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We Want You! (Or Maybe Not): On the Status of the Working Woman in South Korea

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We Want You! (Or Maybe Not)

On the Status of the Working Woman in South Korea

Thesis

for the master's programme

Politics, Society and Economy of Asia

by

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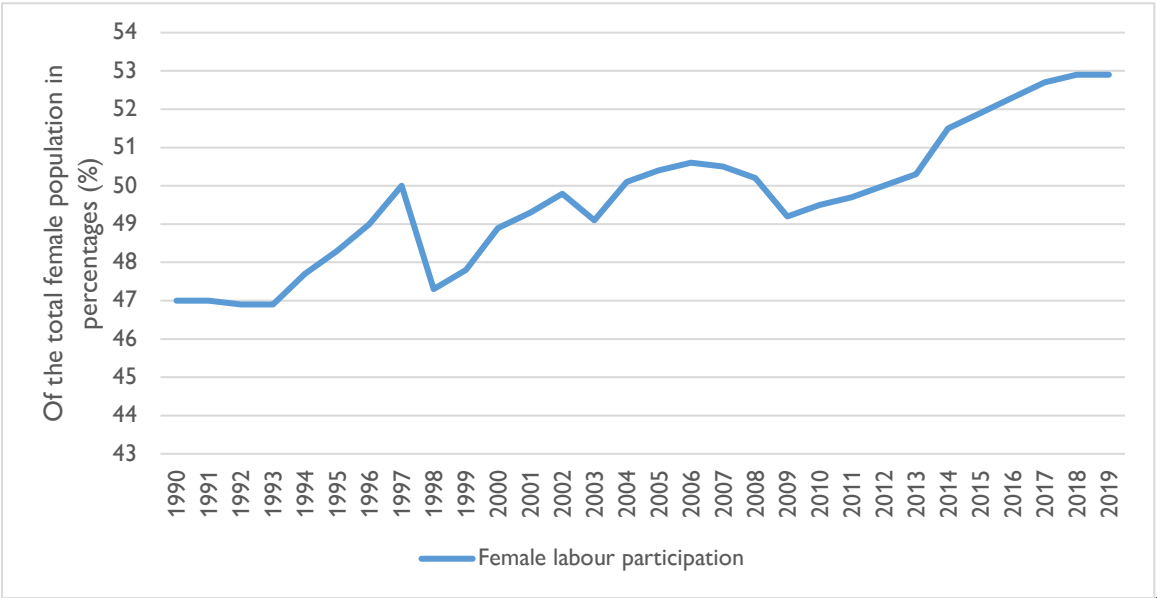
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Introduction

As of today, a record number of women have joined South Korea’s workforce; female labour participation is at its highest point in recorded history (International Labour Organisation, 2019). South Korean women, however, continue to struggle for equal rights in their work environment, as South Korea has the thickest glass ceiling and the widest gender wage gap among all OECD countries (The Economist, 2018; OECD, 2019). The high levels of gender inequality present in South Korea’s work environment are alarming, as they lead to persistent disadvantages for women regarding opportunities and decision-making power. This not only affects South Korean women but also creates an imbalance in society as a whole.¹

Figure 1. Female labour participation in South Korea



(Source: Labor force participation rate, female (% of female population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate) International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database.)

South Korea ranks 124th out of 149 countries on economic participation and opportunity in the Global Gender Gap Report with a score of 0.549 (with 1.00 equalling parity). This is below

¹ There are a large number of studies on the implications of assigning definitions to gender and sexuality. However, since the focus of this research is not (defining gender), these will not be reviewed in detail and will only be referred to as appropriate. For researching gender inequality in South Korean work environments, I use the term the gender in the context of the gender of those who identify themselves as ‘male/men’ or ‘female/women’ and use these interchangeably.

the global weighted average of 0.586 and puts the country between Senegal and Sri Lanka – countries that score severely lower on human development (World Economic Forum, 2018; United Nations Development Programme, 2018). The Human Development Index (HDI) was created by the United Nations to emphasize that people and their capabilities should be the ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country. South Korea ranks 22nd on the HDI, whereas Senegal ranks 164th and Sri Lanka 77th. This is worth noting because it indicates that gender inequality in South Korea, when concerning economic participation and opportunity, does not seem to stem from a developmental deficiency, but rather from other factors.

Gender inequality leads to an unequal position of South Korean women in their professional work environment, as they face structural challenges and have fewer opportunities for economic and political participation than men. These widespread gender differences are not natural but rather maintained artificially (Coleman and Hong, 2008). Since gender differences are deeply rooted in South Korea's patriarchal society, they have led to structural inequality. Hence, I expected to find a correlation between the different factors that contribute to the lower standing of women in the labour market. If gender stereotypes are enforced on South Korean women, they affect the position women occupy in their work environment.

This thesis investigates the structural challenges that South Korean women face when participating in the labour force. Specifically, the present investigation intends to find out what causes lay behind the unequal position of South Korean working women. Hence, it sets out to answer the following question: what are the structural challenges that contribute to the unequal position of South Korean women in the work environment?

This research includes a critical analysis based on existing literature and statistical data on topics such as labour force participation, wage equality, and economic opportunities, cross-examining these with existing scholarship. As it explores not only statistical data and literary works but also the experiences of South Korean women, this research adds a new perspective to the current scholarly work written on the topic of gender inequality in the South Korean work environment.

The first chapter – the literature review – elaborates on theories discussed in my primary sources, with a particular focus on briefly illustrating the background of women in South Korea and the South Korean work environment. Following this is the methodology chapter, which includes a brief explanation of the methods chosen for the research survey. The third and fourth chapter – the results and discussion, respectively – use statistical reports and combine these with data gathered from the research survey. Lastly, I draw my conclusions based on the findings discussed in the previous chapters.

Theoretical background and Literature review

Gender (in)equality

Many recent studies have focused on the problem of gender inequality – in both South Korean work environment and South Korean society as whole. With the rise of feminism and the *#MeToo*-movement of the late 2010s, gender (in)equality has been discussed more and more regularly in societal and political debates. If we look at the South Korean newspapers, we can see a drastic increase in published news articles containing the keywords ‘gender equality’ or ‘gender inequality’, indicating that gender (in)equality is more relevant than ever in South Korea.

Table 1. News articles on gender equality and gender inequality

Search term	Search engine	First entry	Total number of entries	Entries since fourth wave feminism ²	Entries since <i>#MeToo</i> -movement ³	Entries since Hongik University Spy Camera Case ⁴
Date	-	-	9 Jan 2020	1 Jan 2012	16 Oct 2017	1 May 2018
성평등 (gender equality)	Naver ⁵	21 Jun 1990	59,859 (100%)	57,329 (95.77%)	37,099 (61.98%)	28,314 (47.30%)
	Chosun Ilbo	1 Jan 1993	9,635 (100%)	5,241 (54.40%)	2,096 (21.75%)	1,557 (16.16%)
성 불평등 (gender inequality)	Naver	14 Aug 1995	2,911 (100%)	2,714 (93.23%)	1,513 (51.98%)	1,206 (41.43%)
	Chosun Ilbo	16 Apr 2008	18 (100%)	11 (61.11%)	3 (16.67%)	- -

(Source: Naver Newspaper Archives and Chosun Ilbo Archives, accessed on 9 January 2020)

² The timeframe my research survey coincides with the global fourth wave of feminism which began around 2011/2012. This wave is mainly associated with female empowerment, intersectionality and greater representation of marginalized groups. It addresses gender equality in the work environment (foremost ‘equal pay for equal work’) and equal opportunities. Though South Korean feminism is not one-on-one comparable with Western feminism, as the fourth wave was also the first wave to make use of internet media it did have an impact on South Korea too (Chamberlain, 2016).

³ The *#MeToo*-movement is a movement against sexual harassment and abuse and was one of the first movements originated on the internet. Though the movement already formed in the early 2000s, it was not until Alyssa Milano called women to share their stories with *#MeToo* on social media on 16 October 2017, it received wide attention of media worldwide and further opened the societal and political debate on gender equality (Khomani, 2017).

⁴ The Hongik University Spy Camera Case concerns a male nude model who was secretly photographed by a female nude model on 1 May 2018. The female offender was arrested and received a prison sentence of 10 months (Cho, 2018). It cause outrage among women as 98% of all *spy case* offender are male and many of those cases were often dismissed due to lack of evidence. Many considered the Hongik University Spy Camera Case as proof that male victims are favoured. This case and subsequent ones led to rallies against discrimination against women and *spy cameras* visited by thousands of protesters (Chung, 2018).

⁵ The Naver Newspaper Archives include publication of the majority of South Korea’s newspapers, and the Chosun Ilbo is the biggest newspaper in terms of circulation.

The numbers from Table 1 tell us that the debate on gender (in)equality has strong relevance in present-day South Korea: the vast majority of news articles on this topic have been published in the past decade. This approach only includes online news articles, but it nevertheless is a well-represented reflection of Korean society. The fact that news articles are written not only about current events but also people's and thus society's interests accordingly is evidence of the importance of gender (in)equality as a societal issue, now more than ever.

Table 2. Scholarly publications on gender equality and gender inequality

Search term	Search engine	First entry	Total number of entries	Entries since fourth wave feminism	Entries since #MeToo Movement	Entries since Hongik University Spy Camera Case
Date	-	-	11 Feb 2020	2012	2017	2018
성평등 (gender equality)	DBpia	1977	1733 (100%)	928 (53.55%)	410 (23.67%)	270 (15.58%)
	KISS	1962	599 (100%)	274 (45.72%)	142 (23.71%)	90 (15.01%)
	RISS ⁶	1957	2,677 (100%)	- -	634 (23.68%)	424 (15.84%)
성 불평등 (gender inequality)	DBpia	1982	418 (100%)	205 (49.04%)	96 (22.97%)	61 (14.59%)
	KISS	1993	57 (100%)	18 (31.58%)	9 (15.79%)	5 (8.78%)
	RISS	1986	226 (100%)	119 (52.65%)	56 (24.78%)	35 (15.49%)

(Source: DBpia database, KISS database, and RISS database, accessed on 11 February 2020)

For the numbers in Table 2, I looked at three leading Korean academic search engines. Similarly to Table 1, we can see that there is a recurring trend in academia. In the present technologically developed age, more scholarly works are being written than ever before, and a remarkable surge is visible in the number of articles published on the topic of gender equality and gender inequality.⁷

⁶ On the moment of writing, the RISS database does not provide specific access to entries of 2012.

⁷ It should be noted that academic articles often take a longer time to write in comparison to (popular) news articles. I am aware of the fact that many of the published articles were already in the making before, but this does not discredit the surge in total numbers.

Work culture in South Korea

South Korean work culture is infamous for its long hours, many scholars attribute the country's economic growth and industrialization to its consequential work ethic. In 2018, the average South Korean worked 1,993 hours a year, and even though this is significantly less than 10 years before – in 2008 – when the average hours worked per year were 2,228, it is still well over 200 hours longer than the OECD average of 1,734 hours (OECD, 2020). In the same year, the maximum working hours were cut from 68 a week to 52 hours, but with the expectations of South Korean work ethics dawning upon them, many employees still find themselves staying at their desks longer. Following the 2014 report *Employment Relations in South Korea, Evidence from Workplace Panel Surveys* by Bae (ed.), these long working hours are a legacy of the early days of industrialization in which long working hours were heavily relied on. When overtime becomes the norm as it was the case in South Korea, the focus shifts from qualitative to quantitative work, which will affect work effectiveness. Furthermore, job creation is suppressed due to there being no need for more workers, which in its turn, not only makes labour participation regress but also exacerbates precarious work circumstances and leads to innovation stagnation. Scholars such as Kim et al. (2014) and Park et al. (2015) signal that a system such as this seems to be unsustainable in the long term. Moreover, it causes severe distress for workers, as it consistently pushes their physical and mental boundaries to the point where they break. Several studies indicate that work-related stress and stress that is related to job insecurity lead to depressive symptoms for South Korean workers, which is concerning, as mental illnesses are still very much a taboo in South Korea (Kim et al., 2014; Park et al., 2009).

Women's employment and the gender wage gap

The rigidity of South Korea's work culture also leads to a lower number of women participating in the workforce who often cannot comply with these norms due to their role as main caretaker of their children. Although South Korean policymakers have made various efforts to increase female labour participation, the country is still far behind when compared to other first world countries. In Song's work (2016), it becomes evident that the three policy cases that she researched (affirmative action, the creation of part-time labour, and a flexible work

arrangement system) resulted in limited outcomes. Specifically, women's choice between work and family life often relies on institutional arrangements of the labour market, such as work hours and the development of part-time employment, and Song correctly argues that little change has been made in the institutional arrangement of South Korean labour market. Furthermore, the focus of policymakers has often been on women from low-income households, leaving no incentives for highly educated women. This tells us that there is a need for tailor-made programs that are dependent on more criteria than just being a woman. A weakness in Song's work, however, is its progressiveness, as it relies on the concept of women having to choose between work and family life, whereas the study could have been more useful if it had focused on the notion of women not having to choose between these two factors as this is not expected from men either.

There have been comparative studies on women's employment in South Korea. Cooke (2010) compared women's employment in China, India, Japan, and South Korea, by studying the interactions of social actors and their impact on the economic and employment structures. While Cooke considers ethnicity, social class (caste), and religion as the main contributors to employment inequality in India, women are more often laid-off and pushed into non-regular or precarious work in South Korea and China. Cooke notes that in Japan, employment inequality can often be traced back to the role of Japanese women as mother or wife: their foremost duty lays with their family, not their career. When one looks at the impact of gender roles on female employment in South Korea, as Kim (2014) and Lee (2013) did, it is evident that much like in Japan, this stereotype is also prevalent in South Korea. Even though a comparative approach allows us to see the relative differences and similarities on a topic, it ignores the absolute and makes the findings less applicable to specific nation-wide studies.

