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The logo for the International Institute of Social Studies, featuring the word "Erasmus" in a stylized, cursive script.

**Two Sides of the Mirror: An Analysis on
Deviance of East Asian Countries in Gender Equality
Indices**

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List of Abbreviations

AGDI	African Gender and Development Index
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEI	Gender Equality Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GGGI	Global Gender Gap Index
GRGEMR	Gender Report of Global Education Monitoring Report
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GPS	Gender Parity Score
GSNI	Gender Social Norms Index
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISS	International Institute of Social Studies
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WEF	World Economic Forum
WEOI	Women's Economic Opportunity Index
WVS	World Values Survey

Abstract

Women constitute half of the world population; their well-being is crucial for women themselves as well as development of the whole society. A good number of international organizations and academic research institutes have developed a variety of indicators and published research reports to measure and track the situation of gender equality in different regions. These indices perform like mirrors, to some extent reflecting the current development levels and future expectations of women in terms of education, economic and political participation and performance and other aspects. However, on the back-side insufficiencies and blind areas exist, which have left the reality half reflected. China, Japan and South Korea are three major countries in East Asia. China has been developing rapidly in recent years while South Korea and Japan have already gained a relatively high level of development in economy as well as other domains. However, the three countries lag behind other Asian countries in some gender equality rankings which is unconformable with the feature of distribution on the rankings. The different features and emphasis of the indices are one of the reasons. On the other hand, deficiency of countries' performance on improving gender equality have been examined, leaving more space for policy making and legislation. While measuring equality between genders, most of the indices show a public and private dichotomy for which they failed to map out the gender situation in the family domain especially from a local traditional culture perspective. Traditional social ethics and cultural norms especially from Confucianism, such as the traditional gendered division of labour under the dominance of traditional value "Men as the Bread Winner, Women as the Care Taker (男主外, 女主内)" still constraint East Asian women. For achieving gender equality in real, there is still a long way to go. Traditional cultural practices can be intangible, which making it difficult to be measured. Taking East Asia as an example, indicators of measuring gender equality should take local features into consideration, and may combine quantitative and qualitative methods to give a full view. Policy makers can make full use of the results of the indices to adapt a more context-orientated serious of solutions, so that women can gradually get rid of the shackles of discrimination in any term in practice and achieve equality among genders.

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper tries to make some contributions to the gender and development approach in Development Studies. Under the patriarchal system, women, as well as gender/sex minorities, in many cases are more vulnerable, put invisible and silent and have to fight hard for justice and their well-being. Measuring the reality of gender equality can make the problems apparent and provide the policy makers a clearer vision on the solutions to the problem. Using East Asian societies as an example, the author points out the irrationality in the current gender indices and proposed some suggestions to future measurements that is more culture-friendly.

Keywords

Gender Equality, Indices, Indicators, East Asia, Gender Norms, Tradition and Culture, Laws and Policies

Chapter 1 Introduction

With the development of feminism addressed by Inglehart (2003) as the “rising tide”, more and more people have started to rethink about issues related to gender inequality and hierarchy that were possibly once taken for “natural” in our daily life. Achieving gender equality can empower at least half of the world population and liberate both women and men. In a patriarchal global society, how is the situation of women’s lives in different parts of the world? To what extent are they oppressed or not? What are the aspects that we can make some improvement? For mapping out the answers, international organisations who work in development sector, as well as research institutes and financial groups such as the UNDP, McKinsey Global Institute or the World Bank, have generated various ways to monitor the equality among genders by applying different theories and parameters. We can often observe that in many of the indices, countries that are considered as “more developed” or wealthier always rank at top while those struggling in poverty or conflicts appearing at the bottom. It seems that development and gender equality may happen simultaneously. However, in East Asia, the numbers tell a different story.

This research paper focuses on analysing aspects and features of gender equality in East Asian countries by arguing that the international indices can only reflect partially the real situation of the “Far East”. On the one hand, indicators like labour market participation and earned income represent a certain expected form of gender equality that doesn’t fit the reality of East Asian society. On the other hand, important domains of social life--the family, and powerful constraints rooted in the tradition and culture are not reflected sufficiently. The author also argues that despite the improvements on laws and policies, some traditional culture and gender norms are intangible and difficult to capture. Apart from quantitative research, qualitative methods can also be applied.

1.1 Nature of the problem

With the start and progress of international feminist movements dating back to last century, more and more people began to become aware of feminist theories and advocacies, and start to keep a watchful eye on the situation of gender equality in societies. However, despite all the efforts made, globally the discrimination against women is still quite common, which indicates that we yet have a long way to go. Less access to various resources, less income, inferior legal status, violence etc., the inequality and discrimination comes in different forms, giving a tough task for policy makers to map out the problem and release policy solutions accordingly.

Gender equality and women’s empowerment has been set as one of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) proposed by the United Nations in its *Agenda 2030*. It calls for mainstreaming of gender related issues and the corporation from different stakeholders including government, donors, the private sector and civil society. Along with that, development organisations and sociological research institutes have made many attempts to measure and map out the gender equality situation within the countries and across the areas.

In the major gender inequality related rankings, we often can see a positive correlation between the development level (mainly economic power) and the gender equality situation of a country. For instance, in the Women’s Economic Opportunity Report published by Economist Intelligence Unit in 2012, none of the 15 countries ranking in the front is an economically less developed country. Similarly, in the Global Gender Gap Index 2020 compiled by World Economic Forum, among the top 10 countries who achieved gender equality to a higher extent, only 2 countries are considered as “developing countries” (Nicaragua,

Rwanda), while all 10 countries listed at the bottom are among the group. This can be a result of a more well-rounded system, relevant policy support and protection, accessibility to more resources, more open and comprehensive culture and social norms and so on. Within the east part of Asia, China, Japan as well as South Korea are the leading economies and have significant economic and geopolitical influence in the area. However, despite the fairly good score of Korea (10th), Japan (23th) and China (39th) on the Gender Inequality Index released by UNDP (2018), in many of the other indices they stay at the bottom of rankings compared to other countries, which at the same time dragging the average performance of the whole region. According to the Global Gender Gap Index 2020, among all the areas across the globe, East Asian and the Pacific region needs the longest time- as long as 163 years- to close the gender gap. It seems that East Asia and the Pacific region has the worst situation of gender equality globally and within the area the three East Asian countries perform even the lowest (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1
Country Rankings of East Asia and the Pacific Region in GGGI 2020

