description and how men leaders interpreted the Equal Employment Opportunities Act of 1987 and the Affirmative Action Act of 2004. As someone interested in gender equity, it is the individual's responsibility to advocate for herself. As gender privilege is often invisible to men, they may not understand the woman's position. Women may need to continue to persevere with *I messages* for as long as necessary without giving in to external pressure.

Men need to examine the impact of gender discrimination against women leaders on their own wellbeing. If men are indifferent, unhappy, or uncomfortable, they can sit with their feelings and thoughts without judgment and explore the beliefs behind their feelings and assess how close they are to their sense of self. As they raise consciousness through self-reflection, they will change their perceptions on gender roles, organizational cultures, and ingrained beliefs that they previously accepted without questioning. They may ask questions of women coworkers or their partner about not completely understanding *I messages. I enjoy team building after work, and I don't understand why it is an issue. Would you help me to understand?* or *I don't understand what male privilege is. I don't feel I have*

more privilege than you. Their success is determined by their courage to ask questions even if others may not understand their intention. Being vulnerable is not a sign of weakness but, rather, a sign of strength in the postmodern era. Institutional changes come from both men's and women's ability to be vulnerable. Men may be aware of the impact of organizational culture on women leaders. Men may want to advocate for gender equity from their heart and be brave enough to walk on a path of inner peace and social justice.

For both men and women, success is defined by the process and not by the result, as the result is not determined by interpersonal relationships. Focusing on the result over which individuals have no control leads to frustration. Frustration leads to more frustration because individuals do not have control over the result. Accumulated frustration may alter one's inner balance by secreting large amounts of stress hormones (van der Kolk, 2015). Focusing on the process over which individuals have control (e.g., addressing the issue that is important) leads to inner peace.

Dwell in Possibility

Overcoming cultural gender constraints starts at the personal level. In order to change organizational culture, overcoming such constraints needs to spread throughout an entire organization or institution. To that end, I advocate for an innovative and effective gender-equity educational program for all leaders in the workplace that is based on paradigm shifts in thinking and learning on a regular basis (e.g., once a week at the beginning, twice a month, once a month for at least six to nine months with subsequent regular follow-ups). Training that lasts a day or two is not geared towards changing ingrained beliefs. A gender-equitable workplace benefits women, men, families, communities, and society. To shine as an organization, women and men leaders must participate as equal work partners so they teach and learn from each other. Coworkers must collaboratively develop gender-equity based policies and rules, and specific strategies to implement them; specific tools to measure the success of implementation; and revisions of implementation plans on the basis of implementation data. This process must be repeated until both women and men leaders master it. Sennett (2012) discussed skill mastery for playing a sport, performing music, and making cabinets taking about 10,000 hours. Children aged three years already showed in-group favoritism (Endendijk et al., 2017; Giles & Heyman, 2005); if we start to learn gendered beliefs by the age of three, at age forty, we have

spent over 60,000 hours repeating them. We have achieved mastery eight times over at this point. The mastery of walking the talk of gender equity takes time, patience, commitment, and humility.

Recommendations for Future Research

Recommendations for future research to reduce the gender gap in Korean leadership include longitudinal studies (over, at least, the course of one year) to reveal:

- the effects of increasing holistic thinking style on the gender gap among women and men leaders;
- the effects of awareness of systemic gender privilege and oppression on the gender gap among men and women leaders;
- the effects of understanding the difference between intrapersonal and interpersonal communication on workplace gender inequity among leaders;
- the effects of training on identifying leaders' internalized gender oppression in the workplace, and their ability to address workplace gender inequity; and
- the effects of transformative learning on the organizational culture.

Conclusion

Koreans' determination, hard work, and cooperation changed Korea's economic status from that of an underdeveloped country to a developed country. Closing the gender gap is a much more complex process than achieving the top range GDP rank because of the long-held unconscious and ingrained gendered beliefs. Our ingrained gendered beliefs prevent us from realizing that workplace gender equity benefits and liberates men, women, and children (Chang & Kim, 2016). Dwelling in the possibility of a gender-balanced Korea while practicing paradigm shifts in thinking (holistic) and learning (transformative) on a daily basis will bring about change. Determination and hard work to close the gender gap is a stepping-stone for transforming the possibility to the reality of a gender-balanced Korea where all leaders practice changing paradigm shifts on a daily basis.

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Dr. Heesoon Jun grew up in Seoul, Korea, and assumed cultural and family values as the norm until late adolescence when she started to question her own identity construction. This questioning was a catalyst for pursuing psychology studies in the U.S.A., with a B.S. in psychology and an MA in clinical psychology. She then worked as a director for developmentally challenged preschool children in Minnesota, where she advocated for children by involving parents and educating physicians. This experience was instrumental in her Ph.D. in educational psychology with a focus on developmental psychology and cross-cultural studies at the University of Washington. Teaching college level psychology courses, especially abnormal psychology, led her to obtain licensure as a psychologist incorporating clinical experience in her teaching. Dr. Jun authored *Social Justice, Multicultural Counseling and Practice: Beyond Conventional Approach* (SAGE, 2009) and the second edition in progress with Springer. She teaches at Evergreen State College and has a small private practice.

CHAPTER 4

A New Perspective on Korean Women Leaders' Career Development

Namhee Kim and Pyoung-gu Baek

When the first author, a Korean woman, decided to study abroad in 1997, there were many concerns expressed by her family, friends, and colleagues. She was still single in her late twenties. They thought it was not a good decision to pursue a career and opt out from a traditional Korean woman's life path at this age, which is primarily getting married and having a family. In the conservative Korean culture, careers used to be optional for young women. Those voices made her uncomfortable and caused her to reevaluate whether her decision was the best option. Just before she left Korea, she attended a workshop organized by her university, the largest women's university in Korea. There were one dozen women alumni in their fifties and sixties who had achieved successful careers overseas. Each of the women presented a personal life path and the story of career development. One theme clearly appeared across the presenters*: I never expected or planned where I am now, but I did my best for what was given to me. That led me here today.*

N. Kim (✉)
Northcentral University, San Diego, CA, USA

P.-g. Baek
Jung Won University, Goesan, South Korea

Y. Cho, G.N. McLean (eds.), *Korean Women in Leadership*,
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Essentially, the conceptual framework of this chapter is rooted in three variables that have been drawn from this anecdote: Korean culture influencing Korean women's lives, Korean women's career orientation, and unexpected and unplanned aspects of their career paths and development. Building on this framework, this chapter discusses three research questions: In what way does Korean context influence women leaders' career development? What are Korean women leaders' career orientations? How does *chance* or *happenstance* play a role in the process of career development?

Cultural Forces Affecting Korean Women's Careers

Korean women are deeply influenced by the country's Confucian background. Confucian cultural tradition can be discussed in relation to two main influences on Korean women's lives and careers. First, there remains a prevalent tradition of male dominant characteristics, especially among the older generations, which results in gender-divided social roles. At the individual level, the culture expects women to comply with traditional roles and responsibilities at home. Even though the educational level of Korean women is remarkably enhanced and now superior to their male counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2015), many well-educated women often end up settling down at home taking care of their family. Those who keep their careers after marriage are expected to perform well both at home and in the workplace, which places a double burden on working women (Cho et al., 2015).

This cultural tradition influences organizational culture as well. In the workplace, women used to serve under male supervisors. Presently, women still lack power in their organizations, though slow but positive changes are present in Korean women in management (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013; Kim & Rowley, 2009). In 2015, the ratio of women executives over women employees at the top 30 Korean corporate groups was lower than 1%; in 2016, 73.9% of the top thirty Korean corporate groups had no woman executives (Kim, 2015). Excelling in work and achieving a high position in Korean organizations in addition to maintaining stable family relationships and responsibilities is extremely hard for women.

Korea has a collectivist cultural tradition (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). People build their identity based upon the group or organization to which they belong. This implies that Korean people make an

important decision in their lives that involves incorporating the group's values and expectations, which is clearly different from an individualistic tradition in Western contexts. Korean women are more likely to make their career decisions in accordance with the expectations of their families, friends and colleagues, unlike women in the Western culture where an individualistic tradition is strong, therefore the decision-making of women in such an individualistic culture can be viewed only from their perspective. Dyke and Murphy (2006), Kats, Van Emmerik, Blenkinsopp, and Khapova (2010), and Pryor and Bright (2003) paid attention to cross-cultural differences in career behaviors and argued that Western career theories have limitations in explaining the complexity of career phenomena in a globalized world. Accordingly, career theories developed dominantly in individualistic cultural backgrounds cannot adequately account for career practices in collectivistic cultural circumstances such as in Korea.

Buddhism was the national religion for a long period of time in Korea's ancient history and remains one of two prevalent religions (Kim & Shon, 2016), though contemporary Korean people have various religious backgrounds. Accordingly, a unique worldview based on Buddhism is often found among Korean people (Kim, 2009). One of the key tenets of Buddhist philosophy is interconnectedness. Guindon and Hanna (2002) explained this as "the idea that all persons, places, objects, and events are interconnected, interdependent, and profoundly interrelated. There are no separate phenomena from this viewpoint" (p. 198). Therefore, any single random event that happens in someone's life can be seen as meaningful and deeply appreciated. The example of the Korean maxim, "Scratching each other's cloth is a relationship" effectively represents the idea that even a chance meeting is due to the Karma in a previous life. The same event can have a different interpretation when it happens in another culture, such as Christian or Hindu (McLean & Johansen, 2006).

Along with the collectivistic tradition, this Buddhist worldview may have made Korean women more cautious about pursuing personal interests free from other social influences and caused them to be mindful of the consequences of their personal behaviors, and finally take the larger circle of relevant forces into consideration. Interestingly, a Korean TV show (JTBC Entertainment, 2014) found that Korean mothers tend to feel guilty when their children fail to enter a good college. The program found that they blame themselves for being one of the root causes of such failure and may believe they could have made a difference in their children's future lives if they had made greater effort to help them more (Noh, Han, & Yoo, 2012).

In sum, under the Confucian and Buddhist traditions, Korean women are more vulnerable to meeting social demands on gender roles when pursuing their working life; thus, their career decisions may not simply reflect what they want but, rather, what they are expected to choose by their family. Regardless of whether they choose career action voluntarily or involuntarily, they are breathing through the cultural influences in their everyday lives.

Korean Women Leaders' Career Orientation

When discussing career orientation, gender is always an important variable because women demonstrate different attitudes and preferences with respect to their career choices. Research findings agree that Korean women tend to put more value on work–life balance (Kim, 2004; Kim & McLean, 2008). O'Neil, Hopkins, and Bilimoria (2008) researched the contemporary patterns and paradoxes of women's careers and found that women's careers encompass larger life contexts beyond their work, which is well-supported by research findings on the correlation between work centrality and higher income or upward mobility, especially for women (Mannheim, Baruch, & Tal, 1997; Mayrhofer et al., 2008).

In addition, women tend to cherish the subjective aspects of a career, whereas men do not (Kim, 2004; Kim & McLean, 2008). Subjective career aspects include personal beliefs, interests, and values with regard to careers, and differ from objective career aspects such as income or status (Abele & Spurk, 2009; Valcour, Bailyn, & Quijada, 2007). Therefore, what is important to each woman can vary, but we believe that Korean women still consider their circumstances when defining personal needs, wants, and meanings.

These tendencies are closely related to the personal meaning of career success to Korean women. According to a study of women leaders in Korea (Cho et al., 2015), their work-life balance was an important aspect of career success. Given the collective cultural tradition, it is natural for them to consider harmony in different life dimensions and keeping them in balance can be viewed as a successful career goal. In contrast, a heavily individualistic Western perspective to career success emphasizes "the experience of achieving goals that are personally meaningful to the individual, rather than those set by parents, peers, an organization, or society" (Mirvis & Hall, 1994, p. 366).

Women tend to possess a more flexible career perspective. They change their career concepts in response to their life situations, according to the Kaleidoscope career model (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005). This model suggests that women are more receptive to outside influences and that their reactions may be more conducive to the requirements of their situation when their social and cultural environment is demanding in terms of women's roles and responsibilities. Thus, women from a Confucian culture, such as Korea, may have to deal with unexpected career changes more often due to life events or external influences that are beyond their control.

Successful people share some common characteristics. One of them would be work centrality, defined as "the beliefs that individuals have regarding the degree of importance that work plays in their lives" (Paullay, Alliger, & Stone-Romero, 1994, p. 225). Work centrality is known to have positive relationships with career success (Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, & Schmidt, 2008). Korean women leaders' serious work commitment is well-documented in extant literature, as in Cho et al. (2015). For hard-working Korean women leaders, being married to work (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013, p. 16) is not a funny joke; it is a serious statement. Women leaders' unwavering commitment to work, in terms of time spent and energy applied, seems to explain their success; their career behaviors need to be interpreted by a perspective that takes cultural influences into consideration.

Another common characteristic of Korean women leaders is their enjoyment of work (Cho et al., 2015). They are motivated by intrinsic rewards, such as emotional fulfillment and satisfaction in the process of accomplishment, rather than achieving goals. In a Korean study (Kim, 2004), female Korean bank employees put high value on pursuing personal interests and aptitudes, rather than on higher income or status, job security, or job autonomy, followed by pursuing work–life balance. According to Cho et al.'s (2015) research on Korean women leaders, the participants clearly had in common the fact that they worked hard not because they wanted to succeed, but because they loved to work. To them, success followed naturally as a result.

In sum, Korean women leaders' career orientations entail several noticeable streams: their pursuit of balance and enjoyment of work; subjective judgement of career success; adaptable career perspectives; and a high level of work centrality. Some of these are common across cultures while others are unique or stronger in Korea, which are influenced by Korea's unique cultural traditions and are discussed in the next section.

Raising Awareness of Chance or Happenstance in the Korean Context

Due to social expectations of women's roles in the family and a collective group mindset, Korean women are heavily influenced by environmental forces and find it difficult to pursue their own career or life goals over other responsibilities and expectations. Therefore, their careers are often interrupted or altered, or they find they must opt out. For instance, the rate of Korean women's economic participation drops significantly when they start a family (Park, Lee, Kim, & Kim, 2005), which means they give up their careers to take care of their family. In addition, it is extremely difficult for these women to return to work later because they have to deal with many hardships stemming from personal, social, or economic barriers (Kim, 2007; Lee, 2010). Some Korean women choose different paths or alternative ways to get to the point where they want to be in their careers or professionally, such as returning to school or starting their own business (Jang & Kim, 2010; Morris, Miyasaki, Watters, & Coombes, 2006; Son, 2009). As a result, career development for these women is often not linear or straightforward. In pursuit of their careers, they might run into a new opportunity, incident, or relationship that they did not plan or expect, but one that turns out to be very positive.

There has been an emerging trend in career development literature that requires a change in career perspective towards being more open, receptive, or adaptable. For example, in the 1990s career literature discussed somewhat flexible career concepts, such as career adaptability (Savickas, 1997) and career resilience (Collard, Epperheimer, & Saign, 1996; Waterman, Waterman, & Collard, 1994). More recently, Krumboltz and his associates (Krumboltz, 2009; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996; Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999) elaborated a new approach to the practice of career counseling by introducing the planned happenstance career theory. This theory focuses on the importance of chance in career development, and calls for career options to be kept open in order to allow for the new opportunities that are continuously created in the process of a person's lifecycle. This approach may be seen as more reactive than active as the opportunities are often induced by the environment, rather than by an individual's purposeful plan or goal. However, some workers who do not have rigid career orientations might easily cope with such changes (Neault, 2000).

Related to the concept of *happenstance* in careers (Mitchell et al., 1999), similar terms have appeared in the literature. These include *serendipity* (Betsworth & Hanson, 1996), *chance* (Roe & Baruch, 1967), and *synchronicity* (Guindon & Hanna, 2002). Although these terms differ slightly, the elements of their core are similar in that they are unplanned, unpredictable, or uncontrollable random events. Ironically and interestingly, such events are often noted as *the most critical factor* or *a significant factor* that impacts people's career paths across a diverse adult population (Betsworth & Hansen, 1996; Bright, Robert, Pryor, & Earl, 2005; Chen, 2005; Mayrhofer et al., 2008). For this reason, Pryor and Bright (2003) offered a critique that most career theories fail to recognize "unplanned and unpredictable events and experiences that are often crucial and sometimes determinative in the narrative of people's careers" (p. 13).

According to a survey by LinkedIn, a social network for professionals, more than eight out of ten professionals believe in career luck (Hsu, 2012). This result was based on 7,000 professionals around the world, including Korea, Japan, and 13 other countries worldwide. Two Asian countries ranked top on the career luck list: Japan and Korea. Although this needs further justification, this aligns well with our insight into the career luck list.

The same significance of *happenstance* in career events is also found in limited scholarly Korean literature (Kim, Kang, & Jang, 2013; Lee & Shin, 2012; Park, 2011; Son, 2011; Song, 1998). It is important to note that findings have been drawn from various groups of adults, not particularly from women or women leaders, except for Son's (2011) study. To overcome a paucity of scholarly research on Korean women leaders' experience of happenstance in their careers, we compromised in our search by drawing on live anecdotes found in written documents available publicly, including magazines, books, newspapers, and blogs. Based on our review of those documents, we were able to find stories from various sources that support the purpose of this chapter. The three stories that follow are summarized extracts from several resources, as cited in the text.

Case 1: Byungok Sohn Byungok Sohn started her career at the Chase Manhattan Bank at its Seoul branch following her graduation in 1974. She built her career in foreign-affiliated banks such as the Midland Bank and HSBC until her marriage in 1993. She had no choice but to quit her job and become a housewife, due to moving from Korea to the U.S.A. for

her husband's study sponsored by the Korean government. She said, "So, suddenly, I became a woman of career interruption" (as cited in Lee, 2016). As a Korean woman, she had experienced career interruptions four times. She mentioned, "While I thought there was no chance to work again, I had an opportunity to return to work by accident" (as cited in Jeong, 2014). The CEO of the Prudential Life Insurance Company of Korea, previously her supervisor during her first career, asked her to join. It was not easy for her to resume her career due to a long career interruption and the jealousy of others at her being so lucky as to be hired for a good position. Since that time in 1996, she rose from a personnel director to the CEO of the Prudential Life Insurance Company of Korea in 2011. Currently, she is the chairperson of the board of directors for the Prudential Life Insurance Company of Korea Ltd (Kim & Kang, 2015).

Case 2: Jeong Rim Park Jeong Rim Park began her career at the Chase Manhattan Bank in Seoul branch in 1986. However, she had to quit her position due to caring for her child. By chance, in 1992, an acquaintance introduced her to a position as a congressional aide in the office of a member of the National Assembly. This position was quite different from her previous (and subsequent) position in a financial institution. Her two years in the National Assembly came about by happenstance and provided the trigger for her career advancement (Kim & Kang, 2015). She then worked for the Choheung Bank and Samsung Fire & Marine Insurance. When she became a Certified Financial Analyst in 2001, she became the first woman in a Korean insurance company to hold that certification. In 2004, she transferred to the KB Bank where, after ten years, she rose to vice chairperson, overcoming a long-standing prejudice against women bankers (Lee, 2016). As of August 2016, there are only two women incumbent executives in four major Korean banks; Jeong Rim Park is the only woman who has gone through promotion at her bank (Lee, 2016).

Case 3: Hyanglim Lee Hyanglim Lee temporarily worked for British Petroleum (BP) Korea after obtaining her undergraduate degree to earn funds to study abroad. She learned about the position through acquaintances. She earned recognition from her company for her dedication and soon forgot about studying overseas. While at BP Korea, she earned her MBA with a major in accounting. However, in 1993, she quit her position due to both downsizing at the company and caring for her first baby. Then, she was able to continue her job as a freelancer with the corporate accounting

office by virtue of acquaintances. This led to another opportunity to work for Chrysler Korea as a financial consultant for two years (Park, 2007). After this stint, she joined Volvo Truck Korea as the manager for finance and accounting in 1997. She was promoted to the CEO of the Volvo Car Corporation in Korea in March 2004. This was the first case of a woman CEO in the Korean imported car industry (Song, 2008).

As shown in these three cases, despite the challenge in obtaining solid research findings about Korean women leaders' experience of happenstance in their career paths, the limited information available shed light on the potential criticality of career adaptability in the journey of Korean women's careers. This becomes clear when Korean cultural traditions such as Confucianism and Buddhism are taken into account. That is, Korean women leaders are under pressure to accommodate women's roles and responsibilities along with their careers to keep the interconnectedness of different aspects of dimensions of their lives, which creates a greater likelihood of distractions in their careers. It is assumed that married Korean women become naturally receptive to outside forces, which may be (un)planned and (un)predicted. This might be possible because their career orientation aligns well with their pursuit of subjective meaningfulness in their careers (Kim, 2004; Kim & McLean, 2008). In other words, they adapt well to whatever happens in their careers by adjusting personal perceptions to find meaning and value in it.

A New Perspective on Korean Women Leaders' Career Development

Discussion in this chapter suggests a new perspective on Korean women leaders' career development. Research efforts continue to focus on individuals' planned, intentional, purposeful endeavors and to ignore the other side, which is unplanned, accidental, and unintentional career encounters. We clearly see a value of investigating *happenstance* in women leaders' career experiences in the Korean context.

From a research perspective, it is necessary to produce meaningful research findings on career phenomena using a *happenstance* lens in Korean women leaders' career development. Although we acknowledge that there are a few relevant studies currently available, those findings may not support Korean women leaders' experiences, given that the majority were

based on Western cultural contexts. We propose the following research questions that are worth investigating:

- How important is happenstance in Korean women leaders' career development?
- What are the characteristics of happenstance? Do the characteristics represent people, time and place, materials, intellectual insights, or a combination of them?
- What are the outcomes of happenstance? Are all outcomes positive? What, if any, might be any negative outcomes?
- Which contextual variables influence successful career results?
- Who are most effective in accommodating happenstance in their careers?

According to the planned happenstance theory (Mitchell et al., 1999), there are five characteristics that can help people turn unplanned happenstance into meaningful opportunities: curiosity, persistence, flexibility, optimism, and risk taking. We believe all of these characteristics are represented in any cultural context. Building on the theory, we want to emphasize the necessity of teaching and educating career adaptability to Korean women leaders and women in leadership pipeline as practical implications of our discussion. As Korean women are vulnerable to career changes often caused by social influences, they need to learn fully how to cope successfully with unplanned changes in their careers. How can we support and guide future generations of Korean women leaders in their career perspectives? The following are guidelines for the teaching of career adaptability:

- Avoid a dichotomy in Korean women's career development. Although there seems to be one choice over the other, life paths can lead to various choices, including work versus family, one occupation versus the other occupation, now versus never, full-time versus part-time, and here versus nowhere.
- Remain alert and open to various events, possibilities, or stimuli, which can provide meaningful experiences for their careers.
- Champion transition. Today, there is no such thing as a life-long career, especially for women. Many career transitions are inevitable. In the process, there will be some gaps and breakdowns (career interruptions), ups and downs, or successes and failures.

- Be prepared for future opportunities. Developing fundamental characteristics of career success is still essential; Korean women must: (a) be hard-working; (b) enjoy work; (c) be optimistic; (d) take risks; and (e) have flexible career perspectives.
- Be prepared to maneuver, even if situations cannot be controlled. A life journey is full of turbulence and surprises. While pursuing career goals, leaders can maneuver through repeated waves of life challenges.
- Do not be afraid of being exposed to new ideas and opportunities, uneasiness, or inferiority of career development. Overcoming challenges in dealing with difficult situations and emotional burdens can be a valuable unplanned training process for future opportunities.

Conclusion

Affected by cultural traditions, Korean women have developed a unique career perspective that is not fully addressed by Western career theories and knowledge. We believe Korean women are flexible in their receptiveness to outside forces. Chance or happenstance seems to play an important role in their career development. We suggest paying more attention to chance or happenstance and calling for a more indigenous approach to Korean women leaders' career development. This new career perspective on Korean women offers insights for future research and has practical implications that are helpful in teaching career adaptability for future women leaders in Korea.

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Dr. Namhee Kim is a professor of School of Business, Northcentral University, U.S.A. She received her Ph.D. in HRD from the University of Minnesota. Her research interests include career development, women in organizations, and global HRD. She has published articles on career success in the Korean context and contributed a chapter in a publication on Korean women leaders with Routledge, UK. She has received several international research paper awards. She gained extensive research experience in women's issues through her work in the Korean Women's Development Institute, Korea. She has served as a member of the Minister's Advisory Committee for Gender Equality in Korea, and engaged with numerous research and national policy development projects for gender equality in education. She currently serves on the editorial board for *Advances in Developing Human Resources.*

Dr. Pyoung-gu Baek is an assistant professor of Business Administration, Jungwon University, Korea. He received his Ph.D. in HRD from Chung-Ang University, Korea. He has worked in management development program consultancies in corporate contexts for many years in Korea. His research centers on critical HRD, Q methodology, and adult education. He has developed an interest in marginalized groups including women in organizations and developing women managers in Korean corporations using discourse analysis.

PART III

Signs of Hope

CHAPTER 5

Policies and Legislation for Women in Korea from the 1990s to the Present

Hyoun Ju Kang, Hong In Jeong, and Heewon Ko

Since the promulgation of the South Korean Constitution in 1948, the political, economic, and educational rights for Korean women have been publicly guaranteed, based on equality for all citizens. Despite these legal rights, until the mid-1980s, few substantial policies and legislation for Korean women existed within the traditional gender framework, which viewed women as inferior and a low-cost labor force. This social perception consistently hindered women's social activities and reinforced a gender division of labor (Kim, 2011; Park, 1993). In the 1980s, as global interest in women's movements increased and democratization movements against the military dictatorship associated with progressive women's organizations experienced a turning point, the Korean government became aware of women's issues. The combination of international and domestic environments prompted the government to take action through a variety of women's policies and legislation to improve the quality of women's lives (Kim, 2011; Lee & Kim, 2012).

H.J. Kang (✉) • H.I. Jeong
Research Institute for HRD Policy, Korea University, Seoul, South Korea

H. Ko
Korea Employment Information Service, Eumseong-gun, South Korea

Y. Cho, G.N. McLean (eds.), *Korean Women in Leadership*,
Current Perspectives on Asian Women in Leadership,
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Women's policies are generally defined as far-reaching policies with the aim of gender equality to improve women's social participation, education, and welfare (Kim, 2005a; Lee & Kim, 2012; Won, 2007). In Korea, the term "women's policy" was officially utilized for the first time when the Women Policy Deliberation Committee was established in 1983 under the Prime Minister's Office. Before then, the policy terminology was referred to as women's administration or women's welfare, which only targeted marginalized women (e.g., single mothers, a fatherless family, or prostitutes) (Lee & Kim, 2012). Later, the enactment of the Women's Development Act in 1995 became a landmark for women's policies because it provided a legal basis with which to carry out comprehensive women's policies with an emphasis on active governmental roles (Kim, 2011).

Regarding the classification of periods of women's policy development in Korea, scholars have proposed various guidelines from their own perspectives including factors related to democratization, international treaties related to women, and before and after the establishment of women's policy organizations. There are no clear-cut boundaries for the classification, but the leading viewpoint shared by a number of scholars (Kim, 2000; Won, 2007) is based on the level of governmental action for women's policies including: preparation (the early 1980s), integration (the late 1980s to the early 1990s), and settlement (the early 1990s to the 2000s). Over the past decades, the government has played a critical role in enacting and revising the laws and policies related to women, and expanding the administrative organizations to implement them. However, not all women's policies that emerged have been consistently maintained. Rather, a shift in government policy in accordance with presidential terms has considerably impacted the implementation and support of women's policies (Lee & Kim, 2012).

With this background knowledge and through a chronological analysis, we reviewed the stream of women's policies and legislation in accordance with presidential terms since the 1990s. First, through the classification by presidential terms, we see how the national vision on women's policies has been developed and changed by each president. The body of women-related law enforcement and enactment of the law are closely interrelated, which is an important parameter for examining the history and development of women's policies (Kim, 2000). Regarding the selection of the period of time, it is generally accepted that several plans for women's policies and implementation of legislation have been enacted since the 1990s (Won, 2007). Thus, understanding women's policies and legislation from the 1990s to the present will lay a foundation for reflecting on the past women's policies and map out the future of these policies.

To achieve these goals, we provide an overview of policies and legislation for women before the 1990s, present presidential policies and legislation for women after the 1990s, from the fourteenth president, Kim Young-sam, to the seventeenth president, Lee Myung-bak, and discuss implications for women's policies in the future.

Women's Policies Before the 1990s

Since the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948, women-related issues had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs because those issues were considered socio-cultural areas (Kim, 2000). Until the 1960s, women's policies had been largely focused on establishing social and welfare facilities to support women and children requiring protection (e.g., orphans, prostitutes, and war widows) (Kim, 2000, 2011). Also, in the family area, women's positions were considerably inferior to men's, which was clearly revealed in family law. Family law that had been enacted in 1960 contained several men-centered provisions for marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Especially, *Hojuje* in family law, the patrilineal family registration system requiring a male, even a baby boy, to be the head of a household, had been criticized by many women's groups (Park, 1993). The revision of the *Hojuje* had been a long-cherished desire of women's movements until its abolition in Roh's administration in 2005 (Kim, 2011).

In the 1960s, the military dictatorship led by Park Chung-hee pursued a strong national vision for economic development. With a national goal of advanced industrialization, the regime encouraged women's self-support and economic participation and actively utilized a low-skilled young female workforce in the manufacturing industry (Won, 2007). As a result, the employment rate of women between 1963 and 1989 rapidly rose from 28% to 47% (Park, 1993). However, as the increase in the female workforce was achieved as a national development strategy, gender discrimination practices in the workplace in employment, promotion, and income disparity were never addressed in women's policies. Another characteristic of the female workforce before the 1980s was that more than 70% of the total number of women employees comprised unmarried young women (14 years of age or older). The age-specific composition in the female workforce allowed the government to disregard considering policies for married women or women with children, such as maternity protection (Park, 1993; Won, 2007).

In the 1980s, the improvement of women's education brought in an increasing number of married female employees, which changed these women's presence in the labor market (Won, 2007). During this time, the international political environment promoted the development of women's policies. For example, the government established the Women's Policy Deliberation Committee in 1983 to prepare for the United Nations' Third World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985 that would be approved by international treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Won, 2007). Furthermore, the Committee ratified the Master Plan for Women's Development and the Guidelines for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 1985 (Paik, 2003). Particularly, the Master Plan proposed several detailed tasks, including maternity leave, after-school programs, and the suggestion of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law. Yet, the proposals were far ahead of the development of women's policies in the 1980s, as those policies were not actually implemented (Won, 2007). Nevertheless, women's policies in the 1980s were meaningful in that the concept was expanded to services for the welfare of women in general and that organizations for women's policies were established for the first time.

Presidential Policies and Legislation for Women After the 1990s

Since the 1990s, based on the outcomes of women's policies in the 1980s, a variety of policies and legislation addressing the social needs of women (e.g., labor, welfare, family, human rights) and gender equity have been enacted. This section presents an overview of the development of women's policies in accordance with presidencies after the 1990s, from Kim Young-sam in the 1990s to Lee Myung-bak in the 2000s.

President Kim Young-Sam

Kim Young-Sam's government (1993–1998) created an agenda of women's policies by establishing several legislative organizations and expanding research institutes for women (Cho, 2013). Representative examples include the creation of the Secretary to the President for Political Affairs of Women in the Office of the President, and the Special Women's Affairs Committee in the National Assembly in 1994 (Kim, 2002). The most authoritative organization in charge of women's policies was the Second

Office of the Ministry of State for Political Affairs (Kim, 2006). Although this office was originally set up in 1985 to take care of a variety of issues for women, children, youth, seniors, and culture, its roles were gradually changed to be more responsible for women's policies in the 1990s. In this sense, this organization is considered a precursor to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (Won, 2006).

After the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, the global concept of *gender mainstreaming*, which emphasized the reflection of gender perspectives in the policy-making and budgetary processes for gender equality, spread widely throughout the world, including South Korea (Kim, Yoon, & Choi, 2008). With acceptance of this global trend, the government launched the Globalization Committee and presented ten major projects to promote women's social participation (Bae, 2016). Among them, the biggest governmental achievement was to enact the Women's Development Act in 1995, called the Constitution of Women's Policies in Korea (Lee, 2015). The Act provided a critical institutional foundation for the systematic improvement of women's status, making the government plan, implement, and review women's policies on a five-year basis (Kim, 2011). Based on the Act, the First Basic Plan for Women's Policies (1998–2002), with the goals of the promotion of gender equality, women's social participation, and women's welfare, was established in 1997 (Kim, 2005b). The detailed projects contained revision of the Family Law and Mother and Fatherless Child Welfare Act and activation of the utilization of the female workforce. It was meaningful that the projects introduced in the Master Plan for Women's Development in 1985, which were not substantially implemented at that time, were reattempted through the First Basic Plan for Women's Policies (Won, 2006).

Further, the Kim government proposed four strategies to clarify women's labor policies: employment equity, maternity protection and childcare support, the expansion of women's employment, and the promotion of international cooperation to meet global standards on women's issues, such as employment inequity and maternity protection (Kim, 1994). Specific proposals to achieve these strategies included flexible working hours, the expansion of nurseries, maternity protection, and parental support (Kim, 1994). However, the implementation of the proposals was not made during Kim's presidency (Kim, 2006).

Another notable first was the adoption of the gender quota system to expand the number of women officials in the public sector. In 1994, 56 women's organizations formed the Solidarity for the Introduction of a Gender Quota System to increase women's political representatives, with

the request that 30% of the candidates for the National Assembly and the local council elections should be women. While the request was not accepted by the National Assembly election, proportional representation on local councils was implemented in 1995. As a result of the continued interest of women's organizations in the system, the Employment Quota System for Women Public Officials was also introduced in 1996 (Yang et al., 2012).

The Kim administration had made great progress in women's policies in the interaction with international and domestic environments. Kwon (2011) emphasized that the successful outcomes were more based on the crucial role of active women's movements than on the conservative Kim government. Also, it seems clear that the combination of international and domestic driving forces led to the advancement in women's policies and legislation during this period. Table 5.1 presents major outcomes of women's policies during the Kim administration.

Table 5.1 Outcomes of women's policies during the Kim Young-Sam Administration (1993–1998)

Major outcome	*Details*
Establishment of the administrative organization for women	• Creation of the Secretary to the President for Political Affairs of Women in the Office of the Presidential Secretary • Establishment of the Special Women Affairs Committee in the National Assembly (1994) • The functional change giving the Second Office of the Minister of State for Political Affairs full charge of women's policies
Enactment of legislation for women's policies with the concept of *gender mainstreaming*	• Enactment of the Women's Development Act (1995) • Establishment of the First Basic Plan for Women's Policies (1998–2002) (1997)
Improvement of maternity protection and the childcare system	• Establishment of monthly paid leave for prenatal diagnosis • Extension of the maternity leave period to 12 weeks • Utilization of paternity leave within 7 days • Expansion of nursery facilities
Adoption of a gender quota system for the increase of female public officials in public sectors	• The gender quota system for proportional representation of the local council (1995) • The Employment Quota System for Women public officials (1996)

President Kim Dae-Jung

President Kim Dae-Jung (1998–2003) established and developed the legal system and policies for gender equality based on the concept of *gender mainstreaming* (Yoon & Shin, 2013). He took office in the midst of an economic crisis, known as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) crisis in 1997. To overcome the national financial crisis, flexible policies to overcome the problem within the labor market were accelerated. In the restructuring process, many female employees became the primary victims of lay-offs in the same way as applied to male breadwinners, so the number of casual female employees increased (Kim, 2006). Given the poor working conditions of female employees and women's active movements for women's rights, Kim's administration vigorously attempted to find solutions by establishing women's administrative organizations with strong authority.

First, President Kim abolished the Second Office of the Ministry of State for Political Affairs and created the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs in 1998. The Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs became the first representative administrative agency managing women's policies (Kim, 2006). The Commission tried to make women's policies as a key area of national policies. It also made an effort to break the social perception of women being victimized in existing women's policies (Kim, 2005a). In order to complement the execution of the Commission, Kim's administration also established women's policy offices in each of six ministries.

Due to the needs of a more specialized administrative organization to coordinate women's policies and prevent gender discrimination, the Presidential Commission was upgraded to the Ministry of Gender Equality in 2001 (Oh, 2004). The primary goal of the Ministry was to build a democratic nation based on gender equality and the concept of gender mainstreaming was adopted as a strategy through which to achieve this goal. In pursuing the strategy of gender mainstreaming, women's competency development and the promotion of women's social participation were emphasized (Korean Women's Development Institute, 2010).

The First Basic Plan for Women's Policies, which was created by the former administration, was reorganized and implemented in earnest. The Plan contained six strategies: reforming laws and institutions to increase women's representation, promoting women's employment, building an educational system for women's competency development, expanding a variety of welfare systems for women, establishing a foundation to facilitate women's social and cultural activities, and strengthening women's roles in the unification of Korea and international society (Korean Women's

Development Institute, 2010; Song, 2003). Based on the common ground of women's role expansion in a changing society, the Plan emphasized both genders' active social participation and responsibilities (Cho, 2013).

During Kim's administration, a variety of women-related welfare laws were revised, ratified, and implemented. For example, in 1999, the third amendment of the Act on the Equal Employment for Both Sexes was accomplished (Yang et al., 2012). The amendment included provisions for the prohibition of indirect discrimination, meaning a disparate impact on certain people who have particular attributes (e.g., a requirement that all managers work full-time, disadvantaging women) and workplace sexual harassment (Kim, 2006). Due to the enforcement of the Maternity Protection Act, the duration of maternity leave was extended from 60 days to 90 days (Kim, 2006). In addition, a revision in maternity leave was made to allow paternity leave following the birth of a child (Government Information Agency, 2003).