Many scholars, including Inoue, Nishikitani, and Tsurugano (2016), believe that female non-regular work is a major contributor to not only health issues, but also wage-inequality: the high number of women often occupying non-regular jobs, which are known for their low wages, regardless of gender, causes a wider gender wage gap – the average difference between the median pays for working men and women. Most Korean firms still maintain a seniority-based

pay; this system, called *hobong* (호봉), assures promotion based on the worker's nearing the retirement age (Bae ed., 2014). Due to their non-regular employment, women are thus less likely to claim this seniority-based pay, on top of lower general pay. Dalton (2017), however, raises the question of whether women should strive for equality in career opportunities when this means that one must adapt to the male working patterns, which are considered to be unhealthy regardless of gender.

Gender roles and gender stereotypes

Men and women are, naturally, different and their biological differences are reflected in their work life, but this does not change the fact that women encounter challenges due to artificial gender differences. When women are pregnant, for example, they usually take time off from work. Although pregnancy is a biological difference, as it is biologically impossible for a man to become pregnant, the surrounding prejudices and discrimination are a social response to this. Society has had its fair share in upholding the status quo on gender bias, and studies suggest that gender stereotyping may contribute to the discrimination of women at work. A well-known example is women not being able to be in leading positions, as their male co-workers are seen to be more competitive, ambitious, and authoritative. Heilman (1983) called this the lack of fit model, whereby individuals are affected by a perceived lack of fit to their positions due to the features required in these positions not being in agreement with the features attributed to said individuals. An application of this model by Del Carmen Triana (2010) indicates that gender stereotypes range from home-related discrimination to people's work environment.

The ideas of 'the woman as wife' and 'the woman as mother' are two dominant female gender roles in South Korea. In a recent study, Lee (2019) argues that married Korean people tend to have more traditional attitudes towards gender roles concerning employment. Combined with the pressure placed by East Asian societies on young adults to marry and start a family, the deep-rooted gender-role stereotype of a 'woman as...' instead of a 'woman being a woman', encouraged by those who are married, creates labour division based on gender and disadvantages in both women's employment and women as such (Lee, 2013).

But we must not forget that there are also male gender roles and stereotypes present. In a thorough study, Moon (2005) discusses the impact of South Korea's military conscription for men on society's ideas of masculinity and femininity. The author illustrates the gendered interpretation of what is being threatened (masculinity) and what needs to be protected (femininity) by drawing parallels with depictions of mandatory enlistment in popular media: the son repaying his mother's love, the male lover that protects his female partner, and the overseas migrant that serves his country. If, besides briefly mentioning the history of US conscription, a comparison had been made with another country that still has military conscription (e.g. Finland, which witnesses similar circumstances), the argument would have been stronger, but, understandably that was not the main thesis. Moon argues that the promotion of normalization of military conscription as masculine by the government results in a male-dominated narrative.

Furthermore, Ridgeway and England (2007) claim that organizational structures, policies, and practices may build on gender stereotypes and thus cause disadvantages for both female and male workers. Bobbitt's work (2013) contributes to this by highlighting how these elements connect to gender discrimination in everyday workplaces. Unlike Ridgeway and England, however, she states that the problem are not policies per se. According to her, it is rather the implementation and enforcement of policies that are seemingly – but in practice are not – gender-neutral, which then lead to assumptions, stereotyping, and discrimination.

Female leadership and the 'glass ceiling'

The relatively low number of women participating in the workforce and the existing gender roles are two of the foremost reasons women are underrepresented in South Korean leadership functions. Currently, in most sectors, less than 15% of the leading positions in South Korea are held by a woman, and women made up only 16.67% of the members of parliament in 2019 (Cho, Kang, and Park, 2019; World Economic Forum, 2018). A survey conducted in 2018 indicates that only 46% of the respondents are 'very comfortable' with a woman as head of government, and still less than half (48%) with a female CEO of a national firm (Kantar, 2018). The gender stereotype of a woman not fit to be a leader is enforced by both men and women, and is much

like biological and social gender theories often linked to self-stereotyping tendencies (Coleman and Hong, 2008; Schneider, 2019). Though slight shifts are taking place, most leadership positions are still taken up by men.

This ties in with the concept of the 'glass ceiling', a term that was supposedly first used by feminists to describe static invisible barriers that often keep women and minorities from advancing towards a higher position. While there has been much research on the glass ceiling, it has mainly been conducted on how men create and maintain it (Cho, Lee, and Jung, 2014; Kang and Rowley, 2011; Mandel, 2013). Few researchers have considered the active role of women. Although it is not necessarily untrue that men play a significant role, it is a misconception that it can all be traced back to male actions.

Cho, Lee, and Jung (2014) are amongst a vast number of scholars that claim that by breaking the glass ceiling, more women will advance to managerial positions. Faniko et al. (2017), though, state that women who break the glass ceiling tend to support equal opportunities for women in the same rank, rather than for women with positions that are hierarchy lower. This would suggest that women breaking the glass ceiling only reinforce it; hence, the demand for horizontal equality trumps vertical mobility.

This position of fellow female colleagues, however, following Debebe's work (2011), seems less important, though not wholly irrelevant. Debebe studied transformational learning in a women-only formal training environment and found that the presence of women and the use of gender-sensitive teaching and learning practices are favourable for women. At the end of the case study, held at the Women's Leadership Series, women claimed that they felt more comfortable if other women affirmed their experiences. A point for improvement in this research might be that the research environment was perhaps not necessarily reflective of society as a whole, and one might argue that, in the absence of men, women are discouraged from honing their skills, which hints at the importance of a safe environment for stimulating female leadership. Selzer, Howton, and Wallace (2017) looked into another women's leadership programme, and they too state the importance of an environment of trust. If the advancement of women is a goal, for other women to identify themselves with female leadership, there needs

to be a variety in female leadership. However, as Dalton (2015) explains, female politicians who argue for the importance of women by referring to their own experiences, when these are derived from their role as mothers and wives, tend to only encourage these gender roles. This rather paradoxical situation proves the complexity of the gendered debate in female leadership: women lack sufficient role models, but those who reflect on their personal life in their professional capacity are undermining themselves.

Confucian traditions

It is also important to note the influence of Confucianism as its religious and philosophical aspects can still be found in contemporary South Korea's society, which was built primarily based on Confucian ideals. Throughout the years, Confucianism has often been cited as responsible for many negative developments by scholars and critics. Although it is not responsible for all the things that have been attributed to it, the introduction of Confucianism in the early centuries of Korean history had a significant influence on society and governance. Women in South Korea have been affected by these influences, not only then but also now.

Sleziak (2013) makes a valid point by stating that the structures of modern East Asian societies derive from the ethical and philosophical system of Confucianism, rather than the Western perspective of democratic politics. He suggests the need to analyse Confucianism based, to a varying degree, on its connection to other value systems due to Confucianism influencing the entirety of East Asian societies. One of the limitations of this is that it indirectly implies that East Asian societies are hereditarily based on Confucian traditions, leaving aside the influences of Buddhism and Shamanism, for example. Regardless, it draws attention to the fact that it is indeed important to be aware of the fact that one cannot project a Eurocentric perspective of modernity on Korean society, as they are inherently different.

This does not, however, change the fact that South Korea remains a highly patriarchal society. Family and lineage were foundational in the Korean neo-Confucian social order, and the rules of patrilineal descent had become the norm of the elite. Ancestor veneration could only be performed by the eldest son, whose position was based on primogeniture. The family-head

system, *hojuje* (호주제), was instituted on families and only abolished as recently as 2008. The introduction of *hojuje* meant that the status of the family head was assigned to males and was only eligible for males. As family head, one had legal authority over not only one's family's material possessions and finances but also one's family members. Kim and Kim (2013) make a valid point that *hojuje* was put in place during the Japanese colonial rule; however, they also point out that it complied with Korean traditions and was rooted in Confucian ideology. Whether it was initially a Japanese or Korean implementation, however, does not obliterate the fact that a woman did not have a status on her own: her status depended on her relation to a man. Even though the family-head system no longer exists, traditional family roles still persist, as illustrated by the words of an interviewee from a research on gender roles concerning Korean American working women: 'I'm my mother's daughter, I'm my husband's wife, I'm my child's mother, I'm nothing else' (Lee, 2013).

In his study, Kim (2010) states that it is an intertwining of Confucian cultural principles and historical events that formed the unique Korean organisation fundamentals and that Confucian principles were a double-edged sword in the forming of the South Korean workplace. Hence, the Confucian focus on family and hierarchy induced nepotism and rigidity, and these two values are what Korean organizations rely on. The focus on family leads to parents heavily investing in their children's education and the need for children to provide for their elders, and respect for hierarchy leads to efficiency-driven capitalistic nationalism. Interestingly, the influence of the family system is also pointed out by Sleziak (2013), who states that '[t]his patriarchal hierarchy, along with usually lifelong commitment of the employees to their job, is in essence a carbon-copy of Korean family structure, and the mind-set shown by the members of both familial and corporate environments is motivated by the popular desire for the group harmony'.

Overall, it is not uncommon for feminists to name patriarchy as one of the main factors to overcome before equal rights for women are achieved, which raises the question that if patriarchy derives from Confucian traditions, is it at all compatible with gender equality? Considering that South Korea is a democracy, this should, however, not be a defining obstacle.

Women can pursue their own paths in a democratic society even if this democracy is based on Confucian traditions, but the challenges they will face will nevertheless not be easy to overcome. The debate between Korean feminists and Confucians is not a new one, and gender inequality in Confucian scriptures is occasionally brought up. After analysing ancient Confucian scriptures, however, Koh (2008) found that Confucianism and gender equality are compatible '[a]t least on the level of Confucian scripture', and states that future efforts should be put in correcting misinterpretations of Confucian scriptures that result in sexist attitudes. Koh correctly argues that rather than the scriptures themselves it is their interpretation that is male-dominated – something which can also be seen in the interpretation of the Bible, for example, but it is limited in its applications as it is based on the conviction that Confucianism is equal to reading Confucian scriptures. Nonetheless, it seems unreasonable, and quite orientalist, to solely put the blame on Confucianism for the existence of current patriarchal South Korean society even if it had had strong influences.

Methodology

This thesis can be split into two parts, for which I used varying methods relative to the way I conducted my research. The groundwork of my research is a critical analysis of already existing scholarly works. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the situation and add in-depth informed insights to my findings, I used social research surveys to collect data among South Korean working women. Doing this allowed me to produce generalizable information about women's experiences of working in South Korea.

For the critical analysis and research survey, I distinguished four themes within my main topic – the status of the South Korean working woman – in relation to the workplace: gender (in)equality, gender roles and stereotypes, female employment, and female leadership. While two or more themes tend to overlap, one of these themes is more predominant than the others.

Research survey design

Rather than choosing a structured or unstructured research design, I opted for a semi-structured questionnaire, which easily allowed me to collect quantitative data and supplement them with qualitative data. The survey consisted of questions about the respondents' own experience, as well as their view on the four themes.

The survey was divided into four sections plus a section to leave feedback and commentary; the four themes constituted the first four parts, and the fifth section was a set of questions about respondents' personal situation (see Appendixes I and II).

Each section of the four themes consisted of five statements in the form of closed questions and an additional open question. The statements were formulated as objectively as possible and derived from recurring hypotheses in the existing literature. The respondents could choose options from a Likert scale ('Strongly disagree', 'Disagree', 'Neither agree nor disagree', 'Agree', 'Strongly agree') or 'I don't know'. The ending open question at each section asked the respondents about their personal experiences relevant to the abovementioned statements. They were presented in a matrix question format (on desktop) and item by item (on mobile devices),

as research indicates these formats appear to be the most effective for 5-point scales (Liu and Cernat, 2016). To minimize confusion, I opted not to use negative phrasing. Though it might have helped me validate, it would have been confusing and could have possibly led to respondents not knowing from what perspective they should respond.

To determine respondents' answers to the different statements and the validity of the overall survey, I applied validation techniques as described by Roopa and Rani (2012). Before distributing the research survey, I tested content validity, and I used crosstabs for relating and opposing questions to construct validity (see Appendix III).

Research process

For the distribution, I used Qualtrics, which is a licensed online survey programme at Leiden University and complies with the GDPR guidelines for data storage. The survey was available in both English and Korean (see Appendixes I and II).

The target audience were South Korean women who had obtained a bachelor's degree (or a similar degree) at the university level, as this group is most likely to enter higher career positions. I focused on women who had entered the job market after 2008 – the year that marks the end of the global financial crisis – and who work in South Korean companies, thus focusing on the broad Generation Y ('millennials'), also known as the Generation N in South Korea. This decision was made not solely to narrow down the scope of my research and eliminate biases, but also because previous research has focused on earlier generations. This generation's sentiments are highly relevant, as they will be the generation that will follow up the current leading generation in the near future.

Due to the topic possibly being sensitive for individuals or their employers, participating in this research survey happened on a completely anonymous basis.

I collected results through so-called ‘virtual snowball sampling’ – a non-probability sampling method – based on convenience.⁸ The survey was mainly spread through popular social media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and LinkedIn. Furthermore, as social media usage is different in each country, it was also spread through the South Korean platforms Naver and KakaoTalk.

Limitations

I am aware of the limitations of my research. The data gathered from the survey are not representative of the whole South Korean female population; still, they allowed me to analyse and explore challenges in this field critically.

Online research surveys

As it was not feasible timewise to conduct fieldwork in Korea or hold interviews, the survey was held online. On the one hand, this was beneficial, as they helped me save both time and money because they were an efficient method to reach out to my target group without physically having to be in South Korea.

On the other hand, online surveys bring some potential problems with them, much like other types of surveys. Written two decades ago, Schmidt’s (1997) paper – *World-Wide Web survey research: Benefits, potential problems, and solutions* – describes the most common issues with online surveys that are still prevailing today. Though software and hardware requirements are not significant issues at present due to technological advancement, incomplete and invalid submissions and security and data management do raise some concerns.