Country	Rank		Score
	Reginal	Global	
Philippines	2	16	0.781
Lao PDR	3	43	0.731
Singapore	5	54	0.724
Thailand	6	75	0.708
Mongolia	7	79	0.706
Indonesia	8	85	0.700
Vietnam	9	87	0.700
Cambodia	10	89	0.694
Brunei	11	95	0.686
Malaysia	13	104	0.677
China	14	106	0.676
Korea, Rep.	15	108	0.672
Myanmar	16	114	0.665
Timor-Leste	17	117	0.662
Japan	18	121	0.652

(Source: World Economic Forum. (2020) *The Global Gender Gap Report 2020*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.)

Apart from GGGI, GEI from the International Institute of Social Studies (see Table 1.2) and GPS from McKinsey Global Institute (see Table 1.3) and some other indices uniformly rank the three East Asian countries fairly low while in the same index for other regions of the world, the gender equality often show a positive correlation with economic and social development level. Is this a true reflection of the reality? The poor performance doesn't seem a coincidence since various rankings and indices compiled by different parties gave similar answers. Most of the parameters in the indices are those relatively easy to be quantified, such as political and economic figures, and have a strong correlation with the economic strength of the country. Poverty and inequality often come hand in hand for people in lack of natural resource, yet with the countries in the area benefited from abundant natural resources, this is not the case.

Table 1.2
Gender Equality Index 2010

Country	Year	Gender Equality Score
Mongolia	2010	0.9351932
Philippines	2010	0.8883527
Vietnam	2010	0.8608956
Thailand	2010	0.8108752
Lao PDR	2010	0.8060557
Singapore	2010	0.7985411
Malaysia	2010	0.7789085
Cambodia	2010	0.7658386
China	2010	0.7383488
Brunei	2010	0.7358515
Korea, Rep.	2010	0.7124593
Myanmar	2010	0.7122216
Indonesia	2010	0.6727016
Japan	2010	0.6723092
Timor-Leste	2010	0.6218986

(Source: ISS. Data Access Indices of Social Development | Gender Equality Index. Available at: <https://www.indsocdev.org/data-access.html>.)

Table 1.3
GPS in The Power of Parity: Advancing Women’s Equality in Asia Pacific 2018

Country \ Dimensions	Gender Equality in Work	In Services and Enablers	In Legal and Political	In Physical Security
Philippines	0.73	0.91	0.51	0.90
Singapore	0.68	0.94	0.36	0.96
Thailand	0.66	0.92	0.18	0.74
Myanmar	0.57	0.80	0.22	0.77
Vietnam	0.55	0.95	0.32	0.80
Indonesia	0.52	0.88	0.37	0.82
Cambodia	0.52	0.86	0.32	0.86
China	0.51	0.93	0.37	0.89
Malaysia	0.51	0.88	0.29	0.89
Japan	0.42	0.87	0.30	0.91
South Korea	0.39	0.89	0.33	0.87

(Source: McKinsey Global Institute (2018) The Power of Parity: Advancing Women’s Equality in Asia Pacific. McKinsey & Company. Available at: <https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/the-power-of-parity-advancing-womens-equality-in-asia-pacific#>.)

1.2 Background

The East Asian countries as strong regional economic powers who share not only a similar pattern of rankings in indices, but also a historical origin and cultural background. Japanese scholar Sadao Nishijima(1983) created the concept of the ‘East Asian Cultural Sphere’, which refers to the cultural zone that was influenced by Confucianism and once used (or is still

using) Chinese characters as written system. It narrowly refers to China (including Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan), the Korean Peninsula, Japan and Vietnam, and in a broad sense including the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore as well. Originated from this cultural background, the three countries have a lot of common social norms coming from the traditions. Strong expectation of women to be “an understanding wife and loving mother(贤妻良母)” still dominate the societies and is influencing the labour division within the families as well as in the society by setting an ideal role model of female. Religion is another aspect that is often discussed by feminists when dealing with gender related topics since religious practices also can have strong impact on the power relation between genders. While Confucianism in some occasions is considered as a religion, but in fact it has an agnostic attitude towards religions. As a result, East Asian countries have the top biggest shares as well as population of unaffiliated around the globe¹ which leave religion a less important factor to be taken into consideration of gender equality in the area.

After the end of feudalism, entering industrial era, despite their difference choices on the paths and forms of social system, China, Japan and South Korea are still having close political and economic relationships. Involved in the process of globalization, the countries are facing a similar problem of handling some conflict between historical traditions and modernity in terms of gender practices. It will be discussed in the following chapters.

To conduct a regional comparison of the results of gender equality indices, I would use the other East and South East Asian countries as a reference to analyse the performance and practices of China, Japan and South Korea. Although North Korea also belongs to East Asia region geographically, due to the lack of figures in many rankings, it will not be included from the discussion of this paper. Vietnam as another member of the East Asian Cultural Sphere, has a colonized history by France for near a century, hence the influence of Confucianism has weakened to some extent. In addition, it belongs to Southeast Asia geographically and is one of the ten ASEAN member countries, therefore it will be used as a reference within the region. The countries that will be used to compare are: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste and Vietnam (See the light blue colour in Map 1.1).

Map 1.1
Map of East Asian Countries



As an old Chinese saying goes, ‘You may trim your appeal if you take brass as a mirror. You may know the rise and decline if you take history as a mirror. You will understand the gains and losses if you take people as a mirror.’ This research paper intends to see the gender equality indices as a mirror, and to discuss what is reflected and what is behind the mirror in terms of gender related issues in East Asia.

1.3 Research Question, Objectives and Organisation

The research question of this study is: ‘Why do East Asian countries have bad performance in some of the gender equality indices and what factors on gender equality should also be taken into consideration?’

The sub-questions are:

1. What are the parameters of the indices? What aspects are shown or not shown through the indicators? How were the indices calculated?
2. What are the reasons that East Asian countries rank at the bottom?
3. What are the other aspects that should be taken into consideration when measuring gender equality?