In the political arena, the administration revised the Political Party Law and made a provision that more than 30% of candidates nominated should be female, called *proportional representation*, in the election of the National Assembly in 2002 (Government Information Agency, 2003). Despite this affirmative action, only 5.9% of those elected to the Assembly were women (Oh, 2004). The major outcomes of women's policies in the administration are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Outcomes of women's policies during the Kim Dae-Jung Administration (1998–2003)

Major performance	*Details*
Establishment of administrative organizations for women	• Foundation of the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs (1998) • Establishment of the Ministry of Gender Equality (2001)
Institutional support to eradicate gender discrimination in the labor market	• Enactment of the Act on the Prohibition and Remedy for Sexual Discrimination (1999) • The third amendment of the Act on the Equal Employment for Both Sexes (1999) • Amendment of the Labor Standards Act and the Employment Insurance Act (2001)
Enhancement of maternity protection and parental support	• Extension of maternity leave from 60 to 90 days • The increase in the childbirth grant from 200,000 won to 300,000 won • Expansion of childcare leave to include both females and males
Enforcement of the gender quota system for women's social participation	• Adoption of proportional representation (30%) for female candidates in the election of members for the National Assembly (2002)

President Roh Moo-Hyun

The Roh Moo-Hyun administration (2003–2008) gave more active attention to gender equality policies than any previous regimes. During this period, women's policies made significant progress in several areas. The first accomplishment was the abolition of the *Hojuje*. The *Hojuje* had been a long-standing patriarchal family headship system following its adoption during the Japanese colonial period. Due to the inherent unequal family status of women, many feminists had consistently demanded the abolition of the system since the 1950s (Lee, 2012). As this practice had been rooted in the family tradition for over half a century, past administrations could not easily act to abolish it. However, the abolition of the *Hojuje* was one of Roh's campaign pledges in the presidential election. After taking office, President Roh promoted this issue as a major national task (Kim, 2008). As a result of the strong support of Roh's administration and the efforts of woman activists, eventually the *Hojuje* disappeared into history in March 2005, subsequently being replaced with the Family Relation Register in 2008 (Kim, 2011).

Another noteworthy achievement of the Roh administration was the expansion of the scope of the Ministry of Gender Equality. In June 2005, the Ministry of Gender Equality was renamed the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, and its functions were reorganized and expanded. The new Ministry took charge of overall women's policies as well as family-related policies, including healthy family services to improve the quality of family life (i.e., general services for multicultural families, single-parent families, dual-income families) (Ahn, 2015). In line with the interest of Roh's administration in women's empowerment, of the 19 ministers Roh appointed to his Cabinet four ministers (Justice Minister, Environment Minister, Health-Welfare Minister, and Gender Equality Minister) were female, which was the largest appointment of female ministers in Korean history (Cheongwadae, 2016). To increase female representation, the government also adopted the institution of nominating female candidates to a proportional representation of more than 50%. Due to active governmental support, 14.4% of elected parliamentarians were women during Roh's presidency (Kwon, 2011).

Since the early 2000s, with the global trend of the feminization of migration, as international marriage migration between foreign women from developing countries and men from developed countries in Asia has rapidly increased, this has emerged as a critical social phenomenon in Korea. Responding to this issue, the administration implemented the Multicultural Families Support Act in 2008 to acknowledge the legal

Table 5.3 Outcomes of the Second Master Plan for Women's Policies (2003–2008)

Main outcome	*Detailed content*
Institutionalization of a gender mainstreaming strategy	• Introduction of a gender impact assessment system (2002) • Introduction of a gender sensitive budget (2006)
Promotion of institutional support to increase female politicians	• Introduction of Gender Equal Employment (2003–07) • Nomination of women candidates to a proportional representation of more than 50%
Improvement of parental leave for work–life balance	• Expansion of maternity leave to 90 days, expansion of paid leave for both antenatal and postnatal support, and employment protection leave for a miscarriage or stillbirth (2005)
Expansion of child care services	• Increase of childcare budget: from 209 billion won (2002) to 1043 billion won (2007) • Adoption of evaluations for quality of childcare centers
Eradication of violence and protection of human rights	• Establishment of ONE-STOP service centers for battered women (14 places in 2007) • The decrease of places of prostitution (from 1679 places in 2004 to 992 places in 2007)

status of immigrant brides and to support multicultural families. This Act contributed to solving various difficulties experienced by the new immigrant population including social and cultural adaptation, language, domestic violence, and unstable family relationships.

The implementation of women's policies in Roh's administration was largely achieved based on the Second Basic Plan for Women's Policies (2003–2007). The Second Master Plan for Women's Policies included ten policy issues to improve women's competitiveness, gender equality, and the protection of women's rights (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2013). Overall, Roh's administration was a responsive government that understood the contemporary issues of women and reacted accordingly to solve the problems. In this sense, the government made great contributions to establishing a substantial and institutional foundation for gender equality (Ministry of Gender Equality, 2008). Table 5.3 presents the main outcomes of the Second Master Plan (Ministry of Gender Equality, 2008).

President Lee Myung-Bak

The Lee Myung-Bak administration (2008–2013) was a conservative government that came to power after ten years of democratic administrations. During the Lee administration, women's policies were on the wane

compared with the previous administrations of Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Moo-Hyun. President Lee's biggest interest in policies was economic revitalization (Kim, 2011). Accordingly, women's policies related to the economy received the most attention. Since the inauguration of the Lee administration, the absence of gender perspectives on several policies and passive attitudes toward women's policies had been the topics of debate (Park, 2012).

The attitude of the Lee administration toward women's policies was shown by the governmental action of downsizing the Ministry of Gender Equality. In its first year, the administration attempted to abolish the Ministry of Gender Equality. However, when faced with a strong push-back from feminists and assemblywomen, the government made a choice to downsize the Ministry instead of abolishing it. A 50% reduction in workforce and a 95% cut of the Ministry of Gender Equality's budget were put in place. The childcare budget, which was an indispensable resource for work–family balance, was reduced from 21.1 billion won in 2007 to 9.4 billion won in 2010, and the budget of 68.3 billion won to establish afterschool care programs was totally eliminated. The original tasks related to family and childcare were transferred to the Ministry of Health and Welfare (Kim, 2008). Consequently, the Ministry of Gender Equality became the smallest department among the government ministries.

According to Kim's (2012) analysis of women-related policies during Lee's presidency, gender equality issues dwindled, but the areas of women's economic activities and their competencies were emphasized. Despite these dual perspectives on women's policies, the most impressive outcome was that this administration actively developed labor policies for career-interrupted women to utilize a female workforce to prepare for an aged society. Korea is the country with the most rapidly growing aging population among the OECD nations; the aging population was 13.1% in 2015 and is anticipated to be 20% in 2025 (Kwon, 2012). In addition, the administration implemented the Third Basic Plan for Women's Policies (2008–2012), which included 15 major policy issues for the actualization of gender equality. Table 5.4 shows the major outcomes of the Plan (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2013).

Lee's administration paid much attention to enhancing the infrastructure for women's employment with an emphasis on economic revitalization. Despite governmental efforts, no meaningful changes occurred in the rate of female employment, which was 53.2% in 2007 and 53.5% in 2012 (Statistics Korea, 2016). Also, work–life balance policies did not have a significant impact on increasing women's economic participation because the government did

Table 5.4 Outcomes of the Third Basic Plan for Women's Policies (2008–2013)

Main outcome	*Detailed content*
Establishment of employment support system for career-interrupted women	• Operation of the Center for Women's Reemployment (110 places, 2012)
Institutional support for work–life balance for both genders	• Expansion of spouse parental leave (2008) • The implementation of a reduced working hour schedule during an infant care period • Introduction of a claim scheme for family care leave (2008) and its mandatory implementation (2012)
System improvement for the prevention of violence against women and children and strengthening support for victims of violence	• Introduction of a system for chemical castration (2011) • Comprehensive plans for women and child protection (2008) • Establishment and implementation of a child sexual abuse prevention plan (2009)
Introduction and expansion of specialized services for women and families	• Expanded support for single-parent families • Establishment and expansion of the Multicultural Family Support Center from 80 places (2008) to 204 places (2012)
The increase of women's representation in the public sectors	• Increase in the proportion of female politicians: 13.7% (2008) to 15.7% (2012)

not consider the gendered division of labor when planning and implementing the work–life balance policies such as equal parenting roles and sharing household chores (Yoon & Shin, 2013). Consequently, women's policies, without a gender perspective in the Lee administration, were evaluated by many women activists as outdated and reactionary (Park, 2012).

Discussion

Korean women's social status has greatly improved since the 1960s in terms of politics, economics, education, welfare, and women's rights (Kim, 2011). Underlying the gradual development of women's policies were the governmental endeavors to promote gender equality, including the establishment of administrative organizations for women and the enactment or revision of numerous laws and legal provisions (Yoon & Shin, 2013). Women's policies in the government can largely be classified into five areas: the establishment of welfare systems and facilities for marginalized women; improvement of gender equality in employment; eradication of violence and protection of human rights; support of various forms of families (e.g., multicultural families, single-parent

families); and promotion of work–life balance. Perspectives for these women's policies and agendas have changed with each administration's national vision and political views, and the perceived urgent needs of the nation.

The governments before the 1980s were not interested in the difficulties that the strong traditional gender divide. Therefore, the target for women's policies was limited to underprivileged women to protect their minimum quality of life from paternalistic restrictions. Women's resources were strategically utilized as a primary means to fulfill the national vision of economic development. After the late 1980s, there were several domestic driving forces (e.g., women's movements and the improvement of women's education) and international political developments (e.g., the fulfillment of international treaties) that promoted the development of women's policies. Since then, the view of women's policies has expanded to serve the general welfare of women.

In the 1990s, the government began to establish women's organizations with substantial power to enhance women's rights in public and private areas. Since this period, major women's issues have become part of the national agenda (Kim, 2008). In the 2000s, a rapid increase in the number of international marriages spurred the government to begin including immigrant women and their families in women's policies. Additionally, facing low fertility and an aging population, the government has paid attention to the utilization of female workforces, which was strongly connected to creating women-friendly policies.

As a result of the governmental efforts to establish institutional mechanisms for gender equality, various tangible outcomes have been produced. In the process of planning, implementing, and reviewing women's policies, the Women's Development Act enacted in 1995 and the Basic Plan for Women's Policies following have played a critical role. The most prominent result was the increase of women officials in public sectors in response to affirmative action, such as the proportional representation system (Yoon & Shin, 2013). This is evidenced by the increased rate of Assembly women from 3% in 1996 to 15.7% in 2012 (Cho, 2013). Also, as of 2015, the proportion of female public officers of the fourth grade or above exceeded 10% for the first time (Kim, 2015). There is no longer a gender gap in educational attainment; instead, the number of women students entering college exceeded the number of male students in 2008 (Kim, 2011).

Another crucial point to note in the history of women's policies concerns the roles of women. Since the 1970s, Korean women activists have

consistently demanded new roles for women in the changing society, while becoming actively involved in the decision-making process and drafting legislation for women (Song, 2003). Therefore, the improvement of women's lives was one of the achievements of women's movements. Furthermore, it means that this improvement has been accomplished in a cooperative process between the government and women. In other words, the changes in women's lives might not have been achieved without the cooperation of stakeholders.

Despite the advancement of women's lives, Korea still has challenges with regard to women's issues. According to the 2015 *Global Gender Gap Index*—which measures the gender gap in political, economic, educational, and health areas—Korea was ranked 115th of 145 countries (World Economic Forum, 2015). The main cause for this was attributed to the low social and economic participation of Korean women and the low representation of women leaders. The total number of women public officials has increased immensely, but the rate of high-ranking female public officials is still low. The proportion of female executives in the business sectors (2.3%) is even worse than that in the public sector (Son, 2016). The high rate of women who have experienced a career break due to marriage, childbirth, and childcare is another roadblock to better results. Traditional gender role expectations and the failure to support working women have prevented them from continuing to work (Kim, 2011).

The solutions to these problems must be actively considered in women's policies and legislation with more detailed strategies being provided. Particularly, the government should consistently conceive of and implement substantial policies to change traditional organizational and family cultures. To that end, it is important to expand women-friendly policies (e.g., maternity and parental leave, flexible workplace arrangements) and enhance the execution of the policies by providing organizations with incentives or penalties. Additionally, a campaign of programs for equal parenting roles and household chores should be promoted to change people's traditional perceptions.

Conclusion

Women's policies and legislation have been developed to move Korea towards a gender-equal society. Although women's policies were often aligned with national interests or strategies in the past, institutional support for gender equality has taken a major step forward for women's social status.

We also confirmed that tangible results were the fruit of collaborative work among several stakeholders. Yet, in order to solve the remaining women's issues, the roles of the major stakeholders—the government as a practical operator and fair decision-maker, and women who direct women's policies, monitor the process, and review the outcomes—should be constantly encouraged.

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Dr. Hyoun Ju Kang is a research professor at the Research Institute for HRD Policy at Korea University, Seoul. Her leading research interests are career development, lifelong education, immigration, gender, diversity, culture, and social justice. After earning a Master's degree, she conducted research on Asian women's human resources and empowerment at the HRD Center for Women. She served as an assistant editor of *Journal of Asian Women* at the Research Institute of Asian Women at Sookmyung Women's University, Seoul. She has published several journal articles related to immigrant women's career development and employees' work–life balance. Her research awards include the 2014 Best Paper Award from the Korean Academy of Human Resource Development in Americas and the Cutting Edge Award at the 2016 AHRD conference. She received her doctoral degree in HRD from Texas A&M University, College Station.

Hong In Jeong is a research professor at the Research Institute for HRD Policy at Korea University, Seoul. She received her doctoral degree in Adult Continuing Education from Korea University. She served as an assistant editor for *Asian Women* at the Research Institute of Asian Women in Seoul. As a policy researcher at the Gangnam-gu District Women Development Center, Seoul, she has completed several projects on women's career interruptions. She has published several journal articles on informal learning, organizational performance, and needs analysis. Her research interests include middle-aged class, aging, low birth rate, and employability.

Heewon Ko is a researcher at the Korea Employment Information Service, South Korea. She is currently engaged in the projects related to the support and the assessment of employment services. She has also participated in international education development and cooperation programs at the Gyonggi-do Province Institute for Lifelong Learning. She received her mater's degree in lifelong learning at Korea University. Her Master's thesis concerns the philosophy of adult education for lifelong learning practitioners. Her research interests include lifelong learning, vocational education, employment services, and female employment.

CHAPTER 6

Educational Opportunities for Developing Korean Women Leaders

Sooyoung Kim and Eun-Jee Kim

The 2016 *Global Gender Gap Report* by the World Economic Forum ranked South Korea 20th of 24 countries in the Asia-Pacific region in terms of having the largest gender gap when comparing the status of women with their men counterparts. The number of women managers remains low, as women executives account for less than 2% in the top 30 largest companies with 300 subsidiaries in Korea (Statistics Korea, 2016). Despite Korea's strong economy and the high levels of education available for women, Korean women, when compared with many South and Southeast Asian countries, hold the lowest proportion of corporate and political leadership positions (McKinsey & Company, 2012). These statistics are alarming, given that Korea is near the top in terms of having high levels of education for women, particularly in higher education. Although the number of women students entering higher education has continuously increased, the number of women found in leadership positions across all types of organizations, including the proportion of women faculty in higher education, is still surprisingly low.

S. Kim
Seoul Women's University, Seoul, South Korea

E.-J. Kim (✉)
Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), Daejeon, South Korea

Y. Cho, G.N. McLean (eds.), *Korean Women in Leadership*,
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In this context, there is growing attention to the development of women leaders as the women workforce has played a critical role in Korea's remarkable economic growth, and the quality of the women workforce has increased over recent decades (Kim & Rowley, 2009; Oh, 2006). However, studies dealing with Korean women in leadership have been limited. Only a handful of studies is available on women's employment rates, the gender divide in occupations, and the deficiency of leadership in labor markets from social, statistical, and feminist perspectives (Jin & Lee, 2011; Ju, 2010; Kang & Rowley, 2005). The emerging line of scholarship indicates that women leadership practices are substantially lacking, and policies for leadership development are minimal (Ahn, 2014; Oh, 2006).

Given the paucity of research on women's leadership and leadership development in Korea, an examination of current educational opportunities and support systems available for improving opportunities for future women leaders is necessary. Specifically, it is critical to review the status of the educational context for the future women workforce, including school-based and additional educational channels for cultivating women leaders. Considering that the early adult period during the years of college is a critical time for developing skills and competencies for leadership (Arnett, 2000), this chapter focuses on educational opportunities and channels available to college students and graduates, among other levels of education that ultimately support higher education, such as elementary through high schools.

In this chapter, we also introduce educational opportunities provided in the curricular and extra-curricular activities of higher education for future women leaders. We discuss educational opportunities that go beyond school boundaries, such as regional, occupational, and community-based programs. We provide insights into developing highly qualified women leaders to bring change in the Korean workplace and bring change in the direction of future research. Highlighting current practices, cases of higher education opportunities, and channels for leadership development and advancement of women leaders can help provide an understanding of this role in Korea. For Korean organizations to improve in the identification and increasing of women's participation in leadership positions, this chapter also sheds light on the role of education in fostering women's leadership and transforming Korean society.

Girls' Opportunities in Elementary and Secondary Education

Educational opportunities for women have expanded since provisions for girls' education were included in the Korean Constitution of 1948. According to gender statistics in 2016, 98% of elementary school aged-girls were enrolled in elementary school, 94.3% of middle school aged-girls in middle school, and 94.0% of high school aged-girls in high school (Korean Educational Statistics, 2016). Not only has Korea's educational system expanded remarkably over the past few decades, it has also provided equal opportunities to both genders in the elementary and secondary school curricula, building the foundation for gender equality in education (Jung & Chung, 2005).

In 1998, the Korean government's endeavors to reform educational curricula began providing girls with environments conducive to gender equality in education (Jung & Chung, 2005). Before the reformation, gender differences in the curricula were present in secondary schools. For instance, boys in secondary schools took subjects such as technology and industry, while girls took subjects such as home economics and cooking; since the fifth reform of the curriculum in secondary education, these subjects have been integrated to become technology and home economics, which is studied by all middle schoolers regardless of gender since 1991.

In spite of gender equality incorporated into education in 1991, gender gaps still exist in academic performance. Girls generally outperform boys in social sciences and language arts, and boys generally outperform girls in mathematics (Salmon, 2015). It is crucial to have an understanding of the causes of these differences, especially from a young age, as they may lead to gender differences in course selections, career choices, and labor market outcomes later in life (Lavy & Sand, 2015).

In terms of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), girls' participation is comparable to that of boys. However, in Korea, girls show a lower level of performance in mathematics and science compared with their male counterparts (Park, 2007; Salmon, 2015). Gender differences, especially in the STEM fields of study, start as young as the age of 15. In Korea, due to the gender gap in student performance at the secondary education level, women tend to be under-represented in the STEM fields of study in higher education and in the labor market (Salmon, 2015).

The traditional Confucian perspective that views women as lesser in value, in combination with other cultural factors, may contribute to Korea's STEM gender gap (Salmon, 2015). In addition, the gender gap in

STEM fields of study could be due to girls' anxiety during mathematics tests. According to Stoet, Bailey, Moore, and Geary (2016), South Korea had a higher gender difference in mathematics scores than other countries, with girls aged 15 scoring significantly lower on mathematics tests than their counterparts, and they experienced more anxiety concerning mathematics. Furthermore, stereotypes of gender roles included in curriculum materials and teachers' attitudes that differ towards girls compared with boys, as well as stereotypical views shown in the media, have kept girls from pursuing STEM fields of study. These factors also influence their career choices (Kim, Ahn, & Lee, 2016; Lim & Meer, 2017; Salmon, 2015).

To bridge the gender gap in academic performance in STEM fields that may enable women to have high merit in the labor market, organizations—such as the Women's Academy for Technology Change in the 21st Century (WATCH21)—promote the natural sciences and engineering to high school students (Marginson, Tytler, Freeman, & Roberts, 2013). It is important for girls to see themselves as the equals of boys, as they develop their identity during the elementary and secondary school years. For practical gender equality education, learning and teaching materials should be monitored to ensure that they do not endorse any stereotypical views regarding the roles of girls and boys, or men and women. In addition, teacher training programs should be offered to prevent teachers from having biased beliefs and exhibiting stereotypical behaviors throughout the school years. They also need to provide mentoring for gender responsive career counseling for both genders, but especially for girls (Salmon, 2015).

Women's Opportunities in Higher Education

This section briefly reviews the changes in women's educational opportunities in higher education. In 2016, 69.6% of college-aged women were enrolled, with 81.7% of the young women in secondary education continuing on to university (Korean Educational Statistics, 2016), demonstrating how higher education has become the norm. Examining the expansion rates of institutions in each type of higher education reveals that the number of students in two-year junior colleges and four-year colleges or universities increased much more than any other levels of education between 1945 and 2005 (Oh, 2006). There appears to be a clear trend of women attaining higher education in Korea in the twenty-first century. However, considering the number of women students in higher education today, there is a serious under-representation

of women college graduates in the labor market in general, let alone in leadership positions.

A study by Shin, Ma, and Yoo (2016) on college women's competencies and participation in the workplace reported that the major problem in the development of the women's workforce was women's low participation in the labor market, especially the under-representation of highly educated women in leadership positions. Shin (2010) examined panel data of university graduates and found that, among the possible gender difficulties the graduates experienced in the job market, women were more likely than men to report challenges in interpersonal relationships within their organization. Furthermore, scholars have noted that there is a persistent gender difference in the choices of university major and career development efforts. While natural sciences, engineering, and medicine have been traditionally considered to be men's fields of study, the humanities, arts, and teacher education programs have been considered fields of study for women (Oh, 2011). However, an analysis of women's work abilities in the disciplines of science and technology demonstrated that, on average, women exhibited higher levels of professional competency than men, but lower levels of interpersonal and physical competency (Moon, Park, Shin, Yi, & Kim, 2013).

In an analysis of students' confidence in their competencies (Min, Huh, & Kim, 2002), women students exhibited significantly lower confidence in leadership, creativity, ability to begin and carry out a project, problem solving, IT, and foreign languages. Jin and Lee (2011) also reiterated earlier research that women were found to be lacking in political and networking ability, mentorship skills, and leadership (Kim & Kim, 2000; Won, 2006).

Taken together, these data and reviews suggest that there continues to be a significant gender difference in Korean higher education, such that women students are situated in a relatively disadvantaged position in relation to men. Furthermore, with regard to leadership, gender differences were found to be the product of various gender-based organizational and cultural factors, in addition to gender differences in higher education.

Considering that the participation of women in the labor market will play a key role in the current knowledge-based society and that students' core workplace competencies are usually developed during college years, developing the capacities of highly educated women will be a major factor in improving productivity and strengthening the competitiveness of the nation in the future. In this regard, this chapter examines current women's leadership development programs available in all levels of education, but particularly in higher education.

School-Based and Additional Educational Opportunities

In Korea, where patriarchal ideology and the influence of Confucianism persist (Patterson, Bae, & Lim, 2013), it is important to take into consideration the socio-cultural context when discussing leadership development for women. In most Korean organizations, where men-centric social culture dominates (Kim, 2011), less systematic efforts and fewer opportunities for the development of female leadership have been found, compared with men.

Given the paucity of research on women's leadership in Korea, we review and analyze existing leadership development programs available for women. In selecting programs, two axes of criteria were considered. First, women-only leadership training programs are essential for participants to develop both a stronger sense of self and beneficial relationships that are important to leadership effectiveness (Vinnicombe & Singh, 2003). Several women-only leadership development programs were chosen for review. Also, as college years are critical for identity development from adolescence to adulthood (Arnett, 2000; Waterman, 1982), leadership development curricula and programs provided by universities were considered for review in this chapter. Specifically, formal and informal educational opportunities for women leadership at major women's universities and professional communities were included.

School-Based Educational Opportunities

This section introduces leadership curricula/programs offered by higher education institutions, specifically those of three major women's universities in Korea: Seoul Women's University, Ewha Woman's University, and Sookmyung Women's University. All three universities hold a common university mission/vision of developing women leaders, but they differ in terms of the programs offered, with each tailored to the respective university's unique characteristics. The missions of the first two universities reflect the influence of Christianity, as both were founded by Christian churches. We introduce the regular/formal and extracurricular/informal programs offered by the three universities.

Seoul Women's University leadership program. The mission of Seoul Women's University (SWU) (Seoul Women's University, 2016) is to nurture women leaders to be equipped with global competencies and

expertise in their own fields, as well as developing virtues and Christian ethics. To meet this goal, for over 50 years the University has provided mandatory courses designed to develop and nurture the leadership competencies of all students since its foundation in 1961. The founder and the first president of SWU, Dr. Hwang-Gyung Koh, set the mission to raise women leaders who can contribute to creating a healthy community beyond egotistical success. To this end, Dr. Koh established her educational philosophy based on the belief of "thinking with integrity and acting accordingly" (Seoul Women's University, 2013, p. 13). Dr. Koh's pen name, *Bahrom,* is the Korean word for righteous or virtuous. Based on her belief, the University offered Bahrom Character Education. The Bahrom Character Education program was developed to find true self as a human being: finding me, you, and others in a community, which are key factors of leadership. This mandatory program is composed of three steps. For first-year students, Bahrom Character Education I, a self-identity focused program, encourages students to recognize who they are, what they value, and what vision they should have. For the second-year students, Bahrom Character Education II focuses on empathetic communication to help students listen to others with empathy and to express themselves honestly and clearly based on objective logic. This *living learning community-based character education*, Bahrom Character Education I and II put what students learn into practice in their daily lives while living and studying together at school. For the third-year students, a 15-week long Bahrom Character Education III course uses teams for project-based learning to encourage students to identify social problems, find solutions, and put them into action.

The University offers leadership curricula/programs in different formats, such as regular coursework according to students' majors, specialized projects, and extracurricular activities reflecting the mission and vision of the University. Elective courses, such as ethical leadership, are also offered. The University emphasizes ethics because ethical leaders are important in leading and creating a healthy community. There are major specialized programs as well. The Department of Human Services offers community leadership courses, including social welfare, educational psychology, and early childhood education majors. Specially developed leadership courses are provided for engineering and computer science majors, including the course Internet/cyber Ethics. Many other departments currently have, are, or will be developing and implementing leadership courses specialized for different majors.

The University develops different forms of extracurricular leadership programs/activities, such as world culture experience programs, leadership academy, leaders' club with character/virtues, leadership camps, lectures with well-known people, and mentoring systems. That is, the University provides opportunities for students to visit and experience different cultures of different countries, and to develop and nurture global competencies, ultimately to become global citizens and versatile global leaders. The Research Institute of Bahrom Character Education offers the Bahrom Character Leadership Academy during University recesses. They offer beginning and advanced level classes to develop women leaders who are equipped with character and virtues.

Ewha Woman's University leadership program. The mission of Ewha Woman's University (Ewha Woman's University, 2016) is to develop women leaders equipped with harmonizing competencies, professionalism, and individual uniqueness, as well as Christian virtues. The University offers liberal arts leadership courses and leadership center-led courses/programs. Under Ewha's educational spirit, the purpose of education there has been to modernize women's education based on the spirit of Christianity, to increase opportunities for women's education, to nourish female leaders, and create a harmonized society with equality in gender. Currently, Ewha takes the role of a women's community to contribute to a new human civilization in the twenty-first century, while continuing to cherish the traditions of the previous century. The University's Women Leadership Development Center and Hokma Liberal Arts (described more fully below) offer formal and regular leadership coursework and programs.

The Women Leadership Development Center was founded in 1997 as a subsidiary of the Graduate School of Policy Science to develop and nurture women to lead future society. Women's role in society has become more emphasized in the twenty-first century age of technology-intensive information. Combined with creativity, art, sensitivity, and intelligence, the development of women's leadership is directly connected with an increasingly competitive world. To that end, the Women Leadership Development Center operates two programs: introductory and advanced programs of women's leadership to develop women leaders who have international knowledge and, therefore, have the ability to lead the Internationalization Age by means of their familiarity with multimedia, information, and communication, thus fulfilling the University's educational spirit and goal. Introductory leadership programs include strengths-based self-development, entrepreneurship,

coaching and negotiating, strategic management, and global leadership (overseas training). The University's advanced leadership programs consist of government-commissioned civil servant training, corporate-commissioned employee training, and rural/civil society activist training.

Established in 2015, Hokma Liberal University is an institution specializing in future-oriented education in liberal arts studies offering opportunities to foster creative individuals with converging skills in the global context, outstanding professionals meeting the demands of society, and excellent communicators leading harmonious communities. Hokma is a Hebrew word meaning wisdom, intelligence, discernment, and knowledge. It is not limited to theoretical knowledge but goes beyond practical wisdom by embracing the aspirations of Ewha's liberal arts education. Students at Ewha Women's University can take liberal arts studies in five fields, as mandatory or elective courses, while developing core competences. Hokma nurtures outstanding individuals with the characteristics of harmony, wisdom, and competence.

Sookmyong Women's University leadership program. The mission of Sookmyung Women's University, and its brand (S Leadership), is to create and develop leaders to change the world and to open the door to the New Millennium (Sookmyung Women's University, 2016). The University offers different forms of leadership programs and activities, the leadership curricula/programs reflecting the mission/vision of the University. Sookmyung's slogan is, "Gentle Power to Change the World, Opening the Door to the New Millennium." Consequently, Sookmyung Women's University has been recognized as a specialized school for leadership programs by the Ministry of Education for four consecutive years, and has received financial aid from the government. The school plans to strengthen studies related to leadership and will hold more leadership workshops within Korea and overseas. S Leadership focuses on four virtues: Scholarship, Skill, Service, and Soundness.

There are student-led extracurricular activities in support of its S leadership brand, such as the Sookmyung Leadership Group, Sookmyung Student Ambassadors, Sookmyung Interpretation Volunteers, Sookmyung Telemarketing Volunteers, Sookmyung Knowledge Volunteers, and Sookmyung Environment Volunteers: Green Snow. A greater number of leadership group activities are available in addition to these (Sookmyung Women's University, 2016). The University offers 39 leadership groups for identifying and developing leaders (Park, 2013).

Additional Educational Opportunities

This section introduces two additional educational opportunities for women leadership development beyond school boundaries in Korea. We introduce leadership development programs that are not bound to specific organizations but, rather, to specific professional groups of women and future leaders in fields such as science, technology, and engineering, where the representation of women is still low compared with men. In addition, regional and community-based leadership development programs for marginalized groups of women officials and workers of city-invested associations and organizations were chosen for review. These two types of leadership development for women have not been included elsewhere in this book.

Two leadership development programs provided in the public services from the government and district area were reviewed in terms of objectives, target audience, and details of the curriculum. In particular, we reviewed formal and informal programs including leadership academies and mentoring networks provided by the Seoul Metropolitan Government (Seoul Foundation of Woman and Family, 2016) and the Center for Women in Science, Engineering, and Technology (WISET Academy, 2016).

Seoul Foundation of Woman and Family. The Seoul Foundation of Woman and Family envisions the city of Seoul to be a place where the human rights of men and women are equally respected, and where all women and their families enjoy greater happiness. This vision has been articulated since its launch in 2002 by the Seoul Metropolitan Government. It provides training programs, workshops, and seminars to improve the leadership skills and competency of women leaders in public offices, elected offices, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). By educating local leaders and community committee members and by empowering partners for the building of an equal society through women and family policy development and practices, the Seoul Foundation of Woman and Family strives to enhance the competitiveness of female leadership and the quality of life for women and families in Seoul.

The Seoul Foundation of Woman and Family offers diverse programs. The programs are tailored to women in the workforce who work in the non-profit/NGO sectors, where it is uncommon to find systemic training programs even though there is a great need for them. These programs include curricula that strengthen the competencies and skills of working women by broadening learning, providing greater understanding of others, and developing teamwork capabilities and communication skills. Further, the program supports participating women leaders to pursue self-development

based on improved self-understanding, to challenge their limitations, and to experience a self-initiated lifestyle.

WISET Academy (Center for Women in Science, Engineering, and Technology). The Center for Women in Science, Engineering, and Technology (WISET) was founded by the Korea Science and Engineering Foundation and follows Article 14, section 1, of the Act on Fostering and Supporting Women Scientists and Engineers, established in 2002. It envisions creating value and a future for women scientists and engineers to contribute to the growth of a science- and technology-based economy. As an increasing number of women in science, technology, and engineering face career discontinuity, providing them with sound solutions that can best utilize their knowledge and experience is an urgent necessity in Korea. In order to address this issue, the Ministry of Science, ICT, and Future Planning (MSIP), together with WISET, implemented supporting programs in 2012 to help women scientists and technologists resume economic activities, fully vitalize their talents, and expand female leadership in the field of science, engineering and technology (SET).

Exploration of majors in science and engineering for women students. The WISET Academy provides programs that inspire interest in science and engineering for female undergraduate and graduate students to induce them into entering the fields of science and engineering. It includes outreach laboratories and open laboratories with science-friendly activities to experience various scientific experiments, to explore various fields in science and engineering for female high school students who are able to visit these research labs, and to carry out hands-on research projects. As part of this program, a mentoring network has been established between the female students who are majoring in science and engineering and the female scientists and engineers who act as mentors.

Competency reinforcement of women students in SET. Another program has been designed to develop and enhance the competence of female engineering students by increasing gender awareness, enhancing their confidence in their respective majors, and adding to their adaptability their vision as future scientists. Along with these programs, WISET Academy supports expanding employment in science and engineering fields, and increasing job satisfaction through the provision of hands-on experiences, such as experiments, practices, and school-work connections through academic–industrial cooperation programs.

Academy for talented women scientists and engineers. Training programs designed to enhance leadership skills and competencies of women

scientists and engineers in academia-based industries are provided at three levels: jump leadership, power leadership, and high-level leadership. These programs foster talented women scientists and engineers in their early careers so that they may grow within organizations and academia. By providing training and consulting to reinforce professionalism and to strengthen leadership for rising and talented women scholars in science and engineering in the fields of industrial and academic research, WISET Academy helps female scientists and engineers to grow as leaders without experiencing career discontinuities. Career development programs tailored to each career stage in SET include lectures with the latest technological trends, knowledge sharing by experienced scientists, and career planning with experts in integrated science and technology.

For example, the jump leadership program is designed to improve problem-solving skills and includes coaching sessions for designing successful career plans early in women's careers. The power leadership program includes training sessions to develop the necessary communication skills, project management skills, and strategies to maintain a career and to advance into higher-ranking leadership positions for intermediary managers and senior researchers.

High-Level Leadership training is for senior-level women leaders in science and engineering. As its target audience includes women scientists and engineers at executive levels, heads of departments, and representatives of organizations, the training programs include value creation, envisioning, managing, and networking.

Mentoring network. To support women scientists and engineers and to expand their roles, the WISET Academy supports mentoring networks and one-on-one mentoring with a woman scientist or engineer through the WISET online mentoring website. Through online and offline mentoring training and workshops, WISET members and mentoring coordinators in regional agencies share mentoring know-how, and provide mentoring skill clinics and competency reinforcement training for mentors and mentees (visual mentoring, e-learning, training for counselors on academic advancement and career development). Since its beginning in 2011, the mentoring programs and networks have been expanded and are regarded as a successful vehicle for connecting potential women leaders in SET with senior women leaders in the field. It not only provides messages and tips for job search and career development on academic paths, but also channels through which to share information, such as cutting-edge trends, work experience, and tacit knowledge, provided by experienced scientists and engineers.

Challenges in Educational Opportunities for Leadership Development

Despite the increase in the number of leadership programs for women, women in leadership positions in the workplace are still in the stage of infancy (Jin & Lee, 2011; Statistics Korea, 2016).

Lack of Coordination in Programs

One challenge is that these two different areas of leadership programs—school-based and additional—are not well-connected. Reviewing several leadership development programs offered by additional services on a state or regional basis reveals a lack of coordinated strategies for leadership development at most institutions, and emphasizes the importance of designing solid leadership development programs coordinated through higher education (Moon et al., 2013). In other words, the school-based leadership programs tend to focus on employment and career planning, rather than on strategies regarding how to deal with employment in the workplace as future leaders. Although several programs that we reviewed here include such additional programs as mentorship and career development, in addition to the more traditional leadership programs, they do not seem to take into account the transfer of learning from the leadership programs.

Considering that internalizing a leader identity is critical in the process of becoming a leader (DeRue & Ashford, 2010; Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010), it is important to check whether participants of the leadership programs are able to internalize an identity as a leader. However, it would be difficult to identify and measure the internalization process. Survey items or interview protocols should be developed to measure internalization in the long term for these programs.

Differentiating a Niche

Another challenge is that the contents of the reviewed leadership programs for women are not that different from those of leadership programs in general. We need leadership programs that are different from current leadership programs and that focus on Korean women's characteristics and

points of strengths as female leaders. For example, empathy and social responsibility are generally considered to be emotional intelligence attributes specific to women, a key aspect of leadership effectiveness.

Enhancing women's leadership competencies with leadership programs in general is a challenge. Considering gender differences in core competencies, leadership programs for women should be developed tailored to Korean women's characteristics. As shown in the studies by Jin and Lee (2011) and Kim (2016), there are gender differences in core competencies. Women scored relatively higher than men in their communication skills and global competency, and relatively lower than men in their interpersonal skills, higher-order thinking, self-management, and processing and application of information, technology, and resources (Jin & Lee, 2011). Specifically, in terms of leadership as a sub-component of interpersonal skills, female students scored significantly lower than male students (Jin & Lee, 2011). To enhance leadership competencies for women utilizing their strengths—such as emotional empathy—colleges, universities, and organizations should pay attention to development of women's core competencies for future female leaders based on a thorough needs analysis of women's characteristics, including their strengths and weaknesses as leaders.

Finding and differentiating a niche in creating and developing a leadership model or program could be a challenge, given the lack of leadership development research and programs for women in Korea. However, there is a great need for the cultivation of female leaders from early educational levels, and for the raising of future leaders through integrative curricula and collaborative efforts from schools and additional education.

Recommendations for Research

Given that developing leaders has become critical for all organizations in all sectors, and that leadership development is a unique aspect of human resource development (HRD) (Callahan, Whitener, & Sandlin, 2007; Rosser, 2007), a better understanding of how Korean women leaders are nurtured, educated, and prepared as future leaders would be helpful.