Incomplete and invalid submissions

Schmidt (1997) defines incomplete submissions as the main potential pitfall of online surveys as they may lead to an invalid data report. Specifically, respondents may overlook a question,

⁸ Snowball sampling is often used in statistical research in social sciences. This technique requires participants of the research to recruit other participants as they are often in the same research group. The total number of participants will thus continue growing as long as participants recruit others, much like the effect of a rolling snowball.

but Schmidt points out that respondents occasionally skip questions because they do not wish to supply certain personal details. He suggests requiring answers to specific questions or a gentle reminder as solutions to this problem. However, due to the possible sensitivity of the topics that my research survey addressed, I chose not to force responses by requiring answers to specific questions. Above all open questions, I stated that respondents did not have to fill out parts they preferred not to, as my goal was not to generate forced responses. If respondents wished to elaborate on their experiences, they would do so, as I considered the topic to be relevant for the target group and stimulating for them to express their opinions about. However, respondents got a pop-up notification if they forgot to fill out questions, and a response was requested before moving on to the next section for the open questions in the first four themed sections.

Security and data management

Security and data management of internet users is one of the main concerns of internet authorities, as it is not unheard of that online surveys commit violations on privacy more intensely than conventional survey methods (Cho and Larose, 1999). With the European Union legislation on internet privacy – the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) – collecting data from individuals has become remarkably complicated, whether it is for research purposes or not. The GDPR imposes obligations to anyone who targets or collects data related to people in the European Union, particularly personal data (Wolford, 2018). Though my target audience were South Korean women and participation was anonymous, to comply with the GDPR no personal details that could be traced back to an individual were requested. Furthermore, a disclaimer on privacy and data management was included on the cover page of the survey (see Appendixes I and II).

Language and translation

Scholars are divided on whether languages shape thoughts or thoughts shape languages, but, regardless of the outcome of this causality dilemma, the use of language and the way of translating have effects on text (Munday, 2016). Research surveys are no exception to this rule, and I am aware that my (un)conscious language usage influenced the research survey.

Though I tried my hardest not to include subjective language, it was not possible to be completely objective. After distributing the survey, it came to light that some of the statements contained value judgements after translation. Furthermore, some respondents rightly pointed out that some statements contained gendered bias. As the survey was already filled out by some, it was not feasible to make any changes without influencing the results. I considered not including the outcomes of those questions, but decided against this, as I felt that they were still representative of the question and could add value to my research.

Initially, I set up my survey in English and translated it to Korean. The textual examples in my thesis were translated from Korean to English (or edited in some cases for clarity). All translations were written sense-to-sense towards the target text reader, in order for comprehensive reading. The source texts and target texts, as well as the original comments, can be found in the appendices.

Research survey

I used the in-house analytics tools of Qualtrics and Microsoft Excel to analyse and visualise my results for the close-ended questions. For the open-ended question results, I used thematic analysis to identify common ideas and patterns to find out about the respondents' opinions, views, and experiences. An overview of all responses can be found in Appendix IV.

As I was not able to have a sample size big enough to be representative of all South Korean working women, I aimed to gather a minimum of 50 surveys for it to be at least a proper sample size. I estimated that for this response rate, I needed to reach approximately 1,000 people, as not everyone who would see the survey would fill it out. For the sake of ensuring an equal footing for all questions and a proper research sample, I used the following criterion: for a response to be valid, at least 50% of the closed questions of the first four sections had to be completed. In total, I gathered 93 responses (of which 55 valid) in March and April 2020. The findings are discussed in the following section, and a concise overview of the results can be found in Appendixes I and II.

The 55 participants ranged in age from 23 to 39 years ($\bar{x} = 28.19$ years, $M = 27$ years, $SD = 4.11$).⁹ Out of them, 50 had an employment contract (fixed-term or temporary), and three of them did not. Furthermore, 48 participants worked full-time against five participants who worked part-time.¹⁰

⁹ The participants are currently of this age or turning this age this year (2020).

¹⁰ Two participants did not fill out their birth year, whether they have an employment contract or not, and if they work full-time or part-time. These were not included in the statistics.

Results

I discuss the research survey results without following the order of the research survey itself for the sake of comprehensibility.

My research survey was aimed to investigate the actual experiences of women. The South Korean Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2017) is tasked with the ‘[p]lanning and coordination of women's policy [...] and improvement of women's status through the enhancement of women's rights’, amongst other things. The ministry has been around since 2001, and its vision ‘[t]oward an equal and sustainable democracy that women and men build’ is divided into four objectives: promote mature awareness of gender equality [1], increase women’s employment and social participation [2], achieve work-life balance [3] and enhance women’s safety and health [4]’. The ministry’s policies do not necessarily lead to women experiencing that the government is taking an active approach to ensure gender equality in the workplace (see Table 3).

Table 3. Research survey questions 1.3, 1.4, and 3.3

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
1.3 The government takes an active approach to ensure gender equality in the workplace						
$\bar{x} = 0.00$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.01$						
Number	2	18	13	9	2	54
Percentage	3.70%	33.33%	24.07%	35.19%	3.70%	100%
1.4 My employer (company) takes an active approach to ensure gender equality in the workplace						
$\bar{x} = 0.08$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.07$						
Number	4	11	17	15	4	51
Percentage	7.84%	21.57%	33.33%	29.41%	7.84%	100%
3.3 There is a balanced mix of male and female co-workers at my workplace						
$\bar{x} = -0.04$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.13$						
Number	5	14	14	15	4	52
Percentage	9.62%	26.92%	26.92%	28.85%	7.69%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

While these responses do not give an indication of the actual outcomes of South Korea’s government approaches, they indicate that the majority of the respondents does not seem to perceive or notice them. The respondents are generally in agreement that their employers’ take active approaches to ensuring gender equality.

In their answers to the open questions, the respondents voiced their uncertainty regarding the governments' approach to gender equality:

'Governments try to make rules for gender equality in hiring [procedures], but, in fact, more men are hired.' (Sales assistant, 26 years old)

'There are many policies for youth employment, but there is no sufficient review on whether employment discrimination takes place.' (Account executive, 26 years old)

'[...] I think it is the government's job to oversee if discrimination takes place or not.' (Project development employee, 33 years old)

Those working in a female-oriented company or a company that mainly employs women experience less direct discrimination:

'I work in a female-oriented company. It seems that on the contrary [to men being favoured], women are more favoured as interns or new recruits.' (Account executive, 24 years old)

'I work in a company where almost everyone is female, however. So, based on my own experience, it is hard to tell about gender inequality within the work environment. Nevertheless, based on my observations, some companies do proceed promotion earlier for men just because they are male'. (Merchandiser, 26 years old)

One of the respondents, rightly, points out that gender discrimination might even start as early as the application process referring to unjust hiring practices:

'It has been normal that, at the workplace, men have more opportunities for promotion and a better salary. Furthermore, it is changing but very slowly as men do not want to give up their authority. Most companies prefer to hire men over women; one of the biggest reasons is that they think one day a woman will need to give birth [and thus go on maternity leave]. Nowadays, new rules regarding women's welfare are on their way to be created, but it seems to take such a long time.' (Sales assistant, 26 years old)

In a report by the National Human Rights Commission of Korea (2016) it was revealed that over 98% of 3,567 job recruitment forms included discriminatory questions including appearance, gender, marital status, military service records, and pregnancy. Whereas the discriminatory questions about pregnancy 'only' make up for 0.6% of the total, it should not be ignored that it is still a factor that apparently carries weight in the hiring procedure. A women's marital status (12.8%) can also be a disadvantage, as with young married women the assumption

can be made that when they have children, they will quit working. The major obstacle for female job applicants, however, is appearance (appeared in 93.9% of the job recruitment forms); when employers analyse social media profiles of job applicants – a common procedure – women are predominantly judged based on their appearance (Scott, 2018). The tendency to focus on women’s looks rather than abilities is a widespread practice and women are more likely to be perceived as less competent when judged on appearance (Ellemers, 2018).

The 2019 Fair Hiring Practice Act, also known as the Blind Hiring Act, is putting an end, in theory, to employers requesting personal information that is unrelated to the legitimate job requirements and demanding transparency in the hiring procedure. The Act, however, does not forbid attaching headshots to applications for ‘the purpose of identity verification’, and is thus seemingly not completely without prejudice.

If discrimination based on gender starts as early as the application procedure, it is to be expected that this will also be reflected in the actual workplace. In Table 4, we see that the research survey respondents are divided on whether they feel that men and women receive the same type of treatment at their workplace.

Table 4. Research survey questions 1.1 and 1.5

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
1.1 Men and women receive the same treatment at my workplace						
$\bar{x} = 0.15$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.28$						
Number	6	13	8	18	9	54
Percentage	11.11%	24.07%	14.81%	33.33%	16.67%	100%
1.5 There is someone at my workplace whom I feel comfortable talking to on issues of gender discrimination						
$\bar{x} = 0.48$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 1.13$						
Number	2	12	7	24	9	54
Percentage	3.70%	22.22%	12.96%	44.44%	16.67%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

Workplace harassment in South Korea has become a widely debated social issue. In 2018, the Korea Labour Institute found that 57.3% of the surveyed workers reported that they had

recognized workplace harassment experiences (Korean Labour Institute, 2018).¹¹ An office worker stated the following, pointing out seemingly undetected gender discrimination and workplace harassment:

‘Sometimes, you have to perform sexist tasks that are thought of as tasks typically carried out by women. I have done a lot of them because I am afraid that if I refuse, it will be awkward [uncomfortable] (Cleaning, coffee errands, only female employees get money to buy gifts for the president etc.).’ (Office worker, 31 years old)

A 2019 amendment to the Labour Standards Act reflects the efforts to address workplace harassment and defines the latter as ‘acts by which an employer or employee takes advantage of his/her superior position or relationship with the victim to inflict upon that victim a degree of physical or emotional suffering that is beyond the appropriate scope of work’.

‘Even if you feel there is gender discrimination, there is no room for you to say it.’ (Respondent, 37 years old)

The sentiment reflected in the response above indicates that gender discrimination comes in many forms, and implicit bias is merely one of those. Though luckily most of the research survey respondents have someone at their workplace whom they can approach to talk about issues of gender discrimination, this is not the case for everyone (see Table 4).

Regardless of the challenges above, the number of women participating in the South Korean labour force has drastically increased in the past decade (see Figure 1/Introduction) and in Table 5, we see that most of the survey respondents indicated that they find it important for women to be employed and become financially independent.

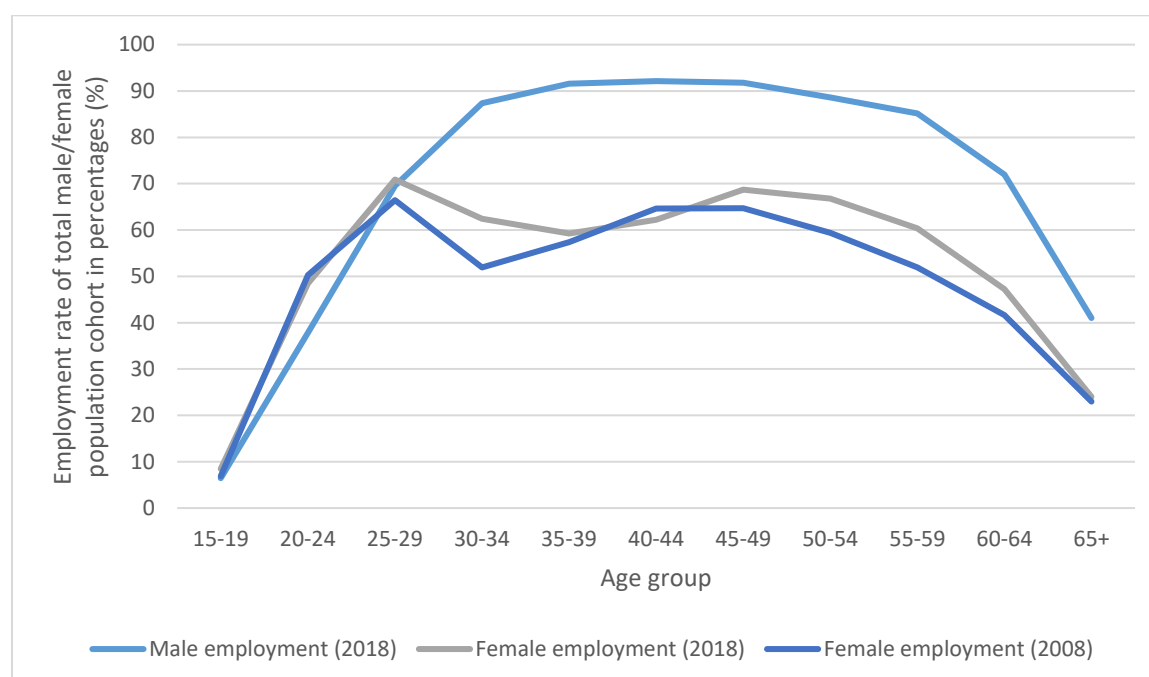
¹¹ Though it might seem obvious, it is often overlooked that sexual harassment is only a form of harassment, by which I do not in any possible way understate the severance of it. Harassment takes places in many forms and is characterized by belittling or threatening behaviour, emotional harassment happening as frequently, if not more, as physical harassment.

Table 5. Research survey questions 3.1, 3.4, and 3.5

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
3.1 It is important for women to be employed $\bar{x} = 1.43$ (agree), $M = 2$ (strongly agree), $SD = 0.66$						
Number	0	0	5	21	27	53
Percentage	0.00%	0.00%	9.43%	39.62%	50.94%	100%
3.4 It is important for women to be financially independent $\bar{x} = 1.41$ (agree), $M = 1.5$ (agree/strongly agree), $SD = 0.66$						
Number	0	0	5	22	26	53
Percentage	0.00%	0.00%	9.43%	41.51%	49.06%	100%
3.5 It is the government's responsibility to ensure there are enough jobs for women $\bar{x} = 1.26$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 0.84$						
Number	0	3	4	21	24	52
Percentage	0.00%	5.77%	7.69%	40.38%	46.15%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

Today, women spend most of their lifetime participating in the workforce. However, there is still a strong bias on 'who deserves to have a job'. A survey on discriminatory attitudes related to women's employment that appeared in the OECD's (2012) report *Closing the Gender Gap: Act Now* indicate that the idea of women working is not yet as normalized as the notion of men working. In the survey, 34.5% of the South Korean respondents (both male and female) claimed that men are more entitled to a job than women when jobs are scarce, which indicates that more than a third of the respondents prioritize male employment over female employment. As we could see in Table 5, out of the research survey respondents, the majority feels that it is the government's responsibility to ensure that there are enough jobs for women. Still, whether the government creates jobs or not, a structural change needs to happen first regarding the perception of the working woman for it to succeed.