This research paper aims to analyse the reason why East Asian countries have lower scores in some gender equality indices despite their relatively high level of development. It intends to clarify what indicators are used and what aspects of gender equality are measured in the indices. Through this process, it compares the different features of the indices. Furthermore, based on the characteristics of the society, it also intends to figure out what perspectives are missing but have a great impact on gender equality.

In terms of organisation of the paper, the first chapter provides a brief introduction of the whole research paper, including the nature of the problem, background of the research, research questions and limitations of the paper. The second Chapter will discuss about the rationale of methodology and data collection, followed by the conceptual and theoretical framework. It is followed by the presentation of main gender equality indices and the rankings of major countries in East Asia in the next chapter. Analysis will be focused on comparing what the main dimensions and methodology are included in the indices and on what aspects do the countries score lower, which directs to a general glance of the current policies and laws applied in the area. The fourth chapter is on gender equality related value, culture and practices, where a historical background of Confucianism and East Asian women and feminism movements happened or still on-going in recent years will be introduced. It further argues that traditional value and culture need to be discussed and re-think in terms of its impact on gender equality, by giving examples where tradition and gender equality do not fit with each other. It indicates the necessity of assessing gender equality in a broader view.

1.4 Scope, limitation and ethical challenges

The traditional way of seeing gender as binary has been replaced by the “spectrum” theory, which calls for the awareness and respect for the diversity of gender. However, in major gender related indices and reports, the data collection and analysis are only conducted simply by disaggregation of male and female (women vs. men, girls vs. boys). Therefore, the data involved and discussed in this paper are also based on comparison between women and men. Due to the lack of data, gender minority groups are invisible and silent in the measurements as well as in the debates on equality.

Upon my own positionality and reflexivity, as a Chinese woman who have lived in Japan and South Korea and have some knowledge on both languages, I am given the identity of an insider. My observation, thinking and understanding on gender related social norms in the three countries may be constrained by my own background and personal experiences, and therefore have biases. At the same time, I am studying feminism theories in Europe, using knowledge and frame of thinking from outside of East Asia and the English language to examine and discuss the issues in the society. It provides me an outsider perspective, through which I can do comparison between cultures, but may fall into binaries.

The difference of the social systems in China, Japan and Korea gives difficulty in doing comparison between the societies, since the state's narrative and intervene on women's rights, well-being and equality between genders plays an important part and the different operations in economic and labour market also gives impact.

Chapter 2 Methodology and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Methodology and Data Collection

The methodology applied in this research can be divided into two major parts: quantitative research and qualitative research.

Statistics to some extent can reflect the reality in a certain aspect of social lives, helping government and academic institutions know more about the situation in society. It often can give a huge impact on policy-making decisions. However, when we try to map out a certain social issue, the results of the data can change tremendously based on what are the parameters we choose to include or exclude and the method of calculation, and the result of the statistics analysis can always influence the validity of the policies in a large scale on solving the social problem. Scholars in the area of gender studies have always tried to argue what are the factors we should take into consideration on measuring equality among genders.

For analysing the different performance of East Asian countries in various gender equality related indices through a quantitative perspective, the discuss will rely on secondary data analysis. I will apply descriptive data analysis to discuss what aspects are measured in the indices, by using basic mathematical operations, making graphs and tables to show the different metrics used in different measurement systems and analyse the calculation methods applied and the characteristics of them. Through comparative analysis, I will discuss the distinction in the performances of East Asian countries in different indices, in order to explain the reasons and rationale for their scores, and analyse the actual social problems shown by the numbers.

A good number of organisations have published different tools related to gender, equality and human development. They intend to measure and monitor gender equality situations in many parts of the world through various methods and focusing on various aspects of women's well-being. Examples are the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) released by World Economic Forum and the Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Inequality Index (GII) from the Human Development Report of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Some indices only examine a certain aspect within gender equality, such as Women's Economic Opportunity Index (WEOI) from Economist Intelligence Unit on the economic perspective, the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEMR) on gender equality from United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) which measures gender equality on education and the Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI) also from UNDP on social norms and biases related to gender. Others are regional indices and reports, such as the African Gender and Development Index (AGDI) from UN Economic Commission for Africa and Gender Parity Score (GPS) released by McKinsey Global Institute on women's equality in Asia Pacific region. The Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) measures equality between genders from formal and informal institutions in OECD countries.

For this study, I will focus on the statistics of GDI (2019 version), GGGI (2020 version) and GPS (2018 version), with a comparison with other indices where the East Asian countries showed a better score, such as WEOI (2012 version) and GII (2019 version), and reference to SIGI (2019 version) and AGDI who did not include all the East Asian countries but provided different directions and dimensions to measure. These statistics are from international organisations and institutes that have good reputations thus the data are relatively comprehensive, comparable and reliable. On some aspects, national and regional level of data will be collected from online databases of governments documents, reports and census

to provide different perspectives. All the indices analysed in this research are the latest version.

In the quantitative part, I will use discourse analysis methods especially the critical framing approach and WPR (What is the Problem Represented to be) approach to talk about the motivation and contents of the gender equality related political discourses, policies and practices in the countries. Materials involved will be the contents of CEDAW convention and country reports, the report on Gender Equality and Development published by World Bank and policies and laws released by the governments. On practice level, discussions on social media and people's use of languages and words will be examined as well. As Verloo (2007) addresses, critical framing analysis starts from the assumption of multiple interpretations in policy-making and seeks to address such implicit or explicit interpretations. Goffmann (1974) introduced the frame theory as a tool to look at interpretation schemes that structures the meaning of reality. By framing gender equality into different meanings and values, the social problem represented may vary, thus positionality of women and gender issues reflected in the laws and policies may also change. On the other way, Verloo(2005b, 30) emphasised that "different national political contexts may, in fact, affect the framing of gender in/equality due to the influence of specific cultural and political histories and ideologies", it opens another possibility for the research to compare the meaning of gender equality influenced by different political discourses.