First, from a national human resource development perspective, the development of a nationwide system to provide women's leadership models is an urgent requirement. The trajectory changes of leadership included in the curricula of elementary through to secondary schools should be thoughtfully designed and evaluated with longitudinal plans and perspectives, so that the internalizing process of becoming leaders can be observed,

evaluated, and better supported. More concrete and in-depth information needs to be gathered in order to identify leaders' behaviors and traits, and the educational opportunities and support they have had on their journey to becoming women leaders in Korea.

Second, empirical research needs to be conducted to compare the effectiveness of leadership programs in general and those tailored to women's strengths as leaders, such as empathy and communication, given that designing and developing leadership programs considering women's strengths is critical to enhancing women leadership competencies. In addition, it is important to investigate how leadership programs tailored to specific female characteristics, either strengths or weaknesses, influence leadership competencies. For instance, empathy-focused leadership programs may strengthen women's communication competency.

Third, both school-based and additional education offer leadership programs tailored to students and graduates of specific majors. Based on the literature review, women students of certain majors lack particular areas of competence (Kim, 2016). By examining how the students are developing their leadership competencies before and after the leadership programs, along with the effectiveness of the programs, the necessary competencies can be enhanced through the identification of relevant programs.

Implications for Practice

This review leads to several implications for practice. First, leadership programs that are both school-based and found in additional education provide opportunities for women to acquire core competencies as future leaders. However, we do not have a proper or well-developed transition system from school to work for women college graduates yet. To provide better support for female college students in their career development and to help them have a smoother and more successful transition from school to the labor market, it is necessary to have specifically designed women's leadership development centers for college students.

Second, there should be systematic planning to connect school-based and additional educational programs for future women leaders to have command of their leadership competencies in leadership positions in their career. The school-based leadership programs introduced in this chapter help future women leaders to equip themselves with the virtues and competencies they will need as leaders, while the leadership programs found in additional education focus on career related skills that women can

apply right away when they find themselves in leadership positions. More universities (and not just women's universities) and governmental agencies need to offer women leadership programs that will enhance leadership competencies and teach female students strategies with which to transfer learning from the programs to the workplace.

Third, there also is a great need to create more gender-focused college courses and programs, including career development and vocational preparation that reshape the contents and quality of leadership programs for women. It is a good sign to see that more programs have made efforts to design each curriculum from an integrative perspective of gender, equality, and leadership. Also, compared with school-based programs, additional educational programs are designed to serve more specific groups at different levels of leadership position. In particular, the programs provided by WISET Academy are tailored to each career stage in the fields of science, technology, and engineering, and cover a wider spectrum that includes female scientists who have experienced interrupted careers.

Finally, it is essential to facilitate systematic mentoring programs for future women leaders whereby inexperienced or less experienced mentees can learn from experienced senior mentors. As the grade level increases from elementary to secondary school, the number of female teachers decreases (Salmon, 2015), and these women teachers usually provide a role model for girls. Elementary and secondary schools should implement formal mentoring to match women teachers or women employed in STEM occupations with girl mentees. In addition, universities should have similar programs, using as mentors those who hold diverse leadership positions in the workplace, using the mentor's career related advice, encouragement, and role modeling. It is very useful for students to know that there is someone like them who has experienced the same career path and the challenges that come with it.

Conclusion

As reviewed in this chapter, educational opportunities for women are increasing and becoming more specialized. Finding women in leadership positions is still quite rare in Korea. Much improvement is still needed in terms of educational opportunities and the development of leadership programs. The programs should be tailored to the needs of specific groups of women. From a positive perspective, a number of educational opportunities are provided in various forms (school-based/additional, formal/informal),

and the content of leadership programs for women are improving in quality. Having women leaders with the right competencies is the key to individual and community success. Therefore, it is the collective responsibility of our society to continue to find and provide educational opportunities to help develop leadership competencies in women.

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Dr. Sooyoung Kim is an Assistant Professor of Education at Seoul Women's University. She is in charge of developing and teaching character education programs for women college students. Her research interests include character education, career adaptability, the mentoring of future woman leaders, motivation, meta-cognition, and social networking systems for education. She has served as a reviewer for several journals (e.g., *International Human Resource Management* and *Learner Centered Curriculum Studies*) and conference papers. She received her Ph.D. degree in HRD from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Dr. Eun-Jee Kim is a Research Assistant Professor at the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), Korea. Her research interests include leadership, employee engagement, and organizational culture and development. She has served as a consultant working with clients in government, non-profit organizations, and companies. She received her Ph.D. degree in HRD from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

PART IV

Sector Perspectives

CHAPTER 7

Women Leaders in the Corporate Sector

Yonjoo Cho, Jiwon Park, and Hye Young Park

South Korea (Korea, hereafter), whose success is based on human resources, men and women included, is one of the large economic powers in the world (Heo & Roehrig, 2014). However, the country's women leaders are still considered *tokens* (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977, 1993; Lewis & Simpson, 2012), because across Korean society only a small number of women have taken leadership positions. For instance, of 280 companies affiliated with the top 30 large corporations (called *chaebols*), only 76 companies (27.1%) had female executives; women make up only 1.83% (195) of the 10,647 executive positions (Park, 2015). As a result, Korea has one of the lowest rates of female representation in senior roles, boards, and executive committees, both in Asia (McKinsey & Company, 2012) and in the world (World Economic Forum, 2016).

Y. Cho (✉)
Department of Instructional Systems Technology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, USA

J. Park
The Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA, USA

H.Y. Park
Hyosung Corporation, Seoul, South Korea

Y. Cho, G.N. McLean (eds.), *Korean Women in Leadership*,
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Background

Why has Korea's remarkable economic success failed to translate into women's corresponding status in leadership positions? This driving question has led us to conduct research on women leaders in Korea (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) from the perspective of work–life balance, leadership development, career success, and cultural context. The objective of our research was to explore the lived experiences of women leaders in their own voices, and to identify the challenges and opportunities they face in an uncompromising workplace in which they experience organizational and cultural constraints. To that end, we conducted 75 semi-structured interviews with women leaders in the corporate sector (see Tables 7.1 and 7.2), and found differences in their narratives by position (team leaders and executive level managers) and marital status (married with children and single) in their work–life balance, leadership development, and career success.

As Table 7.1 indicates, we had two groups of women leaders, 33 managers (team leaders) and 42 executive level managers (managing directors, senior managing directors, executive vice-presidents, and CEOs). Women leaders in the corporate sector that we interviewed face difficulties in work–life balance, leadership development, and career success due to a gendered workplace in which frequent drinking and informal networking are encouraged for the purpose of team spirit.

Table 7.2 shows the marital status of the women leaders we interviewed, including 61 married women with children and 14 single women. We included a divorced woman with no children in the single women group because she "displayed more resemblances to single women" (Cho et al., 2016, p. 482).

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to review the literature on Korean women leaders in the corporate sector, to share the findings of our research on corporate women leaders in Korea, and to present insights

Table 7.1 Women leaders' positions included in interviews

Position	*Executive level managers*				*Managers (team leaders)*	*Total*
	CEOs	*Executive vice-presidents*	*Senior managing directors*	*Managing directors*		
Number	6	3	4	29	33	75

Table 7.2 The marital status of women leaders interviewed

Marital status	*Married with children*			*Single*		*Total*
	Still married	*Divorced*	*Widowed*	*Never married*	*Divorced (no children)*	
Number	59	1	1	13	1	75

into developing corporate women leaders and women in the leadership pipeline. Hearing women leaders' voices about their work–life balance and leadership development in a workplace in which cultural and organizational constraints exist has helped us better understand their challenges. In this chapter, we cover corporate women leaders' status in the labor market, corporate women leaders' challenges and opportunities, and future research agendas.

Corporate Women Leaders in the Labor Market

Korea has achieved remarkable economic growth and experienced rapid changes in politics, society, and culture as the country has industrialized over the past several decades, but women's status in the labor market is still low. The *Global Gender Gap Index* (World Economic Forum, 2016), an index of an international comparison of women's status, measures women's economic participation, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment (see Fig. 7.1).

In the report (World Economic Forum, 2016), Korea ranked 116th of 144 countries, much below many Asian countries—for example, the Philippines (7th), India (87th), China (99th), Malaysia (106th), and Japan (111th). In particular, Korean women's score for economic participation is very low (0.537) compared with that of educational attainment (0.964), and the ratio of women-to-men in positions of legislators, senior government officials, and managers shows severe inequality (0.117), indicating a serious under-representation of women in leadership positions.

In addition, the ratio of women leaders in business remains very low, which represents Korean women leaders' *token* status in the workplace. According to the survey of the Human Capital Corporate Panel conducted by the Korea Research Institute for Vocational Education and Training (KRIVET, 2015), women in executive, general manager, and deputy general manager levels constituted just 2.0%, 6.0%, and 7.8%, respectively (see Table 7.3).

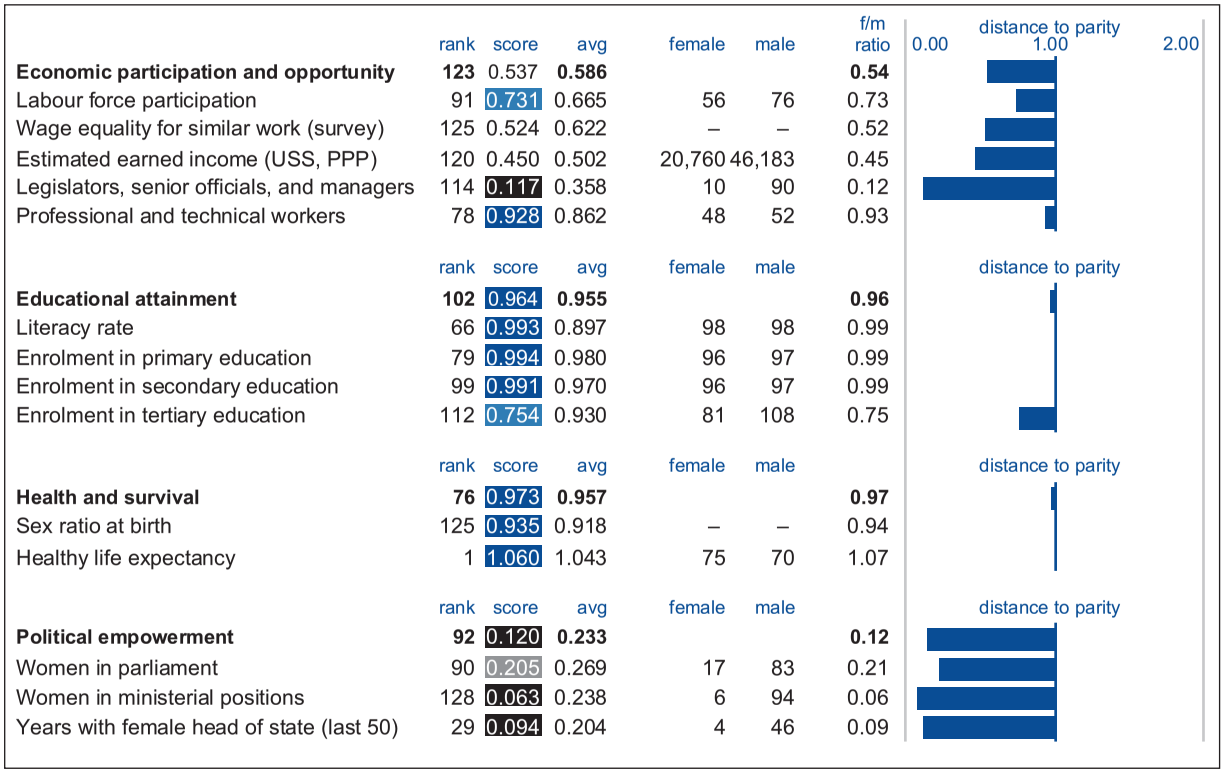

Fig. 7.1 Captured global gender gap index of Korea
Source: World Economic Forum, 2016, p. 218

Table 7.3 Proportion of men and women in corporations

Job title	*Total*	*Men*	*Women*	*Men (%)*	*Women (%)*
Executive	7066	6924	142	98.0	2.0
General manager	19,399	18,243	1156	94.0	6.0
Deputy general manager	29,955	27,611	2344	92.2	7.8
Manager	41,601	33,534	8067	80.6	19.4
Assistant manager	47,649	31,563	16,086	66.2	33.8
Rank-and-file employee	67,014	38,534	28,480	57.5	42.5

Note: The survey population comes from 467 Korean corporation (KRIVET, 2015)

Given the proportion of women rank-and-file employees (42.5%) versus that of men (57.5%), women's labor participation in entry-level positions in corporations does not seem to be far behind men. However, an increase in the gap between the number of women and men at higher levels is problematic.

Although it is critical to close the gap in managerial positions in order to overcome women's token status (Kim, 2013), the increase in the number of women executives has been slow. For instance, the proportion of women executives in the top 100 companies has grown by only 0.7%, increasing from 1.6% in 2013 to 2.3% in 2015 (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2016). Furthermore, 85% of these women executives were employed in the top 30 companies, and more than half of the companies had no female executive. As a limited number of companies endeavor to recruit, retain, and promote women to executive positions, women leaders in business remain in deficit.

According to McKinsey and Company (2012), women's representation in Korean companies is strikingly low compared with other Asian countries and regions, making up just 1% of seats on corporate boards and 2% of executive committees, while, on average, women in Asian companies account for 6% of seats on boards and 8% of executive committees.

Corporate Women Leaders' Challenges

Women leaders in the corporate sector face challenges, including cultural constraints, the gendered workplace, work–life balance, and leadership development opportunities. In this section, we have incorporated women leaders' quotations based on our interviews (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) to highlight their lived experiences in the challenges they face.

Cultural Constraints

Korea is distinctive from Western countries where the majority of studies on women in leadership have been conducted. Research shows that Confucianism and the military culture have had a lasting effect on Korean society and on the way Korean companies are managed (Cho et al., 2016; Hemmert, 2012).

Confucian values. Confucian values, such as respect for the old, loyalty to superiors, harmonious relations, and filial piety, are the main values that have significantly affected Korean interpersonal relations and work culture (Kee, 2008; Kim & Rowley, 2009). In companies, employees are treated as family members (Kee, 2008) and, in return, they are expected to be willing to sacrifice personal interests for the benefit of the company.

Gender divide. Korea shares a Confucian model of the family in which there is a clearly defined gender divide within the family (Raymo, Park, Xie, & Yeung, 2015). Although women's participation in economic and political activities has promoted their social status and leadership, some cultural traditions remain unchanged. The term "glass fence", coined by Kim (2013, p. 253), means blocking Korean women from taking more active roles outside the home because there is a strong divide between the woman's domain (inside the home) and the man's domain (outside the home).

Military culture. Korea was ruled by military leaders between 1961 and 1992, during which time a series of Five-Year Economic Development Plans was launched, resulting in the nation's outstanding economic development (Heo & Roehrig, 2014). Korea's success with military-led industrialization was based on its culture of military command and sense of loyalty, working on clear-cut targets, with no tolerance for failure, and a top-down communication style (Hemmert, 2012). As a result of the combined effect of collectivism through Confucian and military cultures, team spirit for group harmony, built by eating, singing, and drinking together, is highly encouraged in Korean companies (Kee, 2008). As military service is mandatory for all men, they learn leadership skills and partake in strong male bonding and informal networks built during their military service (Rowley, Kang, & Lim, 2015). In the process, women are largely excluded from networking and leadership development opportunities.

Gendered Workplace

Women leaders who participated in our interviews (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017) generated common responses regarding Korea's gendered workplace, where drinking and military culture prevail. Many described drinking after work as a major characteristic of their organizational culture. Drinking after work, though decreased in recent years, is common for team building and business communication with customers, and is considered to be one of the major challenges that impede women leaders' work–life balance and leadership development. Many women leaders shared stories about being excluded from networking with men who exchange business information over drinks. Women leaders' lack of networking had a ripple effect on the lack of mentoring and developmental opportunities. They stated that they can deliver outstanding performance without being involved in the men's network, but that they knew they would be excluded from networking opportunities as a result.

Women leaders' narratives that we collected in interviews largely related to challenges that women experienced in a gendered workplace. Many women leaders had stories to share that ranged from enduring their male bosses' unintentional yet blatant sexism to being passed over in promotion by their male colleagues, as well as experiencing a lack of proper recognition of women leaders' accomplishments.

Work–Life Balance

Due to women leaders' unwavering commitment to work and outstanding performance, women leaders in the corporate sector are considered to be successful leaders in their organization. For these women leaders, "Work is life" and "Life is work," as they stated. A majority of women leaders work for more than 9 hours per day, and many work more than 13 hours. Some stated that they work even on weekends. Due to long work hours, many women leaders, especially married with children, spoke of work–family conflict situations in which they had to choose work over family, as one woman leader stated:

> I think many women leaders juggle two roles and struggle over which should come first. In my case, my work occupies 51% with 49% for family. I hate making excuses at work. Because of my work commitment, my children had to go through difficulties while growing up. (Cho et al., 2016, p. 473)

Many women leaders spoke of difficulties in juggling multiple roles because they had to sacrifice their personal lives and dedicate more time to

work to take leadership roles in organizations. To compensate their work–life conflict, many women leaders had their own strategies to manage family roles, including getting help from others to spend their working hours efficiently. Many received family support from their mothers, mothers-in-law, or live-in nannies, as well as husbands.

Leadership Development

Women leaders in the corporate sector shared common experiences of a lack of formal leadership development opportunities in their organizations. Only a few women stated that they benefited from a mentoring program offered in their organization. Many of them had informal mentors who were former supervisors or senior executives in the same organization. Such mentors played roles in giving advice related to career and leadership development. However, quite a few stated that they still do not have mentors, particularly women mentors due to a lack of senior women leaders in their organizations.

Developing leadership through work assignments was also limited. While a majority of women leaders worked in support functions, such as human resources (HR) and research and development (R&D), only a few worked in core functions, such as corporate planning and strategy. Many felt excluded from opportunities to work in core functions because of their organization's bias against women. In contrast, a few women executives who worked in corporate planning and strategy expressed their satisfaction with working in core functions because of the importance of their projects and increased impact on the organization.

To overcome leadership challenges in a gendered workplace, women leaders individually put efforts into developing their leadership skills by seeking mentors, taking time for self-directed learning (e.g., reading leadership books), and attending coaching programs. However, many of them expressed their preference in learning leadership skills by getting involved in their company's strategic projects and challenging tasks.

Opportunities for Corporate Women Leaders

Based on the review of the literature on women leaders in Korea and our interviews (Cho et al., 2015, 2016, 2017), we provide three possible opportunities for corporate women leaders, including women's strengths as leaders, organizational support for leadership development, and the government's family-friendly policies and programs.

Women's Strengths as Leaders

Women leaders are highly committed to their professions and careers, and are loyal to their organizations with a strong sense of responsibility for their work and family (Cho et al., 2015). Our interviewees spoke of how their experiences as women in organizations eventually contributed to their career achievement significantly. Many women leaders recognized the unique quality of women's leadership styles (Lee, 2010) that they bring to the organization, as one woman executive stated:

> Women's leadership is necessary in the organization. Women leaders play a negotiating, mediating, and coordinating role when needed compared with men leaders who are self-centered, success-oriented, and competitive. (Cho et al., 2016, p. 474)

We found from our interviews that their leadership styles are goal-oriented and performance-driven and, at the same time, soft and communicative. Women leaders' strong but soft leadership styles were effective in working with male counterparts and achieving career success in their organizations. The combined utilization of their tough and soft leadership styles is consistent with previous research findings about women's genuine efforts to become leaders (e.g., Mavin, Williams, Bryans, & Patterson, 2014). Gender is "a socially produced binary division and distinctions between women and men, and masculinities and femininities" (Mavin et al., 2014, p. 2), but women leaders can negotiate between those expected behaviors in the process of becoming leaders through their strengths in balancing the two leadership styles.

In addition, women leaders' token status gives them opportunities to play the role of a moral compass (Agrawal, Kets de Vries, & Florent-Treacy, 2006) because they are more transparent in doing business than men, as one woman executive stated:

> We need more woman executives in organizations because their work ethic is transparent, whereas men are tangled with personal relationships, so they make decisions based on personal interests. Women's way of doing business brings more to the table in the organization. (Cho, Kang, & Park, 2017, p. 97)

Organizational Support for Leadership Development

In our interviews, we found that a few women executives, with their supervisors' support, were able to experience in challenging jobs and assignments for their career advancement before taking executive level positions. One woman leader shared her experience:

> Ever since my supervisor put me in a turn-around project, I had to work in diverse functions including planning, strategy, M&As, and new business development in the following ten years. As a result, I became the youngest team leader in the company. (Cho et al., 2017, p. 502)

This woman executive's testimony indicates the importance of organizational support (especially supervisor support) in employee learning and performance (Blume, Ford, Baldwin, & Huang, 2010; Burke & Hutchins, 2007; Cho & Egan, 2013). As developmental opportunities for both men and women include challenging, high-profile work assignments and diverse business experiences, organizational leaders (supervisors) should provide diverse developmental opportunities to women leaders and women in the leadership pipeline.

Hopkins, O'Neil, Passarelli, and Bilimoria (2008) proposes an organizational framework for seven categories of formal and informal developmental practices for women leaders: assessment, training and education, coaching, mentoring, networking, experiential learning (e.g., action learning), and career planning. These extensive developmental programs should be seamlessly intertwined in ways that women leaders can use for their career success.

In addition, many women leaders who have not benefitted from formal mentoring programs addressed a strong need for the development of women's leadership skills through mentoring. Mentoring programs can be used to increase the number of women in senior leadership roles because mentoring strengthens skills, makes connections to broaden work experiences, and supplies valuable coaching, all of which contribute to women's leadership development (O'Brien, Biga, Kessler, & Allen, 2010).

Government's Family-Friendly Policies

To create a family-friendly workplace, the government has promoted family-friendly policies in collaboration with the private sector. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2016), in collaboration with the Ministry of

Employment and Labor and the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry, has recently delivered 35 strategies for work–life balance that should be implemented in the corporate sector. The 35 strategies include three focus areas: women leaders' development, work–life balance, and corporate culture for gender equality. It is laudable for the government to provide detailed information on legal protection and corresponding policies and programs for work–life balance so that the corporate section can implement.

However, those government-initiated policies and programs are not sufficient unless organizations actively promote a culture that allows their implementation. Because the government's initiatives are not punitive and lag behind in their implementation, the government should find ways to cascade those policies and programs to all parts of society (Lee & Yu, 2011). To that end, the government should play an important role in collaborating with the private sector, as it had done for the country's remarkable economic success.

Future Research Agendas

Awareness of a uniquely Korean context as detailed in this chapter will guide researchers to pay particular attention to the importance of culture in researching women in leadership in comparison with western contexts. In this section, we provide two broad research agendas for further investigation with attention to contextual factors and comparative analyses, as well as more research topics.

Contextual Factors

To excel in their organizations, women leaders willingly sacrifice their personal lives. However, we found that the most difficult challenge these women face is the nature of their gendered workplace itself. We, therefore, feel there is a strong need to pay more attention to organizational factors that can promote physical and social infrastructure for women leaders in Korea where gendered practices persist (Cook & Glass, 2014; Rowley et al., 2015). This line of research requires an investigation of contextual factors that may contribute to a non-discriminatory atmosphere in the workplace (Gress & Paek, 2014).

Women leaders' token status. As women leaders face token status in the gendered workplace in Korea, Kanter's (1977, 1993) theory of tokenism is relevant to a Korean context, given that no empirical study was

conducted using this conceptual framework. Kanter (1977, 1993) explored how women's proportional representation in work groups affects their workplace experiences and emphasized the effects of limited numbers in any one group in the workplace. Kanter's theory of tokenism has been tested across a variety of western contexts (Gustafson, 2008; Yoder, 1991), including law students, partners and associates in law firms, corporate executives, academic faculty, and policewomen.

Korean women leaders' token status can be explored to see the extent to which they experience token status and how they cope with the consequences of their token status in the gendered workplace. Investigating women leaders using Kanter's (1977, 1993) tokenism theory will provide insights for the development of highly qualified women and women in the leadership pipeline.

Work–life balance. In line with research on contextual factors, the Korean government's recent attention to work–life balance is encouraging. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family's's (2011) meta-analysis of work–family conflict revealed that the most critical component in resolving work–life conflict is a family-friendly organizational culture. The government's family-friendly policies include a five-day working week, parental leave for men and women, and public childcare centers (Cho, 2013). As these family-friendly policies and programs are gradually implemented in the workplace, there is a strong need to conduct evaluation studies on the extent to which the government's policies are being implemented effectively (Kim & Park, 2009).

Comparative Analyses

Cultures affect values and perceptions, prototypes, and styles of leadership (Jonsen, Manznevski, & Schneider, 2010). Much of our knowledge about women leaders' work–life balance and leadership development has been derived from studies situated in western contexts (Ely & Rhode, 2010; Groysberg & Abrahams, 2014; Wang & Shirmohammadi, 2016). In Korea, however, many of the core issues and challenges of women leaders are deeply connected to a Korean cultural context. It is essential that critical inquiry into a Korean context is undertaken because western approaches to women in leadership cannot be applied to Korea.

Given the predominant western influences in studies on the topic, therefore, there is a need to take into account cultural differences in research on women in leadership. To this end, researchers are called on to

investigate comparisons between genders (e.g., Cho et al., 2017), between Korea and western countries (e.g., O'Brien, Ganginis Del Pino, Yoo, Cinamon, & Han, 2014) and Asian countries (e.g., Malony, Theiss, & Choi, 2016), and between Korean companies and multinational corporations (MNCs) in Korea. These proposed comparative analyses will contribute to developing indigenous research (McLean, 2010) on women in leadership in a Korean context. The following two research topics are a few examples of comparative analyses.

Gender differences in career success. Previous studies, both in western (Lyness & Thompson, 2000; O'Neil, Hopkins, & Bilimoria, 2008) and Korean (Kim, 2004; Kim & Cha, 2014) contexts, have shown gender differences in the definitions of career success; women define career success more subjectively than men do. A recent study on defining career success (Cho et al., 2017) revealed gender differences in their narratives about transforming experiences. Due to men executives' life-changing experience (e.g., demotion), they spoke of more narratives about changes from objective to subjective definitions of career success than women executives did. However, the study did not show *how* and *why* both genders' values are transformed in the process of career success. A follow-up question calls for further investigation on why gender differences exist on changes in their perspective of career success, what factors influence those changes, and what consequences those changes bring to the individual and organizational levels.

Women CEOs in multinational corporations. In a recent study on women leaders in Korea (Cho et al., 2017), the career success of a few CEO women in MNCs that we interviewed stood out compared with large Korean companies where there were only a few women CEOs. For example, one MNC had three women executives (60%) out of five executives under a woman CEO's leadership. A study on the gap in the proportion and promotion of women leaders in Korean companies and MNCs in Korea will provide evidence-based findings on organizational factors that could have led to the career success of women senior leaders in MNCs.

More Research Topics

Other possible research topics include:

- What are the experiences of senior women executives' husbands? What personal and home factors allow senior women executives to be successful?

- Comparative (quasi-experimental) research on implementing the 35 strategies for work-life balance and women's leadership development in the corporate sector. Which ones work? Which ones do not work? Why? What are the factors contributing to successful and unsuccessful implementations of the strategies?
- What are the factors present in men executives in organizations where women have successfully moved into senior executive positions?
- How does the size of the women pipeline influence movement into senior executive positions in organizations?
- One statistics showed that among the top 70 organizations, more than half of companies had no women executives. How do these companies differ from those that do?

Conclusion

The major challenge for women leaders in the corporate sector turned out to be their workplace itself where a male-dominated, collectivist and military culture prevails. Long work hours and drinking after work are part of business life in Korea. Korean women leaders in the corporate sector are not happy about their work-life imbalance, in addition to their missed opportunities for leadership development. There is a desperate need for a change in Korea's organizational culture because a balancing act of work-life will make both men and women happier and, more importantly, make the society sustainable in the long run. Unless culture changes in ways that are more supportive of women leaders and men leaders who attempt to balance work and family/life, take leadership development opportunities, and seek personal happiness as they succeed, we cannot expect their continued outstanding performance and the corresponding nation's sustainable growth.

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Dr. Yonjoo Cho is an associate professor of Instructional Systems Technology focusing on HRD at Indiana University. She worked as a human resource development (HRD) professional in South Korea, in business, non-profit, and academic sectors, for more than ten years. Her research interests include action learning in organizations, the interdisciplinary nature of HRD/Instructional Technology, and women in leadership. She has published a book (Cho & Bong, 2013) entitled *Trends and Issues in Action Learning Practice: Lessons from South Korea* with Routledge. She serves as an associate editor of the *Human Resource Development Review* and also serves on the editorial board of the *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *European Journal of Trainingand Development*, and *Action Learning: Research and Practice*. She has served as the chair of the Academy of Human Resource Development's (AHRD) Korea SIG and the president of the Korean Academy of Human Resource Development in the Americas (KAHRDA), a Korean community of HRD scholars and students affiliated with the AHRD. Currently, she is serving on the Board of the AHRD. She received her Ph.D. in Instructional Technology from the University of Texas at Austin.

Jiwon Park is a Ph.D. candidate in the Workforce Education and Development program with an emphasis on the HRD/Organization Development (OD), Department of Learning and Performance Systems, at Pennsylvania State University. She worked as an HRD practitioner and an analyst for seven years in a major corporation in South Korea. Her research interests include organizational change, employee engagement, and leadership development of managers and women. She has published articles on woman in leadership, employee work engagement, and organizational commitment. She holds a B.A. in Business Administration and a Master's degree in Corporate Education.

Dr. Hye Young Park is a professor in the Human Resource Development Institute at Hyosung Corporation, Korea. She worked as an OD and human resources (HR) consultant at Accenture and Hewitt (currently Aon Hewitt) in Seoul, Korea. As a visiting scholar, she conducted research in the Human Resources Policy Institute at Boston University. Her research topics include women in leadership, employee engagement, community of practice, and self-directed work teams. Her current work focuses on the assessment and development of executives. She teaches leadership and corporate core values at the Institute. She is a board member of the Korean Society for Training and Development. She received her Ed.D. degree in Human Resources Education from Boston University.

CHAPTER 8

Women's Leadership in Family Business Organizations

Jung-Jin Kim and Sang-Joon Kim

Family business is an important topic in understanding women's leadership in organizations because it has been understood that women play important roles in family firms (Vadnjal & Zupan, 2009). In the past, women's roles in family businesses have been considered "invisible" (Vadnjal & Zupan, 2009, p. 160). Following Kanter's (1977) intuition, many scholars have paid attention to the perspective that wives provide their intuition, as well as emotional support, which can make their family firms successful (Curimbaba, 2002; Sharma, 2004). Related to women's leadership, entrepreneurship literature explores the unique roles of women (especially mothers) in creating new firms (Brush, de Bruin, & Welter, 2009; Ekinsmyth, 2011, 2013; Minniti, 2009; Poggesi, Mari, & De Vita, 2016). For example, Ekinsmyth (2011) coined the term, *Mumpreneurship*, defined as "a form of entrepreneurship driven largely by the desire to achieve 'work–life harmony' through an identity orientation that blurs the boundary between the roles of mother and business woman" (Ekinsmyth, 2011, p. 104). This suggests that women can take the initiative in creating

J.-J. Kim (✉)
Seoul Women's University, Seoul, South Korea

S.-J. Kim
Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

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new values, especially business opportunities. This perspective is closely related to the premise that families and business are not separate but, rather, inextricably intertwined (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Mari & Poggesi, 2016). In other words, women's leadership roles in family businesses can be specified by investigating the interactions between family and business.

However, in Korea, women's leadership in family businesses, such as their motherhood (Ekinsmyth, 2011, 2013), is rarely conceptualized. It can be evidenced in the studies on family–work conflicts in women's career advancement. Many scholars have warned that women's careers are interrupted by family responsibilities (Jeong, 2011; Kim, 2015; Kim & Ok, 2005), but most scholarly dialogue has concentrated on the construction of policies that can help resolve issues regarding family–work conflicts (Jeong, 2004; Kang, Ku, & Kim, 2011; Kim, 2015). For example, Kang et al. (2011) argued that enterprises should adopt flexible working systems or systems for supporting family members (e.g., regarding childbirth, childcare, parent-care service, leave for family-care) that enable women to harmonize their work and family life. In fact, the Korean government established the Act on the Promotion of Creation of Family-Friendly Social Environment to support family-friendly enterprises.

In this chapter, we identify characteristics specific to Korean family businesses and the roles of women in them. While gender roles have been widely studied and clearly identified in Korea (Kim, 2011), it is not fully understood how these gender roles influence family businesses. In addition, family businesses in Korea not only comprise small-sized enterprises, but also corporations in which family members fill ownership roles across generations (Kim, Chae, & Lee, 2010; Park, Shin, & Park, 2010). By specifying women's roles in family businesses in such diverse organizational forms, we can suggest how women can achieve career success and leadership roles in family businesses. This chapter specifies the types of family business in which women are embedded and applies the typology in real situations.

Understanding Family Business

In this section, we define and conceptualize family business, which will help us determine how women can play a role.

Definition of Family Business

Family business refers to a business owned and managed by a nuclear family. Chua, Chrisman, and Sharma (1999) defined family business as:

> A business governed and/or managed with the intention to shape and pursue the vision of the business held by a dominant coalition controlled by members of the same family or a small number of families in a manner that is potentially sustainable across generations of the family or families. (p. 25)

Astrachan and Shanker (2003) provided a framework to help understand family business in terms of inclusiveness, referring to family participation in the business. According to their framework, there are three levels. At a broad level, only some family members participate in the business, but the family controls the strategic direction of the business. At a middle level, members of "the family have a stake in the business or a role on its board but very little interaction in day-to-day operations" (Astrachan & Shanker, 2003, p. 212). Narrowly, multiple generations of the family play crucial roles in the business over its life-cycle. In this chapter, we define family business as a commercial organization owned by family members who take part in planning, creating, operating, and managing businesses over generations.

Further Understanding of Family Business

As businesses conventionally indicate a businesses operated by members of a family, family business has been considered a redundant expression (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003). Yet, in academia, scholars have treated families and businesses separately (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Stafford, Duncan, Danes, & Winter, 1999). Stafford et al. (1999) pointed out that "prevailing view claims that families and business are believed to be two 'naturally separate' institutions or systems" (p. 198).

From a family embeddedness perspective, family business is understood as the concept in which market and family logics are combined (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003):

- Market logic indicates "the accumulation, codification, and pricing of human activity" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 249). This concerns any economic activities through business, such as production, procurement, or creation of economic values.

- Family logic signifies the aspect of "converting social relations into reciprocal and unconditional obligations oriented to the reproduction of family members" (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 44). This deals with any aspects associated with relationships among family members, including norms, values, roles, and rules, or any behavior embedded in family.

Family businesses that try to convert family roles into capitalized products have few agency problems, and their members are intrinsically motivated toward common goals (Sharma, 2004). The businesses tend to be replicated by family members with a form of leadership succession over generations (Handler, 1994; Lee, Lim, & Lim, 2003). That is, family businesses incorporate the logics of family and corporation into an organizational form. In this sense, Aldrich and Cliff (2003) emphasized the interdependence between family and business functions. Many scholars of family business maintain that family members influence the operation and management of both the business and family relationships (Sharma, Chrisman, Pablo, & Chau, 2001; Yoon & Pang, 2013).

Family businesses can also be understood by contrasting non-family businesses (Dyer, 1986; Sharma, 2004). By nature, non-family businesses, which are not confined to family members and embrace diverse stakeholders, are differently structured. This organizational form pays attention to those diverse stakeholders' interests and economic concerns (Cennamo, Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012; Chua et al., 1999; Heck, Hoy, Poutziouris, & Steier, 2008). In addition, while family business tends to be governed by informal control mechanisms, such as trust and family norms, non-family business tends to be governed by formal control mechanisms, such as bureaucracy and governance (Chua, Chrisman, Steier, & Rau, 2012). Hence, in family business, interpersonal relationships are crucial, and the work involvement of family members is intrinsically motivated.

Gender Issues in Family Business Organizations

In this section, we describe gender issues situated in family business organizations. Based on the perspective of family embeddedness (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003), we specify gender issues as gender roles and family–work conflicts. In addition, we highlight gendered business succession in a context specific to family business. Lastly, we broadly touch on women-specific

contexts in terms of their career development—that is, the glass ceiling and self-selection—as women's motivation for engagement in family businesses.

Family Embeddedness

The concept of family embeddedness is based on the assumption that people are not atomized but, rather, are embedded in their social relations (Granovetter, 1985), observing that family-related characteristics can influence the processes involved in venture creation, especially women-led entrepreneurship (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Azmat & Fujimoto, 2016; Mari & Poggesi, 2016; Yoon & Pang, 2013). As family-related characteristics can affect women's participation in a family business, we specify gender roles and work–family conflict.

Gender roles. Gender roles have been constructed across generations that are consciously or unconsciously accepted in society (Kim, 2011; Patrick, Stephens, & Weinstein, 2016; Sharma, 2004). According to Danes and Olson (2003), women in family business tend to reflect the gender role in the family—that is, motherhood or married status (Spence & Lonner, 1979; Yoon & Pang, 2013). In family businesses, women frequently occupy the role of a household manager and take on the primary responsibility for the household and child-caring tasks (Carr, 1996; Fitzgerald & Muske, 2002; Patrick et al., 2016; Sharma, 2004). Kanter (1977) acknowledged that wives of executives associated their career with that of their husbands. She described what the wives of executives look like:

> In Indsco offices were some obvious manifestations of the wives' involvement with the organization. … Wives were automatically mentioned by name in articles in company newsletters about husbands' accomplishments: "Joseph Jones lives with his wife, Margaret, and their three children in Anytown Heights." (Kanter, 1977, p. 104)

Interestingly, this gendered role in business contexts is found in Korean history. Han (2014) traced how women of the late *Chosŏn* Dynasty (between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) participated in economic activities. She found that women of the late *Chosŏn* Dynasty were involved in the management of the tribute merchant's right (a person's right to provide necessities and other supplies to the local government under certification of the local government) with ownership as an elder

member of the family, although women acted as mediators when members of the family were involved.