Figure 2. Cohort employment rate 2018 male versus female, and M-curve 2008

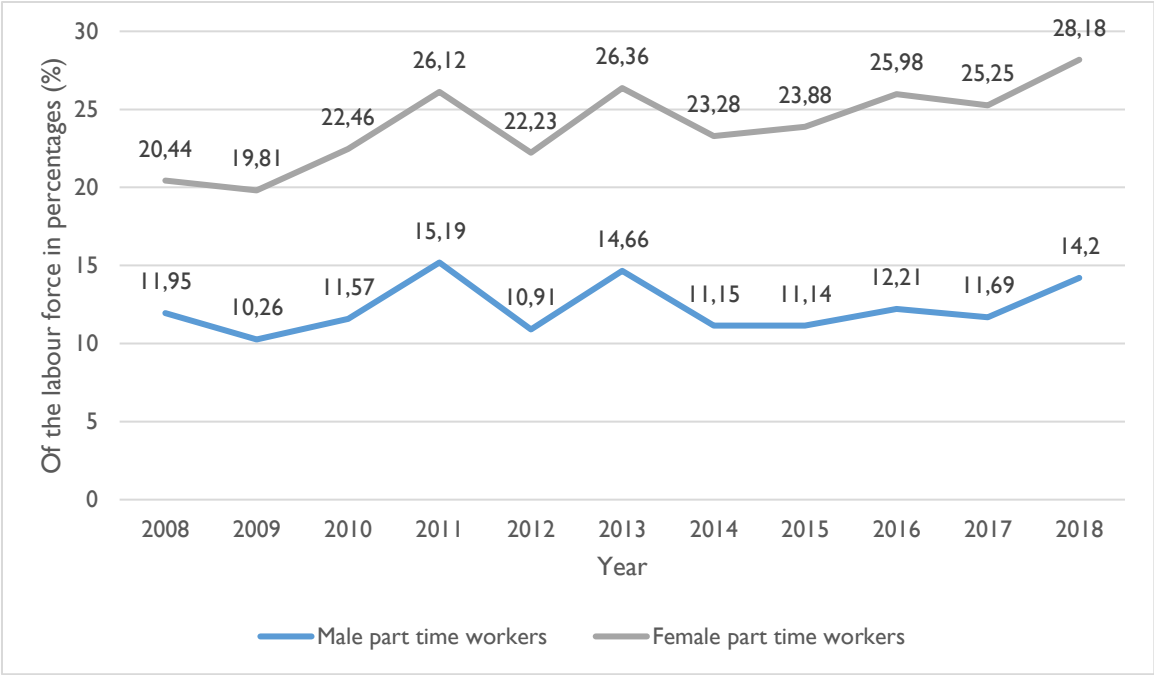


(Source: OECD, Closing the Gender Gap Report 2013)

Figure 2 illustrates the gendered idea of labour participation in South Korea. At first, there is a stark increase in both male and female labour participation, which has likely to do with taking up part-time jobs. In the next peak of employment percentages, the 20–24 group, more women than men participate in the workforce. If we consider that men are compelled to enter the military service, this trend is logical, and women initially seem to have a head start for their careers by not having to spend those two years conscripted. However, that advantage seems to disappear as soon as men return from their military service (25–29 group), as they benefit from a vast network of superiors or skills acquired in a specific military branch (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2017). The M-curve becomes apparent in the 30–34 group: the mean age of becoming a mother at first childbirth in Korea is 31.6 years and it is often expected from women to pause their career in order fulfil their ‘motherly duties’, namely to take care of their children (United Nations, 2019).

Furthermore, although the Korean government and policymakers do everything possible to maintain the country’s labour force, the number of South Korean women who work in non-regular jobs is nevertheless high (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Percentage of part-time workers of the male and female labour force



(Source: Part time employment, male (% of total male employment) and Part time employment, female (% of total female employment) (modeled ILO estimate) International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT database.)

Many South Korean women either drop out of the labour force or seek non-regular employment, with nearly 37% of the women pointing ‘marriage’ as the reason behind their decision to leave their job, 29.9% for childcare, and 24.4% for pregnancy (Ma, 2014; OECD, 2015). Additionally, they do the majority unpaid work such as routine housework, shopping, care for household members: South Korean men only 49 minutes a day on this, in contrast to the 215 minutes of South Korean women (OECD, 2014). Though men, in turn, spend more time on paid work and study, in double-income households they still spend significantly less time on housework than their female partners. A woman’s marital status also affects the time spent on unpaid work, with married women spending 259 minutes a day on housework in contrast to the 63 minutes a day by unmarried women.

There has been, however, a general change in the attitude towards motherhood by the younger generation of women who, as reflected by their responses in the survey, no longer see it as their ‘task to be mere birth givers’ (Kim and Cheung, 2015). This is also indicated in Table 6; the research survey respondents, however, strongly disagree that a woman should stop working when she marries or has children.

Table 6. Research survey questions 2.3, 2.4 and 3.2

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
2.3 Women should stop working when they marry $\bar{x} = -1.75$ (strongly disagree), $M = -2$ (strongly disagree), $SD = 0.55$						
Number	43	8	3	0	0	54
Percentage	79.63%	14.81%	5.56%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
2.4 Women should stop working when they have children $\bar{x} = -1.62$ (strongly disagree), $M = -2$ (strongly disagree), $SD = 0.68$						
Number	39	9	6	0	0	54
Percentage	72.22%	16.67%	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%	100%
3.2 Women should seek out part-time employment so that they can take care of their children $\bar{x} = -0.17$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.22$						
Number	10	10	17	11	5	53
Percentage	18.87%	18.87%	32.08%	20.75%	9.43%	100%

If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}

Many of them pointed out that it is an individual choice, but not necessarily one that has to be made, and some advocate for shared responsibility in childcare, or even a shift in unpaid work defying gender roles, such as in Nordic countries, where it is not uncommon:

‘Since there are many couples in current Korean society in which both [partners] work, it is not necessary for women [only] to take care of children. You are a couple together. But in case of a single income [household], the person who does not work [should] take care of the child.’ (Respondent, 38 years old)

‘[...] And that after a woman's marriage, parenting is an individual's choice; the same goes for men who decide that they should continue to bring in money.’ (Office worker, 31 years old)

‘Although it does not often happen in South Korea, there are also cases in which the men take care of their children, and the women work. The reason why we [people] do not think of the man to take the supporting role in terms of income [instead of the main provider] is dependent on the couple's values.’ (Respondents, 38 years old)

‘[...] I do not want to get married, but if I do, I want the man to do the housework’. (Dog trainer, 23 years old)

Government measures, such as maternity leave and childcare support, can stimulate women to increase their economic participation (Ma, 2013). Kim (2012) found that the government should introduce a more comprehensive policy package, including a publicly supported childcare system and a reformed attitude towards childcare responsibility. Some research respondents, however, are concerned with ‘reverse discrimination’ when it comes to government policies for women.

‘[...] there is excessive consideration of women in the workplace (for women, leave or absence is looser, they are more flexible in remote work, a man in charge of hard work, etc.). And there have been some cases in which men oppose these kinds of affirmative actions. While gender discrimination should not take place in employment and work, I think it could be [considered] reverse discrimination when women are given consideration in employment or they [the company] are forced to allocate female employment rates.’ (Office worker, 24 years old)

With the introduction of an amendment to the Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act in 2019, South Korea seems to indeed go towards a more gender-neutral childcare responsibility. New fathers can now take up to 10 days of paid paternity leave next to long-term childcare leave, which is the most generous amount in the OECD (OECD, 2016). In the first half of the 2019, the number of fathers taking paternity leave jumped to 30.9% compared to the first half of 2018.

Interestingly, as indicated in Table 7, the research survey respondents that they did not see any problem with women earning more than their male partners, with a majority of the respondents on the ‘agree’ side of the scale. Yet, roughly a fifth also felt that the husband or male partner should financially provide for the household, with many being neutral on this issue.

Table 7. Research survey questions 2.2 and 2.5

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
2.2 It is okay for women to earn more than their male partners						
$\bar{x} = 1.25$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 0.87$						
Number	0	2	9	17	26	54
Percentage	0.00%	3.70%	16.67%	31.48%	48.15%	100%
2.5 The husband/male partner should provide financially for the household						
$\bar{x} = -0.35$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 0.95$						
Number	7	15	23	8	1	54
Percentage	12.96%	27.78%	42.59%	14.81%	1.85%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

Many of them agree that it is something that should be discussed within the household and be an individual choice. Others think that it is right for the men to take financial responsibility, as discriminatory actions towards woman will not allow them to, thus creating some sort of a paradoxical situation:

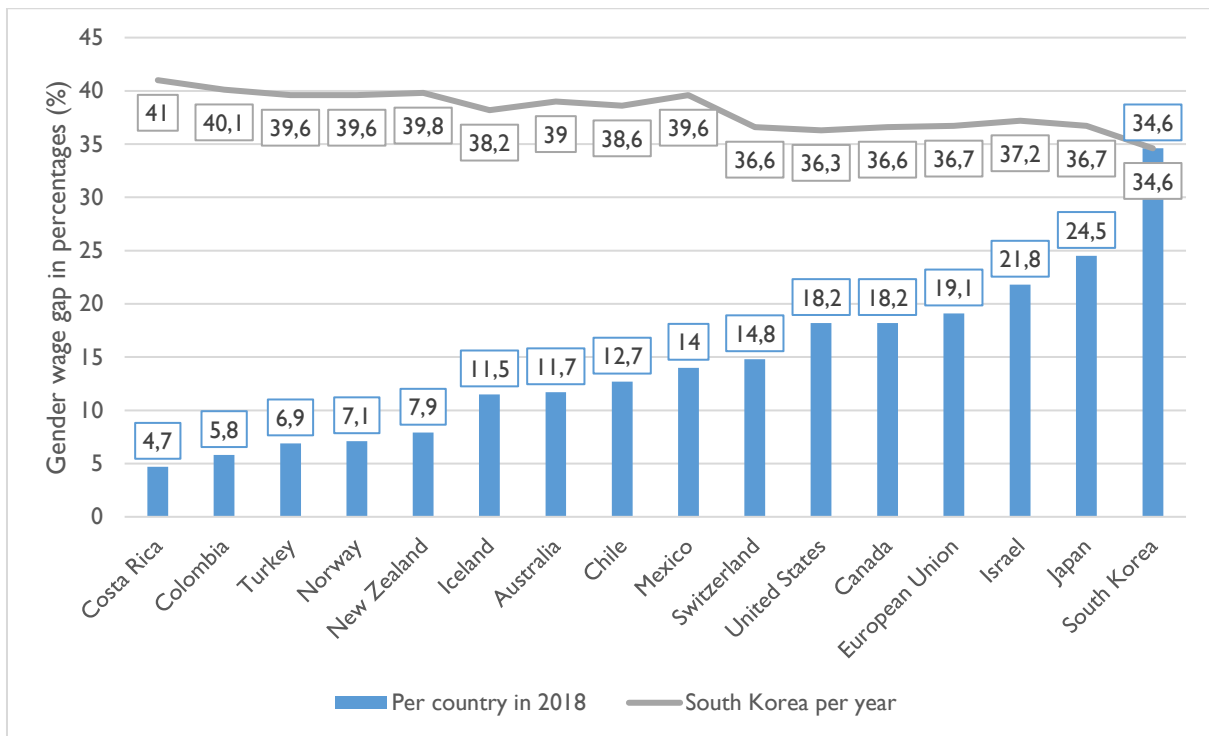
‘I think it is a matter of your own choice [of who brings in the money], within your home, and in agreement [with your partner].’ (Office worker, 31 years old)

‘[...] I think it is right for men to support female workers at least until we live in a more equal society, as gender equality has not [yet] been achieved in current Korean society.’ (Baker, 27 years old)

‘I think it makes sense that the one who is able to [the most competent person] takes the economic power [responsibility]. [...]’. (Dog trainer, 23 years old)

Nevertheless, women indeed earn significantly less than men, which is reflected in the gender wage gap (the average difference between the median pays for working men and women). South Korea has the highest gender wage gap (34.1%) among OECD countries. Though the gender wage gap is slowly decreasing, it is still significantly higher compared to the OECD average of 13.2% (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Gender wage gap in OECD countries in 2018 and gender wage gap in South Korea throughout the years (2003–2018)



(Source: OECD (2020), Gender wage gap (indicator). doi: 10.1787/7cee77aa-en)

The high gender wage gap can be partly attributed to the issue of women often occupying non-regular jobs – which are known for their low wages, regardless of gender – and the country’s Labour Standards Act includes emphasis the ‘equal pay for equal work’ principle in Article 6, stating that: ‘An employer shall neither discriminate against workers on the basis of gender, nor take discriminatory treatment in relation to terms and conditions of employment on the ground of nationality, religion, or social status’. All but one of the survey respondents agree that people should earn the same wages for the same work (see Table 8). Most respondents answered in the same manner as this office worker:

‘I think men and women, according to their abilities, have the right to receive the same wage. [...]’ (Office worker, 31 years old)

Table 8. Research survey question 2.1

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
2.1 Men and women should earn the same wages for the same work						
$\bar{x} = 1.60$ (strongly agree), $M = 2$ (strongly agree), $SD = 0.60$						
Number	0	1	0	19	34	54
Percentage	0.00%	1.85%	0.00%	35.19%	62.96%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

As mentioned before, South Korea has the thickest glass ceiling among OECD countries (The Economist, 2018). It indicates the lack of opportunities for women due to both the persistence of gender roles, and the Korean work culture as a whole. Research respondents answered that men and women receive the same opportunities, but also that career advancement is harder to achieve for women (see Table 9).