2.2 Gender and Its Equality

Within the major gender equality indices, most figures, rankings and conclusions are given from different dimensions but the definition of "gender equality" is seldom defined. First of all, we need to be clear about what the definitions of gender and gender equality are. UN Women defines gender as "social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men²". The roles of men and women, what opportunities and capabilities they have, what are expected and valued from them are naturalised during socialisation and people's daily practice. It may change during time or across space. Scott (1986) pointed out that we should go beyond the binary position of women and men, to use gender as an analytical category and social relation of power, viewing it as notions and practices of femininity and masculinity operating within and across subjective identities, institutions and organisations, ideology and symbolic meanings. Gender intersects with other social aspects such as race, class, religion and ethnicity, within which structure, power is practiced.

Gender equality can be framed and interpreted from different layers, as sameness (equity), difference or diversity among gender (Verloo 2007: 23). The Rawlsian theory of justice takes equality as fairness and equity (Sen, 1995: 263). When gender equality is considered as sameness, women will be regarded as indistinguishable from men, and gender equality in any respect should be achieved. Women take men as the standard and aim to reach their level in all aspects. It draws a gender-neutral society that defaults to patriarchal values. When gender equality is different, the distinct between the sexes will be emphasized. All equality is actually based on taking these differences as a premise. It believes that women should take active actions to let their voices be heard and their images be seen. The third framing of gender equality advocates diversity, conceptualizing the strategy of gender mainstreaming, it stresses flexibility and the importance of "continuous questioning of established categories and meanings (Verloo 2008:24)".

As gender equality being a contested concept, in practice it is always "seen as an empty signifier that takes as many meanings as the variety of visions and debates on the issue allow it to take, and has driven much debate within feminism. (Arneil 1999; Verloo 2005b)." UN

women stresses the equality between women and men on aspects of rights, responsibilities and opportunities³. It also pointed out that equality doesn't mean sameness, but indicates that people's rights, access to resources, needs and priorities should not be decided by whether they are born male or female, and we should also recognise the diversity within the group of men and women.

The definition of gender equality will decide what parameters should be included to address the equality situation, which can also be understood as how do we measure equality between genders. In various domain of people's life, such as physical security and autonomy, health and survival, education, economic, political power, legal protection and social welfare, gender inequality still exists, restricting women from getting resources and receive outcomes, hindering their well-being and empowerment.

2.3 Gender Equality and Economy: Development or Growth?

From the perspective of society as a whole, the improvement of economic level which indicates development on economic aspects has a positive effect on improving infrastructure and people's material living standards. It is true that to some extent it furthers the improvement in human well-being (or at least enables the improvement in well-being) (Klasen, 2000). From individual level, the World Bank's data shows that income and gender equality are positively correlated (The World Bank 2011: 49). For women, economic growth gives impact by promoting the exercise of women's agency by removing financial constraints, increasing women's economic opportunities and autonomous income, and by expanding services and infrastructure (The World bank 2011:152)

With the relation reversed, researches show that gender equality also shed positive impact on economic growth. Gender inequality will limit the continued development of society by hindering economic growth directly from the education and employment perspectives and indirectly on investment and population growth (Klasen, 2000). He analyses the gender equality as empowerment of women, which is from a perspective on human capital. He also pointed out that gender equality on the one hand has a positive influence on realization of other development goals, but as a stand-alone development goal itself, its significance is also justified.

However, the positive influence between economic growth and gender equality only can happen when the resources are fairly distributed within the society with a relatively comprehensive social welfare system, so that women as well as other vulnerable groups can equally share the fruits of development. Studies showed that in fact economic growth sometimes happens while reinforcing gender inequality. Hsuing (1996) and Segunio (1997) both pointed out the reality by studying the case of East Asian area that economic growth and gender inequality occurred simultaneously. Inequality intensifies when efficiency of economy is put into the place of priority. Basic human rights, freedom and welfare are eroded. It is happening in many cases such as the women labour exploitation in export factories or the unpaid domestic care labour within families.

Economic growth as a part of development, is crucial to a society. However, upon achieving development, there are other important aspects apart from economy itself, such as equality in the society, protection of human rights and harmony between mankind and nature, which increases sustainability. Human's development is not only happening in one domain, achieving equality among genders also requests efforts on various aspects.

2.4 What Can be Measured and What Cannot?

Human's well-being consists of various aspects, from meeting basic physical needs, including body integrity, health, shelter and others, to achieving socio-cultural empowerment, for example a decent standard of living, education, job and income, respect and sense of worth. Some of the domains are easy to quantify while others are not and should rely on qualitative and interpretive assessments when dealing with gender equality.

As van Staveren (to be published) points out, measurement of wellbeing can be carried out from calculating GDP/GDP per capita, evaluating utility (such as happiness), and wellbeing index with multiple dimensions. GDP and GDP per capita is a direct way of showing the economic level of a region, but it only includes formal paid, leaving unpaid work uncounted, which is mostly accomplished by women work (Waring, 1988). It is not appropriate to be considered when measuring equality among men and women. The utility measurements rely on people's subjective feelings, which is difficult to quantify and cannot be considered as objective enough. The third way, is to apply the capability approach raised by Sen (1995), which argues that we should view equality through the process of human development. It can be divided into 4 stages- resources, institutions, capabilities and functioning. The resources and institutions domain measure input, which refers to how much resource can a person access and to what extent a person's rights are protected or restricted. The latter two stages focus on outcome, namely how well a person functions and how much she or he can achieve. Within each stage, equality between gender should be pursued.

Using different measurement tools to assess well-being and equality, the domains that are included as well as the results may differ. Besides, we should also admit that some aspects of equality are difficult to be quantified thus creating difficulties in measurements. For instance, the subject feelings and standards of well-being may vary from person to person or differ as time and space change, which requires a case-by-case study. Apart from that, Charmes and Wieringa (2003) pointed out that many critical issues related to women's empowerment were actually excluded from quantification in the conventional sense, such as the unseen work carried out by women in the statistics of GDP. The third can be discriminative norms and practices rooted in the culture and traditional value, which may be subtle and difficult to recognize, therefore escaped from the measurements. These two cases both show a private and public dichotomy (Verloo, 2007: 28) where the public/formal domains are measured while private/ informal aspects are neglected. Another potential missing point from the statistics is the intersectionality addressed by feminism. Inequality may appear from multiple levels for a person which is difficult to be reflected in the numbers. Race, class, ethnicity, religion and many other aspects of a person's identity intersects with gender in the power structure and relations, only by taking these aspects into consideration can the measurements become more comprehensive and reliable.