Taken together, women have particular roles when they are involved in economic activities with family members. Related to this, Poza and Messer (2001) categorized six types of roles adopted by spouses in family firms: jealous spouse, chief trust officer, partner or co-preneur, vice-president, senior advisor, and free agent.

There are three behavioral patterns regarding gender roles in family businesses (Shelton, 2006). First, gender roles may be eliminated in operating a family business. When a woman takes the initiative or when she is in charge or a decision-maker, family businesses seem to eliminate the typified gender roles (Han, 2014). However, literature recognizes that the contributions of women to family business have been ignored or discounted (Dumas, 1989). Second, gender roles can be reduced. Han (2014) acknowledged that the participation of women of the late *Chosŏn* Dynasty in business operations took active participation. Specifically, women could inherit, purchase, or manage the tribute merchant's right under her own name. Likewise, literature on entrepreneurship contends that women entrepreneurs or sole proprietors have enhanced autonomy from gender roles (Budig, 2006; Connelly, 1992; Presser, 1995). Lastly, gender roles can be shared with family members. Women are spending less time on housework, and some family members take on household roles (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Patrick et al., 2016).

Work–family conflicts. One of the most important issues with women in business is work-family conflict (Jeong, 2004, 2011; Noor, 2004; Shelton, 2006). In particular, when women take a critical role in business, they must take care of the business as well as their families. As their energies, time, and attention are limited, they cannot deal with them simultaneously. Also, regulatory and cultural institutions, such as social norms or family policies, largely dictate the proper role of women in society. In this sense, compared with men, women have less support from their families in operating their business (Carr, 1996; Goffee & Scase, 1985). As a result, these women are asked to reconcile family obligations by leaving traditional organizations or abandoning salary-based employment (Patrick et al., 2016).

Gendered Business Succession

Business succession in the context of family business refers to the process in which founders (or next-generation family members) pass on to the family's next generation the management and control of the family business, for

the purpose of continuity of their business (Han, 2008; Handler, 1994; Lee et al., 2003; Ward, 1987). As Ward (1987) noted, family businesses inherently include business succession processes, a crucial aspect for the growth of family business (Birley, 1986; Kets de Vries, 1993).

Men (sons or sons-in-law) take over the family firm, while women (wives, daughters, or daughters-in-law) support the men and are less involved in decision-making processes (Barnes, 1988; Dumas, 1989; Wang, 2010). Most family firms consider women to be invisible or a helper in the leadership of the family business, even though women actually play a crucial role in the day-to-day running of the family business (Marshack, 1994). As such, men-dominant business succession processes may reflect that family business elicits gender-role segregation (Hollander & Bukowitz, 1990). However, women can also take the initiative in business succession. Dumas (1989) found that many daughters in her sample "considered entering the family business, let alone becoming manager or successor, until a crisis or unforeseen circumstances had forced them to consider the family business as a source of employment" (p. 39). This suggests that, practically, business succession tends to focus on the intergenerational transition of management itself, rather than the successor's gender (Beckhard & Burke, 1983; Han, 2008). In Han's (2008) study of social networks in chaebols (large Korean family-run conglomerates), women successors are present in the business succession process.

Therefore, in terms of business succession in a family business, there are two reasons why gender differences may not be found. First, founders of family businesses pursue the retention of family control even after their management authority has been turned over to non-family members (Astrachan, Allen, & Spinelli, 2002; Sharma, 2004). Han (2008) illustrated how Korean chaebols have made connections with people with particular social status (such as politicians or people in other chaebols) to reinforce their corporate governance. In this sense, the gender of the successor is not as important as whether the successor is a family member. In addition, given that family members are strongly tied to one another (Aldrich & Cliff, 2003; Granovetter, 1985), all the decisions made in a family business tend to be internally rationalized. Furthermore, if a family business builds its own knowledge throughout its business history, a CEO outside of the family would have difficulty in fully understanding the vision or philosophy of the business (Burkart, Panunzi, & Shleifer, 2003). As a result, business succession is likely to take place among family members (whether the members are men or women); this is considered an efficient and rational way to keep the competitive advantages of the family business (Lee et al., 2003).

Women-Led Family Business in Korea

Women's leadership in family business has been dealt with anecdotally, rather than systematically analyzed (Sharma, 2004). As prior literature acknowledged, family business includes both formal and informal organization. These organizational types require a different involvement from women in operating and managing family business. Also, as discussed, gendered business succession issues should be taken into account to understand further women's leadership roles in family business. We need to consider how women take on the leadership in family business. In this chapter, we have classified women-led family businesses with respect to organizational type (i.e., formal or informal) and women's engagement in business (i.e., initiated or inherited).

The organizational type discerns how a given family business is organized. When family businesses formalize their organizational structure and control mechanisms, they can be classified as formal organizations. Like retail businesses owned by family members, informal organizations include any type of family business where organizational structure and control mechanisms are based on the family structure. On the other hand, women's engagement in business determines how they take the leadership role in a business. As discussed, women's leadership can be initiated or inherited. Initiated leadership indicates that women can take the initiative in managing their family businesses, such as women's entrepreneurship. Inherited leadership is earned through succession to the post of CEO or by the transition of intergenerational leadership. Different engagement types yield different behaviors in family business: while women entrepreneurs take risks for business survival, women successors pay attention to exploiting existing business operations by facilitating internal conflicts that could arise in the leadership transition.

Based on the combination of organizational types and engaging types, we specify the typology of women-led family business. Figure 8.1 illustrates the types of family business led by a woman based on organizational type (formal or informal) and women's engagement (initiated or inherited).

Cell I in Fig. 8.1 denotes formal organizations in which women initiate leadership; these are known as Entrepreneurial Firms. In this cell, women play the role of an entrepreneur, taking the intiative in all decision-making processes around the new family business. For example, Sun-Jin Kim opened a restaurant providing boiled pork in 1987. After that, she transformed the business into a restaurant franchise, Nolbu NBG, which has

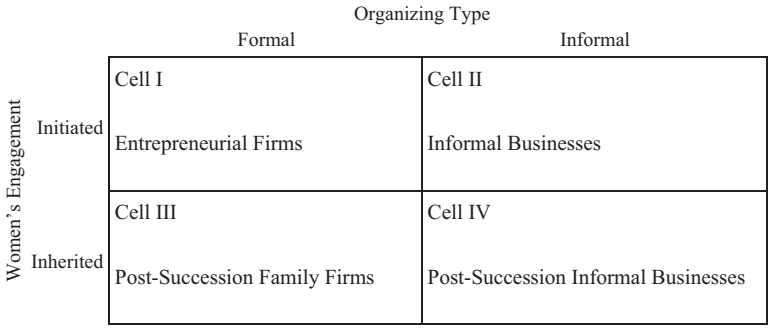

Fig. 8.1 Typology of women-led family business

extended its business to spicy mixed sausage and vegetable stew and grilled beef ribs in a jar. In Cell I, women's leadership is critical for the survival and success of the family business.

Cell II indicates informal organizations (such as retail businesses) in which women initiate leadership; these are known as Informal Businesses and include retail businesses, franchisees, or other forms of small business. The category includes the self-employed or sole proprietors, such as accountants, doctors, consultants, lawyers, and independent IT software developers. Unlike Cell I, the family business is not fully formalized. An informal group is formed to take the leadership role. In this type of organization, women make decisions related to the operations of the business.

Cell III denotes formal organizations in which women take the leader position through succession; these are known as Post-Succession Family Firms. In Korea, many chaebols fall into Cell III. For example, Bu-Jin Lee was endowed with the leadership position of a hotel business in the Samsung Group. Forever 21, founded by a Korean immigrant couple in the U.S.A. (Do Won Chang and Jin Sook Chang), is in the progress of CEO succession. The founders' daughters, Linda Chang and Esther Chang, took over as the head of the marketing department and the lead visual director, respectively.

Cell IV indicates informal organizations in which women take a leadership role through succession. Most cases in Cell IV include small businesses, such as restaurants and retail businesses, taken over by daughters of the founder(s). Many immigrant Koreans take this type of family business in which women play a critical role in operating the business (Hwang & Kim, 2013).

Future of Women's Leadership in Family Business

In Korea, information about family business is not readily available. One reason is the culture in Korea. Overall, businesses in Korea, including family businesses, have been characterized by nepotisim and favoritism (Han, 2008). In particular, business succession is perceived to be nepotism, as the authority of managing and owning the businesses is handed over to family members. For example, CEO succession has been achieved internally among family members with executive positions (i.e., with favoritism and nepotism), and such a universally illegitimized succession process (i.e., one that is not a societally acceptable norm) is filled with family conflicts. Surprisingly, in Korea, although family firms have a considerable interest in business succession, they invest little effort in designing a plan for successful succession (Park & Lee, 2011). Such inconsistent behaviors in family businesses have generated negative perceptions of business practices in Korea, discrediting family businesses in Korea. Further, these inconsistent behaviors make family busineses in Korea reluctant to disclose any information on their businesses (Kim et al., 2010). With the limited information that can be obtained publicly from Korean family businesses, it is not easy to specify women's leadership in family businesses.

We make two suggestions for women to bring about successful leadership in family business. First, emotional relationships among family members are important (Harvey & Evans, 1994). Emotional relationships among family members include trust, support, open communication, and appreciation of other family members' outcomes (Harvey & Evans, 1994). Often, the literature has emphasized the roles of mother or wife as the foundation for resources and social support (Brush et al., 2009; Brush & Manolova, 2004; Dimova, Gang, & Landon-Lane, 2006; Sharma et al., 2001). Furthermore, scholars have acknowledged that the quality of emotional relationships leads to the growth of family business (Cabrera-Suarez, De Saa-Perez, & Garcia-Almeida, 2001; Chrisman, Chua, & Sharma, 1998). Women leaders in their family businesses facilitate emotional support from their family members by reflecting the roles of mother or wife.

Second, intense interactions among family members in sharing their vision and values are critical to the reinforcement of the advantages of women's leadership. As discussed, business succession can elicit internal

conflict. To enhance trust among family members, open communication is indispensable (Dyer, 1986; Kets de Vries, 1993). In particular, Kets de Vries (1993) contended that successful women leaders should establish the vision of their business and share this with family members. Thus, women leaders should find ways to share the family culture and philosophy effectively with family members (Nam & Park, 2008).

Conclusion and Implications for Future Research

Throughout this chapter, we have discussed women's leadership in family business in contexts specific to Korea. Drawn from the literature on family business, we highlighted gender issues in family business. In addition, based on whether the family business is formalized and how women take a leadership position, businesses led by women are classified into four types. Because woman's leadership in family business in Korea is unexplored, there is still much that we do not know.

Based on the discussion of this chapter, we present implications for research. First, in defining family business, we did not consider family composition. As divorce rates increase in Korea, family composition may be different from traditional family composition. For example, when single mothers found a company or are self-employed, this can be another context in which to understand women's leadership in family business. Second, we need to examine how women's leadership can make business successful by discerning the factors that can accelerate or inhibit women's leadership in a family business. Best practices or case studies consider only the bright side of women's leadership. To prevent such a selection bias, future research must deal with diverse contexts and contingencies to determine the consequences of women's leadership in family business. Related to this, third, business succession from a women's perspective should receive greater attention. Even though business succession in family business is a critical process for its growth and survival (Royer, Simons, Boyd, & Rafferty, 2008), this has been discounted in Korea as it has been perceived as nepotism. To avoid such negative perceptions, family business should give serious consideration to the planning of succession (Goldberg, 1996). Accordingly, legitimized business succession is another topic to investigate in the area of women's leadership in family business.

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Dr. Jung-Jin Kim is a Professor of Business Administration at Seoul Women's University and works as the Head of the Equal Opportunity Research Center for Women. Prior to this, she worked as a researcher at the Center for International Business Education and Research at Indiana University. She earned a Ph.D. degree in Management from Sogang University, Seoul. Her research centers on women leadership, career success, and women CEO succession in business organizations. She has acquired intensive consulting experience in multinational consulting firms (Accenture, KPMG) during her ten years in the area of human performance, organizational redesign, and e-HRM.

Dr. Sang-Joon Kim is an Assistant Professor at the Ewha School of Business, Ewha Womans University. He holds a Ph.D. in Management from the Paul Merage School of Business, University of California, Irvine. His research interests center on understanding social construction aspects of social phenomena, including venture formation, ethnic entrepreneurship, and impression management strategies for women. He has published in the *Academy of Management Journal*, *Strategic Management Journal*, and *Journal of Business Ethics*.

CHAPTER 9

Women Entrepreneurs in Korea

Ji-Hye Park and Hyunok Ryu

Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship have become topics of great interest among Korean researchers, politicians, and educators due to the country's booming economy and labor market. According to the employment outlook for 2016 released by OECD (2016a), Korea has successfully overcome the economic crisis of 2008. Significant structural challenges, however, such as large gaps in employment rates between youth and prime-age workers (24.2% compared with 18.3% on average, in OECD countries), as well as between men and women (48.9% compared with 36.2% on average, in OECD countries), have remained unsolved. In addition, the number of mature workers (55 or older) who are working at insecure and low-paying jobs in Korea is significantly higher than other OECD countries.

Such lower employment rates of youth and women, and the poor quality of jobs have forced some to choose to become *Chang-Up-Ga* (entrepreneurs, in Korean), a term that seems to have a negative connotation in Korea due to the high possibility of failure in entrepreneurial endeavors

J.-H. Park (✉)
Kookmin University, Seoul, South Korea

H. Ryu
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada

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Current Perspectives on Asian Women in Leadership,
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(Cardon, Stevens, & Potter, 2011; Gupta et al., 2014; Spencer & Gomez, 2004). However, Korea has promoted entrepreneurship as a valued career path and one of the major drivers to battle the economic issues faced by Korea, and the Ministry of Education is considering the inclusion of entrepreneurship in primary and secondary education curricula, effective in 2018 (Woo & Lee, 2015). In particular, women entrepreneurs have recently been receiving public attention, as they have relatively fewer opportunities for employment in existing enterprises and also experience higher rates of career discontinuity due to marriage and childrearing (H. Lee, 2015b). Women's entrepreneurship development, therefore, has an enormous potential not only in empowering women (Tambunan, 2009), but also in helping the country strengthen its economic position.

The remainder of the chapter comprises six sections: definitions of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in relation to leadership; the status of women entrepreneurs in Korea; a literature review on Korean women entrepreneurs; governmental support; three cases of Korean women entrepreneurs; and recommendations for future research and public policies.

Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurship, and Leadership

The terms entrepreneurs and small-business owners are often used interchangeably (Kuratko, 2009). However, entrepreneurs are distinct, in that their principal objectives are innovation, profitability, and growth, while small-business owners are not always engaged in new and innovative practices (Kuratko, 2009). Although no single definition of entrepreneurs exists, many researchers have agreed that entrepreneurs are those who start their own business and are willing to grasp opportunities at their own risk, transform these opportunities into new ideas, enhance their values through a variety of resources, and further accomplish rewards (Hisrich, Peters, & Shepherd, 2010; Kuratko, 2009). Entrepreneurship is defined as having an innovative mindset that seeks opportunities, takes risks, has tenacity to bring an idea to realization, and uses a dynamic process of vision and change to create something new with value (Hisrich et al., 2010; Kuratko, 2009).

Leadership and entrepreneurship are interwoven concepts in the nature related to their development. Cogliser and Brigham (2004) asserted that the two fields have considerable overlap in their historical and theoretical

development. Eyal and Kark (2004) also contended that transformational leadership provides the most accommodating managerial background for entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship represents a particular form of leadership in a special context that requires innovative actions, changes, discovery, and exploitation of opportunities to find future goods and services (Lewis, 2015) and converges to invent a new paradigm of leadership (Bagheri & Pihie, 2011). In today's uncertain and ever-changing business environment, a leader is often required to be equipped with entrepreneurship.

Current Status of Women Entrepreneurs in Korea

As Korea is known to be least conducive to entrepreneurship, entrepreneurs face difficulties in raising the necessary funds to start or expand their business (Gupta, Yayla, Sikdar, & Cha, 2012). The conservative culture of Korea has created an atmosphere that regards entrepreneurs as deviationists (Chafkin, 2011). Moreover, Confucian ideology, which has framed the country's culture, suggests that women are expected to be homemakers rather than breadwinners. Such a notion has long kept a majority of Korean women from acquiring a job, including starting up their own business (H. Lee, 2015b). It was not until the 1990s that society witnessed a considerable increase in the number of women entrepreneurs. Especially since the Asian financial crisis in 1997, many Korean women have felt a need to participate in the labor market (Oh, Lee, & Kim, 2014) and have chosen to launch their own business (Kim, Bahn, Cho, & Park, 2010).

According to Statistics Korea (2016), 93,768 enterprises started up in 2015 (see Table 9.1). As shown in Table 9.1, the number of new enterprises established each year and those owned by women has been on the rise continuously from 2008 to 2015. However, the increase in the rate of

Table 9.1 Annual new enterprise initiations and percentages by gender

Gender	*2008*	*2009*	*2010*	*2011*	*2012*	*2013*	*2014*	*2015*
Total (%)	50,855 (100)	56,830 (100)	60,312 (100)	65,110 (100)	74,162 (100)	75,574 (100)	84,697 (100)	93,768 (100)
Men (%)	41,043 (80.7)	45,053 (79.3)	47,214 (78.3)	50,897 (78.2)	57,415 (77.4)	58,302 (77.1)	64,971 (76.7)	71,539 (76.3)
Women (%)	9812 (19.3)	11,777 (20.7)	13,098 (21.7)	14,213 (21.8)	16,747 (22.6)	17,272 (22.9)	19,726 (23.3)	22,229 (23.7)

enterprises owned by women was greater over the years than the increase in the newly established enterprises (2.27 times and 2.00 times, respectively). The proportion of women-owned enterprises compared to men-owned enterprises has also shown a year-on-year rise from 19.3% in 2008 to 23.7% in 2015.

The number of men entrepreneurs, however, considerably outnumbered that of women entrepreneurs, as shown in Table 9.1. In terms of entrepreneurial intentions in Korea, in 2014, the percentage of adult women intending to start a business was 11.5%, whereas it was 16% for adult men (Kelley et al., 2015). Korean women's entrepreneurial intentions were notably lower, on average, than those of the 83 countries surveyed (22%); however, it was similar to the average of the innovation-driven Asian (Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) and Australian economies (12% average). When compared with other innovation-driven Asian economies, the total early-stage entrepreneurship activity (TEA: recently started a business, or in the process of starting one) rate in Korea was low: 7% for men and 4% for women, while in Taiwan it was 10% and 7%, and in Singapore it was 15% and 7%, respectively. Both Japanese men and women, however, possessed the lowest rate of TEA among the four innovation-driven Asian economies with 6% and 2%, respectively.

The rate of Korean women who are sole entrepreneurs is among the highest across OECD countries (OECD, 2015). Notably, more than 93% of women entrepreneurs own small enterprises with fewer than five employees, with the majority in service and retail industries (Kim et al., 2010). The fact that Korea ranked the lowest among the 83 countries surveyed with regard to perceived entrepreneurial capabilities and opportunities (Kelley et al., 2015) implies that Korean women perceive more hurdles in Korea before starting up a business. Although a greater number of young Korean women showed their interest in entrepreneurial activities than their counterparts in other Asian countries (Debroux, 2008), it is attributable not to their changed perceptions, but to the recent status of the relatively unfavorable labor market for women in Korea. While the number of women entrepreneurs in Korea is growing, the number is still far below that of other countries, and the unfavorable discrepancy in the ratio of women-to-men entrepreneurs is still a distinctive feature in Korea (Bahn et al., 2015).

Review of the Literature on Women and Entrepreneurship in Korea

Until the early 2000s, research on Korean women's entrepreneurship was limited mainly to surveys of the number of women-owned enterprises and to identifying their status (Chun, 2002; Han & Baeg, 2003). However, this focus has recently increased and diversified into a variety of topics, including women's entrepreneurial propensities, motivations, success factors, and the obstacles facing women entrepreneurs.

Entrepreneurial Propensities

A few studies have examined women's entrepreneurial propensities compared with those of men across countries using data collected from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) project, an ongoing large-scale project designed to collect data on global entrepreneurial behaviors. Langowitz and Minniti (2007) and Koellinger, Minniti, and Schade (2013) found that subjective perceptions—such as perceived opportunities, self-confidence in one's own entrepreneurial skills, fear of failure, and knowing other entrepreneurs—played more significant roles in business start-ups regardless of gender than objective ones, such as age, education, household income, and employment status. Interestingly, these factors had a universal effect across countries, though at different levels. They also found that women entrepreneurs were less confident in their entrepreneurial skills, tended to perceive themselves in a less optimistic light, and had a higher level of fear of failure compared with their men counterparts. This finding is congruent with that of the OECD (2016b) that Korean women entrepreneurs were far less prone to taking entrepreneurial risks than men.

A few studies have been conducted on Korean women's entrepreneurial propensities (e.g., Chun, 2002; Han & Baeg, 2003; Kim et al., 2010). In particular, Kim et al. (2010) found that women Korean entrepreneurs showed significantly lower levels of entrepreneurial propensity compared with those in other countries, while men Korean entrepreneurs showed similar levels to their counterparts. Moreover, women Korean entrepreneurs showed a relatively large drop in entrepreneurial propensity (from 3.04% to 1.65%) compared with men (from 6.52% to 4.35%) from 2001 to 2008, possibly due to the economic crisis Korea experienced in 2008.

Motivation

Motivation to start a business, associated with psychological and environmental characteristics of entrepreneurship, is another major research focus. *Necessities* and *opportunities*, also known as push and pull factors (Hisrich & Brush, 1985; Orhan & Scott, 2001), are two types of entrepreneurial motivation discussed in the literature (Bosma, Acs, Autio, Coduras, & Levie, 2009). Although some studies have asserted that there is no difference between genders in terms of entrepreneurial motivation (e.g., DeMartino, Barbato, & Jacques, 2006; Sarri & Trihopoulou, 2005), some literature has indicated that women are more likely to have a need for entrepreneurship and are driven more by push than pull factors (e.g., Bosma et al., 2009; Pines, Lerner, & Schwartz, 2010). In particular, Pines et al. (2010) identified that there were more women entrepreneurs in lower-income countries where women have limited options for making a living. Malach-Pines and Schwartz (2008) compared two groups, those willing to start a business and those already owning businesses. They found that discrepancies existed across genders in perceptions of entrepreneurial traits, values, and willingness to start up; however, the gender gaps were much smaller among actual business owners than those who were willing to start a business. This study showed that the gender gaps in terms of entrepreneurial traits and motivation could change according to the developmental stage of entrepreneurship.

Some studies have found strong support for the correlation between entrepreneurial motivation and business performance in the Korean context. Han and Baeg (2003) classified 62 women entrepreneurs into three groups based on their start-up motivation: having a serious need to operate an independent firm, utilizing favorable circumstances around them, and overcoming difficulties that they face. Han and Baeg (2003) discovered that women who started a business under favorable circumstances showed the best performance in terms of growth rate based on the number of employees, sales, and R&D. Lee and Stearns (2012) also claimed that the three measures of entrepreneurial motivation (i.e., opportunities, independence and income, and entrepreneurial challenge) have significant effect not only on the success of businesses owned by women, but also on family support and knowledge, communication skills, knowledge of business, product competency, business capability, and resource availability. Lee and Stearns (2012) found strong support for the relationships between entrepreneurial motivations, women-owned business success, and performance, particularly for Korean women entrepreneurs.

Success Factors and Obstacles to Women Entrepreneurs

Some researchers have explored a wider range of factors affecting or impeding the business outcomes of women entrepreneurs, inclusive of motivation and entrepreneurial propensity, and many psychological characteristics, individual characteristics, and skills were found to be significant. Choi and Lee (2007), for instance, found influences of educational level and entrepreneurial, technical, and management skills on business outcomes. Ma and Jang (2009) stipulated that the more abilities women entrepreneurs have in terms of need for achievement, risk-taking propensity, vision, and opportunity perception, the better the performance they attain. In a similar manner, Oh et al. (2014) found that entrepreneurs' propensity for risk-taking, vision, and perception of opportunity affected the entrepreneurial confidence that influences entrepreneurial motivation, which, in turn, affects financial and non-financial outcomes. Lee, Stearns, Osteryoung, and Stephenson (2009) examined critical success factors of women-owned businesses and performance, by comparing Korea and the U.S.A., and identified family support and succession, communication abilities, product/service competency, and managerial abilities as critical success factors in both countries, although the relationships were stronger in the U.S.A. than in Korea.

Quite a few studies were devoted to determining obstacles to women entrepreneurs. In particular, Han (2010) presented two categories of factors that impede progress: gender-specific factors (i.e., differences based on traits and scholastic ability) and milieu-specific factors (i.e., occupational closure, family policies, and childcare). Han (2010) found larger gaps in milieu-specific factors than in gender-specific factors and, thus, concluded that the differences between genders are socially developed and not inherent; therefore, suitable assistance for women entrepreneurs should be designed and proposed. Welsh, Kim, Memili, and Kaciak (2014) discovered family support alone did not affect performance; however, it had an impact only in preventing negative influences of personal problems on performance.

Efforts to address commonalities and discrepancies across countries in terms of entrepreneurship and influencing factors have also been made. Lee et al. (2009) examined critical success factors of women-owned businesses and performance by comparing Korea and the U.S.A. Interestingly, A few studies have indicated that the development of women entrepreneurship lags behind men entrepreneurship across

countries, and the differences between genders are far greater than those across countries (Chun, 2002; Debroux, 2008; Van der Zwan, Verheul, & Thurik, 2012).

Teoh and Chong (2014) and Tambunan (2009) addressed common barriers to women entrepreneurs in Asian countries, including cultural barriers stressing the traditional roles of women as housewives; a lack of spousal support; gender inequality, especially in the workforce; lack of confidence in doing business; weak social and business networking; a lack of access to finances; a lack of legislative support for childcare; and inadequate assistance for needy families. Government support and policies should be devised to help women entrepreneurs, in part, to overcome these impediments, in addition to obstacles caused by their psychological and personal characteristics.

Government Support for Women Entrepreneurs in Korea

The Korean government has established and proposed quite a few supporting programs and policies for women entrepreneurs since the late 1990s. In 1999, the government enacted the Women's Business Ownership Supporting Law to support business activities, under the Small and Medium Business Administration, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, Korean Women Entrepreneurs Association, and local government agencies.

In the early years (1999–2002), these programs focused mostly on facilitating women's business start-ups. Later, these programs were expanded to embrace women beginning in business and those who already owned a business (Park, 2015). They have mainly provided start-up funding, implemented training programs, and offered consulting services so that these women's companies could be maintained and expanded to reach the international market (Oh et al., 2014; Welsh et al., 2014).

Many entities have organized a number of programs for women entrepreneurs, making it almost impossible to delineate all of them. However, since 2000 the government has annually established master plans for fostering business activities for women entrepreneurs based on its analysis of outcomes from the prior year's plan. According to the 2013

White Paper on women entrepreneurs (SMBA•KWBA, 2014), the key focus of the master plans has changed from protecting women entrepreneurs from disadvantages to strengthening their competitiveness. Specific initiatives and programs, however, have barely changed over time. The 2014 master plans for supporting women entrepreneurs, published by the Small and Medium Business Administration, have established specific initiatives, including, but not limited to, funding for women business start-ups; establishing a comprehensive database for women-owned enterprises; providing training programs for incumbent and prospective women entrepreneurs; running the Center for Business Incubator to provide stable and reliable support; networking and mentoring for women entrepreneurs; hosting contests for goods developed by women entrepreneurs; and assisting in the discovery of products with high potential for sales and marketing domestically and globally (SMBA, 2015).

Along with the proliferation of support programs and policies for women entrepreneurs, several attempts have been made to evaluate the outcomes of such policies (e.g., Lee, Sohn, & Ju, 2011; SMBA•KWBA, 2014; Yang & Kang, 2012). Yang and Kang (2012) reported that entrepreneurial professionals perceived that government policies for women entrepreneurs are necessary for and effective in attracting more women to undertake entrepreneurial activities. It was discovered, however, that these policies have concentrated only on short-term outcomes and that training programs are not customized to women entrepreneurs or to the industries of interest to them. The SMBA•KWBA (2014) reported that the number of beneficiaries is growing along with the amount of investment. Nevertheless, the need for improvement in the support programs is called for to ensure their quality, continuance, and systematic approaches. Lee et al. (2011) also discovered that the overall satisfaction with current government support was low because the support programs are not completely coherent or implemented, making it difficult to benefit from such programs. When evaluated, it was concluded that support programs should be revised and customized according to the industries in which women-owned enterprises are located.

Although the findings from the OECD (2016b) indicated that the Korean government's funding program for women entrepreneurs in general is effective, because a high percentage of women perceived that access to money is not a barrier to business start-ups, support programs (other than for funding) need to be improved to achieve their intended purposes.

Cases of Women Entrepreneurs in Korea

Although Korean women entrepreneurs confront barriers, some women entrepreneurs became prosperous through recognizing market opportunities, possessing confidence and persistence, and valuing social responsibilities. Their success stories are exemplified in the following three cases.

Man-deok Kim (1739–1812): The First Korean Woman Entrepreneur

Man-deok Kim was born on Jeju, an island south of current South Korea, and lived during the reign of the *Joseon* dynasty (1392–1910). Kim became a wholesale merchant who chose to trade textiles, jewelry, and cosmetics to avoid the oligopolistic market in necessities and maximize her advantages as a woman. By trading between Jeju and the Korean peninsula, she made a fortune. However, she returned what she earned to society. For instance, when a severe drought hit Jeju in 1794, Kim distributed rice to save around 18,000 lives. In recognition of her continuous social contributions, the king granted her a reward and a government post, though honorary. In 2015, a memorial hall was dedicated to her in Jeju, and she was recognized as the first Korean woman entrepreneur (Ju, Lee, Kim, & Park, 2010).

Romi Haan (1963–Present): Founder of HAAN

Romi Haan, also known as Kyung-hee Haan, is the founder of a multinational firm, Haan Corp., which produces household and beauty products. She quit her secure job as an officer in the Ministry of Education when she had a vision about home appliances that she regarded as revolutionary. As the traditional lifestyle of Koreans required sitting and sleeping on the floor, keeping the floor clean was essential; this task was mostly done by women scrubbing the floor while on their knees. She questioned why there was no electric steam mop that could be used easily while standing and determined to invent one herself (Cho & Kim, 2014). When she applied for government funding, however, she was rejected because the loan officer thought that she might be a symbolic head of the company, concealing her spouse who had bad credit. This inference was based solely on the fact that she was a woman (Park, 2016). However, she did not let it discourage her and took out mortgages on her house and also on her

families' houses at a huge risk (Feloni, 2014). In 2001, after spending two years inventing the product, she released a steam mop, but consumers thought that the mop was too heavy and the company, being new and small, would not be able to provide guaranteed customer service. In 2003, with an improved design and different advertising strategies, her new steam mop came to the market and became a great success. More than ten million units of her steam mops have been sold (G. Lee, 2015a). In 2007, she set up an international branch in Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and, just one year later, *The Wall Street Journal* named her among the Top 50 Women to Watch in the world (Schroeder, 2011).

Haan's skyrocketing growth has slowed in recent years. Whereas in 2009 her company's gross profit reached approximately US$90 million, with US$8.8 million of operating profit, profits have decreased since that time (Ahn & Jeong, 2015). Since 2014, the company has recorded a deficit, and, in 2015, its net loss was over US$300 million. As of 2017, the company is in the process of debt restructuring and will undergo several months of audit to seek measures to stabilize its finances (Kim, 2017). This crisis was partly caused by aggressive business expansion to include a wide variety of electronic frying pans, cosmetics, water purifiers, and other goods, none of which delivered another successful product. The crisis has been exacerbated by its excessive investment in the U.S. market (Ahn & Jeong, 2015; Kim, 2017). Despite the current hardships, Haan's enterprising spirit has set a good example for would-be women entrepreneurs.

Young Ye Song (1967–Present): Founder of Banul Story

Song's knitting supplies and resources company, Banul Story ("banul" meaning "a needle," in Korean), is an example of how one's hobby can grow into a successful business. As of 2016, the company has achieved annual sales of US$3 million and has 43 franchises nationwide (Kim, 2016). As Song, a housewife pregnant with her second baby, learned knitting from her neighbor in the early 1990s in prenatal education, she realized how talented she was at knitting. In 1998, she set up an Internet homepage where she uploaded her knitted goods, which soon became a one-person online business, as those who liked the items also wanted to knit one themselves with the same materials she had used. In the following year, she opened a 33 square meter offline store, partly because her husband's business was not going well due to the Asian financial crisis (Park, 2008). As a *jongbu*—the wife of the master of a clan (S. Lee, 2014)—and

a mother, however, she had so much housework to do that a work–life balance seemed impossible for her. She decided to prioritize what was more urgent for the time being: making money to support the family. The fact that her husband was very cooperative in doing household chores and raising children helped immensely (Park, 2008).

In planning her knitting business, she faced strong opposition because knitting was widely considered as something you do for a hobby, not for business. Besides, people argued that the number of knitters would continue to decline. Nevertheless, Song saw that, with social advancement, women had more time and money to spend. Busy mothers want to make up for the hours they have missed with their husband and children with heartfelt and handmade gifts, and to enjoy a hobby they can perform while visiting and talking, while learning is relatively easy. On top of that, Song thought that knitted items would become invaluable to younger generations who like to own something (Lee, 2014).

After entering the market, she found it astonishing that, although knitters were women, the absolute majority of raw material producers and merchants were men who underestimated the value of knitting. The sorts of yarn available in the market were very often limited to a few primary colors. In turn, Song initiated contact with foreign brands in the early 2000s and embarked on the distribution of knitting materials. Later, she undertook production and export (Lee, 2014). Song said, "People often ask me how I could come this far with knitting, but I started this business with belief that this would work out, and I did not feel much hardship" (Park, 2008, para. 8).

When asked about the key to the success of her business, Song spoke of trust. She has a principle that a prospective franchisee should receive training in knitting for three to six months, based on their knitting level. She believed that, if someone is willing to invest six months of their time, they will not give up easily. Besides, during these months, the franchisees created strong ties with the company. As a result, the retention rate of Banul Story franchisees remains high, at around 70%. Another key is continuous education. Song holds bimonthly workshops for franchisees, and they are asked to bring a piece of their knitted work for mutual evaluation and discussion. Online communities are available for the franchisees to exchange information, and they can benefit from advanced training upon request (Park, 2008). Song's training and education are not limited to her franchisees. She has endeavored to foster talent in the knitting industry in a number of ways. Since 2001, she has run programs to teach knitting and

give information on how to open a knitting business. Through her Banul Academy, over 500 women are trained every year, which increases the employability of women with discontinued careers and encourages them to become entrepreneurs. In 2006, she set up the Korean Hand Knitting Association, and, in 2015, she set up a knitting research institute (Kim, 2016). Her positive faith and efforts with regard to education have led her to great success.

Recommendations

This chapter shows that the number of women entrepreneurs is growing, and women entrepreneurs have been of great concern and interest in Korea. Along with the proliferation of women entrepreneurs and some successes, much room remains for improvement.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although quite a few studies have been conducted regarding Korean women entrepreneurs, there is still a need to examine what causes differences between those who succeed and those who fail, and what solutions to provide for the latter. Moreover, as most studies have used a limited number of women entrepreneurs in certain industries as samples (Oh et al., 2014), future research needs to include larger samples of women entrepreneurs from many industries.

To achieve a more comprehensive understanding of Korean women entrepreneurs, comparative research is suggested to examine differences in separate developmental phases of entrepreneurship. In this regard, longitudinal studies should also be considered, as entrepreneurship is evolving. It may generate useful insights if the changes in women entrepreneurs' perceptions from an early to a more developed phase are studied. One can also examine how entrepreneurship changes along with the economic status of a country. Whereas success factors and barriers to women entrepreneurs have been noted, those effects have not been thoroughly investigated. Obstacles may have different impact on various women entrepreneurs, possibly with the interaction of family support and self-perception (Welsh et al., 2014). The relationships between success factors and barriers with regard to women entrepreneurship should be investigated in more systemic and structured ways.

Recommendations for Public Policy on Women Entrepreneurs

While the government's encouragement and assistance for women entrepreneurs is growing (Yang & Kang, 2012), the qualities of such support are questionable. Even though the goals of the government support have embraced both those starting in business and incumbent entrepreneurs, further support and programs should be designed to help women entrepreneurs grow and flourish. To that end, the number of entities that provide similar supporting programs needs to be minimized to eliminate overlaps, and the initiatives that contain similar services should be integrated. In addition, the government should seek to offer more customized services and programs based on the industry and the maturity of the enterprise, rather than aiming for a large number of industries and enterprises. Most training events for developing entrepreneurship have been offered regardless of age, prior experience, industry, and gender (Oh et al., 2014); therefore, they also need to be customized, reflecting women's personal and psychological traits and needs.

As the Korean government has lately offered many initiatives and support programs to encourage entrepreneurship, some studies have been conducted to evaluate those programs, as noted in the literature review. However, most studies are limited to using a survey of the perceptions of participants and professionals. In-depth evaluation studies, such as return-on-investment and identification of their economic effects, should be conducted by the government so that more effective and concrete programs can be designed and offered.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the current status of women entrepreneurship from the standpoint of women's leadership in terms of research, government policies, and exemplary cases. Recently, Korean women's entrepreneurship has developed significantly. However, there is much room for improvement, particularly in terms of the need for diversification of research design and study samples, and the customization of support programs, among others.