Table 9. Research survey question 1.2 and 4.1

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
1.2 Men and women receive the same opportunities at my workplace						
$\bar{x} = 0.19$ (neither agree nor disagree), $M = 0$ (neither agree nor disagree), $SD = 1.24$						
Number	6	10	10	20	7	53
Percentage	11.32%	18.87%	18.87%	37.74%	13.21%	100%
4.1 It is harder for women to make promotion than it is for men						
$\bar{x} = 0.98$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 0.90$						
Number	2	1	7	30	13	53
Percentage	3.77%	1.89%	13.21%	56.60%	24.53%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}						

Whereas some found that there was a certain state of equality in terms of opportunities, it is still implied that women are at a disadvantage when it comes to career progression. However contradictory, this seems to align with the research survey respondents agreeing that it is indeed harder for women to make promotion. If opportunities are equally received, the reason as to why it is harder to make promotion for women should seemingly be related to their abilities. Seeing that as for more than a decade more female students enrolled at university level, it is unlikely that there is a lack of well-educated or trained women (Ministry of Education, 2019). Therefore, it is likely that it has to do with the lack of fit model in which qualities are often more

‘masculine’ than ‘feminine’ (Heilman, 1983). This idea exists among both men and women as seen below in Table 10.

Table 10. Research survey question 4.5, 4.2 and 4.4

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know	Total
4.5 Men are characteristically better suited to be a leader than women							
$\bar{x} = -0.93$ (disagree), $M = -1$ (disagree), $SD = 1.08$							
Number	21	12	15	4	1	0	53
Percentage	39.62%	22.64%	28.30%	7.55%	1.89%	0.00%	100%
4.2 A woman is as good as a leader as a man							
$\bar{x} = 1.28$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 0.76$							
Number	0	1	7	22	23	0	53
Percentage	0.00%	1.89%	13.21%	41.51%	43.40%	0.00%	100%
4.4 I am comfortable to have a female boss/employer							
$\bar{x} = 0.79$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 1.03$							
Number	1	5	13	19	14	1	53
Percentage	1.89%	9.43%	24.53%	35.85%	26.42%	1.89%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}							

Respondents have mixed feelings on the topic and the genders' respective attributed characteristics as indicated in the two examples below:

‘There are women with leadership [capabilities], but women usually tend to be passive.’ (Office worker, 24 years old)

‘Male bosses often fail to say they do not know [what they are doing] because of their unconscious pride, and there have been several cases in which things became uncomfortable. I was frustrated because I kept trying to hide my thoughts and I was not honest in communicating [this]. On the other hand, female bosses usually express everything honestly, so [for me] it was easier and better to work together [with them].’ (Researcher, 27 years old)

‘For a boss, male or female, the difference in personality seems to be important in leadership.’ (Respondent, 26 years old)

Besides the fact that leadership is often attributed to ‘masculine’ qualities, ideas about gendered leadership in South Korea are also influenced by the feminization of low-wage jobs, and the underrepresentation of women in full-time employment. A study by Kwon and Doellgast (2018) indicates that the overrepresentation of women in non-regular work leads to the notion that this is ‘work for women’, who are seen as ‘lesser qualified’.

‘Women are thought to have a high position in the workplace because of their fashion and major company traits.’ (Office worker, 31 years old)

As stated earlier in this research, women are underrepresented in leadership positions throughout the South Korean society. Hence, I expected that the research respondents would feel that there are not enough women in leadership position, yet the majority disagreed with that notion:

Table 11. Research survey question 4.3

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know	Total
4.3 There are enough women in leadership/managerial positions at my workplace							
$\bar{x} = 0.52$ (agree), $M = 1$ (agree), $SD = 1.27$							
Number	4	11	5	20	13	0	53
Percentage	7.55%	20.75%	9.43%	37.74%	24.53%	0.00%	100%
If {'strongly disagree' = -2 [...] 'strongly agree' = 2}							

This significant overrepresentation of men in the workplace, however, was voiced in the research survey responses:

‘I work in a company that employs workers and sends them to work at franchisees. I am one of those workers. There are more than 3,000 workers [of those] nationwide. More than 95% of those who hold middle management positions between companies and workers are men, even though 80% of the workers are women. These mid-level management positions are chosen by the workers themselves.’ (Baker, 27 years old)

‘I went to one of the top 30 conglomerates in Korea, and in none of the head offices there was more than one female manager.’ (Project development employee, 33 years old)

‘It is true that there are still many male executives and managers in Korean companies. But that is the inevitable result of male-dominated economic activity in the past, and I do not think I am being discriminated against as of now.’ (Office worker, 26 years old)

Discussion

Women's positions are affected by widespread ideological concepts in South Korean society that are derived from among other things Confucianism to the notion of 'femininity' of both the present and the past. These gendered concepts, of which 'the woman as wife' and 'the woman as mother' are the most prevalent, are upheld by both men and women and lead to discrimination against women. Furthermore, simultaneously with those female gender roles, come male gender roles ('man as the provider' and the 'man as the head of the family'). These gender roles may lead to a (un)conscious bias or burden women with the preconceived idea that they are meant to stay home, take care of the children and do the housework. This is reflected by the idea that women are in charge of the household regardless of whether they are married or not, and regardless of whether they are employed or not. In order to successfully bring more women into full-time employment, the government will need not just to promote joining the labour force, but also provide incentives for women to seek out full-time jobs. The provision of a new father-specific leave in addition to the already existing policies for mothers would probably decrease discrimination against women in both the workplace and hiring, as both men and women are equally likely to take a leave. Employers would then become less reluctant to hire women because of the possible leave due to childbirth.

Though my research only slightly brushed the topic of safe environments, it is nevertheless an important issue. The 2019 Labour Standards Act amendment legally prohibits workplace harassment. Still, when gender discrimination becomes embedded in society to the point of becoming normalised, the risk that it will become undisputable will grow, as people will not consider it to be straying from the norm. When gender discrimination is embedded in a society in which it has become 'normalised', the danger is that people will no longer be aware of its presence, with all its consequences. Though research has been done about this issue in the past, there is societal value in future research on this topic concerning the new generation of working women, which is a large group who are generally higher-educated and slightly more inclined to pursue better careers.

There is evidence in both earlier research and my own survey that gender discrimination might start as early as during the application process for jobs, resulting in an already disadvantaged starting position for women. The Blind Hiring Act opens the doors for the legal prosecution of discriminatory hiring practices and may exclude many other discriminatory factors, but it is more realistic to assume that discrimination based on appearance will continue regardless. In an appearance-oriented society such as South Korea, where lookism (Korean: *oemo jisang juui*, 외모지상주의) is standard practice, this kind of discriminatory questions gives women a severe disadvantage before even having entered employment.

Further along the career path, women receive fewer opportunities to pursue managerial positions, which leads to a much lower average pay. As leadership is often characterized as not only one's performance, but also the overall impression one gives off, it is hence understandable that leadership is not directly associated with the female workforce. The ongoing absence of women in political leadership positions or sufficient female role models might explain why women seemingly do not support other women in their career advancement. In the research survey, respondents reported no remarkable differences between the preference of male and female: the responses suggested that there is no greater support for female leadership over male leadership. The Ministry of Gender and Family started implementing quotas for the public sector in 2012 and progress has been made. Ultimately, however, although in some way necessary, quotas are short-term solutions, as the goal is to equally consider women through recognition based on their own merit.

Overall, South Korean female labour force participation is at its highest point in years due to government policies, but the number of South Korean women who work in non-regular jobs is still high. Non-regular jobs are known for their low wages and status, and the feminisation of these jobs encourages prejudice. Though women return to the workforce after becoming a mother, they rarely pick up their old full-time occupation and take on non-regular work, as they predominantly take on the lion's share of childcare. This indicates that even though the overall female labour force participation rate has increased, merely stimulating women to work is not enough when there are no well-structured and long-term incentives for highly educated women

to seek regular employment. Women still mainly occupy precarious jobs and are thus less financially secure and more dependent than men.

Interestingly, the survey respondents indicated that it 'is okay for women to earn more than their husband/male partner', yet also found that the 'husband/male partner should financially provide for the household'. If women were to earn more than their male partner, they would then become the leading financial provider in the household. However, a significant number of respondents does not follow this trend or does so only partially. It is clear that ideas about traditional gender roles are not a male-only problem; women also unconsciously perform accordingly to traditional gender roles and enable them, which proves that their gender roles are deep-rooted and there is yet a long way to go to gender equality in the sense that it is not merely about raising awareness.

It is also apparent that the unsustainability of the South Korean work culture plays a significant role in the disadvantages for women. Specifically, South Korea work culture is characterized by workers distressed due to long work hours and a heavy workload. There has been little to no change in the institutional arrangement of the South Korean labour market, which raises the question of whether women should want to conform to those circumstances. Though the Labour Standard Act limits work to 40 hours and overtime to 12 hours a week, South Korean companies often implement more hours. It becomes noticeable that women are unwilling to participate in this masculinized long-work-hours culture; the rigidity of this binary system leads to a difference in wage and career opportunities in the long run. Due to unequal career opportunities, the gender wage gap continues to exist regardless of equal pay, as there is no equal consideration. Thus, improvement for women not only depends on the wage gap within full-time regular employment but also ties in with male-dominated management (Cho et al., 2014). Women receive fewer opportunities to pursue management positions and are underrepresented, which leads to a lower pay average in the female labour force.

As indicated, efforts made through the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family's policy are not necessarily ineffective, as there has been some definite progress. New legislature (Fair Hiring Practice Act) and amendments to already existing laws (Labour Standards Act) by the South

Korean government have started to overcome the gender gap. South Korea's female labour participation rate has reached a high record, parental leave has improved, laws regulate equal pay for equal work, overtime is more limited, and gender quotas for women have been installed. Notably, the survey respondents do not seem to disregard the governments' actions, but rather the manner in which current policies are reviewed, and they claim that it is the governments' responsibility to combat gender inequality and discrimination in the workplace.

The structural challenges that women face in the work environment seem to be handed down from generation to generation. Although there has been progress, this has happened slowly, especially compared to the rest of the world, and many of the ambitious goals are yet to be achieved. For instance, many interventions, such as the introduction of quotas, and pregnancy leave, are well-meant yet not designed for the long term. I strongly encourage such initiatives, but there should be a change regarding the unconscious bias that is embedded in us. Rather than seeing motherhood as a binary choice, I believe that there is much to gain if the South Korean government actively supports shifting the idea of the working mother to the 'working woman who happens to be a mother' and considers this as a realistic step towards eradicating gender roles. Much more can be said about the leading role that politics can take in this, as quotas still do not truly reflect society. On top of some of the policies enforcing stereotypical gender roles, women themselves seem to do so as well, which will likely continue to be the case if there is no change in the representation of genders.

Conclusion

Through a critical analysis of academic works, statistical data, and a research survey about the experiences of 55 women, this paper investigated the structural challenges faced by South Korean women in their workplace and in the general work environment. By comparing the research survey responses to existing data and literature, the results indicate that there is a relation between the gender discrimination that South Korean women face in the work environment and the lower standing of working women in comparison to working men.

The thesis was based on the hypothesis that gender inequality leads to the unequal position of South Korean women in the work environment. While gender (in)equality has recently become a highly debated topic in South Korean society, my research demonstrated that there are still many structural challenges to overcome before gender parity in South Korean employment can be achieved. While the results from the survey can be generalised only partially, they offer a new perspective on the experiences of the new generation working women that is essential to include in the debate. The results of the research survey, in combination with existing scholarship and reports, confirmed that South Korean women are still struggling against discriminatory practices in their work environment. The present research not only discussed relative situations but also relied on the personal experiences of South Korean working women. Hence, it encouraged them to share their first-hand experiences to create a more inclusive and detailed image of the situation. These women's experiences should not be overlooked, and neither should their potential.

Times have changed, which calls for measures to be implemented. Furthermore, to ensure that developments remain progressive, it is essential to reflect on existing measures and policies. Further research is needed to determine whether or not certain policies are effective. To better understand their implications, future studies could address younger generations of women. As social ideas and standards change with time, the proposed future investigation would be useful because these results will make it easier to implement successful strategies for future generations. Furthermore, as all issues mentioned in this thesis are intertwined, it would be beneficial for government policies to take all of the issues that disadvantage women into consideration, instead of combatting possible problems within these issues separately.

My research explored the different facets of South Korean women who face structural challenges and are at a disadvantage in terms of employment in their professional life, including, but not limited to, employment opportunities, wages, career advancement, and representation. All the studied issues are correlated; no straightforward solution will solve them all, and there might not even be a solution at all. We should not wish to eradicate gender inequality solely for the purpose of eradicating gender inequality as it does not solve the current problems, and in

that manner is not socially beneficial to women. Incentives for change should come from political good-will, not from political gain. Though it might be too early to say whether South Korea will succeed in creating an equal status for working women or not, the intentions appear to be well-meant and will hopefully lead to the realization of the Ministry of Gender and Family's vision – 'Toward Equality in Everyday Life'.

평등을 일상으로

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Appendix I: Survey in English

I am Suzé Klok and am enrolled in the Asian Studies master programme at Leiden University (The Netherlands). I am currently doing research for my master's thesis on the status of the South Korean working woman.

In order to give my research a more in-depth perspective, I am collecting relevant data through this survey. I would like to learn more about the experiences of South Korean women about issues related to gender (in)equality, female employment and female leadership.

This survey is addressed to South Korean women who have completed higher education, and started working at a South Korean company between 2008 and 2018.

Please read the following information carefully. This survey will take place in March 2020 and April 2020. In accordance with the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), this survey does not store any personal information. All answers given will be completely anonymous - unidentifiable. The survey data will not be shared to third parties. Completed surveys be stored for the duration of my research (March 2020 to June 2020) and fragments may be used as examples in my thesis. At any given moment during the on-going research period, you can request for your data to be deleted.