Chapter 3 A Mirror of Reflection: Indices and Measurements

3.1 Parameters and Calculation of the Indices

Different indices apply different methodologies and emphasise varying aspects of well-being, empowerment and development for male and female. The analysis in this section will be focused on the indicators, calculation methods and particular emphasis of GII/GDI, GGGI and GPS with discussion of the performance of China, Japan and Korea.

3.1.1 Analysis on GII and WEOI

GII (2019 version) and WEOI (2012 version) are two indices where China, Japan and Korea rank relatively high comparing with other countries in the region.

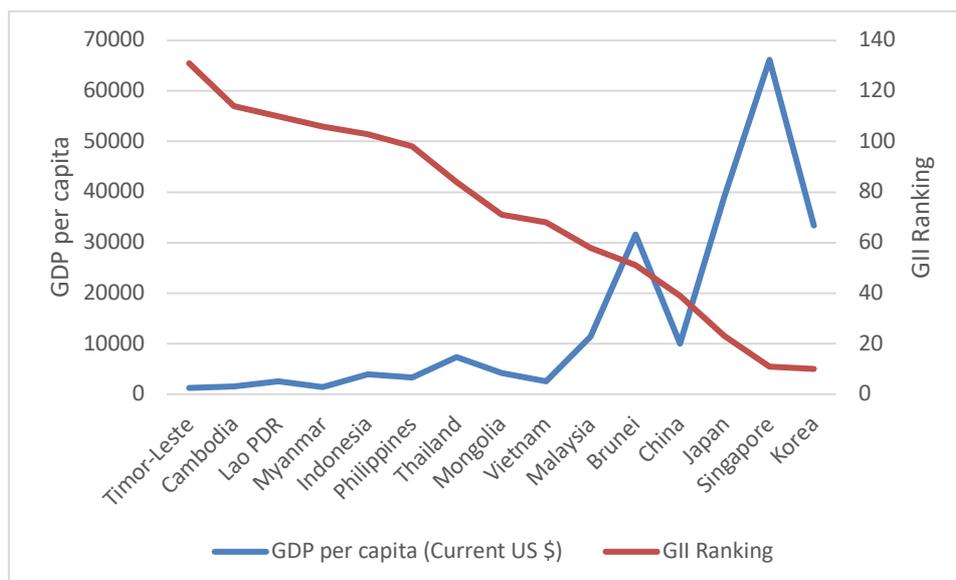
GII is released by UNDP, as a part of Human Development Report, including three domains on health, empowerment and labour, with five indicators for women and three for men on capability and functioning (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.1
Dimensions and Indicators of GII

Health		Empowerment		Labour Market
Maternal mortality ratio	Adolescent birth rate	Population with at least some secondary education	Share of seats in parliament	Labour force participation rate
Female Gender Index				
Male Gender Index				

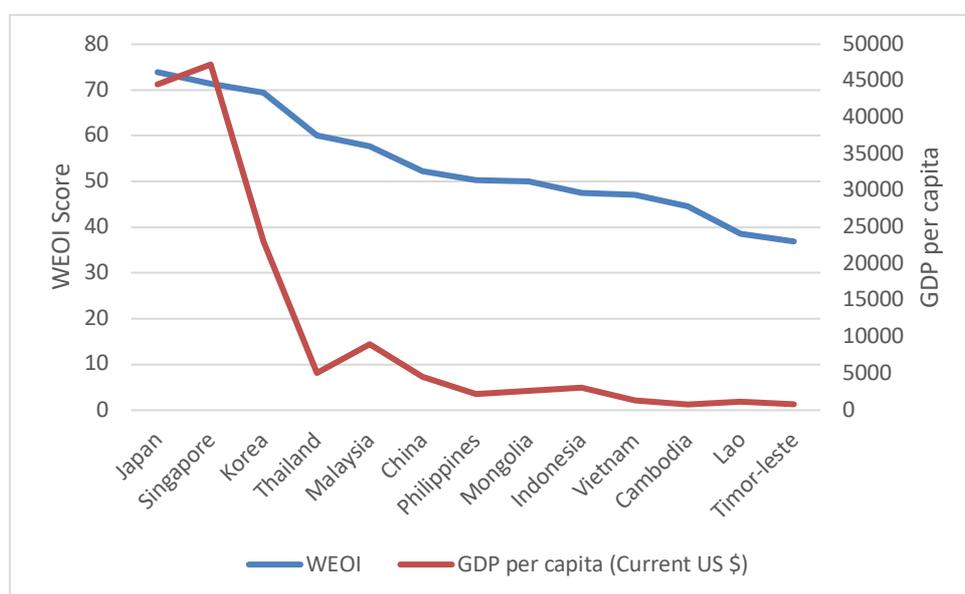
The rationale of GII is to reveal the extent to which national human development achievements are eroded by gender inequality (van Staveren, to be published: 3). Japan ranks higher on HDI than GII but Korea and China are the opposite (see Appendix 2). It indicates that women in Japan are not benefiting as much as men in the development of the country. The table shows that on share of seats in parliament and Labour Force Participation Rate, Japan's performance lagged behind most of the other countries. Apart from that, Figure 3.1 shows that it the GII ranking and GDP per capita⁴ are negatively correlated in general (World Bank database), with two sharpest drops on China and Vietnam. It may due to the socialist welfare regime, which emphasise equal distribution within the society.

Figure 3.1
GII Ranking (2019) and GDP per capita (2018)



Another index is WEOI, who measures gender equality from on the economic opportunities from five domains with twenty-six indicators. The rankings of countries are as Appendix 3 (The data for Brunei and Myanmar is not available). It shows a clear positive correlation with GDP per capita which is the barometer of the economic level of a country (See Figure 3.2)⁵. Japan, Korea and China rank respectively with their GDP per capita.