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Dr. Ji-Hye Park is a Professor of Education at Kookmin University, Korea. She has taught undergraduate and graduate courses, including lifelong learning, HRD, program development, and elderly education and has published articles on HRD and education in Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) journals. She has a wide range of research interests, including transfer of training, utilization of technology for effective learning, evaluating teachers and educational programs, developing a competence model for novice HRD practitioners, and career development and counseling. Recently, she was involved with a project developing a career-development program for middle-school students based on entrepreneurship.

Hyunok Ryu has hands-on experience in women leadership and empowerment, beginning in 2005 when she worked in a rural area of China. The project, in association with the international non-governmental organization Humana People to People partly involved training local women to become preschool teachers and advising them how to make money from their crafting skills. In 2008, she established a branch office of a publishing company in the Philippines. The job required her to cover a wide range of duties, including advertising, recruitment, and management, while dealing with administrative and legal issues. The experience of setting up and running an office in an insecure, culturally heterogeneous society as a woman expatriate in her late twenties taught her about the risk factors and the keys to success for business people. After ten years of field experience, she enrolled in graduate school majoring in adult continuing education at Korea University. She is currently a Ph.D. student in the Department of Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia, Canada.

CHAPTER 10

Korean Women Leaders in the Government Sector

Sohee Park and Sunyoung Park

As the participation of Korean women in the labor force has increased due to women's educational attainment and the perception of change in women's roles in society (Eun, 2007), the number of women officials in the government sector has also increased. According to the Korean Women's Development Institute (2015), the ratio of women who passed the national examination for government officials increased from 25.3% in 2001 to 36.1% in 2011, and the ratio of women who passed the national examination for Grade 7 increased from 28.4% in 2001 to 37.0% in 2011, then to 39.7% in 2014. According to the personnel system of the Korean government, Grade 7 refers to general staff, Grade 6 refers to the team leader level, Grade 5 refers to the deputy director level, and Grade 4 refers to the division director level. The lower numbers in grade represent higher positions.

The Korean government has recently exerted effort to increase the number of women leaders by trying to meet a quota with a specified proportion (30%) of women leaders and by implementing work–life balance initiatives to meet the government's directives on women in leadership and work–life

S. Park
Inje University, Gimhae, South Korea

S. Park (✉)
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA, USA

Y. Cho, G.N. McLean (eds.), *Korean Women in Leadership*,
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integration (MOGEF, 2015). After implementing policies to improve women's social status, such as the Affirmative Action and Framework Act on Gender Equality (to improve policies and practices related to hiring discrimination against women in the workplace), scholars have discussed the positive changes for women leaders in the Korean government sector (Joo, Kim, & Kim, 2015; Lee & Oh, 2014; Moon, Kim, Jeong, & Ryu, 2013). However, the Korean government still lacks a significant number of women leaders. For example, among the 15,492 government officials in Seoul Capital City in 2012, the proportion of women officials was 29.8% (4615) (Yoon, 2014). In higher than Grade 5, the proportion of women leaders was 15.4% (230 of 1,495 leaders) (Yoon, 2014). According to the Ministry of Personnel Management (2015), the proportions of women in Grades 7, 6, 5, 4, and 3 (the senior director level) were 42.1%, 27.8%, 14.7%, 10.0%, and 6.1%, respectively.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the status of women leaders in government, to discuss existing support systems for them, and to identify areas for improvement in women's leadership in the Korean government sector. We reviewed policies for women leaders in government and explored the current situation of women leaders in government. Based on previous studies (e.g., Lee, Kang, & Lee, 2010), we categorized women-friendly government initiatives to support women leaders into four types (women's leadership training and development, flexible work arrangements, gender equality policies, and childcare services) and reviewed the status of those initiatives.

To collect data, we reviewed literature and government reports and interviewed four government officials to identify the current situation and the future plans for women leaders in the government sector. We found existing studies through multiple databases, such as Google Scholar, Business Source Complete (for English literature), Korean Studies Information Service System (KISS), Research Information Sharing Service (RISS), and DBpia (for Korean literature). We searched using keywords and mixed terms, such as Korean government, Korean women leaders, work arrangement, gender equality policies, childcare services, and women leadership training and development within the title or keywords. We also conducted interviews with three officials to identify support systems for women leaders in the government sector. In addition, we met a woman official to determine her personal experience with women-friendly government programs. With an eye to our findings, we discussed advantages and challenges in implementing current policies for women leaders in the government sector.

Women-Friendly Government Programs

To present the current status of women leaders in the Korean government, four types of women-friendly government programs are discussed in the following sections: women's leadership training and development, flexible work arrangements, gender equality policies, and childcare services.

Women's Leadership Training and Development

One way to develop women leaders in an organization is to provide leadership training and development programs. Our examination of the current leadership training and development programs revealed that there are few programs specifically designed for women leaders in the government sector. For example, the National Human Resources Development Institute (NHI), which provides training programs for central government employees, does not have leadership programs specifically created for women leaders (National Human Resources Development Institute, 2016). Instead, it has several leadership programs for leaders, regardless of gender, at different levels, such as senior executive service candidates, new division directors, and division director candidates.

The scarcity of leadership programs for women leaders is also consistently found in local government agencies. For example, Yoon (2014) examined training programs in human resource development centers for Seoul and Daegu cities and identified that both local government agencies had few leadership training programs for women officials. The center for Seoul had only 1 of 489 sessions in their training programs related to women's leadership. The program was entitled Women's Leadership Development. The center for Daegu did not have classroom training sessions for women leaders and had only 1 of 195 online training sessions devoted to women in leadership. Both training centers need significant improvement for their women's leadership training programs (Yoon, 2014).

We found from the interviews that the only organization that had a leadership program for women leaders was the Local Government Officials Development Institute (LOGODI), a training center for local government officials. A staff member in charge of leadership programs at the LOGODI stated that the Institute is recognized as the only long-term training program in the country for women officials. The program is for women officials of local governments (Grade 6) and takes place over ten months. During our interview, the staff in charge of the programs stated that the number of

participants in 2016 was 67, which is an increase compared with the 30–40 women who participated in the initial program started in 1994.

Although the women leaders program in LOGODI is the only long-established program for women leaders in the government sector, it has several areas that require improvement. First, as mentioned, there were only 67 participants in 2016, which is still minimal compared to the 20,434 local women Grade 6 officials (MPM, 2015). The LOGODI program staff member we interviewed revealed that they were not able to accept all women government officials who wanted to participate in the program due to the limited number of places. He also asserted that the limited space and budget did not allow them to expand the program. There is no such program available for women leaders at higher levels. Instead, the LOGODI has leadership programs for higher levels, such as Grade 5 or Grade 4, regardless of leaders' gender.

In addition, the content of the program may not reflect women leaders' needs properly. The program consists of training sessions on core values (30.0%), leadership (8.7%), job training (42.5%), and self-development (16.6%). The content in most of the sessions includes general topics applicable for all local government leaders. The staff member added that the only sessions considering women leaders' needs were two sessions, called Leadership Training and Women's Leadership in Depth, which represent only 49 hours out of 1,435 hours, the total number of training hours. Greater proportions are assigned to physical exercises and personal hobbies (as part of self-development), as well as training on core values as public officials.

Many researchers have asserted that organizations need to pay special attention to development programs for women government officials. In men-dominated organizations, women leaders experience isolation, have fewer opportunities for professional and informal networks, and thus have less access to developmental experiences in becoming senior managers (Fitzsimmons, Callan, & Paulsen, 2014). Leadership development for women leaders, therefore, needs to be tailored to meet their specific developmental needs (Hopkins, O'Neil, Parrarelli, & Bilimoria, 2008).

Previous research on Korean government officials has emphasized the importance of gender-based development programs reflecting different needs. Jin and Oh (2009) identified that women leaders have expressed interest in training topics such as taking initiative, networking and political skills, leadership competencies, and conflict management skills. In contrast, men leaders desired training on conformity with rules, attention to detail, and customer-centeredness. Park and Lee (2011) examined women

officials' performance levels and identified the following seven vital areas for improvement: change initiative, conflict management, networking, negotiation, political skills, strategic mindset, and teamwork. Although researchers have asserted the importance of developing leadership programs for women officials in the government sector in Korea (Jin & Oh, 2009; Park & Lee, 2011), organizational efforts in the government sector remain limited.

Flexible Work Arrangements

Flexible work arrangements in organizations are not gender-specific. However, this flexibility is quite helpful for women employees because it allows them to focus on their work and maintain work–life balance. The benefits of flexible work arrangements are known to increase job satisfaction and reduce work stress, absences, and tardiness (Scandura & Lankau, 1997; Starvrou, 2005). Particularly, women employees in the U.S.A. using flexible work arrangements showed higher organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Golembiewski, 1982; Scandura & Lankau, 1997).

Flexible work arrangements in the government sector are encouraged as a part of strategic planning by the Korean government. In 2010, facing increasing needs for changing work environments and improving work–life balance due to low fertility rates and low employment participation rates by women in Korea, the government announced policies related to flexible work arrangements (Jang & Park, 2015). The goals of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security (MOPAS) were to introduce flexible work arrangements in public arenas, first, in central and local government agencies, and then expand them to other arenas in the country.

The Korean government's efforts to push workplace flexibility among its employees include holding a public hearing, organizing a taskforce, exploring and developing tasks appropriate for workplace flexibility, piloting workplace flexibility programs, and developing guidelines for workplace flexibility in the government sector (Jang & Park, 2015). The government has established and enforced relevant laws/regulations supporting workplace flexibility in the government sector. Examples include the State Public Officials' Duties and Regulations 10 (related to flexible work arrangements), State Public Officials Act 26-2 (related to part-time work), and Electronic Government Act 32-2 (related to working remotely). The MOPAS also provided guidelines for flexible work arrangements for central and local government agencies to introduce workplace flexibility programs.

Table 10.1 Types of flexible work arrangements in the government sector

Program		*Explanation*
Type	Part-time work	Working less than 40 hours a week
Time	Flexitime	Flexible in work start times (7:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m.) Working 8 hours a day, 5 days a week (40 hours)
	Alternative work schedule	Flexible in work start and end times No need to work 8 hours per day, but working 5 days (40 hours) per week
	Compressed work	Working 40 hours a week, but less than 5 days a week (3.5–4 days per week)
	Discretionary work	Regarded as working hours per project completion based on a contract between an individual and an institute
Place	At home work	Working at home
	At smart work center	Working at a smart work center, telecommuting office near home (currently, smart work centers are available in 15 locations for all central and local government officials)

Note: Adapted from MOPAS (2012) and Ministry of Interior (2017)

Flexible work arrangements in the government sector include part-time work, flexitime, alternative work schedules, compressed work, discretionary work, home work, and smart work (MOPAS, 2012). Table 10.1 provides a detailed explanation of the various programs.

The government has tried to establish a framework for a flexible workplace in the government sector. According to MOPAS (2012), each department is supposed to build a monthly plan for a flexible workplace based on employees' requests and flexible work arrangements, meaning that employees' requests are allowed unless there are special circumstances. The government also provided a training program regarding workplace flexibility for each agency and created an award for an agency determined to be the best workplace for flexibility. In the annual performance evaluation of a department or government agency, 3 of 30 points in the area of human resources (HR) are allocated for organizations at the central government based on the percentage of employees who use flexible work arrangements for more than four weeks continuously and is given when over 7% of employees take advantage of the option. As the results of the yearly performance evaluation affect the amount of the budget for the following year, establishing the utilization percentage as a part of the performance index illustrates the government's commitment to expanding workplace flexibility in the government sector.

Jang and Park (2015) asserted that the government has made efforts to expand workplace flexibility in the government sector as a leading model for many other organizations in Korea. Yet, the actual utilization of workplace flexibility programs is still lagging behind compared with other leading countries. According to the Ministry of Security and Public Administration (2013), 44,142 employees used workplace flexibility programs (12.5% of the total) in central and local government agencies in 2012. Although this result is a significant increase from 16,516 (5.8% of the total) in 2011, it is still a minimal number compared with leading countries in workplace flexibility. For example, in the British government sector, 42% of employees used workplace flexibility, as did 50% of part-time public officials (Jin, 2012).

Previous studies have explored factors that hinder the expansion of flexible workplace arrangements in the government sector. According to Jin (2012), government officials in the Ministry of Health and Welfare found that hindering factors included feeling bad for colleagues who did not use the program (85.9%), difficulties due to task characteristics (73.4%), possible disadvantages in evaluations/promotions (70.3%), and lack of understanding among managers (66.4%). Lee and Oh (2014) found similar reasons why government employees did not choose flexible work arrangements: difficulties in cooperation with people outside one's own department (36.2%), potential burdens to managers or colleagues (33.6%), and heavy workloads (12.1%). Based on the results, Lee and Oh (2014) suggested training for workplace flexibility that ensures better understanding among managers and colleagues, and the development and introduction of proper types of flexible work arrangements for specific tasks.

In our interviews, one Grade 6 woman official shared reasons why she was not able to use the workplace flexibility arrangements she wanted. As the mother of a three-year-old boy, she wished to use an alternative work schedule or compressed work arrangement, but she was worried about adding burdens to her team members:

> If I use an alternative work schedule or compressed work arrangement, my manager and colleagues will not be able to set up meetings when they need and will not be able to ask me to participate if there is an urgent need. All of these can affect my performance evaluations.

Unexpected overtime work also makes it hard for her to plan flexible work arrangements. She is currently asking her parents to take care of her son in

their house on weekdays, which is three hours away from where she works. Her example indicates the need for changes in work styles, processes, and organizational cultures in government.

Gender Equality Policies

The third women-friendly government initiative is gender equality policies for women government officials that have been in place since 2003. The Framework Act on Gender Equality was implemented in 2015 by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. The further development of this plan is entitled Basic Plan for Gender Equality Policies (hereafter, the Basic Plan) whose goal is to achieve progress towards gender equality by measuring the gender gap between women and men every five years (MOGEF, 2015). With the vision of creating a gender equal society through genuine partnership between men and women, the Basic Plan consists of seven major projects: (1) promotion of a gender equality culture, (2) promotion of work–life balance, (3) the addressing of gender gaps in employment, (4) greater representation of women in the public sector and international agencies, (5) eradication of violence against women and protection of their human rights, (6) improvement in the health and welfare of women, and (7) a stronger policy platform to pursue gender equality.

Among the seven projects, addressing the gender gap in employment focuses on reducing gender-based discrimination in employment. Based on a gender quota system, central and local governments are to hire additional officials from one gender when there are fewer than 30% successful applicants from the gender. In 2015, the central government hired 12 women officials from among 32 successful supplementary applicants (i.e., they were hired after the quota had already been reached, so their employment was not needed to meet the quota), while local governments hired 40 women from among 212 successful supplementary applicants (MOGEF, 2015). Hiring more women officials is important, as governments are then able to establish a human resource pool from which to select women leaders.

The fourth project (improvement of women's representation in the public sector) pays more attention to increasing the number of women leaders and expanding the number of women leaders in government. The portion of women influencing decision-making in government plays a significant role in establishing and implementing gender equality (MOGEF, 2015). The government has an annual goal to increase the proportion of

women in leadership groups. In 2014, the proportion of women leaders at Grade 4 in the central government was 10.9% (goal) and 11% (performance), while in 2015 the proportion of women leaders increased to 12.0% (goal) and 12.1% (performance). Although the proportion of women leaders has increased overall in the government sector (Won, 2012), the number of women leaders is still significantly smaller when compared with men leaders (MPM, 2015). For instance, the proportion of women leaders at Grade 4 was 4.5% in 2014, compared with 3.4% in 2010 (MPM, 2015).

The number of women leaders higher than the level of deputy director (Grade 5) in both central and local governments has increased over recent years (Joo et al., 2015). Table 10.2 summarizes the number and proportion of women leaders in higher positions than Grade 5 between 2008 and 2014. As seen in Table 10.2, the proportions of women leaders have been less than 17%, although these proportions have gradually increased. In 2014, the proportions of women leaders in central and local governments were 16.8% and 11.6%, respectively.

To improve the proportion of women leaders, the central government has implemented an expansion plan for the employment of women managers at Grade 4 and above. Between 2002 and 2006, the first expansion plan achieved 10% of women leaders at Grade 5 (Moon et al., 2013). By creating a human resources management guideline for women officials, the expansion plan met its quota by developing women leaders, facilitating gender equality in promotion, fostering women's participation in the hiring and promotion process, and expanding the number of women leaders at a senior level (Moon et al., 2013). The second expansion plan attempted to increase the percentage of women leaders at Grade 4 between 2007 and

Table 10.2 Number and proportion of women leaders at more than Grade 5

Level	*Group*	*2008*	*2009*	*2010*	*2011*	*2012*	*2013*	*2014*
Central	Total	22,673	22,947	23,371	24,029	24,432	24,143	24,694
	Women	2392	2644	2896	3239	3635	3762	4146
	Proportion women (%)	10.5	11.5	12.4	13.5	14.9	15.6	16.8
Local	Total	19,076	19,579	20,078	20,390	20,934	21,512	21,805
	Women	1457	1595	1730	1869	2064	2296	2527
	Proportion women (%)	7.6	8.2	8.6	9.2	9.9	10.7	11.6

Note: Adapted from Ministry of Interior (2015)

2011, followed by the third expansion plan established for 2012 to 2016. The goal of the 2017 expansion plan is to achieve 15% of women leaders across the entirety of Grade 4 (MOGEF, 2015).

This decision and policy at the central level are mandated for local governments through the guideline of gender equality policy. According to the expansion plan guidelines for the development of women leaders, local governments are expected to implement human resources (HR) policies for women leaders. The local governments selected potential leaders among women officials based on their performance evaluations at Grades 5 and 6. The guidelines strongly recommend that the heads of local governments appoint more than one woman deputy director when hiring or promoting. In particular, the heads of local government should provide fair opportunities for the promotion of women officials. Women should be promoted in accordance with the promotion list when they are up for promotion (Ministry of Interior, 2015). Additionally, the heads of local governments should not assign only women leaders to specific departments that are considered to be doing women-oriented jobs. Government heads should consider the promotion and assignment of women leaders based on the number of women officials at all levels (MOI, 2013). The Basic Plan and the expansion plan for women leaders having been successfully implemented at both central and local government levels, the percentage of women leaders continues to increase, which implies that women Korean leaders have more opportunities for career development in the government sector. For instance, the percentage of women leaders at Grade 3 (senior director level) increased from 5.3% in 2014 to 6.1% in 2015 (MPM, 2015).

However, there are several areas for improvement in this gender equality policy. The expansion plan has successfully contributed to quantitatively increasing the proportion of women leaders; nevertheless, career development plans for women leaders have not been fully developed. Our interview with an officer in charge of HR policy confirmed that neither central nor local governments have concrete plans for career advancement after women leaders are promoted from Grade 5 (deputy director level) to Grade 4 (division director level). These women leaders have limited opportunities for further leadership development, which would include how to develop advanced leadership competencies, how to establish mentoring relationships, and how to be prepared for further promotion. To expand the number of women leaders, more practical guidelines and plans are needed to be aligned with the purpose of women's leadership development in the government. As part of this effort, the Korean Women's

Development Institute suggested policies related to career development for promoted women leaders in the government sector, based on a competency-based model (Moon, Kim, & Choi, 2016).

Among the success stories of women leaders in the government sector (MOGEF, 2014), the first woman director of the Prosecutor's Office, Heejin Cho, mentioned that "gender equality policies for senior women leaders helped Supreme Prosecutor's Office pay more attention to women leaders in the senior level" (MOGEF, 2014, p. 55). Of the 199 employees in the Prosecutor's Office, 49 (25%) are directors, all of whom are men except for Cho, implying the importance of Cho's position as a woman (Kim, 2014). She was appointed in 2014 based on her performance and contributions. She was denied promotion several times just because she was a woman (Kim, 2014). However, in line with the gender equality policies and improved perception of women leaders, she has been able to take care of both work and childcare with support from her family and colleagues (MOGEF, 2014). The first woman director of the Prosecutor's Office has tried to raise a sense of women prosecutors' status and existence, and to inspire junior prosecutors to have a vision of a future career (Kim, 2014).

Childcare Services

The last women-friendly government initiative is childcare services. The government has provided childcare services to working parents in the country to promote work–life balance as part of the Basic Plan. Working parents can receive personal childcare services by asking a professional babysitter to visit their house in accordance with a schedule. In addition, a 24 hour a day/7 days a week service is available so that working parents can leave a child in the custody of babysitters when they work at nights, weekends, or when they have emergencies (MOGEF, 2015). These childcare services are for all working parents, not only for women officials and leaders in the government sector.

The government describes childcare support for officials by law. The purpose of childcare support for officials is to promote work–life balance by providing social and economic support to raise and educate children. According to the Infant Care Act (Article 14), public organizations can either set up childcare facilities, or assist with the expenses of childcare if the organizations are not able to build childcare facilities. In particular, childcare facilities are required when establishing government office buildings

with more than 300 women officials, or more than 500 full-time officials (see The Enforcement Decree of Infant Care Act, Article 20). For instance, officials working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Central Government Complex can send their children (aged 1–5) to one of three childcare centers within the complex or within a short distance. The Government Complex Gwacheon (with the offices of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Science, ICT, Future Planning, and others) has two childcare centers. Recently, the Korean National Police Agency opened 22 childcare centers that can handle between 40 and 150 children of women police officers across the country (Korean National Police Agency, 2016).

In addition, the government relocation plan has contributed to stimulating childcare facilities set-ups in government office buildings. In early 2007, the government created a special administrative district, Sejong (Sejong Special Autonomous City), to relocate several ministries and national agencies from Seoul, the capital city (Ministry of Public Safety and Security, 2015). From 2012 to 2016, the Office for Government Policy Coordination and Prime Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Strategy and Finance, Ministry of Environment, and others have moved their buildings from Seoul to Sejong (MPSS, 2015). The relocation caused officials to change their lives. In particular, women officials with children desperately needed support for childcare. As part of the support for officials after the relocation, childcare facilities were established in the Government Complex Sejong (which has 17 government office buildings). There are two childcare centers for government officials in Sejong. The childcare centers accept preschool children (aged 5 years or under) and look after them between 7:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. on weekdays, and between 7:30 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. on Saturdays.

Local governments have also provided similar childcare services for their officials. For example, Daegu City implemented a childcare center for its officials in 1997. Based on similar rules for operation (e.g., business hours) as the central government, the childcare center in Daegu provides cover for 75 children (aged 5 years or under). The childcare center in Seoul provides an extended care service (7:30–10:00 p.m.) and an after-school curriculum (1:30–7:30 p.m.) while looking after both preschool children and elementary school students (between Grades 1 and 5). While these childcare services are working in some local cities, limited resources prevent expansion in other local areas. Local governments provide childcare service for officials, including offering assistance with the expenses of childcare (141 areas) and setting up childcare facilities (88 areas); however, 93 local areas still have no childcare services (MOI, 2015).

Providing childcare services to women leaders in government is well-established by policy and related legislation. In addition, women in the government perceive that their working conditions and workplaces that include childcare services are relatively better than those of private industries, in terms of work–family balance (Choi & Park, 2014). Despite positive perception and formal support, childcare services need to be improved in terms of quantity and quality. Women leaders have appealed for the number of childcare facilities to be increased, as the present number is insufficient. The application process for childcare is so competitive that women leaders place their names on a long waiting list. In some local areas, women leaders are not able to use childcare services because of a lack of facilities. The level of childcare services (e.g., whether extended care services are available or not) is not consistent across regions. Although there is an audit process of childcare centers in the government, after-audit procedures lack the specifics to improve the quality of childcare services and quality control.

Discussion

The government's efforts have been focused on quantitative results related to increasing the number of women leaders, rather than real and practical changes to develop and utilize women leaders in the long term. For example, leadership development or training programs for women leaders in the government sector have been extremely rare. Future career development plans for women leaders after promotion have not been established. In spite of the established legislation and rules for work–life balance in the government sector, employees still continue to mention the difficulties of using flexible workplace arrangements.

Implications for Practice

Our examination of women's leadership development indicated the need for the government to focus on providing more opportunities for women leaders to develop their leadership. There is a scarcity of leadership development and training programs for women leaders in the Korean government sector. Existing programs, such as the LOGODI program, have not fully reflected the specific needs of women leaders. As Hopkins et al. (2008) asserted, the Korean government needs to explore and consider women officials' specific needs in their programs. The government can

also utilize various developmental activities, such as assessment, training and education, coaching, mentoring, networking, experiential learning, and career planning (Hopkins et al., 2008).

Although there is an increase in utilizing flexible work arrangements among government officials, our examination demonstrated that there should be more supportive workplaces for government officials to take full advantage of flexible work arrangements. The government will need to come up with strategies to change old work styles and organizational cultures to work seamlessly with their employees using flexible work arrangements.

Regarding gender equality policies, the expansion plan for the employment of women leaders has successfully contributed to quantitatively increasing the proportion of women leaders at the levels of deputy director (Grade 5) and division director (Grade 4). However, there is still a lack of senior women leaders in the government sector. In addition, future career development plans for women leaders after promotion have not been established. More practical guidelines for women's career advancement are needed to align with the purposes of leadership development for women in the government for the qualitative and quantitative expansion of women leaders, specifically at senior levels.

There are current relevant policies and legislation that allow the government to provide childcare services to government officials. However, the regulations are not mandatory, and the number of childcare facilities is not sufficient considering the current number of women officials, let alone the number of new officials expected under expansion. The quality of childcare services is also inconsistent based on region and the quality of teachers. The government needs to make more progress in providing childcare services to women (and men) officials (e.g., opening new childcare centers, extending childcare services during weekends, providing greater oversight into the quality of caregivers) to support current and potential women leaders in the government sector.

Recommendations for Future Research

Our approach to understanding the current situation of women leaders in the Korean government was mainly through analyses based on a literature review and interviews. Future studies exploring the lived experiences of women leaders in the Korean government would provide richer knowledge on how women-friendly government initiatives have affected them

and further insights on how to improve initiatives for their work and career as women leaders in the government.

Considering that the government sector has a limited proportion of women leaders at senior levels, future studies could explore how to increase this proportion by interviewing diverse stakeholders, including policymakers and senior leaders. How the Korean government culture can foster or impede succession planning for women leaders could provide another topic. The opportunities and challenges of current senior women leaders in the government can also be explored.

In addition, further investigation will be needed to compare policies and practices between Korea and other leading countries in developing and managing women leaders in their governments. Comparative studies will provide insights into understanding the impact of policies on practices and ideas of how to improve policies for women leaders in the government.

Conclusion

Korean government organizations have focused on increasing the number of women leaders. Future initiatives for women leaders in government organizations need to focus more on developing the next levels to include the specific needs of women officials in training and career development and in management, and incorporating more favorable work cultures for work–life balance. In that way, the Korean government sector will become a successful role model for increasing, developing, and utilizing women leaders for organizations in other sectors in the country.

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Dr. Sohee Park is an Associate Professor of Business Administration at Inje University, Gimhae, Korea. Her research interests include coaching, mentoring, career development, work and life balance, and leadership assessment and development. She worked as a consultant at Personnel Decisions International (now Korn Ferry) in the U.S.A. She provides consultations for Korean companies and government agencies on their leadership assessment tools and development solutions. She received her Ph.D. in HRD from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

Dr. Sunyoung Park is an Assistant Professor of Human Resource Education and Workforce Development at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Her research interests include organizational culture and behavior, learning and performance in the workplace, leadership, and research trends in HRD and related fields. She has worked in corporate and non-profit sectors in the area of HRD. She received her Ph.D. in HRD from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

CHAPTER 11

Women Leaders in the Education Sector

You-Kyung Han and Sam Hwan Joo

The role of women teachers in Korea seems to overdo the dual responsibilities as teachers and family members compared to men teachers. It takes more time and efforts than men to get recognized at schools. Moreover, such endeavors and accomplishments seem to be degrading.
(Quoted from a woman elementary school principal who had 43 years of teaching experience and eight years as a principal)

As more women participate in economic activities and join the workforce in Korea, their representation in managerial positions is also on the rise, increasing expectations of seeing more women leaders in the future. According to the Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute (2016a), women faculty have been in the majority since the 1990s, and, in 2016, the number of women teachers accounted for more than half of the faculty in all school levels, with 77% in elementary

Y.-K. Han (✉)
Ewha Woman's University, Seoul, South Korea

S.H. Joo
Chungnam National University, Daejeon, South Korea

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schools, 68.8% in middle schools, and 50.8% in high schools. Further details are provided in the sections that follow.

Even though the number of women faculty has increased—even so much as to see the emergence of a new term, *feminization of teaching*—the ratio of women in top managerial positions is relatively low, and the ratio has dropped further in higher education, showing how serious gender inequality is manifested in Korea's education sector. There are several reasons why the women principal ratio is significantly lower than the ratio of women teachers in educational institutions (Park, 2006) including: gender discrimination, perceived insufficient capabilities of women, non-intentional discrimination against women, and a lack of networks.

Most discussion regarding Korea's women principals has focused on their low representation or relevant structural problems. Whether it being personal, social, or structural problems, to understand gender inequality better, we need first to analyze whether male and female leaders display different activities and impacts; if so, how different are they, and how might such differences affect women as they move into leadership positions? It is also important to look at how such differences affect women's efficiency (Cho, Lee, & Kim, 2004).

There are only a few studies on the efficiency of women principals in Korea, but some studies have been carried out recently. Han, Kim, and Yoon (2011) concluded that women principals have a positive impact on educational achievement compared to their male counterparts. Yoon (2004) suggested that women teachers working with a woman principal have higher satisfaction in their work compared with those working with a male principal. Kim (2009) concluded that the leadership of women principals has a positive impact on the job performance of the faculty measured by teachers' class preparation, class activities, handling of assigned tasks, and professional development using the mediator variable called "job satisfaction."

In this chapter, we analyze the gender ratio trends in the education sector and the difficulties women teachers face in the workplace based on their low representation in managerial positions despite their high representation and outstanding performance as principals and managers. In addition, we review current attempts to solve these issues and present suggestions for future research.

History and the Current Status of Women Leaders in Education

We now explore the history of women leaders in education, along with the available statistics to support their historical situation, at all levels of education.

K-12 Education Sector

As of 2016, women teachers overwhelmingly dominate elementary schools and middle schools (Ministry of Education & Korean Educational Development Institute, 2016a). In high schools, as women make up slightly more than half of the faculty, it appears that gender inequality among teachers has been addressed to some degree. There has been a visible and remarkable increase in women teachers at all education levels except tertiary. The ratio of male teachers was higher in the 1980s, but the trend has reversed with the rising number of women teachers. Teaching is especially attractive to well-educated women because of its equal employment opportunity, acquired by the fair examination system and suitable working conditions for women compared with other jobs (Park, 2009, 2013), with a relatively higher level of salary and rewards in comparison with other OECD countries (OECD, 2013). In elementary schools, the number of women teachers was 68,604 in 1990 (50.1% of teachers), but the number jumped to 141,248 (77.0%) in 2016 (MOE & KEDI, 2016a). In middle schools, women teachers in 1995 accounted for 49.8% with 49,778 teachers, which increased to 68.8% (75,375 teachers) in 2016. The number of women teachers in high schools was just 8,729 in 1980, accounting for only 17.1% of the faculty, increasing to 50.8% (68,788 teachers) in 2016 (MOE & KEDI, 2016a).

The ratio of women in managerial positions in education has also steadily increased over the last 30 years (MOE & KEDI, 2016a). As of 2016, women principals accounted for 34.5% in elementary schools and 24.3% in middle schools, but only 9.9% in high schools (MOE & KEDI, 2016a). These numbers are still low in comparison with the rate of increase in women teachers. The ratio of women vice-principals is higher than that of women principals. In elementary schools, in particular, women vice-principals account for 56.7%; in middle schools, slightly higher than women principals with 31.8%; and similar to principals in high school at 13.9% (MOE & KEDI, 2016a). The ratio of women in leadership positions was relatively low in 2016, and the ratio gets lower as the education level

increases. However, we see a positive trend in the women ratio among vice-principals; the talent pipeline as potential candidates to become principals is on the rise, but mainly in elementary schools and not at all in high schools. We expect that the women principal ratio in elementary schools will increase further, having a positive impact on the increase in women principals in middle and high schools. These numbers are summarized in Fig. 11.1.

Tertiary Education Sector

Another area to investigate is the tertiary education sector. Full-time faculties at universities consist of a president, deans, full professors, associate professors, and assistant professors. Since 2013, under the Education Act, there are no longer full-time instructors at Korean universities. The number of full-time faculties rose by more than 10,000 from 33,340 in 1990 to 45,087 in 1995 before it decreased to 41,943 in 2000 (MOE & KEDI, 2016b). Since then, the number has slowly increased to 65,300 in 2016, marking almost a 200% growth over the past 20 years. Meanwhile, the

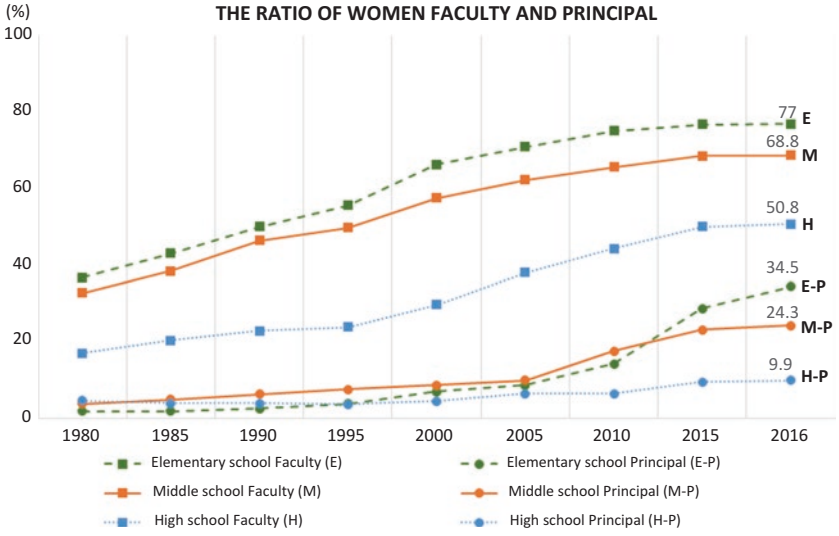

Fig. 11.1 The percentage of women faculty and principals in elementary and secondary schools
Source: MOE & KEDI, 2016a

number of women full-time faculties increased from 17.6% in 1990 to 22.6% in 2016, but the male to female ratio among full-time faculties is still significantly unbalanced at 4.5:1 (MOE & KEDI, 2016b).

Meanwhile, only 6.4% of presidents at four-year universities were women in 2013 and 8.3% in 2016. In junior colleges, the representation of women was higher at 14.8% in 2013 and 17.7% in 2016 (MOE & KEDI, 2016b). Combining all universities and colleges, only 9.6% were women in 2013 and 11.8% in 2016. Looking at the ratio of women by the establishment, the ratio of women in private colleges and universities was higher than that of national and public colleges and universities. In 1990, the ratio of women in national and public colleges and universities was 14.0%, but it has reached 20% since 2005 and it is 27.6% as of 2016. On the other hand, the ratio of female teachers in private colleges & universities has increased from 23.6% in 1990 to 30% in 2005, and 34.2% in 2016 (MOE&KEDI, 2016b). Compared with the ratio of women college students, the proportion of female professors is significantly low. As of 2016, 846,344 female college students account for 40.6% of 2,084,807 students enrolled, while 22,403 female faculty members account for 24.8% of 90,371 full-time faculty members (MOE & KEDI, 2016b). In addition, as was the case in elementary and secondary education, women's underrepresentation in tertiary education is seriously problematic (see Fig. 11.2).

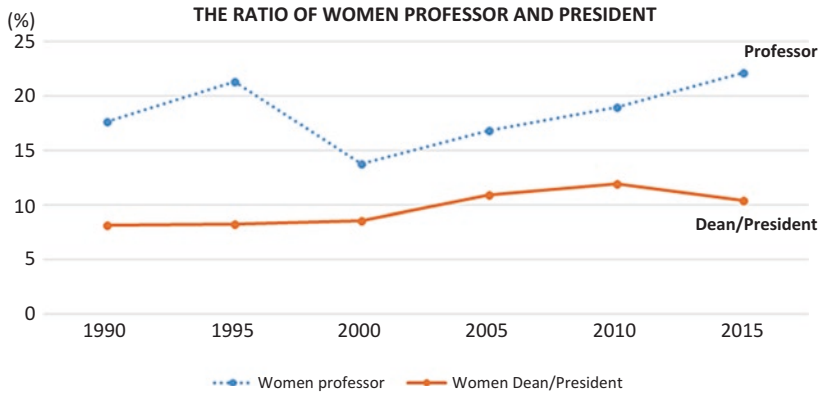

Fig. 11.2 The ratio of women professors and deans/presidents in university
Source: Joo, Song, & Park, 2016; Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute, 2016b

Women Leaders' Challenges in the Education Sector

Despite the high percentage of women teachers (70%) and the achievements of women leaders in the education sector, women have low visibility in top administrative positions in the education sector. Gender underrepresentation is related to challenges faced by women leaders in schools; these include cultural constraints, the workplace environment, work–life balance, and a lack of opportunities for leadership development.

Cultural Constraints

The major challenge that women leaders face in the education sector is the impact of Korea's social and cultural constraints. Traditional Confucianism and gender stereotypes have a profound impact on the working environment and interpersonal relationships in Korea, and the education sector is no exception. Teachers view the leadership of women principals as the role of a mother, which is recognized as one of the strengths of women principals. However, such strong characteristics as being meticulous and careful are also criticized as *taking care of even feathers* or the meticulous leadership of a class teacher (Song & Cho, 2014). Meanwhile, male teachers are considered to be more valuable when they perform their duties in schools, have networking with outsiders, and develop their careers.

Such bias has a direct influence on performance appraisals of teachers for promotion. Managers tend to evaluate men better than women based on gender stereotypes, such as men are in charge of making a living for their family, whereas women play a supporting role. As a result, these evaluations become obstacles to the promotion of women teachers (Park, 2006). In addition, studies that conducted interviews with women principals (Park, 2006; Song & Cho, 2014) showed that women were intentionally not assigned the duties that required long distance business trips or long hours of work, thus excluding them from challenging work. Moreover, women were undervalued in areas such as classroom management, where women put in a great deal of efforts.