I welcome your feedback on the questions in the survey, as it might aid me in the future. If you have any questions regarding this survey, please contact me via s.s.x.f.klok@umail.leidenuniv.nl.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance.

This survey will take about 6 minutes to complete.

Below, you see 4 sections which each 5 statements. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with them. If you do not know or if it's not applicable, please check 'I don't know'.

You may elaborate on your choices at the bottom of each section, any additional comments are very much appreciated.

Gender equality

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know
Men and women receive the same treatment at my work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men and women receive the same opportunities at my work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The government takes an active approach on ensuring gender equality at the work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My employer (company) takes an active approach on ensuring gender equality at the work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is someone I feel comfortable talking to on issues of gender discrimination at my work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please elaborate on your choices if you have any relating personal experiences below, this will help me understand your perspective. If you do not wish to fill out (parts of) this section, you may click on the button '->'.

[TEXT FIELD]

Gender roles

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know
Men and women should earn the same wages for the same work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is okay for women to earn more than their male partners	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should stop working when they marry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should stop working when they have children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The husband/male partner should provide for the household	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please elaborate on your choices if you have any relating personal experiences below, this will help me understand your perspective. If you do not wish to fill out (parts of) this section, you may click on the button '->'.

[TEXT FIELD]

Women's employment

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know
It is important for women to be employed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Women should seek out part-time employment, so they can take care of their children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

- There is a balanced mix of male and female coworkers at my work place
- It is important for women to be financially independent
- It is the government's responsibility to ensure there are enough jobs for women

Please elaborate on your choices if you have any relating personal experiences below, this will help me understand your perspective. If you do not wish to fill out (parts of) this section, you may click on the button '->'.

[TEXT FIELD]

Female leadership

- | | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Agree | Strongly agree | I don't know |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| It is harder for women to get promoted than it is for men | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| A woman is as good as a leader as a man | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| There are enough women in leadership/managerial positions at my work place | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| I am comfortable (was I) to have a female boss/employer | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Men are characteristically better suited to be a leader than women | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Please elaborate on your choices if you have any relating personal experiences below, this will help me understand your perspective. If you do not wish to fill out (parts of) this section, you may click on the button '->'.

[TEXT FIELD]

The following questions are about your personal situation. This information will help me determine the scale on which respondents' experiences take place.

This survey guarantees complete anonymity. You are not identifiable if you answer the questions below. If you do not wish to fill out (parts of) this section, please click on the button '->'.

In what year were you born?

- ≤ 1985 1986-1990 1991-1995 ≥ 1996

What did you study?

- Applied sciences

- Arts, Design and Music
- Business and Economics
- Education
- Engineering and Planning
- Humanities
- Law
- Medicine
- Natural sciences
- Social sciences
- Other, namely [TEXT FIELD]

In what field do you work?

- Agriculture, Food, and Natural Resources
- Arts and Design
- Business, Management, and Administration
- Communication and IT
- Education and Training
- Engineering, Manufacturing, and Technology
- Finance
- Government and Public Administration
- Health Science
- Hospitality and Tourism
- Law, Public Safety, and Security
- Marketing, Sales, and Service
- Transportation, Distribution, and Logistics
- Other, namely [TEXT FIELD]

What is your current job? (shop assistant, lawyer, teacher etc.)

[TEXT FIELD]

How long have you been working in this job position?

< 1 year 2-3 years 4-5 years 6-7 years 8-9 years > 10 years

Do you work full-time or part-time?

Full-time

Part-time

Thank you for filling out my survey. Additional commentary on your choices and experiences will be much appreciated.

Do you have any additional comments or feedback?

[TEXT FIELD]

I would like to thank you for your time and effort. Click on the '->' button to send your response.

Appendix II: Survey in Korean

안녕하십니까? 저는 네덜란드 레이던 대학교 대학원생 수제 클록이라고 합니다. 아시아 지역을 전공하며 현재 한국 직장여성의 지위에 관해 석사 논문을 쓰고자 연구를 진행하고 있습니다.

심층 보도를 작성하는데 있어 이 조사를 통해 한국 직장에서 여성들이 겪는 문제에 대한 자료를 수집하고자 합니다. 남녀 평등, 여성 고용, 여성 리더십과 관련된 문제에 대해 관심이 매우 깊어 더 자세히 알아보하고자 합니다. 본 조사는 고등교육을 마치고 2008-2018 년 사이에 한국기업에 취업해 회사를 다니기 시작한 여성들을 중심으로 겨냥하고자 합니다.

다음 정보를 자세히 읽어주시길 바랍니다. 참여해주시는 이 설문조사는 2020 년 3 월과 2020 년 4 월에 진행됩니다. 유럽 연합의 General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)법에 따라 이 설문조사는 어떠한 개인 정보도 저장하지 않습니다.

본 조사는 익명으로 작성되기 때문에 익명성을 보장합니다. 주어진 모든 답변은 완전히 익명으로 되어있으며 식별이 불가능합니다. 또한 주어진 데이터 자료는 제 3 자에게 공유되지 않습니다. 본 조사를 완료하고서 연구 기간(2020 년 3 월 ~ 2020 년 6 월) 동안 저장될 것이며 논문의 예시로 이용하고자 합니다. 연구를 하는 동안 당신의 자료에 있어 삭제 요청을 하실 수 있으며 이유를 제공하지 않으셔도 됩니다.

응답자에게 익명성을 확실히 보장합니다.

본 조사의 질문에 대한 피드백은 연구를 하는데 있어 도움이 많이 되기 때문에 이 조사에 응해주시면 감사하겠습니다. 연구과정에 대해 문의 사항이 있으시다면 이 이메일 주소로 연락해주시길 바랍니다. : s.s.x.f.klok@umail.leidenuniv.nl.

협조해 주신 점에 있어 미리 감사 드립니다.

이 설문조사는 작성 완료하기까지 약 6 분 소요될 예정입니다.

아래는 4 개의 섹션으로 각 5 개의 문장으로 이루어져 있습니다. 동의하시는지 또는 동의하지 않으시는지를 표시해 주시길 바랍니다. 모르시는 경우 또는 해당되지 않으시는 경우에는 ‘알 수 없음’을 선택해주시길 바랍니다.

성평등

	매우 반대	반대	찬성도 반대도 아님	찬성	매우 찬성	알 수 없음
내 직장에서는 남녀가 같은 대우를 받는다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
내 직장에서는 남녀가 동일한 기회들을 받는다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
한국정부는 직장에서의 성 평등 보장을 위해 적극적으로 다가가고 있다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
내 고용주(회사)는 직장에서의 성 평등을 보장하기 위해 적극적으로 다가가고 있다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
내 직장에서 성차별 문제에 대해 내가 편안하게 이야기할 수 있는 사람이 있다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

당신의 선택에 있어 개인적인 경험이 있으실 경우 아래에 자세히 설명해주시길 바랍니다. 이는 당신의 관점을 이해하는데 도움이 될 겁니다.

이 부분을 작성하고 싶지 않다면 ‘→’ 버튼을 클릭하실 수 있습니다.

[TEXT FIELD]

성 역할

	매우 반대	반대	찬성도 반대도 아님	찬성	매우 찬성	알 수 없음
남녀가 같은 일에 같은 임금을 받아야 한다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
여성은 남성 파트너보다 더 많이 벌어도 괜찮다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
여성은 결혼할 때 일을 그만둬야 한다.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

여성은 아이를 낳으면 일을 그만둬야 한다. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

남편/남성 파트너는 가족을 부양해야 한다. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

당신의 선택에 있어 개인적인 경험이 있으실 경우 아래에 자세히 설명해주시길 바랍니다. 이는 당신의 관점을 이해하는데 도움이 될 겁니다.

이 부분을 작성하고 싶지 않다면 ‘→’ 버튼을 클릭하실 수 있습니다.

[TEXT FIELD]

여성 고용

	매우 반대	반대	찬성도 반대도 아님	찬성	매우 찬성	알 수 없음
여성이 고용되는 것은 중요하다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
아이들을 돌보기 위해서 여성들은 파트타임 근무제(시간제 근무제)를 구해야 한다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
내 직장에는 성별 균형을 잘 이루고 있다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
여성이 재정적으로 독립하는 것은 중요하다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
여성들을 위한 일자리가 충분히 있는지 확인하는 것은 정부가 맡아야 할 일이다.	○	○	○	○	○	○

당신의 선택에 있어 개인적인 경험이 있으실 경우 아래에 자세히 설명해주시길 바랍니다. 이는 당신의 관점을 이해하는데 도움이 될 겁니다.

이 부분을 작성하고 싶지 않다면 ‘→’ 버튼을 클릭하실 수 있습니다.

[TEXT FIELD]

여성 리더십

	매우 반대	반대	찬성도 반대도 아님	찬성	매우 찬성	알 수 없음
여성들이 승진하는 것은 남성보다 어렵다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
여성이 남성만큼 리더십이 있다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
내 직장에서는 리더십/관리직에 있는 여성들이 충분히 있다.	○	○	○	○	○	○
여성 상사/고용주가 있어서 편했다.	○	○	○	○	○	○

남성이 여성보다 특질상 리더로써 더 적합하다.

당신의 선택에 있어 개인적인 경험이 있으실 경우 아래에 자세히 설명해주시길 바랍니다. 이는 당신의 관점을 이해하는데 도움이 될 겁니다.

이 부분을 작성하고 싶지 않다면 ‘→’ 버튼을 클릭하실 수 있습니다.

[TEXT FIELD]

다음 질문들은 당신의 개인적인 상황에 관한 것입니다. 이 정보는 응답자의 경험이 어느 정도 인지 파악하는데 있어 도움이 될 것입니다.

이 설문조사는 완전한 익명성을 보장합니다. 아래 주어진 질문에 답해주신 모든 답변에 있어 신원식별이 불가능합니다. 이 부분을 작성하고 싶지 않으면 ‘→’ 버튼을 클릭하실 수 있습니다.

당신은 몇 년도에 태어났습니까?

≤ 1985 년

1986 년~1990 년

1991 년~1995 년

≥ 1996 년

당신은 무엇을 공부했습니까?

- 경제/경영대학
- 공과대학
- 미술대학, 디자인대학, 음악대학
- 법과대학
- 사범대학
- 사회과학대학
- 응용과학
- 의과대학
- 인문대학
- 자연과학대학
- 기타: [TEXT FIELD]

당신은 어느 분야에서 일합니까?

- 경영관리·경영과학·행정
- 공무원
- 공학·경력·제조
- 교육
- 농업·식품·자연자원
- 마케팅·영업·서비스업
- 법률·공안·보안 요원
- 보건·의료
- 예술·디자인
- 운송·공급·물류
- 재무
- 접대·관광업
- 정보통신
- 기타: [TEXT FIELD]

현재 직업이 어떻게 되십니까? (점원, 변호사, 교사 등)

[TEXT FIELD]

이 직업에 근무한지 얼마나 됐습니까?

1년 2년~3년 4년~5년 6년~7년 8년~9년 > 10년

당신은 풀타임으로 일합니까 아니면 파트타임으로 일합니까?

상근

비상근

이 설문조사에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 당신의 선택과 경험에 있어 추가적인 의견을 작성해주신다면 고맙겠습니다.

혹시 다른 의견 또는 피드백이 있으십니까?

[TEXT FIELD]

이 설문조사에 시간과 노력을 해주셔서 감사합니다. 응답을 보내시려면 ‘>’ 버튼을 클릭하시길 바랍니다.

Appendix III: Survey logic

Men and women receive the same treatment at my work place	GE1	GE 1																			
Men and women receive the same opportunities at my work place	GE2		GE 2																		
The government takes an active approach on ensuring gender equality at the work place	GE3			GE 3																	
My employer (company) takes an active approach on ensuring gender equality at the work place	GE4				GE 4																
There is someone I feel comfortable talking to on issues of gender discrimination at my work place	GE5					GE 5															
Men and women should earn the same wages for the same work	GR1						GR 1														
It is okay for women to earn more than their male partners	GR2							GR 2													
Women should stop working when they marry	GR3								GR 3												
The wife/female partner should take care of the children	GR4									GR 4											
The husband/male partner should provide for the household	GR5										GR 5										
It is important for women to be employed	WE1											WE 1									
Women should seek out part-time employment, so they can take care of their children	WE2												WE 2								
There is a balanced mix of male and female coworkers at my work place	WE3													WE 3							
It is important for women to be financially independent	WE4														WE 4						
It is the government's responsibility to ensure there are enough jobs for women	WE5															WE 5					
It is harder for women to get promoted than it is for men	FL1																		FL1		
A women is as good as a leader as a men	FL2																			FL2	
There are enough women in leadership/managerial positions at my work place	FL3																				FL3
I am comfortable (was I) to have a female boss/employer	FL4																				FL4
Men are characteristically better suited to be a leader than women	FL5																				FL5

Appendix IV: Survey data

1. Participants by university degree and work field

	Agriculture, Food, and Natural Resources	Arts and Design	Business, Management, and Administration	Communication and IT	Education and Training	Engineering, Manufacturing, and Technology	Finance	Government and Public Administration	Health Science	Marketing, Sales, and Service	Transportation, Distribution, and Logistics	Other	Total
Applied sciences	1												1 (1.85%)
Arts, Design and Music		2											2 (3.70%)
Business and Economics	1		2			1	1	1		2	1	2	11 (20.37%)
Education					1					2			3 (5.56%)
Engineering and Planning				2		3							5 (9.26%)
Humanities				3	2			1		4			11 (20.37%)
Natural Sciences			1	1	1				1				4 (7.41%)
Social Sciences			2		1	1			1	4		2	11 (20.37%)
Other	1					1				3	1		6 (11.11%)
Total	3 (5.66%)	2 (3.77%)	5 (9.43%)	6 (11.32%)	5 (9.43%)	6 (11.32%)	1 (1.89%)	2 (3.77%)	2 (3.77%)	15 (28.30%)	2 (3.77%)	4 (7.55%)	53/54 (100%/100%)