Figure 3.2
WEOI Ranking (2012) and GDP per capita (2010)



3.1.2 Analysis on GDI

Together with GII, the GDI is also published in the Human Development Report. It uses four indicators in three dimensions (see Table 3.2). HDI is the geometric mean of the results of the three dimensional indices, and GDI is equal to the ratio of female HDI and male HDI in a country.

Table 3.2

Dimensions and Indicators of GDI/ HDI

Long and Healthy Life	Knowledge		Standard of Living
Life expectancy	Expected years of schooling	Mean years of schooling	GNI per capita

Critiques have been made that HDI/GDI measurement system is influenced much by income data and has a strong dependency on GDP (Dijkstra and Hanmer, 2000; Wieringa in Schneider, 2018), however the data in East and South East Asia shows a different result (see Appendix 4). Although GNI per capita consists of one third of the weight in HDI ranking, the GDI value is the ratio of female and male HDI results, which makes the value of the indicators in HDI have no influence on it. Mongolia, Philippines and Vietnam have positive GDI values, which means the female HDI is higher than male HDI respectively in the countries. Although Japan has the longest female life expectancy and mean years of schooling, and Korea is the second on both indicators of female expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling, it cannot be reflected in the index. The figures also counter the argument that the GDI is a measure of general welfare rather than gender (in)equality in itself (Charmes and Wieringa, 2003) since countries with better equality between female and male HDI do appear at the top of the ranking, while those have higher scores on aspects of welfare especially GNP come lower.

3.1.3 Analysis on GGGI

The GGGI consists of four dimensions with fourteen indicators. It is calculated as the average of the four sub-indices. GGGI measures gender gaps between women and men in a country from the four aspects of economic, educational, health and political performance. The GGGI score is the arithmetic mean of four sub-indices, and the sub-indices are formed as the geometric mean with different captions of the indicators. The data is secondary data collected from statistics of international organisations and institutes. It calculates all indicators as ratios, which makes its score not related to the economic situation of the countries and does not allow compensation for disadvantages of women from disadvantages of men (van Staveren, 2013: 18).

Table 3.3
Dimensions and Indicators of GGGI

Economic Participation and Opportunity	Educational Attainment	Health and Survival	Political Empowerment
Labour force participation rate	Literacy rate	Sex ratio at birth	Women in parliament
Wage equality for similar work	Enrolment in primary education	Healthy life expectancy (years)	Women in ministerial positions
Estimated earned income	Enrolment in secondary education		Years with female head of state, share of tenure years
Legislators, senior officials and managers	Enrolment in tertiary education		
Professional and technical workers			

GGGI covers all four stages of human development process with a focus on capabilities. Since labour force participation rate and female wage rate will be used when calculating

estimated earned income, they actually have been used multiple times therefore their weights have been increased (van Staveren, to be published: 8).

Appendix 5 to 8 are four tables for the sub-indices with the countries arranged in descendent order of the GGGI score. All 15 countries except the Philippines and Timor-Leste are lagging behind global average score on political empowerment, while China, Korea and Japan have the three lowest score on economic participation and opportunity, which shows a strong disadvantage of women in terms of access to labour market and income. What also needs to be stressed is that China has the lowest sex ratio at birth across the world.

3.1.4 Analysis on GPS

Table 3.4
Dimensions and Indicators of GPS

Gender Equality in Work	Gender Equality in Society		
	Services and Enablers	Legal Protection and Political Voice	Physical Security and Autonomy
Labour force participation rate	Unmet need for family planning	Legal protection	Sex Ratio at birth
Professional and technical jobs	Maternal mortality	Political representation	Child marriage
Perceived wage gap for similar work	Education level		Violence against women
Leadership positions	Financial inclusion		
Unpaid care work	Digital inclusion		

GPS is a regional gender equality scoreboard focusing on women’s opportunities of development in Asia-Pacific countries. It doesn’t have a total country score or ranking but provided a table of the values of each indicator among countries. The dimensions are divided into work and society, which share some of the indicators with GGGI. It covers all the four stages of human develop process.

As is shown in Table 1.3, the East Asian countries, especially Japan and Korea, have again the lowest score on gender quality in labour work domain, together with a high female/male ratio of time spent on unpaid care work (see also in Appendix 9). They are also in great lack of voices of female in leadership positions and political representation (see Appendix 10). According to the statistics from UN (2018), “on average women in the labour market still earn 20 per cent less than men globally”, and this only shows the figure of women in the paid labour sector, not including the domestic care work that mostly fall on women’s shoulders.

3.1.4 Limitations of the Indices

The five indices discussed above measure gender equality and women’s well-being with different emphasis and gave various answers. The parameters vary from health and physical security, education, to legal rights, economic performance and political power. These measurements are quite meaningful by making comparisons across countries possible. However, they also show limitations. First of all, in several of indices like HDI, the scores strongly depend on the monetary income of women – therefore, higher income will result

in higher gender development outcomes, but this is not always the truth. Secondly, a dichotomy appears in the measurements that only the “public” can be seen. As Verloo (2007: 28) stresses, there should not be a so-called personal or private space where politics and power relations do not exist. Issues and rights related to human bodies, or within the family are excluded from measuring as if they are not a part of women’s life. On this issue, the SIGI index (see Table 3.5) for OECD countries provides a good alternative. It examines gendered institutions, touching the issues like domestic violence, household responsibilities and marriage, making more difficulties of women be seen and heard. As Sen (2004) argues, there should not be a universal standard of what dimensions and indicators need to be considered and what not, it should be a dynamic process and left open for public debates.

Table 3.5
Dimensions and Indicators of SIGI

Discrimination in the Family	Restricted Physical Integrity	Restricted Access to Productive and Financial Resources	Restricted Civil Liberties
Child marriage	Violence against women	Secure access to land assets	Citizenship rights
Household responsibilities	Female genital mutilation	Source access to non-land assets	Freedom of movement
Inheritance	Women’s Reproductive autonomy	Secure access to formal financial resources	Political voice
divorce	Missing women	Workplace rights	Access to justice

The third shortness is about the data collection. The indices mainly rely on international data sets, a local perspective is excluded. It cannot provide a view within countries and tend to homogenise women in a country without considering intersectionality. As international indices, they do not include country-specific variables. People from different places with different backgrounds face different realities.