Social constraints caused by gender roles are not different in tertiary education. Yoon and Kim (2005) analyzed how men and women professors were evaluated according to gender role stereotypes. The study showed that male students with gender role stereotypes evaluated male professors better than female professors, and that fewer stereotyped male respondents evaluated female professors better than male professors, demonstrating that gender role stereotypes serve as a constraint in women's leadership.

Social and cultural constraints have an influence on prejudice against women leaders from members both inside and outside the education sector and on the evaluation by women themselves. In Korea, women have a much higher achievement rate in teacher certification examination taken by potential elementary and middle school teachers. However, male teachers show higher self-efficacy than their female counterparts in their work (Park, 2017). Gender role stereotypes sometimes discourage women to give up. Even though they have sufficient capabilities, they give up significant parts of their work in school, passively participate in work, and pay little attention to their professional development from a long-term perspective by having an attitude of "How can a woman…?" (Park, 2006). As a result, social and cultural constraints suppress women teachers structurally and cause them to internalize widespread gender role stereotypes, evaluating themselves poorly and having them give up.

Workplace Environment

Bass (1990) pointed out the possible status-reversal conflict between male subordinates and their female superiors, and Funk (2002) employed the concept of horizontal violence to describe the negative evaluations of women teachers by women supervisors or women teachers. Extending this concept means that women principals receive a negative appraisal from women supervisors and colleagues and refers to all kinds of negative and aggressive actions that might be extended towards women leaders by women teachers. A study (Min & Huh, 2000) involved interviews with women principals and revealed that male teachers do not like to have women principals. Also, other teachers suspect the capabilities of women principals, and even parents, according to the principals' perceptions, have a negative view of women principals, putting a lot of pressure on them to prove their abilities. In some cases, women teachers criticized the careful and meticulous characteristics of women principals as undermining their autonomy because teachers may feel that they are being interfered with (Song & Cho, 2014).

A study (Han, 2009) showed that male teachers evaluated the *instructional leadership* (i.e., learning-centered leadership) of women principals that would inspire teachers to improve their teaching skills or to develop professionalism more highly than their women counterparts (Hallinger & Murphy, 2000; Pont, Nusche, & Moorman 2008). Other studies (Jang, 2007; Min, 2005), on the other hand, concluded that women teachers

appreciated women principals more highly than did male teachers. Considering these results, it is difficult to say that there is consensus on women leaders in education. Another study showed that women principals served as supporters for women teachers by offering work-related advice (Lee & Yoon, 2006). As women principals have a better understanding of the status of women teachers, they can offer information regarding promotion and lead women teachers as role models. This result is supported by the increase in the number of women head teachers after a women principal is inaugurated (Min & Huh, 2000).

Work-Life Balance

Women leaders in education, as in any other sectors, have difficulties in striking a balance between work and family (Chang & Yon, 2016; Nho, Han, & Yoo, 2012; Park, 2006). Even though teachers have high job security and possibly more time to spend with their families compared with other professions, most women teachers voice concerns over their work–life balance in the context of Korean society (Shim, 2007). According to a report on the Korean Longitudinal Survey of Women and Families of the Korea Women's Development Institute, in 2014, women had 151.99 minutes of daily household work, while their husbands had only 17.81 minutes (Joo et al., 2014). Also, women left teaching to devote more time to take care of children and to perform family responsibilities. This result may be related to women's secondary earner role within the context of family (Han & Rossmiller, 2004).

By having a career, women have to take on another burden, making it difficult to dedicate themselves to work as much as men do (Shim, 2007). In this context, low graduate school entrance rates, insufficient training hours, and lack of experience in working in rural areas of the country, as well as not learning how to manage dual careers, have been the reasons behind the low promotion rate of women compared with men (Min, 1996).

The situation is the same for women professors. In most cases, they have to assume both housework and professorship, single or married, with or without children. In colleges and universities, professors cannot be reappointed if they fail to produce specified achievements (Kim, 2004). In fact, it is relatively easier for male professors than businessmen to have a balanced relationship with child-rearing, job, and spousal responsibilities because of their greater work flexibility. However, this is not so for women

professors, and it is even harder compared with women in other professions (Lynch, 2002). The life of women professors is expressed as a fight for survival, as they have to give lectures, study, conduct research and write, advise students, and attend meetings while taking care of their families (Yeom, 2003).

Leadership Development

Women face difficulty in promotion opportunities and leadership development. Even though their profession as teachers is the same, women and men teachers assume different duties. For example, men teachers take charge of group activities, student guidance, and external duties, while women teachers handle teaching young students, offering detailed guidance on assignments, and managing classes (Shim, 2007). This means more than just separating the roles and duties in the sense that the duties assumed by men teachers are more highly appreciated than those assumed by women teachers. As a result, men teachers are more motivated than women teachers as they are evaluated based on their capabilities, dedication, and efficiency, which are related to promotion opportunities. However, the work done by women teachers is not related to promotion (Kang, 1998). If a woman teacher takes maternity leave, it will adversely affect her performance appraisal, limiting her chances of being promoted (Yongin Office of Education, 2016). There is insufficient systematic motivation for women regarding promotion and development of their expertise.

In addition to work assignments, another problem related to leadership development is a lack of role models. Women have only recently joined the workforce and have seen their social and economic status improve. Under the circumstances, those who are in managerial positions in schools are men, leaving insufficient role models for women to emulate. A lack of role models to emulate in order to succeed as a professional woman is one of the barriers for women teachers in developing their specialties compared with their male counterparts. Lee and Yoon (2006) studied the life of a women principal, indirectly demonstrating the importance of role models in developing the professionalism of women teachers. The subject of the study was a women principal who retired from her eight-year career as a principal. She mentioned that her role model, who was also a women principal, offered advice regarding promotion. Moreover, a women principal who was interviewed by Min and Huh (2000) said that knowing

about the existence of a women administrator in the past was like having a role model for her. Based on this observation, the researchers argued that the existence of women in leadership positions that have traditionally been occupied by men can give confidence to women.

Even a woman who managed to become a principal by overcoming social constraints, with the double burden of running the home and raising children, is suspected of having insufficient capability as a principal. Under such circumstances, women principals are under pressure to outperform men, only to be equally recognized. At the same time, psychological loneliness caused by the scarcity of women principals in education and doubts about their capabilities are obstacles for women principals to develop and demonstrate their leadership abilities (Min & Huh, 2000).

Opportunities for Women Leaders' Success in Education

Based on the review of literature and research on women leaders in the education sector, we provide three possible opportunities for women leaders' success: women's leadership styles, government's policies, and leadership development programs.

Women's Leadership Styles

As a main pillar of education that takes responsibility for the most fundamental function of teaching and learning (Han, 2009; Pont, Nusche, & Moorman, 2008), a principal's instructional leadership has a direct impact on teachers' professional satisfaction and creates positive changes in teachers' beliefs in teaching, thereby further increasing their satisfaction (Kim, Kim, & Kim, 2015). Instructional leadership has to be taken more seriously as its impact on self-efficacy and satisfaction of teachers will lead to academic achievement of the students, who are the ultimate recipients of education (Heo & Kim, 2013; Tschannen-Moran & Barr, 2004).

It is important for instructional leaders to establish the school's mission and create a positive learning climate, including activities that indirectly affect academic achievement. In the process, women leaders make a meaningful impact on school effectiveness in the course of management and policy decision-making by taking a task-oriented approach in managing schools based on their unique meticulous characteristic and legitimate authority (Min & Huh, 2000; Song, 2004).

In this regard, women leaders in education display instructional leadership in a significant way. In fact, the performance of women teachers (e.g., student guidance, class management, learning management) in educational activities is better than that of men teachers (Kim & Han, 2011). Han, Kim, and Yoon (2011) concluded that women principals have a more positive impact on academic achievement in certain subjects than men principals. Han (2009) and Han, Kim, and Yoon (2011) showed that both men and women teachers highly appreciated the instructional leadership of women principals who have a masculine and androgynous gender-role identity. These results demonstrate instructional leadership of Korean women leaders who are not limited by traditional gender identity. Women's distinctive leadership style reveals its unique qualities and values, deviating from the men-dominated system (Han, 2009) and bearing great meaning in the feminization of the teaching profession.

Government Policies

The problem arising from social constraints and unequal structures is that men continue to take dominant positions and administratively control and manage feminized education, creating a vicious circle that prevents women from taking leadership roles in education. Therefore, we need to recognize social and cultural structures and to make conscious efforts to overcome them while improving relevant systems and policies. Currently, the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family has developed plans to accomplish the goal.

Similar efforts are being made to increase women professors in tertiary education institutions based on the 2001 nationwide human resource development plan to maximize the use of women in the workforce (Min, 2003). The significantly lower women professor ratio in national and public colleges and universities may be explained by private universities including more than ten women's colleges. The difference between private and public universities has invited criticism over the insufficient use of the female workforce and recognition that it has caused a lack of role models for women college students. Accordingly, suggestions have been made of means to solve the serious gender inequality in professorships by creating a culture of gender equality in colleges and universities, and by increasing the ratio of women professors, especially in national and public colleges and universities.

As part of such efforts, since 2003, the Ministry of Education has suggested strategies including reducing minimum faculty teaching requirements for professors who are expecting to give birth and increasing the participation of women faculty in decision-making bodies to encourage the appointment of women professors. Moreover, the Ministry is making additional efforts to raise awareness of the need to have women faculty in universities by sharing the best practices of universities with a culture of gender equality, and by encouraging more women to join the workforce. The Ministry is achieving this by enhancing women teachers' status and gender equality in employment in accordance with the Framework Act on Gender Equality in 2014 and the First Basic Plan for Gender Equality Policies in 2015. Under the plan to enhance women teachers' status by targeting women principals and vice-principals in public elementary, middle, and high schools, education offices of each city and province, 'a women principal and vice-principal employment quota system' has been in place since 2013. In 2015, the Ministry of Education adjusted its target to achieve an increase in the ratio of women principals and vice-principals from 33% to 36% by 2017. To this end, education offices in each city and province have offered consulting services to universities lacking sufficient gender equality.

Leadership Development Programs

Studies have emphasized the need to encourage women teachers and administrators to develop their leadership skills. Women principals, in most cases, are developing their leadership skills by reading books, attending leadership development courses, entering graduate schools, and participating in various job training activities or councils (Choi, 2014; Kwon, 2011). Lee (2002) studied leadership development programs for women principals and vice-principals and suggested five important areas for leadership development, including the ability to understand people and build relationships, business knowledge, gender-sensitive education, communication, and mentoring. Among the five areas, gender-sensitive education concerns recognizing and changing perceptions of patriarchal culture, the conventional wisdom, to pursue a culture of gender equality. Leadership development programs can be helpful in encouraging women teachers to be more active in school management by bringing about changes in perception that have a profound impact on women teachers and their subsequent actions (Park, 2006).

In addition, of the five areas proposed by Lee (2002), mentoring and its subsequent networking are considered important. Min and Huh (2000) thought that women principals could push themselves further by learning how women role models deal with family and work. As mentors can provide opportunities to recognize and develop mentees' talents and abilities (Choi, 2014), mentoring has significant implications for women leaders who are still in the minority in the educational sector to develop their leadership through close cooperation with one another.

Suggestions for Policies to Improve Women's Education Leadership

Institutional and political improvements are needed to achieve gender equality in promotion opportunities for women. Academic affirmative action plans for women in national and public universities, with open competitive examination for the recruitment of professionals, have improved gender equality in terms of quantity. However, the overall undervaluation of women's abilities derived from Korea's male-dominated culture and the burden of performing dual roles still serve as obstacles for women in the educational sector to pursue personal and social achievements. In 2014, husbands in double income households spent 40 minutes per day on household chores, which had increased by only three minutes compared with five years earlier; the time spent by wives in double income households was 3 hours 14 minutes, which had decreased by 6 minutes compared with five years earlier (Statistics Korea, 2016). The average working hours per week recorded 46.0 hours for men and 40.4 hours for women in 2015 (Statistics Korea, 2016).

We need more studies on necessary solutions and system improvements to guarantee equality for women regarding promotion and to ensure fair evaluation of women leaders by others. Despite the lack of attention to date, those solutions and improvements could include providing more policy-level support to women leaders in tertiary education or providing more differentiated approaches to women leaders depending on whether they are single or married, or whether they have one child or more.

Recommendations for Future Research

As research on women leaders in education has been limited, as confirmed by outdated citations in this chapter, we present the following suggestions. The first step in developing women leadership is to understand the

extent and nature of the issue, in particular, the growing rates of principals and presidents in Korea. We provide the following research agendas for further investigation.

First, we need to focus on analyzing the effectiveness of leaders in the education sector to discover the achievements being made by women principals. The effectiveness of principals can be defined in objective and subjective ways. Leadership effectiveness can be defined as having a more objective dimension—the accomplishment of organizational goals, and two subjective dimensions—perceptual evaluations of significant reference groups and the job satisfaction of subordinates (Hoy & Miskel, 2013). Most research on the effectiveness of women principals has focused on analyzing subjective perspectives. Also, we see confusing results of those studies that examined evaluations of women principals' effectiveness: some studies showed that men teachers have more positive perceptions of women principals, while other studies concluded that women teachers had a more positive perception of women principals (Han, 2009; Jang, 2007). In future research, we should analyze leaders' behaviors and examine how such behaviors have objective effects, such as students' academic achievement and entrance rates in the next level of schools.

Second, we need more research on leadership types based on social gender-role identity (Cunningham, 2005) instead of biological sex and the resulting perceptions and responses of teachers (Han, 2009). Cunningham (2005) suggested gender-role identity as different from biological sex, divided into feminine, masculine, androgynous, and undifferentiated. Since 2010, there has been a growing number of women principals, presidents, and high-ranking administrators; this trend is expected to continue, increasing interest in the roles and leadership skills of principals. Accordingly, we need to continue to think about how we are going to embrace the changes and dynamics of school members, including superiors and subordinates, stemming from gender-role identity. Such studies should take into account gender and job characteristics.

Finally, we need to examine the perception gap in leadership by faculty at different levels of the school system. The characteristics of each school level may affect perceptions of leadership. Women teachers dominate the workforce in elementary schools, while the numbers of men and women are similar in high schools. A deep understanding of women's leadership in education can be achieved if an in-depth analysis of the expectations and behaviors in elementary and junior high schools as well as the behavioral expectations and the roles and behaviors of women professors and presidents is made.

Conclusion

This chapter included statistics, difficulties, efforts, and future research agenda for female leaders in education. From a historical point of view, the ratio of women administrators is relatively small compared with the ratio of women workers in this occupational group. Based on the difficulties women leaders are experiencing, cultural constraints caused by stereotypes about gender roles are the biggest obstacles for women leaders. Furthermore, the lack of support for housework and leadership development opportunities also presents challenges for women.

Research has shown that women's leadership style has a positive effect on student achievement and school climate. The government is making efforts to promote gender equality in the education sector. For gender equality to happen, society should clearly recognize the social and cultural structure imposing inequality and improve it through policies and systems. In addition, research on women's leadership in education needs to be approached by focusing on effectiveness analysis, rather than simple gender differences. Further, research on promotion systems should be carried out from which women can benefit.

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Dr. You-Kyung Han is a Professor of Educational Administration and Policy in the Department of Education, and the Director of the Institute of School Violence Prevention at Ewha Womans University, Korea. Her research interests include school leadership, school finance, and human resource management in education. She is the author of publications on educational administration and finance. Between 1984 and 2003, she served as Research Fellow, Director of the Office of Educational Policy Development Studies, and Director of the National Center for Education Statistics at the Korean Educational Development Institute. She has participated as a consultant in the Commission Government Performance Evaluation of Educational Policy for the Ministry of Education. In addition, she has been involved as a president, vice-president, presenter, discussant and chairperson in professional organizations in education. She was selected as Fulbright Scholar (Senior Research Grant) to the University of Iowa in 2013–2014. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Education from Ewha Womans University (1981), a Master's degree (1983), and a Ph.D (1991) in Educational Administration from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Dr. Sam Hwan Joo is Professor Emeritus of Chungnam National University, Korea and former President of the Korean Educational Administration Society. He has written and translated more than fifty books in the field of educational administration. He was an elementary school teacher in Seoul for seventeen years and has been a professor at Chungnam National University for twenty six years after attaining a Ph.D. in Educational Administration from the University of Minnesota. He has also been a nationwide speaker in the field of supervision and principalship and leadership at teachers' professional development institutions in Korea.

CHAPTER 12

Korean Women Leaders in the NGO Sector

Youn Sun Chang

A non-governmental organization (NGO) has been defined as "a group organized with citizens' voluntary participation, that should not exclude any persons who want to join it, whose major business includes volunteering activities, and that should be in the form of non-profit organizations pursuing the public interests" (Park, 2013, p. 479). As Korean society has moved toward democracy since the 1980s, the NGO sector has been a hot topic for social discourse. The process in which civil society has been developed in Korea is quite different from that in western countries. Since the late nineteenth century, Korean civil society has been developed through the process of resisting the feudal caste system, colonial imperialism, the anti-communism of authoritative governments, military dictatorships, and conglomerates' domination of markets. In the process, civil society in Korea has been reformative and critical of the establishment (Kang, 2012).

While Korea was in the turmoil of democratic movements in the 1980s, NGOs—such as Korean Womenlink and Korea Women's Hot Line—were established. By the 1990s, many NGOs were organized, including the Citizens' Coalition for Economic Justice, People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD), Korea Federation for Environment

Y.S. Chang (✉)
Korean Women's Development Institute, Seoul, South Korea

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Movement, and Green Korea. Particularly when local administrations started to be elected in 1991, civil political movements became more active, and these movements influenced women's movements for increasing women's political power, consumers' cooperative movement, citizens' political education and political participation, and grassroots democracy (Ha, 2009). Examples include the No Election No Nomination Movement and the Manifesto Movement. Such political movements were motivated by the sentiment that functions of representative democracy and political parties were limited (Lee, 2007).

The Candlelight Rally, launched at the memorial service for two middle school girls killed by a U.S. army vehicle in 2002, presented a new demonstration type in civil society. When people rose up against the import of U.S. beef in 2008, women joined a candlelight demonstration. Teenage girls and housewives who had been regarded as the least politically active participated in the demonstration. Demonstrators representing diverse social sectors voluntarily participated in the demonstration through loose networks compared with hierarchical NGOs and interest groups (Leem, 2011). Such a shift in the civil movement goals and members has partly led to changes in NGO movement strategies.

As of 2016, approximately 13,500 non-profit organizations were registered in the Korean government, while such organizations increase every year (Ministry of the Interior, 2016a). According to the *2012 Korea Civil Organizations Directory* (Civil Movement Communication Center, 2012), 5,556 civil organizations were registered in 2006, which increased to 7,925 in 2009 and 12,750 in 2012. Although these figures do not necessarily correspond to those of the Korean government, as not all NGOs follow government regulations for registration, an increasing trend is noticeable. Civil organizations increased by 6% annually until 2014, and the growth rate fell over the next two years (see Fig. 12.1).

Since December 2016, most non-profit civil organizations are required to register. The number of non-profit civil organizations registered, in comparison with the functions and size of their affiliated ministries, are relatively large in the Ministry of Unification and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Civil organizations registered in local administrations are mostly registered in the Gyeonggi-do province and Seoul Metropolitan City, indicating that NGOs are concentrated in the capitol region (see Table 12.1).

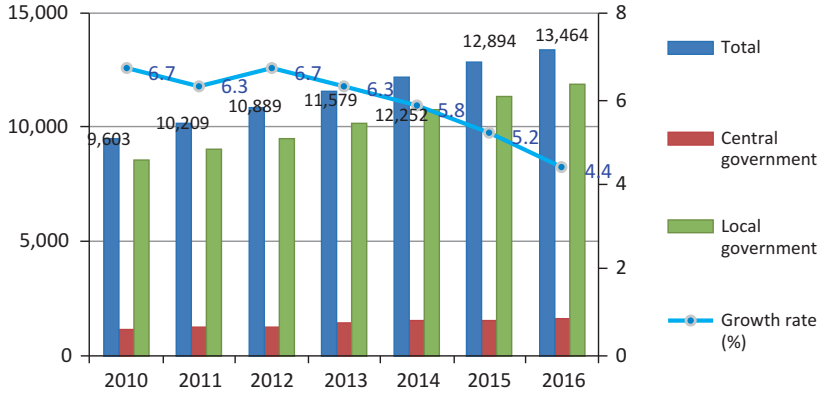

Fig. 12.1 Non-profit organizations registered with the Korean government, 2010–2016 (Ministry of the Interior, 2010–2016)

Women's Participation in NGOs

The number of non-profit organizations has increased yearly; however, a close look at the *Non-Profit Organizations Directory* (Ministry of the Interior, 2016b) reveals that it reported only the names of their representatives and members of some organizations, and has no indication of members' gender identity. The representatives' gender and their ratio were confirmed based on the directory published by the Ministry of the Interior as of 31 December 2016. However, in the case of some organizations, their representatives' gender was not confirmed. Of the 1,599 non-profit organizations registered in the central government in 2016, women accounted for about 20% of all representatives, while in those registered in the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, about 48% were women, the highest among those registered in the ministries. In the Ministry of the Interior, where the number of civil organizations registered is the largest, only 14% have women representatives. On the other hand, in civil organizations registered in the Ministry of Health and Welfare; the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism; and the Ministry of Environment, women representatives make up between 20% and 25%, while women account for about 9% of representatives with the Ministry of Unification. Thus, in total,

Table 12.1 Non-profit organizations registered (as of December 31, 2016)

Level	*Government functions and ministries (number of non-profit organizations)*
Central Government (1599)	Ministry of the Interior (207) Ministry of Health and Welfare (189) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (183) Ministry of Environment (179) Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (169) Ministry of Unification (164) Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (104) Ministry of Public Safety and Security (53) Ministry of Education (49) Ministry of Employment and Labor (47) Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs (38) Ministry of National Defense (35) Ministry of Oceans and Fisheries (28) Ministry of Science, ICTs and Future Planning (21) Korea Forest Service (18) Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs (14) Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport (12) Korea Communications Commission (11) National Police Agency (11) Ministry of Justice (10) Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Energy (9) Korea Fair Trade Commission (8) Financial Services Commission (6) Ministry of Strategy and Finance (7) Cultural Heritage Administration (7) Rural Development Administration (5) Ministry of Personnel Management (4) Small and Medium Business Administration (3) Ministry of Food and Drug Safety (2) Korea Intellectual Property Office (2) National Tax Service (1) Statistics Korea (1) National Human Rights Commission of Korea (1) Ministry of Government Legislation (1)

(*continued*)

Table 12.1 (continued)

Level	*Government functions and ministries (number of non-profit organizations)*
Local Government (11,865)	Gyeonggi-do (2217) Seoul (1986) Jeollabuk-do (908) Busan (792) Gyeongsangbuk-do (749) Gyeongsangnam-do (708) Incheon (659) Gwangju (581) Jeollanam-do (557) Daejeon (523) Chungcheongbuk-do (429) Chungcheongnam-do (412) Daegu (406) Ulsan (344) Jeju-do (343) Gangwon-do (317) Sejong (24)

Note: Ministry of the Interior (2016a) (2010–16)

women accounted for less than 30% of all representatives of non-profit organizations registered in the central government in 2016. It appears that this situation is not appreciably different from that of local administrations. According to Jung, Kim, Kum, and Lim (2016), in a study conducted in Daejeon City, men accounted for 70% of NGO representatives; non-profit organizations in Daejeon are mostly managed by men.

The change in the issues and ways of civic movements has been accompanied by a change in NGOs, and, in the process, competencies of their representatives and permanent staff have been important (Kim, 2011; Park, 2011; Shim, 2010). Few studies, however, have been conducted of NGO members, and research on NGOs has decreased (Kwon, 2013). In this context, research on women's participation in NGOs is rare. Lee (2006) conducted research on NGO staff and found that they had a high level of education, were professional, and had engaged in NGO activities with a determination for social change. Their experience in student movements differed depending on their generation. Those in their twenties had little experience in student movements, while those in their thirties and older had participated in student movements. However, men ranked higher than women in their NGOs.

It seems that women have been discriminated against in their participation in NGO activities in Korea. However, as nationwide NGO data have yet to be made available, it is difficult to understand the condition of NGOs other than by means of the statistics published by the government.

Organizational Culture and Women's Leadership in NGOs

Unlike government or business organizations, NGOs are relatively characterized by horizontal structure (Park, 2000; Yun, 2009). Other characteristics include voluntary workers' positive activities, a loose hierarchy, and democratic decision-making processes. Han and Hahm (2004) conducted research on conditions of NGOs in the early 2000s and found that NGO members' ranks in the organization were affected by gender; women accounted for the lower ranks, while the higher ranks were occupied mostly by men. Moreover, gender roles in the organization were affected by traditional gender roles. Most women members, however, did not perceive that they were being discriminated against in promotion and placement but felt that intra-organizational sexual harassment had to be checked more.

According to research on the organizational culture of NGOs (Han & Hahm, 2004; Kim, Lee, Kim, Kim, & Kang, 2005), some attributes of the conventional social culture were found, including authoritarianism, male chauvinism, seniority, and educational background. However, NGO members were less aware of such attributes than their counterparts in government or business because, in NGOs, decisions are made through discussion in relatively reasonable and democratic ways (Han & Hahm, 2004; Park, 2000; Yun, 2009).

The organizational characteristics of NGOs may be more conducive to women's leadership and activities than other types of organization. It is easier for women to demonstrate their leadership in NGOs because NGO leadership is based not on the power of status but, rather, on values and dedication; further, the organizational culture of NGOs is characterized by a horizontal structure (Kim et al., 2005; Park, 2000).

Women's leadership in NGOs is affected by vertical directives and performance appraisals. Effective execution affects the efficiency of leadership, and the leader's confidence and professionalism affect leadership (Kim et al., 2005). Shim (2010) emphasized that five factors are important for the development of women's leadership: vision, work competence, capacity of understanding the culture, socializing competence, and the capacity for introspection.

In contrast, Kim et al. (2005) analyzed the factors impeding the development of women's leadership from two perspectives. First, the intra-organizational factor is *macho culture*, meaning that, in the decision-making process, women are excluded and are discriminated against in work assignments, pay, and benefits. Particularly due to stereotypes about gender roles in the division of work, men take charge of external affairs, whereas women are responsible for intra-organizational management and have limited opportunities to network with other organizations. External factors impeding the development of women's leadership include patriarchal attitudes toward women leaders and a men-chauvinist local political structure and administration. In addition, women's responsibility for childcare and family chores may result in career interruptions, and, therefore, they need support from their husbands and other family members.

Park (2007) conducted research on the political capital of women politicians and its relationship with their engagement in NGO activities. Based on the study, women politicians who were engaged in NGO activities had more political capital than those who did not. It appears that the women acquired their political capital by such factors as conflict management, citizens' education, and protection of citizens' rights and interests. Their political knowledge and attitudes acquired through participation in NGO activities made democratic citizens relatively strong. With political capital stored up, women can access the political arena easily and effectively and, thereby, have an important effect on policy-making. Therefore, Park (2007) argued that NGOs improve women's political capital.

Feminist NGOs and Leadership

The women's movement in Korea was aimed at national independence in the early twentieth century. The movement and women's organizations were very active after Korea's independence. Following the Korean War (1950–53) and dictatorships in the 1960s and 1970s, the women's movement and organization activities moved at a snail's pace. The women's movement in Korea changed the feminist movement in the 1980s. But some women's organizations had little involvement in gender equality issues. Many existing women's organizations began to pursue gender equality, distinguishing themselves from the conventional activities of other NGOs. In this period, many progressive feminist organizations were formed (Han & Lee, 2004), including Korea Women's Hot Line (1983), Alternative Culture Press (1984), Korean Womenlink (1987), and Korea Sexual Violence Relief Center (1991). In addition, Korea Women's Associations

United (KWAU) was organized to publicize women's issues. In the 1990s, the KWAU began to build women's power in an effort to enhance women's status and their quality of life.

According to the *Non-Profit Women's Organizations Directory* (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2014), about 740 women's organizations were registered in the government. Most of them were registered with the Gyeonggi-do province (102), followed by Seoul (69), Busan (54), and Daegu (59), indicating that they are concentrated in the capital region and metropolitan cities (see Table 12.2).

Feminist NGOs succeeded in getting the Basic Act for Women's Development passed in 1995, while building legal and institutional infrastructures related to gender equality through raising women's issues to become societal issues. Feminist NGOs also diversified feminist movements into local grassroots movements.

Compared with other NGOs, one organizational characteristic of feminist NGOs is that they are relatively more democratic. Secretariats of feminist NGOs are responsible for members' participation, the management of the organization, horizontal communication, and democratic decision-making processes (Hong, 2006; Kang, 2011; Yoon, 2000). As evidence of feminist NGO activists' efforts in the management of organizations, I provide direct quotes collected from my interviews with NGO leaders conducted for my dissertation (Chang, 2016).

In an effort to enhance members' activities, the Korean Women's Hot Line's active members participate in a discussion mechanism called the Members' Program Operation Committee, while a separate space in their office is arranged in which members may gather (Chang, 2016). One member observed:

> We members struggle to participate in members' goodwill gatherings and operation committees to lead discussions and make our voices reflected in our programs. Expansion of members is important, but we try to take the initiative in our programs. (Chang, 2016, p. 192)

Feminist NGO leaders confirmed that such organizational management is essential for the democracy and autonomy of NGOs, as well as for women and gender equality issues and culture: "How NGO representatives or core members operate their organization is an important factor affecting its identity and vision of their activities" (Chang, 2016, p. 140). Further, "A kaleidoscopic organization can grasp the trend of the time to

Table 12.2 Non-profit women's organizations registered in the Korean government (2014)

Level	*Government functions and ministries (number of women's organizations)*
Central Government (139)	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (49)
	Ministry of Science, ICTs, and Future Planning (14)
	Ministry of Employment and Labor (13)
	Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (11)
	Ministry of Health and Welfare (10)
	Ministry of Unification (7)
	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (6)
	Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Energy (6)
	Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Rural Affairs (5)
	Ministry of Justice (3)
	Ministry of Environment (3)
	Rural Development Administration (3)
	Ministry of Strategy and Finance (2)
	Small and Medium Business Administration (2)
	Ministry of Education (1)
	Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport (1)
	Ministry of Oceans and Fishers (1)
	National Police Agency (1)
	Korea Intellectual Property Office (1)
Local Government (601)	Gyeonggi-do (102)
	Seoul (69)
	Daegu (59)
	Busan (54)
	Chungcheongbuk-do (45)
	Gwangju (40)
	Ulsan (29)
	Gyeongsangnam-do (28)
	Incheon (24)
	Daejeon (24)
	Gyeongsangbuk-do (24)
	Gangwon-do (21)
	Jeollabuk-do (20)
	Jeju-do (20)
	Jeollanam-do (16)
	Sejong (13)
	Chungcheongnam-do (13)

Note: Compiled from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2014)

proceed with its women's movement, and, to that end, we need to have open-minded attitudes and to be democratic to allow open communication" (Chang, 2016, p. 139).

In order to demonstrate desirable leadership, feminist NGO activists need to understand their roles and status in the organization. Leadership development should involve both intra-organizational relationships and extra-organizational relationships. A team member aptly stated:

> I agonize as a team leader in my organization, and, next, the secretary-general should play her role effectively. When given a new role, we may have to agonize over our roles for about a year. I am aware that finding my roles for my position and communicating with others are required for my leadership. (Chang, 2016, p. 93)

In the process of agonizing over their status and roles as middle managers, they suggested inviting team members to participate, assigning authorities to them, maintaining horizontal relationships, and encouraging team members to be prouder. Further, "If we do not fully understand horizontal communication and relationships, we will doubt that we might exert some authority over our team members. I think that I am not trained enough to assign roles to team members" (Chang, 2016, p. 158). It was also stated that, "When we engage in an NGO, we may compare our competence with other members' problem-solving abilities and competences. We may feel hurt. I tell my new members not to feel bad and encourage them" (Chang, 2016, p. 159). Chang (2016) explained that feminist NGO activists' leadership may well be understood as "a process of building up feminism values by experiencing and practicing them as well as through mutual interactions among organization members" (p. 214).

Suggestions for the Improvement of Women's Leadership in NGOs

According to the *Global Gender Gap Report* (World Economic Forum, 2016), Korea was ranked 92nd in women's political empowerment, up from 101st in 2015. In women's economic participation and opportunities, Korea was ranked 125th in 2015 and 123rd in 2016. This report makes it clear that there is still a wide gender gap in political and economic areas in Korea (World Economic Forum, 2016; Kim, Joo, & Park, 2016).

In this context, this chapter has examined ways to enhance women's leadership in NGOs in Korea. First, in order to help develop individual women's leadership, it is deemed necessary, as analyzed by Shim (2010), to help them enhance their competence and passion to present a grand vision for their organizational programs. In addition, they need to be introspective and encouraged by external support. Further, in order to enhance their cultural understanding and social networking, they need to continue participation in NGO activities.

Next, women leaders in NGOs need to be cultivated in the following ways. First, the authoritative and men-centered organizational culture should be changed into a horizontal and gender-equal culture. It is essential not to divide roles according to gender within the organization. Further, it is necessary to establish a system whereby intra-organizational sexual violence could be kept well in check through effective preventive measures. As the Korean society requires NGOs to be strongly moral and NGOs' morality is directly associated with people's trust, NGOs are obliged to be more insistent about their internal problems.

Second, in order to help women activists grow into NGO leaders, it is essential to arrange an organizational system whereby their careers would not be interrupted. In particular, women's careers tend to be halted due to childbirth, childrearing, and other family responsibilities. Women activists in NGOs are no exception. So, it is deemed necessary to build a platform for them to grow into NGO leaders by activating maternity and other family-care leave systems. Such systems may well be applied not only to women activists, but also to men activists. Such arrangements would help activists of both sexes to experience work–life balance and a gender-equal culture.

Finally, it is necessary to develop a gender-equal leadership program whereby both men and women NGO activists can be effectively educated to improve their understanding of gender equality.

Recommendations for Future Research on Women's Leadership in NGOs

Although NGOs have played important roles in identifying social issues and setting agendas in Korean society, little data are available to review the conditions of NGOs. There are some data about the civic organizations

registered with the government, their representatives, and their objectives, but there is little information about NGOs' permanent staff. Park (2013) developed a research model to understand the conditions of civil society in Korea. He suggested that such variables as structure, value, and resources of the organization should be examined in order to review the conditions facing NGOs. Nevertheless, no nationwide survey has been conducted based on such a model. All of these topics are appropriate future research studies.

In the last decade, research into NGOs has decreased, and, as a result, data about new changes in NGOs and civil society are scarce and insufficient. In particular, we have witnessed new types of civil demonstration and resistance in the last decade, such as candlelight protests, which suggest that NGOs have undergone some organizational changes. NGOs in the areas of environment, labor, or human rights have sometimes joined movements for women's rights and gender equality, recognizing the issue of women as a social agenda. It is presumed that such changes have been promoted mainly by women activists.

Recently, some women representatives of feminist NGOs were elected representatives of NGOs in other areas. On the other hand, only a few women leaders who have advanced into political spheres, such as the National Assembly and government commissions, have stood on their NGO activities. Nevertheless, very few surveys have been made and little research has been conducted on women activists, including NGO leaders.

The following approaches are deemed essential for research on women's leadership in NGOs. First, it is necessary to survey NGOs—not only their representatives, but also their permanent staff—to determine their gender equality. Second, it is necessary to research leadership traits of women leaders in NGOs to determine their experiences and careers, and analyze the conditions for new women's leadership based on their experiences. In addition, it is also important to examine their identity as women leaders and their relationships with their organizational members and external organizations. Such information may help them to overcome the barriers in their organizations to help lead their staff to be successful in their organization. It may be desirable to explore some model cases. In particular, we can conduct research into networking methods used by successful women NGO leaders and their relevant behaviors and strategies to suggest a specific vision of women's leadership for NGOs.

Lastly, research can be conducted on the organizational culture and gender equality of NGOs with an examination of the situation regarding

donations and members' participation by gender to activate NGOs. Then, we may better understand the primary source of support for women leaders' activities. It is desirable to examine the factors affecting women leaders' demonstration of their leadership in the agenda-setting processes of NGOs in influencing civil society.

Conclusion

In Korea, civil society and NGOs have grown through the struggles for independence against Japan and through democratization movements against dictatorships. In particular, numerous NGOs were established around 1990 in labor, human rights, the environment, and gender equality. NGOs are non-profit organizations obliged to realize public interests through their citizen members' participation and voluntary work; thus, they are evaluated as having relatively less gender discrimination compared with other public or private organizations. Nevertheless, the macho and authoritative culture existing in Korean society sustains the organizational culture of NGOs, with men still accounting for 70%–80% of their representatives. Moreover, more men occupy core leader positions, such as secretary-general, while women account for the majority of the lower positions or the organizational chores. Research suggests that intra-organizational roles are divided by gender.

However, as Park (2007) indicated, NGOs have played a role in some important arenas to help women leaders form their political capital. NGOs must play an important role in nurturing women leaders and developing women's leadership. As the organizational culture and environment of NGOs are relatively more democratic, less authoritative, and more horizontal in communication compared with other organizations in Korea, they are deemed to provide women with a more favorable environment in which to develop their careers and grow into leaders. In order to help women grow into leaders and develop their leadership in NGOs, it is necessary to arrange diversified policies for work–life and gender equality, together with organizational support for childbirth and childrearing.

The growth of women leaders in NGOs is expected to lead to women's higher participation in politics and social activities, as well as their enhanced decision-making power on various issues. In addition, women's leadership in NGOs may well be a good model case for a new leadership style and for women leaders.