2. Participants by age

	1981	1982	1983	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	Total
Participants	1 (1.85%)	2 (3.70%)	2 (3.70%)	1 (1.85%)	2 (3.70%)	2 (3.70%)	3 (5.56%)	3 (5.56%)	7 (12.96%)	9 (16.67%)	8 (14.81%)	4 (7.41%)	8 (14.81%)	2 (3.70%)	54 (100%)

\bar{x} = 28.17 years, M = 27 years, SD = 4.11 years

3. Participants by work experience

	< 1 year	2-3 years	4-5 years	6-7 years	8-9 years	> 10 years	Total
Participants	20 (38.46%)	21 (40.38%)	2 (3.85%)	4 (7.69%)	3 (5.77%)	2 (3.85%)	52 (100%)
\bar{x} = 2.93 years (2-3 years), M = 2-3 years, SD = 2.51 years							

4. Participants by employment

	With employment contract	Without employment contract	Total
Full-time	45 (95.74%/91.84%)	2 (4.26%/66.67%)	47 (100%)
Part-time	4 (80.00%/8.16%)	1 (20.00%/33.33%)	5 (100%)
Total	49 (100%)	3 (100%)	52/52 (100%/100%)

5. Responses

Figure 1. Research survey results: Gender equality at the work place

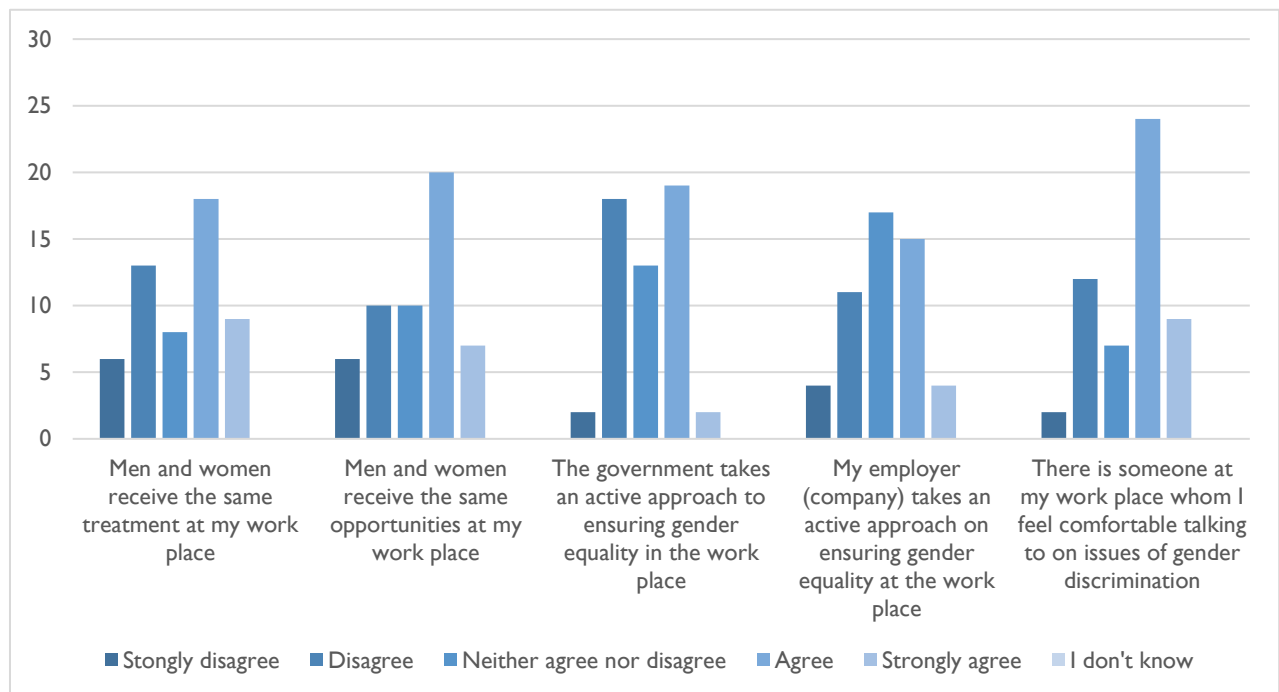


Table 1. Research survey results: Gender equality at the work place

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Men and women receive the same treatment at my work place	6 11.11%	13 24.07%	8 14.81%	18 33.33%	9 16.67%	54 100%
Men and women receive the same opportunities at my work place	6 11.32%	10 18.87%	10 18.87%	20 37.74%	7 13.21%	53 100%
The government takes an active approach to ensuring gender equality in the work place	2 3.70%	18 33.33%	13 24.07%	9 35.19%	2 3.70%	54 100%
My employer (company) takes an active approach on ensuring gender equality at the work place	4 7.84%	11 21.57%	17 33.33%	15 29.41%	4 7.84%	51 100%
There is someone at my work place whom I feel comfortable talking to on issues of gender discrimination	2 3.70%	12 22.22%	7 12.96%	24 44.44%	9 16.67%	54 100%

Table 2. Research survey results: Gender equality at the work place, responses to open questions

Source text	Target text
여초회사를 다니고 있는데다 여성을 더 선호하는 업계라., 오히려 인턴이나 신입 채용 시 여성을 더 우대하는 듯 보임	I work in a female-oriented company. It seems that on the contrary [to men being favoured], women are more favoured as interns or new recruits.
However, i work in a company where the almost everyone is Female, so based on my own experience it is hard to tell about gender inequality within working environment. Nevertheless, based on my observe, some companies do proceed promotion earlier for males just because they are males	I work in a company where almost everyone is female, however. So based on my own experience, it is hard to tell about gender inequality within the work environment. Nevertheless, based on my observations, some companies do proceed promotion earlier for men just because they are male.
같은 또래의 여성동료	It is the same for [male and] female co-workers.

여성들이 보편적으로 한다고 생각하는 성차별적인 일을 가끔 해야할때가 있다. 거절하면 조직의 분위기가 어색해질까봐 한적이 많다. (청소, 커피 심부름, 여직원만 돈을 내서 회장님 선물사기 등)

Sometimes you have to perform sexist tasks that are thought of as tasks typically carried out by women. I have done a lot of them because I am afraid that if I refuse, it will be awkward [uncomfortable] (Cleaning, coffee errands, only female employees get money to buy gifts for the president etc.).

진급이나 급여, 상여금수여 등 평등하게 이루어지고 있습니다.

Promotions, salaries, bonuses etc. are awarded equally.

패션+대기업 특성때문에 여성의 직장 내 지위가 높은 것으로 생각됨

Women are thought to have a high position in the workplace because of their fashion and major company traits.

성 차별을 느껴도 말할수는 없는 분위기다

Even if you feel there is gender discrimination, there is no room for you to say it.

비슷한 연차라도 남성보다 여성에게 더 높은 수준의 능력을 요구하는 것 같습니다. 제가 다른 사람들의 결과물을 평가할 때 남성보다는 여성 직원들의 결과물이 더 좋았기 때문입니다.

Even in cases where men and women have worked for an equally long period, it seems like women are required to have a higher level of capability/competence than men. Because when I evaluated the results of others, the results of female employees were better than those of men.

회사에서 노동자를 고용해 프랜차이즈 가맹점으로 파견시키는 구조의 직장에서 일하고 있습니다. 저는 그 노동자중 한명이구요. 전국에 3천명이 넘는 노동자가 있습니다. 그 중 80%가 여성임에도 불구하고 회사와 노동자 사이에서 중간관리직을 맡는 사람의 95%이상은 남성입니다. 심지어 중간관리직은 노동자중에서 뽑는데도 말이죠.

I work in a company that employs workers and sends them to work at franchisees. I am one of those workers. There are more than 3,000 workers [of those] nationwide. More than 95% of those who hold middle management positions between companies and workers are men, even though 80% of the workers are women. These mid-level management positions are chosen by the workers themselves.

It has been normal that men in the workplace have more opportunities of the promotion and better salary. And it's getting change but very slow. Since the men don't want to give up their authorities. Most of company prefers to hire men than women, one of the biggest reason is one day woman needs to give a birth(What they think).

It has been normal that, at the workplace, men have more opportunities for promotion and a better salary. Furthermore, it is changing but very slowly as men do not want to give up their authority. Most companies prefer to hire men over women; one of the biggest reasons is that they think one day a woman will need to give birth [and thus go on maternity leave].

Nowadays the new rules regarding to the woman welfare on the way to be created, but it seems it takes such a long time.

Nowadays, new rules regarding women's welfare are on their way to be created, but it seems to take such a long time.

경력에 도움이 될 주요 이슈들은 남자들에게 처리하라고함. 여자한테 말할때는 가르치듯, 남자한테 말할때는 상의하듯

The key to one's career is to have men handle issues. The tasks that are most important to advance your career are handled by men? When you talk to a woman, you teach, when you talk to a man, you consult. People talk to women in a teaching manner and to men in a consulting manner.

Figure 2. Research survey results: Gender roles

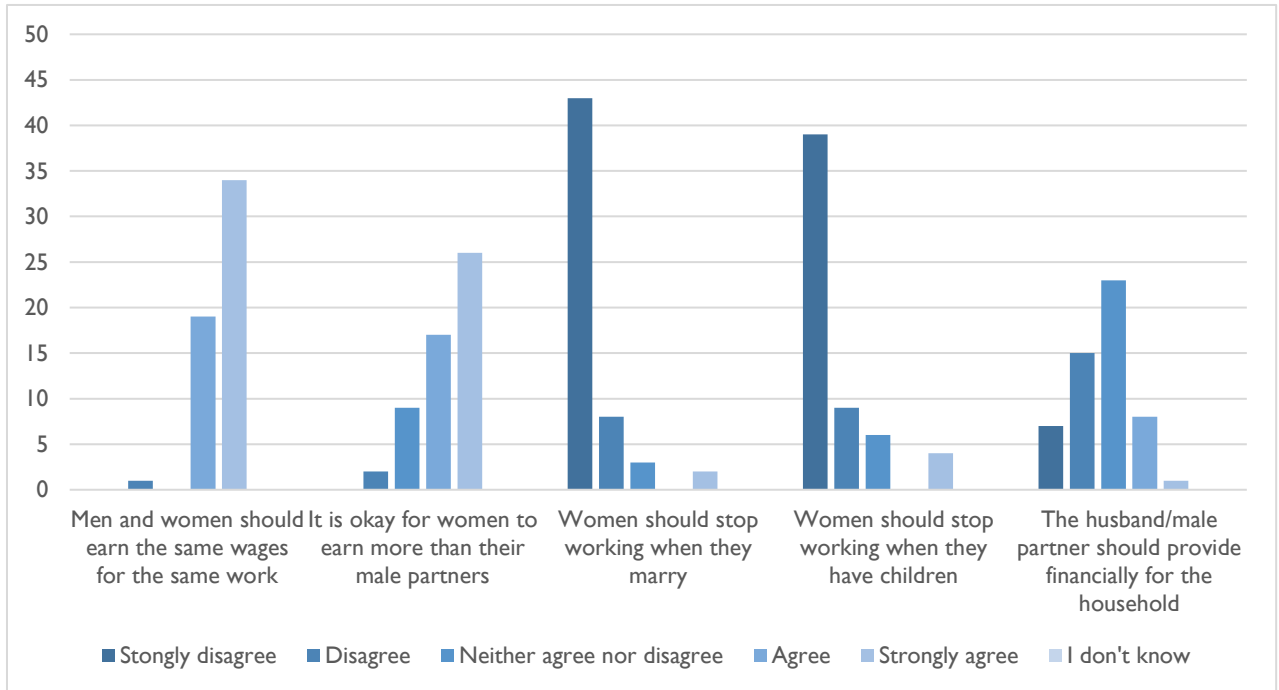


Table 3. Research survey results: Gender roles

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
Men and women should earn the same wages for the same work	0 0.00%	1 1.85%	0 0.00%	19 35.19%	34 62.96%	54 100%
It is okay for women to earn more than their male partners	0 0.00%	2 3.70%	9 16.67%	17 31.48%	26 48.15%	54 100%
Women should stop working when they marry	43 79.63%	8 14.81%	3 5.56%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	54 100%
Women should stop working when they have children	39 72.22%	9 16.67%	6 11.11%	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	54 100%
The husband/male partner should provide financially for the household	7 12.96%	15 27.78%	23 42.59%	8 14.81%	1 1.85%	54 100%

Table 4. Research survey results: Gender roles, responses to open questions

Source text	Target text
본인이 알아서, 가정 내에서 합의하에 선택하면 되는 문제라고 생각함	I think it is a matter of your own choice [of who brings in the money], within your home, and in agreement [with your partner].
There is no reason women earns less money then men. The salary needs to be distributed based on the personal capability.	There is no reason for women to earn less money than men. Salary needs to be awarded based on personal capability.

임금에 대해서는 여성과 남성을 나누어 책정되는것이 아니라 업무능력에 따라 결정되는 것이라고 생각한다. 한국에서 아직 많지는 않지만 남성이 육아를 하고 여성이 일하는 경우도 있다. 경제적 측면에서의 부양을 남성이라고 생각하지 않는 이유는 부부의 가치관에 따라 기준이 달라진다고 생각한다.

I think wages are not divided between women and men, but [divided] based on work ability. Although it does not often happen in South Korea, there are also cases in which the men take care of their children, and the women work. The reason why we [people] do not think of the man to take the supporting role in terms of income [instead of the main provider] is dependent on the couple's values.

돈버는것 역시 함께 감당해야 한다고 생각합니다

I think making money should, of course, be handled together.

능력이 있는 쪽이 경제력을 가져가는 것이 옳다고 본다. 결혼 생각이 없지만 결혼을 한다면 남자쪽에서 집안일을 하길 원한다.

I think it makes sense that the one who is able to [the most competent person], takes the economic power [responsibility]. I do not want to get married, but if I do, I want the man to do the housework.