3.2 The Problems Reflected in the Indices

Seeing through the mirror of indices, the main reasons why East Asian countries rank low are clear. On the one hand, the indices reflect various aspects of gender equality and women’s well-being, addressing emphasis respectively. The indicators and methods applied distinct from each other, therefore the results may differ as well. On the other hand, from the perspective of the three countries, lower scores do show flaws where women’s equality is not med. For Japan and Korea, female labour force participation, wage inequality and women’s opportunities to get promotion are the main aspect that should be worked on to make a change. For China, the extremely low (female/male) sex ratio at birth is also an important indicator. For all three countries, women’s representation in the political domain is quite limited, which is a shared shortage among the countries.

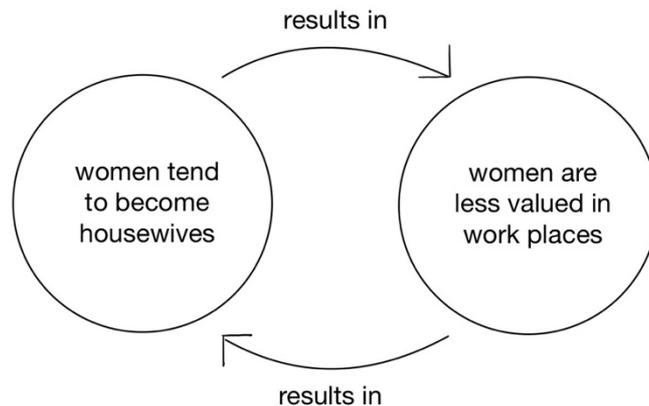
3.2.1 Labour Force Participation and Unpaid Care Work

According to statistics from ILO, in year 2019 female labour participation rate of Japan is 52.7% while Korea is 53.7%, marking a quite low level among the high-income countries. At the same time, OECD 2014 datasets shows that, time spent on unpaid care work per day by Japanese women is 4.83 hours and by Korean women is 5.28 hours (data included in GPS index). It is clear that a large number of women are not formally employed, and thus their labour is not recognised. Study of Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka (2014) shows “the amount of time devoted to unpaid care work is negatively correlated with female labour force participation”. Folbre (2006) also argues that with women spending time on domestic unpaid work, their time for productive work will decline, which will lead to time poverty.

Unpaid care work is unrecognized and unevenly-distributed among men and women, especially in a society who has a large number of housewives. Data shows that, 70 percent of the women in Japan will quit their jobs after giving birth to the first child (Li, 2013). It can be a result of many reasons, such as labour market discrimination, lack of time or infrastructures that support women to balance work and family. To achieve equality between male and female, we need to raise up women’s labour force participation rate, and at the same time recognize the domestic work as a form of labour and moving more men to participate in it. Due to labour market discrimination and other institutional constraints, women have difficulties to be employed, therefore can only stay at home and become housewives. Figure 3.3 shows a vicious circle in the society. If a large number of women take “being a housewife after getting married” as a common choice and it is taken for natural in the society, it will create difficulty for women to stay in work after getting married, since chances are bigger that female employees are less valued and only given less important work by their bosses, so that it will not shed great impact when she gets married and leaves job. As a result, fewer opportunities will be accessed by women for promotion, making the choice of staying in work less favourable. A woman will experience more pressure if she wants to carrying on working. In this situation, she may tend to quit jobs and become housewives (as the lower arrow shows in Figure 3.3). And universality of this phenomenon will in return stabilise the traditional way of thinking women’s roles are at home, reassuring women’s inferior position in work places (as the upper arrow shows). Quitting paid jobs shifting to unpaid work will put them into inferior situation within power structure.

Applying Sen’s approach to tackle with the unpaid care work, methods should be made to increase women’s opportunities and access to paid work outside the home. Economic income will enable them to be financially independent and give them more bargaining power, as well as self-esteem, dignity and autonomy. When we try to argue women should go outside the family to do productive work in the society and to be financially independent, we should not forget that the majority of housework are still on their shoulder. Therefore, at the same time we should pay attention on two things: re-exam the allocation of housework between men and women, and recognising the significance of care work in the households. When more women go out to work, men need to share more of the house work.

Figure 3.3
A Vicious Circle on Female Labour Force Participation



From another perspective, unpaid care work should be recognised as one kind of labour, since it requires time, physical strength, and energy from women to complete works, just as reproductive work, it is a kind of human labour. Therefore, women should also have full rights and freedom to choose to engage in this profession. Folbre and Nelson (2000) pointed out that this labour can be tracked through opportunity cost by calculating use of time, as what has been conducted as an indicator in Gender, Institution and Development Database (2014) by OECD. Becoming a housewife is one of the main choices for women in East Asian society especially Japan and South Korea. It is always tricky to tell if it is a personal choice or a result from pressure. By distinguishing the possibilities, women' agency can be allowed a space to express. As an alternative of increasing capability and freedom of paid work—specializing in paid caring labour is another option, at the same time distributing some care work to men (Gasper and van Irene, 2006).

3.2.2 The “Missing Women”

China has the world's highest sex ratio at birth, with more than thirty million male population than female. "Missing women" is a concept first proposed by Sen in the 1990s and was used to refer to those female population who couldn't survive or died in early age due to gender preference and human intervention. It concerns the basic human rights of living, and is an indicator which can reflect gender equality in the society.

Study (Chu, 2001) show that there are several reasons to explain the high ratio, the first can be underreporting of female births, which indicates poor infrastructure and lack of medical and other public resources. The second is excess female infant mortality and the third is prenatal sex termination and sex-selective abortion of female foetuses. The first two reasons can be used to explain when there is only small difference on the ratio. While due to the large number difference in the population of China, and a fast increase seen after the implementation of One-child policy, the sex-selective abortion should be the main one (Chu, 2001).

Among them, given the rapid increase of sex ratio after the start of One-child policy in the 1980s and the huge gap between the population of male and female, Chu (2001) argued that the third reason should be the primary cause.