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Dr. Youn Sun Chang is a researcher at the Korean Women's Development Institute, a major government-funded research institute for women's issues, and conducts research on gender mainstreaming. Her other academic interests include non-governmental organizations, leadership, participatory governance, eco-feminism, and institutional analysis of gender issues. She received her Ph.D. in Public Administration from the Graduate School of Governance, SungKyunKwan University, Korea.

PART V

International Perspectives

CHAPTER 13

Korean Women in Leadership in an Asian Context

Kyoung-Ah Nam and Jenna J. Lindeke

Korean women's leadership is situated in the wider context of Asia. From centuries of shared cultural and historical influences, women across Asia face similar challenges and opportunities in leadership. Yet, Korea's particular culture and history has shaped a uniquely Korean context for women leaders.

Asia is a geographically vast, and a culturally and economically diverse region. Yet, it has long been linked by trade, which fostered cultural, intellectual, and religious exchanges (Murphey, 2006). This enabled the spread of Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam across Asia (Murphey, 2006). Although each culture adopted these religious philosophies in its own way, these cultural threads tied the region together. Most of Asia was gradually colonized by Western powers and, later, Japan, but the end of World War II brought independence to Asia's many colonies (Murphey, 2006). Japan's rapid industrialization was echoed in the postwar industrialization of Asia's four little dragons: South Korea (hereafter Korea), Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore (Steinbock, 2017).

K.-A. Nam (✉)
San Jose State University, San Jose, CA, USA

J.J. Lindeke
Yokosuka Council on Asia Pacific Studies, Yokosuka, Japan

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Modern Asia hosts countries spanning the full range of development, income levels, and governance systems (Ching, 1993; Cooke, 2014). Alongside Japan, Brunei Darussalam, and Singapore, Korea is one of four high-income countries in Asia (World Economic Forum, 2016). Across Asia, a region with a history of valuing education, primary and secondary education are nearly universal for both boys and girls, but this has neither translated into equal employment or wages nearly anywhere in Asia (Asian Development Bank, 2016; MasterCard, 2016a), nor to a direct relationship between human resource development and women's empowerment and leadership (Tuminez, Duell, & Majid, 2012). For example, the 2016 Global Gender Gap Index ranked Korea 116th of 144, above only Bhutan, Timor-Leste, and Pakistan in Asia (World Economic Forum, 2016). Table 13.1 details the Gender Gap Index rankings and several other indicators for women's status in Asia.

The Global Gender Gap Index utilizes a variety of indicators to track women's economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment. Korea's low rank reflects its relatively poor performance in political empowerment, wage equality, and workplace promotion records (World Economic Forum, 2016). At a labor force participation rate of 56%, Korean women work only slightly less than the regional average of 57% (World Economic Forum, 2016). Meanwhile, Korean women earn 55% of the amount paid to Korean men for the same work, lower than the regional average of 57% (World Economic Forum, 2016). Many of Korea's lower-income neighbors perform better on these metrics.

Although a few Asian nations have been led by women heads of state, women's representation in national parliaments remains low, averaging 19.4% across the region (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). Only 17% of Korea's parliamentarians are women (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). Korea also has among the lowest rates of women business leaders, managers, and senior officials in Asia (World Economic Forum, 2016).

In this context, we explore the influences of traditional gender roles on women's leadership in Korea in an Asian context. We examine the status of Asian women leaders in the workplace and in governance. Next, we place Korean women's leadership in the context of institutional challenges and support across Asia. We close with an examination of attitudes towards changes about Asian women leaders and directions for the future.

Table 13.1 Metrics for women's status in Asia in 2015–2016

	Global gender gap index ranking	*Women labor force participation rate (%)*	*Women-to-men ratio of wages for similar work*	*Women-to-men ratio of leadership positions*	*Seats held by women in parliament (%)*
Bangladesh	72	45	0.54	0.06	20.3
Bhutan	121	60	0.78	0.20	8.3
Brunei Darussalam	103	54	0.79	0.51	9.1
Cambodia	112	78	0.76	0.22	18.5
China	99	70	0.65	0.20	24.2
India	87	28	0.57	–	11.6
Indonesia	88	53	0.68	0.24	19.8
Japan	111	66	0.66	0.13	13.1
Lao PDR	43	81	0.77	–	27.5
Malaysia	106	52	0.79	0.28	13.1
Maldives	115	59	–	0.15	5.9
Mongolia	58	59	0.74	0.61	17.1
Nepal	110	83	0.59	0.22	29.6
Pakistan	143	25	0.56	0.03	20.0
Philippines	7	52	0.80	0.87	29.1
Singapore	55	66	0.81	0.51	23.8
South Korea	**116**	**56**	**0.52**	**0.12**	**17.0**
Sri Lanka	100	33	0.69	0.33	5.8
Timor-Leste	125	28	–	0.17	38.5
Thailand	71	70	0.77	0.51	4.8
Vietnam	65	79	0.64	0.35	26.7

Note: Compiled from Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017) and World Economic Forum (2016)

Gender Roles in Asia

Traditional values across Asia place the primary roles of women as wives and mothers in varying degrees. This consequently raises hurdles for women entering the workplace and advancing to leadership positions, often while striving to maintain work–family balance (Rendon, 2011). In Korea and several neighboring East Asian countries, Confucianism is the root of many of these values (Tuminez et al., 2012). Similar values also exist across the rest of Asia that stem from other cultural and religious origins.

Confucianism and the Roles of Women

The historically Confucian regions of Asia include the Korean peninsula, China, Japan, Singapore, Vietnam, and the island of Taiwan (Tuminez et al., 2012). Although Confucianism originated in China, Confucian values serve as a basis for contemporary Korean society more strongly than in any other Asian countries today. China's transition to communism and socialism moved away from Confucian values and established gender equality as a priority in the Chinese constitution—though full gender equality has yet to be realized (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Peus, Braun, & Knipfer, 2015). This shift away from Confucian gender roles is also occurring elsewhere in Asia (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015).

Traditional Confucian ideology holds normative beliefs of men's inherent dominance and women's subordination (Cooke, 2014; Tuminez et al., 2012). Women are expected to be nurturing, passive, ignorant, and deferent, while men are expected to be active, aggressive, and intellectual (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Resos, 2014). In Korea, this extends to a belief that women are naturally apolitical (Resos, 2014). Confucian gender roles also stipulate that women's primary role is to maintain their homes and raise children.

In a number of Asia's Confucian cultures, women are still expected to choose family over work, including Japan and Korea (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff, Wang, & Chen, 2012). Women who choose to work and have a family often struggle to fulfil their expected domestic roles (Peus et al., 2015). This is true even in Singapore, where work has begun to take priority over family (Peus et al., 2015).

Gender Roles and Religion in Asia

Gender roles in other parts of Asia are driven by other religions, such as Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, and even conservative Christianity, but many similar values have emerged. In India, where Hinduism and Islam are the major religions, women are expected to take care of the house, their children, and their in-laws (Peus et al., 2015; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). In Sri Lanka, where Buddhism is the religion of the majority, traditional values stipulate that women should be homemakers and caregivers, and working women's skills are valued less (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). Thailand is historically a Buddhist country that has been

influenced by both Chinese and Indian values. This blend of values has led to beliefs that women are subservient to men and should focus on caring for their families (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). Throughout Asia, traditional and religious values have fostered patriarchal societies where women tend to be valued less than men and are expected to care for the household, but modernization has generated more economic opportunities for working women. Nevertheless, shifting cultural norms in Asian urban areas have allowed for the emergence of career-oriented women and new policies for women in the workplace (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Tuminez et al., 2012).

Asian Women Leading in the Workplace

Asian women are underutilized in the job market. A study by the Asian Development Bank (2011) found that 45% of working-age women in Asia were unemployed, compared with only 19% of men. Table 13.2 provides several metrics for women's economic participation in Asia.

Notably, women in developing economies, such as China, Thailand, and Vietnam, are more likely to be working—in either formal or informal sectors—than their counterparts in developed economies, such as Japan and Korea (MasterCard, 2016b). This is probably because economic necessity outweighs traditional values in developing economies (MasterCard, 2016b). Similarly, high costs of living in Singapore, a developed economy, have led to higher employment rates for women (MasterCard, 2016b). Nevertheless, the 2016 Gender Gap Report ranked Korea 15th of 21 Asian countries for women's economic participation, behind less developed countries such as the Lao PDR, the Philippines, and Thailand (World Economic Forum, 2016).

Korea, like other Asian developed countries, including Singapore and Japan, faces rapidly declining birth rates, which creates tension between the need for more workers and the need for more babies. For many young women, especially in Japan and Korea, this pressure leads them to choose between starting a family and pursuing their careers (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Indeed, nearly 30% of Korean's population lived in single-person households in 2016, a number that was on the rise (Jung, 2016). For those who do choose to raise a family, traditional values of childrearing remain strongly at play.

Table 13.2 Asian women's workforce participation in 2016

	Labor force participation (% of women)	*Labor force participation (women-to-men ratio of % employed)*	*Professional and technical workers (women-to-men ratio)*	*Ministerial staff (women-to-men ratio)*
Bangladesh	45	0.54	0.32	0.07
Bhutan	60	0.80	0.50	0.11
Brunei Darussalam	54	0.69	0.82	0.00
Cambodia	78	0.88	0.54	0.08
China	70	0.84	1.07	0.13
India	28	0.34	–	0.29
Indonesia	53	0.61	1.08	0.30
Japan	66	0.78	0.63	0.29
Lao PDR	81	1.03	–	0.12
Malaysia	52	0.65	0.80	0.06
Maldives	59	0.73	1.09	0.14
Mongolia	59	0.84	1.70	0.13
Nepal	83	0.94	0.43	0.16
Pakistan	25	0.29	0.28	0.00
Philippines	52	0.65	1.60	0.25
Singapore	66	0.80	0.91	0.06
South Korea	**56**	**0.73**	**0.93**	**0.06**
Sri Lanka	33	0.41	0.97	0.08
Timor-Leste	28	0.49	0.64	0.14
Thailand	70	0.81	1.27	0.04
Vietnam	79	0.92	1.17	0.10

Note: Compiled from World Economic Forum (2016)

Dropping Out from the Workforce

While the representation of women in junior-level positions is improving across Asia, the region suffers from a "leaking pipeline" (Tuminez et al., 2012, p. 8) in which women quit mid-career in order to take care of their families. A survey of women in Asia by Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al. (2012) found that 28% believed that the cultural norm of women's traditional role being in the home influenced many to most mid- and senior-level women to quit their jobs. Korea ranked the highest, with 47% of women agreeing with that statement.

Women may face pressure in the workplace or at home, or they may individually internalize the value of women taking care of the household. Many Korean companies have the longest working hours in the world, making it very difficult for working women to fulfil their household responsibilities (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015). As a result, many career-oriented Korean women have delayed having children or forgone marriage entirely in order to pursue their careers. In Japan, women are expected to quit their jobs after marriage or childbirth (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Despite a shared Confucian background, women in China and Singapore experience much less pressure to drop out of the workforce after marriage (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). There, a combination of lessening importance of traditional gender values and availability of childcare has given women more flexibility to remain in the workforce.

Asian Women in Business Management

Women are also under-represented in leadership positions in Asia, as demonstrated in Table 13.3 (Cooke, 2014; Rendon, 2011).

As shown in Table 13.3, only the Philippines is close to achieving equal representation of women legislators, senior officials, and managers, thanks to its extensive institutional framework promoting gender equality (MacPhail, 2015; World Economic Forum, 2016). Korea and Japan rank near the bottom, while other less developed countries, such as Mongolia, Thailand, and Vietnam, have much higher ratios of women in leadership roles (World Economic Forum, 2016). Very few businesses in Asia are owned by women, as well. In 2011, only 1% of working women in Asia owned businesses with employees (Asian Development Bank, 2011). Korea's proportion of women business owners is roughly average for Asia (MasterCard, 2016a).

In Asia, women are more accepted in business leadership roles than in government, yet in 2011 only 7% of board members across Asia were women in (Rendon, 2011). In 2012, Korea was found to have among the lowest representation of women on boards in Asia: women comprised only 1% of board members (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013). Japan followed closely with only 2% (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013).

A lack of women CEOs is a common trend in Asia. Only 0.73% of 1,787 major Korean companies had a woman CEO in 2013 (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013). In both Korea and China, most women CEOs

Table 13.3 Ratio of Asian women to men in leadership roles in 2015–2016

	Legislators, senior officials and managers	*Business owners*	*Business leaders*
Bangladesh	0.06	0.35	0.06
Bhutan	0.20	–	–
Brunei Darussalam	0.51	–	–
Cambodia	0.22	–	–
China (Mainland)	0.20	0.41	0.33
Hong Kong	–	0.25	0.51
India	–	0.09	0.15
Indonesia	0.24	0.31	0.20
Japan	0.13	0.21	0.13
Malaysia	0.28	0.18	0.29
Maldives	0.15	–	–
Mongolia	0.61	–	–
Nepal	0.22	0.73	0.23
Pakistan	0.03	0.01	0.04
Philippines	0.87	0.31	0.91
Singapore	0.51	0.42	0.50
South Korea	**0.12**	**0.30**	**0.13**
Sri Lanka	0.33	0.14	0.32
Taiwan	–	0.24	0.24
Timor-Leste	0.17	–	–
Thailand	0.51	0.34	0.51
Vietnam	0.35	0.40	0.30

Note: Compiled from MasterCard (2016a) and World Economic Forum (2016)

either founded or inherited the company from men in their family, although this trend is decreasing today (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015).

Discriminatory hiring and promotion processes are also widespread across Asia (Peus et al., 2015). In Korea, as in other Confucian countries, the glass ceiling is maintained by the assumption that women are inferior to men (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015). Gender norms have also led Asian women to express less self-confidence, self-promotion, or ambition than men (Jalal, 2014). These self-limitations present a barrier to women's leadership. In addition, the traditional preference for sons in China, Korea, India, and other parts of Asia has produced a significantly larger population of young men than women, which fosters intense competition for leadership roles (Rendon, 2011). However, thanks to the 2005 abolition of a law (*Hojuje*) that established inheritance and household headship for

eldest sons as well as urbanization and physical mobility, Korea is beginning to reverse its preference for boys (Tuminez et al., 2012). For Korean women, the most prominent barrier to leadership is the glass ceiling, followed by work–life balance, and a lack of faith in the competence of women (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013).

Asian Women Leading in Governance

In 1960, Sirimavo Bandaranaike became prime minister of Sri Lanka after the assassination of her husband; she was the world's first woman who was not a monarch to become a national leader (Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). Bangladesh, Pakistan, India, Mongolia, Indonesia, Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Myanmar, and Taiwan have also had at least one major woman political leader in recent years (Brînză, 2016; Jalalzai & Krook, 2010). See Table 13.4 for a breakdown of women political leaders in Asian countries.

Like Bandaranaike, many of the Asian women who rose to positions of national leadership entered politics only after their politician husbands or fathers were assassinated, imprisoned, or exiled (Brînză, 2016; Ching, 1993; Richter, 1991). In these cases, it was kinship and political dynasties rather than gender that mattered most (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Jalalzai & Krook, 2010; Rendon, 2011). The 11th president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye (2013–2017), was also the daughter of an assassinated former president. Although she became president over 33 years after the death of her father, many still argue that her election is the result of nostalgia for her father (Choe, 2013). With the notable exceptions of Pratibha Patil of India and Tsai Ing-wen of Taiwan, nearly all of Asia's women that have served as major political leaders have been a part of a political dynasty in which their fathers, husbands, or brothers served in a leadership role prior to their appointment or election (Brînză, 2016; Jalalzai & Krook, 2010; Lewis, 2016).

Although the number of women elected to national governments has increased in recent years, women's representation still remains low across the region, as shown in Table 13.4 (Rendon, 2011; UNDP, 2014; World Economic Forum, 2016). The representation of women in Korea's national parliament (17%) is slightly lower than the regional average of 17.9% (Asian Development Bank, 2016). In legislatures at local level, women's participation has grown in East Asia but decreased in South Asia (UNDP, 2014). In South Asia, this may be occurring because it is feared that a woman's family honor may be compromised if she enters the public

Table 13.4 Women as major political leaders in Asia in 2014–2016

	Years with women national leaders (of last 50 years)	*Number of woman national leaders (last 50 years)*	*Seats held by women in national parliaments (%)*
Bangladesh	23	2	20.3
Bhutan	0	0	8.3
Brunei Darussalam	0	0	9.1
Cambodia	0	0	18.5
China	3	1	24.2
India	21	2	11.6
Indonesia	3	1	19.8
Japan	0	0	13.1
Lao PDR	0	0	27.5
Malaysia	0	0	13.1
Maldives	0	0	5.9
Mongolia	0	1[a]	17.1
Myanmar	1	1[b]	10.2
Nepal	1	1	29.6
North Korea	0	0	16.3
Pakistan	5	1	20.0
Philippines	16	2	29.1
Singapore	0	0	23.8
South Korea	**4**	**1**	**17.0**
Sri Lanka	13	2	5.8
Thailand	3	1	38.5
Timor-Leste	0	0	4.8
Vietnam	0	0	26.7

Note: Compiled from Cahoon (2016), Gurubacharya (2015), Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017), Lewis (2016), Szczepanski (2017), and World Economic Forum (2016).

[a]Nyam-Osoriyn Tuyaa served as acting prime minister in Mongolia for only one month (Lewis, 2016).
[b]Aung San Suu Kyi was the first State Councilor of Myanmar, which is roughly equivalent to prime minister (*Washington Post*, 2016).

sphere of politics, especially when she is not already part of the politically elite class (Richter, 1991). These particular cultural influences are absent in Korea and the rest of East Asia.

Since the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, quotas have been a popular approach in Asia to guarantee women's participation in politics (Real, 2012). These quotas come in a number of forms, but countries with electoral quotas have an average of 22.6% women in parliament, compared with 8.2% in countries that do not (UNDP, 2014). Sri Lanka is the only country in South Asia without electoral quotas, and its representation of women in parliament is the lowest in the region, as shown in Table 13.4.

Korea's quota regulates the percentage of women candidates (Real, 2012). Korea's Political Party Law was amended in 2000 to require that 30% of each political party's candidate list had to be women, a quota that was raised again in 2004 to 50% (Real, 2012). This successfully increased the percentage of women in parliament from 6% to 13% during the following election, yet it is surprisingly low given the number of women nominated in accordance with the quotas (Real, 2012). Elsewhere in Asia, some political parties have voluntary quotas for women (e.g., the Philippines, Thailand), national candidate quotas such as Korea's (e.g., Indonesia, Mongolia, Nepal, Timor-Leste), or reserved seats for women in the national legislature (e.g., Bangladesh, China, Pakistan) (International IDEA, Stockholm University, & Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2015).

In some cases, such as Timor-Leste and Singapore, quotas appear to have successfully boosted the number of women in the national legislature, but quotas alone may not be sufficient to increase the number of women in politics (Tan, 2016). Tan (2016) suggests that, as in the case of Korea, gender quotas are unlikely to succeed if the society lacks the political will to overcome patriarchal norms. In Asia, political dynasties still seem to be the best way for women to get involved in high-level politics, but the increased participation of women in local and national politics may indicate cultural change towards women's sustained participation in politics (UNDP, 2014).

Institutional Challenges and Support

National and local institutions can provide support for women leaders, while their absence leaves challenges for aspiring women leaders to surmount. Here, we examine the support and challenges presented by the presence or absence of national laws for women, educational opportunities, domestic support, networking opportunities, and the availability of role models.

Legal Support for Women

Starting in around 1990, various governments in Asia established ministries or semi-governmental organizations to support women, including the Philippines, Malaysia, and Cambodia (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). The Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI), a semi-governmental think-tank for gender equality, was founded in 1987 (KWDI, 2016). Indonesia's semi-governmental National Commission on Violence against Women fills a similar role of influencing national policy on women (Real, 2012).

While the KWDI began with a stronger feminist agenda, it has shifted to less controversial gender mainstreaming initiatives, which only sought to include assessments for gendered implications in policy decisions, in order to maintain government funding (Real, 2012). Likewise, Korea's Ministry of Gender Equality (2001) suffered a backlash against its progressive feminist stances and was restructured as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in 2005, then downsized in 2008 (Real, 2012). Similarly, Sri Lanka's Ministry of Women's Affairs was realigned to add the focus of children, reinforcing women's role as mothers in the eyes of the government (Real, 2012). The Philippines Commission on Women stands out for its successful implementation of both gender mainstreaming programs and a wide variety of gender equality initiatives (MacPhail, 2015). Across Asia, the recent emergence of political conservatism in many countries has led to limited mandates and influence of women's institutions, leaving many to pursue only gender mainstreaming instead of initiatives for gender equality (Real, 2012).

From a legal standpoint, a number of Asia's national constitutions include clauses for women's rights, gender equality, or protection from discrimination, including China, the Philippines, Cambodia, and Indonesia (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). As Real (2012) noted, the writing and revision of "constitutions that usually follow political transitions has provided women with the opportunity to incorporate principles on women's human rights into fundamental laws" (p. 2). Indeed, Korea's national constitution, established in 1948, following the country's democratic transition, states, "All citizens shall be equal before the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic, social, or cultural life on account of sex, religion or social status" (Resos, 2014). While an important assertion of equality and freedom from discrimination for women, it is a smaller measure than offered in some other Asian constitutions. In developing countries that utilize multi-year development plans, such as Malaysia, improvements for women are sometimes included in those plans (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). On the other hand, there have been cases, such as that of Sri Lanka, where women's groups and ministries were sidelined and unable to participate in the planning process (Real, 2012).

Nearly all Asian countries have passed legislation on violence against women and various other women-friendly policies (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015; Real, 2012). However, implementation of these laws and policies is often hindered by a lack of funding and resources, leaving many of

Asia's developing countries to rely on external donors for women's initiatives (Real, 2012). This does not seem to be an issue for Korea, however. Since its democratic transition, Korea has enacted several pro-women laws, including Equal Employment Act (1987), Act on Punishment of Sexual Crimes and Protection of Victims (1994), Women's Development Act (1995), and Gender Discrimination, Prevention and Relief Act (1999) (Real, 2012). In addition, Korea's Supreme Court abolished the legal basis for men's dominance over family and inheritance (*Hojuje*) in 2005, taking steps to overturn Korea's traditional preference for sons (Tuminez et al., 2012).

Affirmative action laws are also common across Asia. Countries including China, Japan, Korea, and Malaysia have enacted policies aimed at increasing the number of women in management positions in private firms (Cooke, 2014). These policies could take the form of suggested targets, such as in Korea and Japan, or hard quotas as utilized in Malaysia (Cooke, 2014; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). In addition, a number of Asian governments employ quotas for women employees or managers in the public sector, including China and Malaysia, which have successfully increased the number of women leaders in their governments (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). Korea's affirmative action policies, adopted in the 2000s, set voluntary targets for women employees and managers in private firms, but the law had little power for enforcement and failed to achieve its desired results. Only 41% of companies voluntarily committed to achieving the targets during the first year (Cooke, 2014). Likewise, in 2013 the Japanese government set a target of 30% of women in management by 2020, but the target was reduced to 7% by the end of 2015 due to a lack of progress (Aoki, 2015).

Educational Opportunities

For most of Asia, access to primary and secondary education is not a barrier to women's advancement to leadership (Jalal, 2014). Some of the developing economies, such as India, Pakistan, and the Lao PDR, require further improvements in education for girls in order to foster women leaders (Rendon, 2011; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). However, even where women are better educated, educational achievement often fails to translate into increased employment, wages, or promotions for women in Asia (Asian Development Bank, 2014; Jalal, 2014; MasterCard, 2016a).

Childcare and Maternity Leave

Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al. (2012) found that the most common barrier for women entering leadership roles in Asia has been the double burden of work and family. This was followed by corporate cultures that require leaders and employees to be available for work at any time and a lack of public policies in support of families, such as childcare (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Korean women leaders interviewed by Cho, Kim, et al. (2015) echoed these sentiments; their definitions of success at work tended to include work–life balance and raising children successfully. All of the women with children stressed the importance of their role as mothers (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015). In Korea, a women's success is often measured by the academic achievements of her children (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015). Human capital has been regarded as the nation's most important resource in Korea, where few natural resources are available. This education fever, which puts heavy pressure on women—especially working mothers—is regarded as the key to Korea's rapid growth and success after the Korean War in the early 1950s.

For Asian women who want to raise a family and advance into leadership positions in corporations where employees are expected to be married to their work, childcare and maternity leave are necessities. While China has relatively available and affordable childcare, both Korea and Japan lag behind (Cooke, 2014; Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Unlike Japan and Korea, which have stricter immigration policies, the availability of foreign domestic help in Singapore has provided women with ample childcare (MasterCard, 2016b). In less developed Asian countries, where institutionalized childcare is uncommon, working women also rely on hired domestic help or family members (Richter, 1991). Similarly, the childrearing duties of women leaders in Korea who chose to put their careers ahead of their families are often fulfilled by other women, such as grandmothers and nannies, but rarely husbands (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015). In recent years, the Japanese and Korean governments have been pushing for measures to sustain women's careers (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). In Korea, these reforms began in the early 2000s and include financial support for childbirth, expanding maternity leave to 12 weeks, improved childcare systems, and incentives for companies to build childcare facilities and to offer paid childcare leave (Resos, 2014).

Networking

Korea's compulsory military service for men creates one networking challenge for women. While men build strong networks during their time in military service, which continue to play a strong role in the workplace, Korean women find it very difficult to replicate professional networks of that strength (Heidrick & Struggles, 2013). Heidrick and Struggles (2013) found that over 50% of women executives felt that they and their peers lacked the necessary networking opportunities to integrate into the existing networks built by male executives. Laos, Singapore, Thailand, Taiwan, and Vietnam also have some form of compulsory military service for men, so it is likely that women there experience similar networking challenges (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). North Korean conscription, on the other hand, recruits both men and women into its military, so North Korean women probably experience the same networking advantages from military service as men do (Central Intelligence Agency, 2017).

Another disadvantage for woman in Korea is a lack of networking opportunities after work. It is customary in Korean, Japanese, and Chinese workplaces to develop networks, hold in-depth discussions, and explore opportunities over long dinners or drinks after work (Meyer, 2015). However, married women are expected to return home quickly to take care of their families. Therefore, if working mothers choose to return home early, they are unable to participate fully in these informal, yet often more important, gatherings that could provide them with an invitation to join key in-groups.

Role Models

In Asia, a lack of women role models for aspiring women leaders also presents an institutional barrier to advancement in both business and politics (UNDP, 2014). While some women have successfully reached leadership roles on their own and inspired women who followed after them, in many other cases "women have not fostered success for other women to follow similar paths, partially because women's leading roles were given by their family backgrounds in some cases and not by their own leadership excellence" (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015, p. 424). In some countries, such as Thailand and the Philippines, top women managers are striving to mentor women in the leadership pipeline, but Korea still lacks many

women in senior positions that could serve that role. Nevertheless, the current generation of rising women leaders in Korea often see themselves as role models for junior women under them, perhaps because few of them had women as mentors themselves (Cho, Kim, et al., 2015).

Future Directions

Over the last few decades, the status of women's leadership in Korea and the rest of Asia has markedly improved. Since 2000, nearly all Asian nations have seen significant improvements in girls' education and women's representation in legislatures (Asian Development Bank, 2016). In particular, the Global Gender Gap report noted Korea's improvements in the area of women's political empowerment (World Economic Forum, 2016). Although Korea and other Asian nations still have a long way to go to achieve true gender equality in the various areas of women's leadership, progress is being made. As in Korea, most of Asia's women's empowerment agencies and laws were established in the late 1980s and 1990s (Cho, McLean, et al., 2015). The first young women that graduated from high school and college under those policies are only now reaching places of seniority in their fields. This is especially true of societies with seniority-based promotion systems, such as Korea and Japan. Even despite the hurdles for women to reach management positions, Koreans are the most optimistic about improving gender diversity in the workplace in Asia. Of Korean executives, 48% held gender diversity as a top priority, and 68% believed more gender diversity initiatives were coming soon, significantly more than executives elsewhere in Asia (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Although improvements for women's leadership may be slow, they are progressing.

To further improvements for women's leadership in Korea and elsewhere, Asian governments need to move beyond gender mainstreaming and arbitrary targets for percentages of women in management positions. Although popular, neither of these policy strategies has achieved significant empowerment for women. The model of the Philippines Commission on Women, which combines gender mainstreaming data collection with research and various other women's empowerment projects, could be a model for Korea and other Asian nations (MacPhail, 2015). Mentoring and training programs, as well as policies to shorten working hours, increased childcare, and general improvement in the work–life balance for women are examples of possible strategies (Tan, 2016, UNDP, 2014). Moreover, media training to produce a more positive image around current women

leaders, politicians, and political candidates is needed to overcome gender biases imbedded in Asian traditional values and the recent surge in political conservatism in Asia (Real, 2012; Tan, 2016).

Ultimately, more women are needed in leadership positions to help improve the future of women's leadership in each country. While not every woman leader supports feminist policies, involving women in politics has generally improved gender equality, reduce gender-based violence, and improve the availability of childcare (UNDP, 2014). This, in turn, can boost future women leaders. In addition, the involvement of women leaders has strengthened democracies, transparency, and tolerance around the world—all desirable outcomes for Korea and the other nations of Asia (UN Women, 2016; UNDP, 2014). For some countries, quotas for hiring, promoting, or electing women may need to be established in order to overcome traditional prejudices through the representation of competent women (Tan, 2016). Korea can learn from the many different quota systems in Asia, and other Asian countries can learn from Korea's successes and failures with quotas, as well. With similar hurdles of traditional values and expectations to overcome, Korea and its neighbors can look to each other for example programs and policies to improve prospects for women's leadership in the future.

Conclusion

Korea has exceptionally strong Confucian traditions and expectations for women, long working hours, and networking hurdles for women, but its challenges with work–life balance and patriarchal values are certainly not unique in Asia. Traditional gender roles and perceptions of women remain at the root of many challenges that women in Korea, and elsewhere in Asia, face in advancing into leadership. These challenges include institutional barriers, such as insufficient childcare and wage gaps; interpersonal challenges, such as networking barriers and a lack of women as mentors; and internalized assumptions that lead women to decide not to pursue leadership. Successes in increasing women's leadership across Asia have shown that these challenges can be overcome by institutions, when designed effectively, including governmental programs and laws, as well as policies implemented by individual organizations. To differing degrees, all Asian countries must find the political and cultural will to overcome traditional values to solve these challenges. Asia has much to gain from fostering more women leaders.

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Dr. Kyoung-Ah Nam is an assistant Professor of Global Leadership in the Lucas College and Graduate School of Business at San Jose State University. She has extensive experience in research, teaching, and consulting as a scholar, teacher, and practitioner. She is a faculty member at the Summer Institute of Intercultural Communication and served as a special correspondent for Radio Free Asia (Washington, D.C.). Her research and teaching interests include global leadership

development, intercultural communication, cross-cultural perspectives on leadership, maximizing study/work abroad, expatriate intercultural training (pre-departure and re-entry), international education, and intercultural interaction in STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) classrooms. She has published widely in leading peer-reviewed journals, including the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* and *Human Resource Development Review.* She holds a Ph.D. in Organizational Leadership, Policy, and Development from the University of Minnesota, and is a certified Tucker Assessment Profile Assessor and an Intercultural Development Inventory administrator.

Jenna J. Lindeke is the vice president of the Yokosuka Council on Asia Pacific Studies and serves as the Preparedness Lead for her local American Red Cross Service to the Armed Forces station. She received her Master's in Global Cooperation from Ritsumeikan University and in International Development from American University. Her research interests include Asia regional studies, and the international and intercultural relations of international development and humanitarian assistance.

CHAPTER 14

Women in Leadership: Non-Asian Context with a Focus on Higher Education

Sang-Hee Lee

South Korea is well-known for its passion and commitment to education, a point that President Barack Obama made in a speech in 2015 (Fenton, 2015). After World War II, there was pressure for women to pursue higher education as a part of their package of eligibility for higher education. In 1981, the government implemented a new quota system for tertiary graduation (Shavit, Arum, & Gamoran, 2007), leading to an increase in the enrolment of both women and men. As a result, the higher education rate for women increased throughout the 1990s. In 1990, 45% of men high school graduates and 50% of women high school graduates transitioned to higher education; in 1995, these figures increased to 70% for men and 76% for women (Shavit et al., 2007). In addition, women have consistently shown a higher rate of graduation from higher education than men.

Despite the high level of tertiary graduation for women, these highly educated women have not entered the workforce at the same rate after graduation. South Korea has one of the lowest employment rates for women among the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries and an even lower employment rate for women in higher education university faculty positions. As of 2014, 34.7% of instructors were women in tertiary education in Korea, placing Korea 4th

S.-H. Lee (✉)
University of California at Riverside, Riverside, CA, USA

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from the bottom among OECD countries in terms of gender equity in higher education employment (OECD, 2017). Women are simply not entering the upper echelons of academia.

In 2012, South Korea boasted one of the highest education and literacy rates in the world (Seth, 2002), with a higher education enrolment rate for women than almost any country in Europe or the Americas (Seth, 2002; Shavit et al., 2007; Shin, Postiglione, & Huang, 2015). The high participation rate for women in both enrolment and graduation in tertiary education is, however, in stark contrast to the minimal number of women in leadership positions in Korea.

Women's representation is 2% or less on executive committees and less than 1% of Korean company CEOs (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff, Wang, & Chen, 2012). Although women are, overall, under-represented in senior leadership in Europe and the U.S.A., the number of women is extremely low among senior leadership in Asia (Süssmuth-Dyckerhoff et al., 2012). Unsurprisingly, women are under-represented in higher education leadership in South Korea (Seth, 2002). A study cited a single case of woman in a higher education leadership role in a survey of Korean universities for the three years 2004–06; as of 2006, 61.2% of all departments and 25.4% of all colleges had no women on their faculty (Kim, Yoon, & McLean, 2010). Indeed, as of 2016, only 10 of 191, barely 5%, of co-educational universities in South Korea had women presidents; no public or national university had a woman president (Kim, 2016). Korean women's leadership can be characterized as token, based on the small proportion of women in higher education leadership positions in Korea, well below 15%.

This reality of the under-representation of women in leadership in higher education demands exploration. One approach is to look internally and find factors to explain it from the perspective of Korea's history and culture. Several barriers can be posited: cultural and economic factors, organizational settings, institutional traditions, and barriers specific to the sciences. The fields of science and engineering are more men-dominated than fields in the humanities and social sciences (Bain & Cummings, 2000).

Cultural tradition in Korea has been posited as a possible explanation for women's systemic under-representation in leadership positions (Chung, 1994). Given the cultural history of Korea—where education for women was considered ancillary to increase their value in marriage—it might not be surprising. Higher education for Korean women was considered as having value as it helped secure a husband with a secure financial future and ensured that women were well-positioned as a mother with

strong motivation for the academic success of their children using her networks (Seth, 2002). Therefore, there is pressure from both directions (from society and within women themselves) for women to take employment as a temporary state. As they are not in employment long enough, few women rise through leadership positions (Chung, 1994; Seth, 2002).

The pressures, internal and external, that act on women as barriers to leadership may be overcome with structural support. Moving forward, what structural support can be put in place to increase women's leadership in higher education? In this chapter, I examine other countries that seem to have seen some success and improvement with women in leadership in higher education.

In many developed countries, women's leadership increased visibly in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, with high-profile women serving in powerful positions. Germany has a woman for a chancellor (Angela Merkel), and the U.S.A. saw hope for a woman president (Hillary Clinton) in 2016. However, despite the increased visibility of women leaders, the demographics of senior leadership still lag severely in the representation of women (Carli & Eagly, 2001). In the corporate world, women managers are increasing in numbers, and, although top-level women are still under-represented, they are slowly increasing. This is mirrored in higher education, as well.

There is a global trend of an increasing proportion of women in the student body; however, contrary to a common fear, the feminization of higher education is a myth (Leathwood & Read, 2009). In many countries, women make up half or more of the student body but are under-represented in leadership roles, and even more so in senior leadership roles (Morley, 2014). The proportion of women in senior leadership positions continues to be low in all fields, including those where women represent the majority, such as healthcare and education (Burke, 2014).

Over the last century, despite the increased proportion of women students across the board globally, where women are almost, and sometimes more than, half the student body, women are under-represented in the professoriate (knowledge production) and in academic leadership (Morley, 2014). Even for those countries where women's access to resources has increased over time, women are still under-represented in leadership, particularly in senior leadership positions. The increasing representation of women in the student body of higher education has likewise pressured academies to include women's representation at the highest levels of post-secondary education.

Higher education reflects what society is; even if there are more women in higher education, the actual picture will still reflect gendered patterns, as was the case in Japan (Amano, 1997). In general education, there will be more emphasis on knowledge and majors that are considered pertinent to gender roles assigned to women, such as home sciences. There will be less emphasis on professional education. Within professional education, there will be more emphasis on professions that are extensions of gender roles, such as mother and wife: health, children, teachers. Another perspective is to view it as a gender divide within institutions, with men focused on public arenas and women on private domains.

Women leaders in higher education mirror the literature of women in leadership in business: gendered leadership that may start with the lofty goal of respecting women for their traits can lead to oppression if a woman leader goes beyond the expectations of gendered norm traits. Korea is in a good position to leap forward with regard to women's leadership. Much can be gained from learning about other countries that have had a head start in closing the gender gap.

The higher education model in Korea, as in some other Asian countries, combines German and U.S. approaches (Bain & Cummings, 2000), filtered through Japanese colonial imposition and Confucian tradition (Shin, 2012). Through the annexation of Korea by Japanese imperialism in 1910, Korea was forced to incorporate several institutions originated in the west, in a form that was accepted by Japan. Hence, some understanding of the role of the Japanese influence as a filter is relevant. The parallelisms between the Korean and the German systems have been well-established, as has the use of the U.S. model that Korea is currently emulating (Hur & Bessey, 2013). In this chapter, women's leadership in higher education in the U.S.A. and Germany is examined as a comparative basis to reflect on Korea.