마지막 질문에 있어서는 현재 대한민국의 사회은 여성근로자들의 임금차별이 분명한 부분이고 이에 있어서 사회구조가 남녀평등이 이뤄지지 않을때까지는 남성이 좀더 부양하는게 맞다고 생각합니다.

Regarding the final question, [...] I think it is right for men to support female workers at least until we live in a more equal society, as gender equality has not [yet] been achieved in current Korean society.

남녀 누가해도 상관없다

Men or women, it does not matter who does it [earn money].

능력에 따른 남녀가 같은 임금을 받을 권리는 당연히 있다고 생각한다. 그리고 여성이 결혼후 하는 육아는 개인이 선택할 일이고 또한 남성이 계속적인 경제적 활동을 해야할지다 개인의 선택에 따른다고 생각한다.

I think men and women, according to their abilities, have the right to receive the same wage. And that after a woman's marriage, parenting is an individual's choice; the same goes for men who decide that they should continue to bring in money.

Figure 3. Research survey results: Women's employment

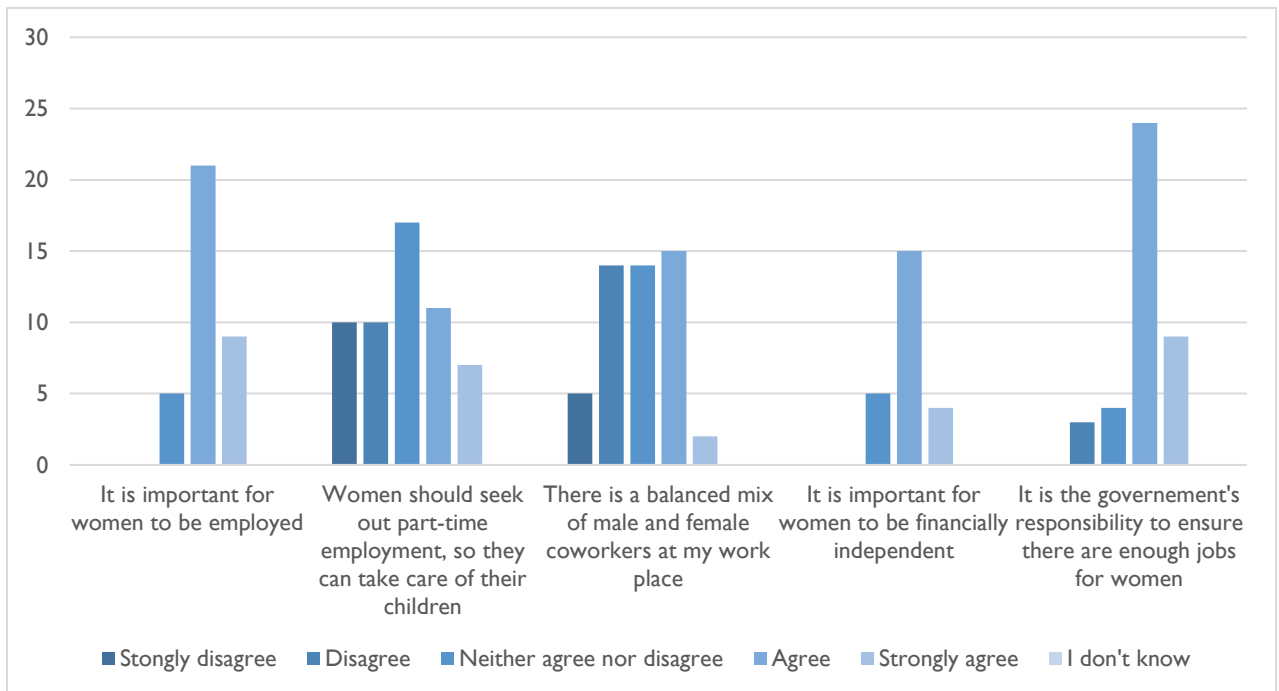


Table 5. Research survey results: Women's employment

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
It is important for women to be employed	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	5 9.43%	21 39.62%	27 50.94%	53 100%
Women should seek out part-time employment, so they can take care of their children	10 18.87%	10 18.87%	17 32.08%	11 20.75%	5 9.43%	53 100%
There is a balanced mix of male and female co-workers at my work place	5 9.62%	14 26.92%	14 26.92%	15 28.85%	4 7.69%	52 100%
It is important for women to be financially independent	0 0.00%	0 0.00%	5 9.43%	22 41.51%	26 49.06%	53 100%
It is the government's responsibility to ensure there are enough jobs for women	0 0.00%	3 5.77%	4 7.69%	21 40.38%	24 46.15%	52 100%

Table 6. Research survey results: Women's employment, responses to open questions

Source text	Target text
청년 일자리 정책은 매우 많으나, 고용 차별이 이루어지는지에 대한 충분한 검토는 없음	There are many policies for youth employment, but there is no sufficient review on whether employment discrimination takes place.

한국 기업들 내 직위가 높은 분들은 남성이 많습니다. 과거에는 남성 중심의 고용과 승진이 이루어졌기 때문이죠. 그러나 최근 대부분의 기업(삼성, sk, 현대 등 10 대 대기업 기준)에서는 성별에 있어 균형적인 채용이 이루어지고 있다고 생각합니다. 또한, 직장 내에서 여성에 대한 배려가 과도하게 이루어져(여성의 경우 휴직이 더 자유로움/여성이 원하는 위치에서 근무 가능/힘든 일은 남성이 맡는 등) 남성이 반발하는 경우도 생겨나고 있습니다. 고용 및 직장 내에서 성차별이 이루어지면 안되지만, 여성에게 고용에 있어 배려를 하거나 강제로 여성 채용 비율을 할당하는 등은 오히려 역차별일 수 있다고 생각합니다.

There are more men with high positions in Korean companies. [This is] because in the past, male-centered employment and promotion took place. However, I think most companies (based on the top 10 conglomerates such as Samsung, SK, Hyundai) have recently been hiring in a balanced way in terms of gender. In addition to this, there is excessive consideration of women in the workplace (for women, leave or absence is looser, they are more flexible in remote work, a man in charge of hard work, etc.). And there have been some cases in which men oppose these kinds of affirmative actions. While gender discrimination should not take place in employment and work, I think it could be [considered] reverse discrimination when women are given consideration in employment or they [the company] are forced to allocate female employment rates.

Governments try to make the rules for equality of the gender hiring, but, in fact, more men is hired.

한국은 현재 맞벌이 부부가 많기때문에 아이돌봄을 여성에게만 요구하지않는다. 부부가 함께한다. 하지만 외벌이의 경우엔 일을 하지 않는 사람이 아이를 돌본다.

Governments try to make rules for gender equality in hiring [procedures], but, in fact, more men are hired.

Since there are many couples in current Korean society in which both [partners] work, it is not necessary for women [only] to take care of children. You are a couple together. But in case of a single income [household], the person who does not work [should] take care of the child.

여성에게도 기회를 골고루 주는지 확인하는것을 정부가 관여했으면한다

여성들을 위한 일자리가 따로 있다고 생각하진 않습니다. 차별이 있는지 없는지를 알아보는 것이 정부의 일이라 생각합니다.

I want the government involved in ensuring that women are given equal opportunities.

I do not think there are separate jobs for women. I think it is the government's job to oversee if discrimination takes place or not.

Figure 4. Research survey results: Female leadership

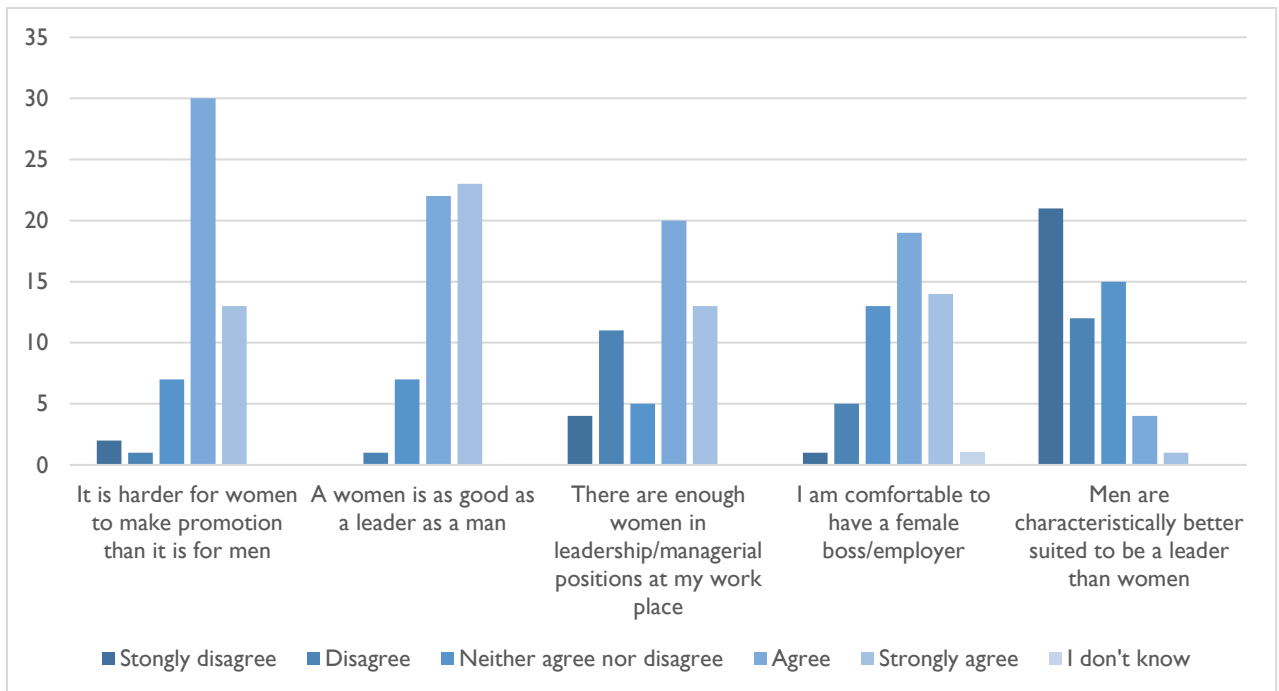


Table 7. Research survey results: Female leadership

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	I don't know	Total
It is harder for women to make promotion than it is for men	2 3.77%	1 1.89%	7 13.21%	30 56.60%	13 24.53%	0 0.00%	53 100%
A woman is as good as a leader as a man	0 0.00%	1 1.89%	7 13.21%	22 41.51%	23 43.40%	0 0.00%	53 100%
There are enough women in leadership/managerial positions at my work place	4 7.55%	11 20.75%	5 9.43%	20 37.74%	13 24.53%	0 0.00%	53 100%
I am comfortable to have a female boss/employer	1 1.89%	5 9.43%	13 24.53%	19 35.85%	14 26.42%	1 1.89%	53 100%
Men are characteristically better suited to be a leader than women	21 39.62%	12 22.64%	15 28.30%	4 7.55%	1 1.89%	0 0.00%	53 100%

Table 8. Research survey results: Female leadership, responses to open questions

Source text	Target text
리더는 성별과 관계없다고 생각함	I think gender is irrelevant in leadership.
남자 상사들은 알 수 없는 자존심 때문인지 모르는걸 모른다고 말하지 못하는 경우가 많았고 그로인해 일처리가 이상하게 되는 경우가 몇번 있었다. 생각을 자꾸 숨기려고하고 의사소통이 솔직하지 않아 답답했다. 반면 여자 상사들은	Male bosses often fail to say they do not know [what they are doing] because of their unconscious pride, and there have been several cases in which things became uncomfortable. I was frustrated because I kept trying to hide my thoughts and I was not honest in communicating [this]. On the other hand, female bosses usually express everything honestly, so [for me] it was easier and better to work together [with them].

솔직하게 다 표현하는 경우가 대부분이어서 일을 같이하는게 더 편하고 좋았다

개인적인 경험은 없으나, "여성은 남성만큼 리더쉽 있다"라는 문장에서 이미 남성의 리더쉽이 우월하다는 판단이 녹아있는 것 같아 설문으로선 적절하지 않다고 생각합니다

I do not have any personal experience, but I do not think it is appropriate to state "A woman is as good as a leader as a man" because it already seems to contain the bias that male leadership is superior.

아직은 한국 기업 내에 남성 임원들과 부장급 인력이 많은 것이 사실입니다. 그러나 그것은 과거 남성 중심으로 경제 활동이 이루어졌던 어쩔 수 없는 결과이지, 현재까지 이 결과로 인해 제가 차별을 받고 있다고 생각하지는 않습니다.

It is true that there are still many male executives and managers in Korean companies. But that is the inevitable result of male-dominated economic activity in the past, and I do not think I am being discriminated against as of now.

리더쉽이 있는 여성도 있지만 대개 여성들은 소극적인 경향이 있는 것 같습니다.

There are women with leadership [capabilities], but women usually tend to be passive.

여성의 승진기회는 동등하지만, 육아휴직으로 대체로 늦어지는 경우가 많음

There are equal opportunities for women's promotion, but they are often delayed due to parental leave.

남성이든 여성이든 상사로서나 리더쉽으로서는 각자의 성격차이가 중요한 것 같습니다

For a boss, male or female, the difference in personality seems to be important in leadership.

저희 회사의 경우 사원,대리는 여자가 많으나 부장급은 모두 남자입니다.

In our company, there are many female employees, but all the managers are men.

리더쉽은 남성과 여성에서 나뉘는 것이 아니라 개인의 성품에 따라 다른것이라 생각되기 때문에 남성일 수도 있고 여성일 수도 있다고 생각한다.

I think leadership can be either male or female because it depends on different individual characteristics, not [whether someone is] male or female.

사람에따라 다른것이지 남녀에 차이는 아니다

It depends on the person, not the gender.

전 한국 30 대 대기업 중 한 곳에 다녔는데 본사 직원 중 부장 이상은 여자가 한 명도 없었습니다.

I went to one of the top 30 conglomerates in Korea, and in none of the head offices there was more than one female manager.