As a Korean woman academic with a career in U.S. higher education, I intersperse my analysis with autoethnographic observations. An autoethnographic approach is sometimes taken by leadership researchers whose own lived experiences can provide a unique perspective when their research topic has a dearth of case studies, as in the case of women leaders of color (Kempster & Stewart, 2010; McClellan, 2012). The fact that I could not find much research dealing with the intersectionality of race and gender in terms of academic leadership motivated me further to conduct an autoethnography to contextualize what I experienced personally at a socio-cultural level. I carried out an in-depth examination of my own life history, finding myself somewhat echoing the sentiment: "I had an

unchanging loyalty to my Blackness, but had a tendency to ignore my womanness" (McClellan, 2012, p. 97). In my case, however, I tried hard to erase both my Korean identity and my womanness, while attaching to the identity of a scholar stripped of any gender or race. Through the years, I have come to understand the intersectionality of my identity (Crenshaw, 1991), where gender and race are inseparable components that make up my story. While Korea is still quite homogeneous, with a strong national identity that prides itself on homogeneity, there has been a rapid increase in the influx of labor from other countries, especially countries in Southeast Asia, as well as ethnic Koreans from China. More attention is being paid to inclusiveness and diversity in society, and, albeit to a lesser degree, in leadership. Although race is not an obviously relevant factor in this discussion, it will start to play an important role in the near future.

In this chapter, the German education system, as filtered through Japan, and the U.S. education system are outlined; initiatives in both Germany and the U.S.A. to increase gender diversity in higher education leadership and the perceptions of women in leadership in the US are also discussed.

Japan and Germany: Ancestors or Cousins?

The history of higher education in Korea somewhat mirrors that of Japan. Starting with a low education rate at the end of World War II, Korea achieved the highest rate in the OECD with a tertiary education enrolment rate of 98% (Shin, 2012). Like other East Asian countries, beginning in the early 1800s Korea was influenced by the British and German models, which, much like Japan, were replaced by U.S. models after World War II. The Confucian tradition with a focus on culture and learning saw a natural connection with the higher education model (Shin, 2012).

As Korean higher education was heavily influenced by the Japanese system, a brief outline of the history of the modern education system in Japan is warranted. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan started actively to import a European, particularly German, system of education. Although both girls and boys were included in the new Primary School Order of K through to 12th grade, middle schools were segregated by gender, and girls had limited access to a handful of high schools. The higher education system was closed to girls, except for a few private women's colleges. After World War II, the Japanese education system underwent a reformation to

follow the U.S. model. This eliminated the rigidity of tracks (separation of vocational schools from degree programs), gender segregation, and barriers to access to higher education.

Starting with a low level of education of women before World War II, Japan achieved a dramatic catch-up in terms of gender equity. This may be a case where the investment in education has to reach a certain point before the effect is translated into economic development (Godo & Hayami, 2002). The low education level of women in prewar Japan clearly originated from its traditional system, which is notably oppressive towards women; however, culture alone does not explain the dramatic catch-up that occurred in the postwar era. Gender inequity in access to education seems to have persisted until the moment Japan remodeled its system on the U.S. model; in addition, it may have helped that Japan lost many men during the war and so had to compensate for that loss in human capital by being inclusive of women in higher education.

Higher education of Japanese women demonstrates that an increase in women's enrolment in higher education does not automatically lead to gender equity. Institutionalized gender differentiation is reflected in men choosing public majors, while women choose those in private domains, such as health, childcare, and education (Amano, 1997). This is also reflected in gendered division in leadership roles. College impact studies in the U.S.A. show that women internalized active attitudes and behaviors through higher education (Amano, 1997). Higher education can be an agent of change in society.

In Germany, diversity initiatives are expressed in terms of gender mainstreaming and managing diversity (Meuser, 2010). Gender mainstreaming started from the 1995 UN World Women's Conference, while managing diversity, which has proven to be more effective than gender mainstreaming, adopted the human rights movement from the U.S.A. Germany has a smaller gender gap, but fewer women researchers (European Commission, 2009), so a gender quota has been implemented (Zuber, 2010). The idea of quotas may be crude, but they are an effective way to accomplish an increase in the pool in a measurable manner (see later in this chapter for diversity initiatives in the U.S.A.).

The structure of German higher education has gone through a strong initiative of transformation in the name of the Bologna Process (Terry, 2008; Westerheijden et al., 2010), in which countries signed an agreement to ensure consistent quality and comparability of educational degrees. This initiative transformed higher education in Europe to emulate the U.S.

degree system. However, there is a glaring absence of any consideration having been given to increasing diversity in higher education, including that of gender. In that sense, the Bologna Process has limited relevance for this chapter.

Each country appears to be acutely aware of the gender inequity in their own country and to feel the urgent need to improve the situation. In Germany, the lament is: "It is a well-known fact that Germany occupies one of the hindmost positions concerning the equality of treatment of men and women in academic life – especially with respect to the top-level posts" (Zuber, 2010, p. 189). Grant proposals submitted to the German Excellence Initiative, enacted in 2005, required an outline of efforts to promote gender equity. It would be of interest to track the effect of such efforts on gender equity over a long-term period.

U.S.A.: The Model

The U.S. system provided the framework for the Korean higher education system. This framework has been influenced from three perspectives: early American missionaries and their influence on the resistance movement against Japanese oppression, an increase in Korean scholars trained in the U.S.A., and an increase in nationalism and the complexity of the relationship in Korea between domestically trained scholars and U.S. trained scholars (Lee, 1989). The application of the western model of higher education in Korea has often been mentioned (Altbach, 1989). However, U.S. initiatives of diversity and inclusiveness have not been explicitly adopted by Korean systems as yet.

The power elite in the U.S.A. (Mills, 1956), once reserved for white men of privilege, is more diverse today than in the 1950s. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments passed in 1972 helped in this transition. However, progress in equal opportunity was blocked by political actions in the 1980s. As of 1997, men outnumbered women 2:1 at the associate professor level and 5:1 at the professorship level (Hackney & Bock, 2000).

Women's leadership lags behind that of men in the U.S.A. (Katuna, 2014), particularly in the business and government sectors. In contrast, higher education fares slightly better in terms of women leadership (Katuna, 2014). Why is this? Is academia the first frontier of women's inclusion in authoritative positions? The uphill battle women face towards inclusion at the top of the academy starts early from the tenure process

(Anonymous & Anonymous, 1999). Silencing, shaming, double-standards, hostility, and devaluation (Anonymous & Anonymous, 1999) continue to play a role in a pipeline that is leaking for women leadership.

After the passing of Proposition 209, which made it illegal to consider race and gender when hiring in California, discrimination against women in hiring practices increased across Californian universities (West, 2007). This is a sobering situation, given that many consider California to be the most liberal and advanced area in the pursuit of diversity in all sectors of society, including gender equity. That women could become more educated but still face hiring discrimination on graduation shows that the increase in women's representation can be a precarious situation that needs to be stabilized through continuous investment and commitment towards diversity.

When I was hired on a tenure-track position in a university, some friends said to me that I must have had an easier time getting a job because of my status as a minority woman. I surmised that the same thought crossed many more people's minds, although they never expressed that thought out loud. As I worked my way through the position as a junior faculty member, I was constantly aware of the self-imposed need to prove my worth by working harder at my scholarship and working hard to erase my ethnicity and gender.

Because the U.S.A. is the model for Korea's modern education system, both in the inception phase and in aspiration, the challenges confronted by women leadership in U.S. higher education could foreshadow some of the challenges that Korean women will face as they take on leadership positions. Here, I review the challenges.

Research shows that women have an ambiguous attitude towards leadership positions in higher education and that the ambiguity originates from their dismissiveness of leadership as a career option (Morley, 2014). Various themes surfaced across the literature on women's leadership in higher education in the U.S.A.: the problem of the pipeline, leadership styles, the glass ceiling and the glass cliff, and tokenism. Some of these themes may validate the ambiguity that women feel about taking on a leadership position.

Problem of the Pipeline

There may be some thought that an increase in the pipeline from education will naturally result in an increase in women in leadership. This might be true, to a degree. However, having more women in the pipeline does

not, by itself, guarantee an improvement in equity, because an increase in women in the pipeline is not necessarily a result of equivalent increase in all different segments of women; it is women of a certain class and socio-economic status that are disproportionately represented in the pipeline. First, not all women benefit from more women in the pipeline (Walby, 1997). Access to university education for women does not automatically guarantee increased representation in leadership positions as repeatedly demonstrated in several examples, including Korea and Japan. Although increased access to education for women by itself does not automatically bring about a social and cultural change in gender power relationship (Pereira, 2007), it may be a necessary condition to move beyond the token stage, achieved when more than 15% of leadership positions are filled by women (Kanter, 1977).

Leadership Styles

Leadership literature often features discussions of different leadership styles: democratic versus autocratic; communal versus agent; laissez-faire versus hands-on; transactional versus transformational (Bass, 1990). When such leadership styles are integrated with gender, the styles become characterized by traits often associated with gender norms. For example, women are presumed to excel in certain kinds of leadership (democratic, transformational) rather than others (autocratic, transactional) (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Although advances have been made in women's leadership and gender equity, leadership is still socially gendered, in the sense that traits considered positive if exhibited in men in leadership will be recast as negative when exhibited in women in leadership (Katuna, 2014). Women leaders are expected to have feminine traits and are penalized when deviating from that expectation (Katuna, 2014). Women leaders who exhibit traits associated with traditional characteristics of men—such as being strong-willed, bold, and decisive—are penalized as their leadership is reevaluated. This can be seen in examples such as Margaret Thatcher's nickname of The Iron Lady and was clearly observed in the U.S. presidential election in 2016. Women are devalued when they succeed in tasks perceived to be men's tasks (Heilman & Wallen, 2004). On the other hand, men exhibiting leadership traits traditionally associated with women may be called a sissy, used in less than a positive way. Actual leaders share similarities across gender; their characteristics and styles are not aligned along gender lines (Katuna, 2014).

The degendering movement (Lorber, 2005) or undoing gender (Butler, 2004) is argued as a solution for the gendered expectation of leadership styles (Katuna, 2014); perhaps degendering can happen only by converging on a single gender of man-ness? Gendering leadership assumes that women and men lead differently because of biology, an assumption based on the highly contentious argument that there are innate, biological differences between women and men, and those biological differences are expressed in behavior such as leadership styles.

Gendering of leadership is a related phenomenon in which there is the gendered division of labor. Women are allowed into leadership roles that are lower in prestige and compatible with a gendered *fit* of taking care of students. Leadership itself can be "hierarchicalised with women allowed entry into less prestigious, inward-looking roles" such as student-oriented, teaching support positions (Morley, 2014, p. 115). Such gendered division of labor can be a barrier to women's leadership at higher levels or in more prestigious functions.

Glass Ceiling, Glass Cliff

The glass cliff means that women find themselves in leadership positions that are unpopular and precarious management areas in situations that are unrewarding or with a high risk of negative consequences (Morley, 2014; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). While women may be unsatisfied with middle-level leadership positions, they might not desire a promotion to senior leadership. Morley (2014) stated:

> While some women were attracted to influence, rewards, and recognition, the affective load of being 'other' in masculinist organizational cultures and transgressing socio-cultural messages, for example, the highly educated woman as the 'third sex,' deterred others. Hence, the complex and contradictory positioning of women in relation to academic leadership. It is a sign of upward mobility, influence and power, but also a normative fantasy about what constitutes success, and its current conditions and limitations in the global academy mean that many women do not construct it as an object of desire. (p. 125)

Women are increasingly represented in the junior or mid-level ranks but are still scarce at senior levels of leadership. The glass ceiling has several different dimensions to it: one is the biased evaluation of women leaders that women are presumed to be less competent and less worthy

(Carli & Eagly, 2001). The bias is a double bind: women are presumed to be less competent, but competent women are considered to be violating gender norms and may be resented. Beliefs about gender and status can penalize women leaders who are assertive (Ridgeway, 2001), especially in environments dominated by men (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Tokenism

Organizations can present progressiveness by appointing women to key positions. I was a visiting assistant professor at a small state college in the Midwest and was basically the only Asian woman professor. I found myself trying very hard to assimilate, to act mainstream U.S. American, as I understood the concept. There, I had the first-hand experience of being a token, as a member of an under-represented minority. Tokenism has a set of predictable consequences (Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 1977). Here is a warning against tokenism of women and for people of color: tokenism, in the long run, can be used to suppress diversity in leadership as the power structure can cite a single case of a token as evidence to argue that the problem does not exist, or that the problem is resolved. A close example would be to cite President Obama to argue that race relations are resolved or presidential candidate Clinton that gender inequality no longer exists. Examples of women in prominent positions are cited as evidence that gender is no longer an issue (Leathwood & Read, 2009).

However, tokenism can be an intermediate step towards increased representation, with the understanding of the possible toxic consequences of complacency. An increase in gender representation in prominent positions may coincide with an increase in class polarization; next to a woman in a high position may be the majority of women who do not have the same kind of access to resources. We can fall into the trap of tokenism. Having a few women in leadership may be used to propagate and erase the issue. Incentives that are imposed on academia rewards a culture of virility (Morley, 2014), therefore, innately positioning them not to empower women leadership in academia.

Recommendations for Future Research

Comparative studies of other countries that have implemented measures to improve gender equity in higher education leadership will be useful in envisioning the future direction of Korea. In the comparison, qualitative

data need to be collected to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the lived experiences of women who hold leadership positions, in addition to quantitative data.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the state of women in leadership in higher education in a non-Asian context. In comparison with Japan, Germany, and the U.S.A., Korean women's leadership in higher education is at the token stage. The U.S.A. is the model for the higher education system for Korea and may provide insight into moving women's leadership beyond the token stage. Women's leadership in higher education in the U.S.A., however, has still a way to go; while the numbers may look much better, women leaders still confront gender stereotypes that can challenge their success. A comparative understanding may shed light on gaining a contextualized insight for moving forward for Korean women in leadership.

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Dr. Sang-Hee Lee is a biological anthropologist, specializing in human evolution. She holds degrees from the University of Michigan (M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology) and Seoul National University in Korea (B.A. in Archaeology). After working as a postdoctoral researcher in Sokendai (as the Graduate University of Advanced Studies is more generally known) in Japan, she returned to the U.S.A. and has been a member of the faculty at the University of California, Riverside, since 2001; she is currently a Professor in Anthropology. She served as the Department Chair (2012–15) and as the Associate Dean of Student Academic Affairs, College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (2016–18). Lee has published more than thirty journal articles on the topics of human evolution, sexual dimorphism, brain size evolution, longevity, and human evolution in northeast Asia. With Shin-young Yoon, she wrote a best-selling book in Korea, *Human Origins* (2015). An English translation of her book, *Close Encounters with Humankind: A Paleoanthropologist Investigates Our Evolving Speices*, is forthcoming in 2018.

PART VI

Closing

CHAPTER 15

Convergence, Divergence, and Crossvergence Related to Women in Leadership: Where Does Korea Fit Globally?

Gary N. McLean

As a non-Korean, it seems appropriate to situate myself relative to Korea in beginning this final chapter. As a child of 8–11 years of age, I still have vivid memories of newsreel images of the Korean War (or Korean Conflict, if being politically correct in the U.S.A.), showing in the pre-TV movie theaters on Saturday afternoons, along with a cartoon, the cliff-hanging serial, and the latest cowboy movie. I was also a comic book fan, and many adventure comics included episodes set in Korea. And, as a stamp collector, I also encountered the occasional Korean stamp. But that was my only contact until 1970, when we adopted the first of our four children from Korea. Since then, I have taught and advised Korean students, both in the U.S.A. and Korea, and I have presented and consulted in Korea. I have come to have a deep respect for Korea and love of many of its people (and have a great appreciation for its food!). For the past 25 years, I have edited *Korean Philately*, an English-language philatelic journal, through which I learned much about Korea's history, culture, and geography. Nevertheless, I will never understand Korea the way Koreans understand themselves, though there is often benefit in having an outsider's perspective.

G.N. McLean (✉)
McLean Global Consulting, Inc., Saint Paul, MN, USA

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In this book, our authors have looked in depth at many types of organizations in Korea and how they approach women in leadership by moving women into leadership, recruiting women for leadership positions, and retaining women as they move up the career ladder. In this chapter, I use three theories that were developed to compare cultures (beliefs, values, behaviors, assumptions) across countries: convergence, divergence, and crossvergence.

Let me start with defining how I will use the three words, drawing on the original meanings of the theories as defined by Ralston (2008). *Convergence* means a movement towards those values and systems that tend to dominate. In Korea, for example, business operations and education systems develop toward western values, even if the values underscoring such movement run counter to cultural traditions. *Divergence* takes an opposite view in arguing that socio-cultural influences are stronger than other influences in driving towards stasis in maintaining cultural norms, in spite of other changes that are attempting to bring about change. *Crossvergence* is a dynamic combination of the two, suggesting that a culture is shaped by the interaction of the socio-cultural influences of tradition, while, at the same time, being influenced by dominant cultures in the environment. The first two theories (divergence and convergence) fit into a dualistic perspective of culture, while the third (crossvergence) argues for more ambiguity. Such ambiguity is difficult for many to understand in a western context. But it should be much easier for Koreans to understand and embrace as it affirms the symbolism of the yin-yang in the center of the Korean flag, representing harmony or unity (see Fig. 15.1). Crossvergence is not an "either-or" theory but a "both-and" theory that combines divergence and convergence.

Fig. 15.1 South Korean flag

The push to create policies and practices identified in this book by the Korean government and virtually all organizations is an example of convergence or moving toward what has been a vision in western countries for decades. Yet, we have also heard of the struggles that women continue to have within the Korean society, an example of divergence, or the strength of the traditional culture holding back change. These two pieces come together to illustrate the tension that exists, not just in Korea, but across Asia—and, indeed, the world—as the vision of equality and the sociocultural traditions come into conflict. The difficult task for Korean human resource development (HRD) professionals, and everyone who shares the vision of equality, will be to embrace the tension, allowing society to hold on to the rich beauty of its tradition while, at the same time, moving forward toward the vision of equality that is demanded for both economic reasons (needing women in the workforce, and accessing their expertise and wisdom for economic welfare) and humanistic reasons (allowing both men and women to actualize their potential, economically, spiritually, mentally, and emotionally).

In this chapter, I will synthesize the 15 preceding chapters from both convergent and divergent perspectives and will then conclude by bringing these together into a crossvergent view. While including how these three theories are used to explore how Koreans share (or do not share) values, beliefs, norms, and behaviors across country cultures (especially in the west, as Chap. 14 did this focusing on Asia), I will expand that concept to include such comparisons across organizations in South Korea. Some of this has also been done in part with the focus on education in Chap. 14.

Divergence

With the emergence of what are being called the "alpha girls"—"women who are extremely successful in their work, accomplished and ambitious in pursuit of career advancement" (Choi, 2014, para. 1), especially in the fields of law, medicine, and diplomacy—it can be concluded that Korea is moving toward the rest of the world in advancing women. Choi went on to discuss many of the statistics included in this book: Korean women's low labor participation rate, lacking the necessary infrastructure for childcare and a lack of maternity leave policies (leading to Korea having one of the lowest birth rates in the world), low wages compared with men's, a workplace culture that is antagonistic to mothers, and on and on the list goes. Add to these factors the marginalization that occurs as women are

disproportionately represented by part-time and contract workers. So, while there are some few indicators of convergence, the reality, sadly, continues to be one of divergence, with the strong cultural traditions continuing to build a wall to keep women out of leadership positions. The question for Korea is whether its desire for a strong economic position in the world will force it to set aside those cultural components that create the type of discrimination (both intentional and unintentional) that keep women out of leadership, and, especially, out of senior leadership, positions.

Many chapters in this book have argued that the leadership styles in Korea differ between men and women, or at least their styles are perceived to be different. However, as reported by Seo, Huang, and Han (2017), "there is no substantial gendered difference in leadership styles or behaviors" (p. 34). If this is the case, then, as Seo et al. (2017) asked, "What underlying mechanisms maintain this lack of women in leadership positions within organizations?" Every chapter in this book has sought to answer that question. But, as we look at where Korea fits in a world context, it is apparent that there appears to be no country in which men and women have an equal opportunity to move into a leadership position. Seo et al.'s (2017) answer to their question is that women are discriminated against based on "gendered social status within organizations" (p. 37).

This conclusion is supported through the research of Waller and Lublin (2015), who found, in an extensive survey of 30,000 employees conducted under the sponsorship of LeanIn.Org and McKinsey & Company, that "At the beginning of their careers, men and women have roughly equal desire for advancement, but men win more of the critical first promotions" (p. R1). Just as a couple of chapters talked about the difficulty of creating a pipeline in Korea, the same seems to be true in the U.S.A. In the survey, only one third of respondents, of both genders, agreed that advancing women through promotion was a priority of their direct reports, a situation labelled "frozen middle" (p. R2, quoting Shelley Correll, Stanford University). Yet, while 53% of men aspire to a top executive position, only 43% of women shared such an aspiration. They also concluded from their survey that motherhood actually increases women's appetite for upward mobility. Another structural factor uncovered in their study was that "More women begin their careers in line jobs, but they tend to get promoted into staff roles in such areas as human resources or IT, which rarely lead to the executive suite" (p. R1). In fact, just over one quarter of women agreed that their organization was a meritocracy. Just as in Korea, there are clearly factors other than competence that are at work in the U.S.A. Gender appears to be a major factor.

Convergence

In spite of all of the challenges facing women in Korea, there is hope that Korean women can move towards the kind of opportunities faced by women in many western countries. Choi (2014) stated: "There is a large, highly qualified and exceptionally motivated female labour force. With a very low birth rate, this undervalued female population presents itself as a great pool of human resources" (para. 9).

There was hope that the election of Park Geun-hye as the first woman president in the history of Korea would create a new era for women in politics. Time has proven that wrong as she was impeached in March 2017, and removed from office for corruption and influence peddling (Kim & Grimson, 2017). Park, of course, was a legacy president, as the daughter of the authoritarian president, Park Chung-hee. So, as with many other women leaders in Asian countries, she got there through patriarchal cultural traditions. The impeachment of Park can also be seen in cultural traditions. Ghitis (2017) suggested that the culture of Korea simply could not tolerate having a woman as president and noted that many previous men serving as president, who were also corrupt, were never removed from office. Ghitis also pointed to the widespread corruption that exists among men serving in senior leadership roles in business and lower level political leadership positions.

The newly elected president, Moon Jae-in, has nominated Kim Dong-yeon to be finance minister and deputy prime minister (Lee & Kim, 2017). What is relevant about this appointment for women in leadership is that he has taken on the challenge of restructuring the *chaebols*, conglomerates in Korea, to reduce their power. Potentially, this will open up the possibility of more leadership positions, hopefully providing more women in leadership roles. In the U.S.A., however, while women are slowly shattering the glass ceiling, it has been a long, slow process. Even today, only 27 women are CEOs (or co-CEOs) of Fortune 500 companies (List of women CEOs …, 2017). May Barra, the CEO of General Motors (GM), set a record in 2015 for women CEOs by moving GM to 6th place, the highest rating any company has reached under a woman CEO (Bellstrom, 2015). However, in 2017, GM had fallen back to 8th place on the list. Based on their review of empirical studies, Seo et al. (2017) concluded that it is important for companies to have women in senior leadership roles, not just because it is the right thing to do, but also because "securing top management positions for more women should be considered as a strategic human resource development (HRD) approach that contributes to organizational competitive advantages" (p. 36).

Warner and Corley (2017) provided several numbers indicating the success that women in the U.S.A. are experiencing, broadly. While women constitute 50.8% of the population, their college education exceeds expectations, earning 60% of undergraduate degrees and 60% of master's degrees. In the medical field, they earn 48% of degrees, while 47% of law degrees are earned by women. The numbers are lower in business fields, with women earning 38% of MBAs but 48% of all specialized master's degrees. Participation in the labor force falls just below their percentage in the population, accounting for 47% of the labor force and 49% of the college-educated workforce. However, they hold only 25% of positions as executive- and senior-level officials and managers. Academia is not much better; only 31% of full professors are women, as are 27% of college presidents. Warner and Corley (2017), however, concluded that women's progress to leadership in the U.S.A. has stalled. "In fact, it has been estimated that, at the current rate of change, it will take until 2085 for women to reach parity with men in key leadership roles in the United States" (last para.).

Comparative statistics between the two countries are also useful. According to the World Economic Forum (2016), the U.S.A. consistently ranks higher than Korea, though many countries perform better than the U.S.A. Where 1.000 equals full equality overall, the U.S.A. ranked 45th (of 144) globally with a score of 0.722; Korea, on the other hand, ranked 116th with a score of 0.649. Based on the labor participation rate, Korea ranked 91st with 56% of women in the workforce and a ratio compared with men of 0.73; the U.S.A. ranked 56th with a participation rate of 66% and a comparative ratio of 0.86. Considering wage equality, the U.S.A. ranked 66th with a ratio of 0.65, while Korea ranked 125th with a ratio of 0.52. The report contains many more statistics, many of which have already been presented in the book. The bottom line is that Korea does not stand up well when compared with other global countries on most of the measures of gender equality, with the exception of education.

Family concerns in the U.S.A. seem to have an impact on inhibiting women from moving into top leadership positions, even in developed economies. Waller and Lublin (2015) found that "Parenthood makes men and women both more ambitious for promotion, but many women also say they don't want top jobs, citing the stress and pressure of those roles" (p. R1).

Something similar appears to be true in Korea. Korean traditional culture values the family. However, within the family, gender roles are well-established. Women take care of the children, the home, and finances,

while men are responsible for earning the family's income. Again, as highlighted in many of the chapters in this book, this holds women back from employment and, especially, from leadership positions. As a result, Korean women have made counter-cultural decisions to remain single or, if they marry, to choose not to have children. As a result, the birth rate in Korea is among the lowest in the world. This allows Korean women to choose a career over the traditional concept of marriage. Thus, their movement towards leadership positions is a movement towards western practices, as is the decision not to marry or have children. But it clearly runs counter to Korean family life traditions.

Crossvergence

Crossvergence explores components of a culture that are moving towards, in this case, a global context, while holding on to some components of traditional culture. An excellent example comes from a comparison of the situation in Korean politics with those in the U.S.A. today.

While Korea no longer has a woman in the presidency, there is some optimism with the election of Moon Jae-in as her replacement with a five-year term. At the time of this writing, Moon has nominated four women for cabinet positions that have always been held by men. After serving as deputy director of Moon's gender equality team during his campaign, Cho Hyun-ock has been appointed as Senior Secretary for Personnel Affairs, the first woman appointed permanently to this position. Moon appointed as Minister of Patriots and Veteran Affairs Pi Woo-jin, "a retired army lieutenant colonel and one of the first female helicopter pilots in South Korea [who] made headlines for her history of relentlessly battling for women's rights in a male-dominated environment" (Choi, 2017, para. 4). The most senior positions, requiring parliamentary confirmation, are former senior United Nations diplomat, Kang Kyung-hwa, nominated for the position of Foreign Affairs Minister, and parliamentary member, Kim Hyoun-mi, nominated for the Land, Infrastructure, and Transport Minister. More such appointments are expected, especially to the constitutional and supreme courts, where only 2 of the 13 judges currently serving on the constitutional court are women. In the previous presidency, only two women served as ministers, with none in her secretariat, "a situation considered to have undermined gender equality in the South Korean political sphere" (Choi, 2017, para. 9). After residing near the bottom in the world with women in senior cabinet positions, Moon's initial appointments holds

promise that South Korea can finally move up, especially if he comes close to achieving his goal of equality in the cabinet.

This is actually running counter to what is happening in the U.S.A. Under Barrack Obama, there were seven women in cabinet-level positions, including Hilary Clinton as Secretary of State. Now, under Donald Trump, there are only four of 24 women in the cabinet, and none in his inner cabinet: Elaine Chao, Secretary of Transportation; Nikki Haley, UN Ambassador; Betsy DeVos, Secretary of Education; and Linda McMahon, Administrator of the Small Business Administration. NATO has just finished its meeting—yesterday, as I write this. Of the 28 heads of state, only five were women, none of whom, however, is a legacy president (i.e., neither her father or husband was formerly head of state): Croatia, Estonia, Germany, Lithuania, and the United Kingdom. We all have a long way to go yet in achieving equality in the most senior political positions.

The United States has been making slow progress in electing women to legislative positions. As of June 2017, there were 21 women senators (of 100, 21%) and 83 women in the House of Representatives (of 435, 19.1%); these 83 women represent only 33 states, meaning that 17 states have *no* women in the House (Women in the U.S. Congress 2017, 2017). As the U.S.A. struggles with creating a national healthcare plan, it has been shocking (at least, to me) to see that the Senate Republican committee drafting the Senate's plan had no women, even though major problems being confronted have to do with women's healthcare, including pregnancy and maternity issues.

At a state level, there are only six women governors. The record number of women governors serving at one time is nine, in both 2004 and 2007. There have been 39 women governors, with 24 being elected on their own, four succeeding their husbands, and 11 constitutionally succeeded to office. These governors have served 27 states, meaning that 23 states have never had a woman governor (*History of Women Governors*, 2017). And only 20% of the mayors of the 100 largest cities are women (Warner & Corley, 2017).

Another interesting dilemma in which Korean women are moving towards western society while, at the same time, being held back by their traditional culture is in societal participation rates. As with Japan, Korean women enrolled in tertiary education at a higher level than men, while, at the same time, their participation rate in employment, especially during childbirth and childcare years, is far lower, resulting in a much lower rate of serving in leadership positions.

Another type of crossvergence that has not been discussed much in this book is the movement towards ethnic diversity in Korea as Korean men, especially in rural areas, marry foreign brides, as Korean women do not wish to become a farmer's wife. In the short term, this may not have much impact on women in leadership. However, as they acquire education and training and move into the workforce, this situation is likely to change (Chai & McLean, 2012; Lee & McLean, 2010). And so, a country that has long prided itself on its homogeneity is now having to confront ethnic diversity. Certainly, within the rural areas, the presence of non-Koreans will have an impact on their communities as these women ascend to leadership positions. And, in next generations, the children of these marriages are likely to pursue a traditional educational route for women by gaining a quality education, moving into the workplace, and eventually strive for leadership.

What Does the Future Hold for Women in Leadership in Korea?

At the current pace, it will be almost a century before there is equality in senior leadership in the U.S.A. At the present rate, it will be a couple of centuries before this happens in Korea. But I am more of an optimist. I do not think that the current pace in either country will continue. This may not be because we are able to eradicate gender stereotyping and discrimination in the workplace but, rather, due to the economic demand for an educated and highly competent workforce, in the continuing trend of low birth rates and increasing age of their populations, forcing both countries to look at their available talent. Such talent, clearly, includes women. Especially in Korea, but also to some extent in the U.S.A., more women are getting educated than men. That means that women will have the greater expertise and competence that is demanded in business and industry. I will not see such equality in my lifetime, but I definitely believe that my granddaughters will experience such equality of opportunity in senior leadership, and their confidence and intelligence, with extended education, will definitely position them well to take advantage of this equal opportunity. And my grandsons will not only have the same opportunities in the workplace, but they will be able to share equally with their partners in the joys of parenting, cooking, gardening, and other homecare tasks. I hope that my Korean friends' children and grandchildren will have the same opportunity. And my additional hope is that this book will play some small part in setting the stage for more rapid progression toward equality in Korea.

But much more is needed. Gender activists in Korea need to find a champion (or many champions) at the top of corporations who are willing to do what the new president is doing in creating a "women's surge in which managers must consider women when filling open positions" at senior levels, "ensure women and men are paid equally; and ensure that women make up at least 30% of attendees at management summits or onstage roles at keynote presentations" (Waller & Lublin, 2015, p. R2, referencing policies at the "cloud-computing giant Salesforce.com").

The education system needs to be changed to encourage girls at an early age to take on leadership roles within their classes and schools. Perhaps extracurricular activities can be designed to encourage girls to enter STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields, growth fields that might provide greater opportunities for equal pay. Specific courses in women in leadership may be offered in high school and college, designed for both genders, so boys can understand the benefits that will accrue to them, but also to be more empathetic to how the culture negatively influences women's lives.

Korean soap operas have become very popular in recent years, not just in Korea, but also across Asia. Tapping into this success, women writers and directors can create equally appealing stories that can model women in leadership and the importance of gender equality. Beyond the messages in the stories, putting women in such positions of leadership in creating the media will also allow women in the entertainment business to strive for greater responsibility and leadership.

At the government level, existing policies need to be strengthened by tying financial incentives to the existing quota system, and the quotas must continue to be increased on a gradual level to strive towards equality in professorial ranks, in college and university administration (including senior positions), and towards equal enrolments across majors. Universities, in turn, will need to be innovative and creative in recruiting students for majors and in providing environments in currently male-dominated fields to entice young women to enroll and succeed in those fields.

Businesses, too, need to be serious about the recruitment and hiring of women for mid-level and top-level positions. Johnson & Johnson, Intel, BASF SE, and many others companies, according to Feintzeig (2015), are using diversity as one of the metrics on which manager bonuses are determined. They will be responsible for recruiting and promoting women. As she observed, "putting hard numbers around diversity and tying those numbers to pay and performance helps ensure real progress

when it comes to advancing women" (p. R3). It is likely to be the case that Korean organizations will also need to replace rhetoric with action.

Many companies have created hipo or hi-potential (high potential) pools whose members receive challenging job opportunities, job rotation, assignments abroad, and extra developmental experiences. Companies who are serious about changing the normal path of women progressing upward through staff positions could create such a pool so that women become expert in understanding and working with those aspects of business that allow them to be put into senior line positions, rather than staff positions. Some companies in the U.S.A. have used women's roundtables (subgroups of employees with common characteristics who meet together regularly to share ideas for improving the environment in the organization and enhancing promotion opportunities; 3M is one example of a user of this approach), but such an approach tends to isolate women, rather than integrate them and move them upwards. Some companies have used mentoring programs in which mentors provide useful information to mentees to help them in their careers. Intel is using a program of sponsorship in which it becomes the responsibility of women in senior roles to catapult more women into senior management positions. But men in senior leadership roles, also need to be charged with such a responsibility.

It took many years and much controversy in the U.S.A. for the military to become committed to gender equality. In part, the shortage of volunteers when the U.S.A. moved away from the draft supported this change in the military culture. There are still many problems with this, especially sexual violence against women by men in the military. So much work is still needed. Setting aside that problem, given the strong influence in business of having been forced into military service in Korea, women could well benefit from a two-year stint in military service. This would likely need to begin on a volunteer basis, with active recruitment of women for military service, with the long-term goal of extending compulsory service to women. Perhaps both genders could be offered an alternative national service experience for the two-year term, benefiting both genders and extending service to areas of Korea that need such volunteer service (e.g., in rural areas, in poverty areas of cities, working with immigrant women and their children, and so on). Regardless of choice, such women will acquire leadership skills that they do not currently possess, allowing them to advance to senior leadership positions more quickly when they become employed after such service. Of course, another option would be to drop mandatory military service for everyone in Korea and then force the military to make volunteering so attractive to both genders that they would be able to staff fully through volunteer service.

The government also needs to put more resources into the programs that have begun to provide childcare facilities in or near workplaces, to allow women to work without having to withdraw from work to raise their children. Tutors can be provided by the government so that mothers, who have typically assumed this role in Korea, will be comfortable in knowing that their children are receiving the necessary educational experience and not feel guilty about continuing to work. At the other end of the continuum is eldercare, a topic that has not been much discussed in this book. Traditionally, in Korea, it is the responsibility of the daughter to take care of her aging parents as their health declines and for daughters-in-law to take care of their parents-in-law as they decline. Such a responsibility, as with childcare, creates challenges for women in staying in the workplace and aspiring toward leadership positions. For parents who are seriously ill, nursing homes or rehabilitation centers may provide better care than can be given in the home. This is already happening in Korea. But Koreans remain torn about what to do for parents who are in various stages of dementia. Again, specialized centers are likely to provide better care than an individual in the home, but the thought of putting an aging parent in a dementia care unit is stressful. And for parents who are still somewhat mobile, daycare senior centers or even senior housing units will provide parents with social interactions with people of similar interests and experiences. Hospice and respite care can also provide better care and not drain a woman of her energy and time for the workplace. All of these options are better for the parents and for the daughters/wives, but they run so counter to the traditional culture in Korea that it may take a long time before they become acceptable. The government, again, needs to take an active role in providing such an infrastructure for these options to become possible. In this context, President Moon's announcement of helping the elderly with dementia with financial support will be a catalyst in this direction.

Finally, and not to suggest that there are no further practical steps that must be taken, as academics and researchers, we carry considerable burden in acknowledging how we have fallen short in providing the necessary research to support such changes. Over and over in the chapters of this book, we have read "there is insufficient data available," "no research on this topic could be found," and "domestic research is simply not available." This must change. While it is understandable why Korean researchers have focused on other topics, considering them to be more publishable in international journals, nevertheless, it does a disservice to our desires to bring about cultural change in moving the genders toward equality.

There are benefits to Korea in pursuing both convergent and crossvergent approaches to change. Divergence, at least with regard to gender roles, will hold Korean women back and continue to disadvantage them. As academics, we take on the responsibility for creating change through our research, teaching, and service, lobbying the government and businesses to change their policies and practices. But, above all, as human beings, we have the moral obligation to do all that we can to bring about equality of the genders, not just in Korea, but everywhere!

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Dr. Gary N. McLean is president of McLean Global Consulting, Inc., a family business. As an organization development (OD) practitioner, his work is both extensive and global. His most recent academic assignment was as Renowned Scholar in the Graduate School of Management in the International Islamic University of Malaysia. He has worked with universities in Thailand since 1994, where he has consulted and presented workshops, and delivered keynote speeches since then. He teaches regularly in the Ph.D. program in HRD at the National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA) in Thailand. Previously, he was a Senior Professor and Executive Director of International HRD at Texas A&M University. He is Professor Emeritus and co-founder of the HRD program at the University of Minnesota. He served as President of the Academy of Human Resource Development and the International Management Development Association. His research interests focus on organization development, and national and international HRD. He has been widely recognized, including his induction into two halls of fame.

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