The prominent preference for boys leads to a large number of sex selective abortions in Chinese society. For women of childbearing age, they not only have to bear the pressure of boy preference from the society and family, but also need to bear the pressure of family planning policy on birth control. This violates women's rights and interests in terms of physical integrity and health. South Korea was the first country to report a very high sex ratio at

birth (Park, 1995). According to Das Gupta (2002), the reason why Korea conquered this problem is due to the progress of urbanisation who breaks the traditional ties of family.

3.3 What efforts have been made and what is not?

Although the equality of all citizens despite sex and gender is addressed and ensured by the constitutions in all the three countries, in practice the equality seems far from achieved. Japan and Korea respectively passed *Law of Equal Employment for both Men and Women* in 1985 and 1987, China also released *Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women* in 2005. As UN stresses, “gender equality before the law does not necessarily mean that women in practice have equal opportunities.”

3.3.1 Policies in Japan

After the World War Two, with the rapid economic growth in Japan, the group of full-time housewives appeared which also created the M-shape employment mode of Japanese women. (Hu: 156) In recent years, Prime Minister Abe has constantly launched new economic policies, known as the "abonomics", which puts forward the point that "women return to work". In countries with a relatively mature economic systems, women being formally employed is quite common (although it is full of glass ceiling, reproductive discrimination, long working hours, etc.), but today's Japan is like the country after the war, which makes women become the tool of national, social and political development.

It is not the first time that Japan has urged women to return to the workplace, nor is it the first time that women have been forced to return home by means of advocacy. This phenomenon is similar to the situation in Europe and the United States in the 1960s after World War II: when the labor force is excessive, women are forced to return to their families at the first time; when the working population is insufficient, women are urged to take national responsibility immediately. Demographic ageing and declining birth rate (Peng 2006: 131) are one of the reasons that Japan government now are advocating the “development of women” by requiring them to get out of the family and aiming to increase women’s labour-market participation.

In 2015, the Japanese government issued the "Basic Act for Gender Equal Society", stipulating that the proportion of female managers should reach 30% by 2020. However, according to a survey released by Kyodo news agency at the end of January, only a small number of large Japanese enterprises are expected to significantly increase the number of female managers in order to meet the target set by Abe's government. Of the 97 companies surveyed, only 13 said they were capable of meeting the targets.

The Abe government addresses the "Female Economics" of equality between men and women. It regards increasing the female labour force and promoting economic development as its goals, however it is a kind of discrimination in itself to claim to "use women". When the economy growth is strong, women were asked to do housework at home, when the economy is stagnant, the government calls for women to come out of home and join the labour force. Women’s own voices are completely ignored. This policy is actually a policy for economic growth by using female labour, it is not what it claimed as to be.

Chapter 4 Behind the Mirror: Culture, Values and Gender Norms

4.1 Confucianism and its Gender Roles

Three cultural circles existed in ancient Asia: The West Asian circle based on Arab-Islamic culture, the South Asian circle centered on Hinduism, Buddhism, Sanskrit and Pali scriptures and the East Asian circle established on Confucianism and Chinese character (He, 2010). The East Asian society, who has a fairly long feudal history and was dominated by Confucianism philosophy, struggles to adopt new ideologies to its old traditions. Confucian ethics occupies a dominant position in East Asian society. It advocates “三纲五常(The Three Cardinal Guidelines and Five Constant Virtues)”, which stipulated the basic hierarchical order and moral standards. The Three Cardinal Guidelines are: the ruler guides his subjects; the father guides his sons and the husband guides his wife. The Five Constant Virtues means benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity. Until today, these values still contain strong influence and it is widely rooted in various aspects of people’s social life. In this hierarchical order, age (generation) and gender play a decisive role in the division of social stratification. It can be seen that youngsters and women are in a subordinate position. Apart from that, from 587 to 1905, a system called “Imperial Examination System (科举制度)” lasting for more than 1,300 years in China connected education and politics. Under this system, only men are allowed to enter schools to receive education and the purpose of education is to be selected as officials. After passing the national exam, they can get a formal job in the government and earn income. This system was introduced to Korea and Japan respectively, and has been used in Korea for more than 900 years and in Japan for more than three centuries. Apart from that, hereditary titles and the vast majority of private property are inherited exclusively by male heirs, and women are expected to “obey her father when young, obey her husband when married, obey her son when widowed (未嫁从父、既嫁从夫、夫死从子)”. These regulations and social norms originated from patriarchy may share some similarities with the customs in other parts of the world, but they also show unique characteristics of East Asian society. Having a long history for more than 2,000 years, “Confucianism has had considerable influence on virtually all segments of society in the Far East, including government, education, general value systems, and art” (Kim 2015:1). As Wieringa (2007) points out, under Confucianism, male need to follow their “male path” by following the value to show their masculinity, while women fulfil their roles through heterosexual marriage and will be disciplined according to the Six virtues (obedience, purity, goodwill, frugality, modesty, diligence). To become an understanding wife and loving mother is a standard of women’s roles in the family and society. They are not expected to go beyond “family”, but to “share their husbands’ career achievement, fame and success, by playing the role of housekeepers and raising children” (Li, 1990: 413)

“The long-dominant Confucian moral tradition, repeatedly enforced by rulers through laws and social customs over many generations, has been largely responsible for preventing women from identifying themselves as equally worthy human beings.” (Li 1990, 413) By addressing Confucianism, I do not intend to create a homogeneous group among the three countries, but to provide a historical and cultural context through which, many value standards, cultural practices can be interpreted. There are minor ethnicity groups in East Asia who may have different culture root or traditions as well.

4.2 Feminism in East Asian countries

Feminism in East Asia is accompanied by the process of modernization. In China, at the beginning of the 20th century, a group of male scholars first proposed the liberation of women and advocated freedom of marriage and equality between men and women. The tradition of female foot-binding practice in feudal society was critiqued and later abolished. Female started to get educated, pursuing equal rights with men on voting, inheritance, employment and many other aspects of social life, moving out to the public from family.

The women's liberation movement in Mao's era advocated equality between men and women, in the way that women enjoyed the same political and social rights as men. Feminism was regarded as the ideology of the western bourgeoisie and was criticized and banned. In socialist China, equality between men and women is the ideology dominated by the state. The government's top-down women's liberation movement promoted women to enjoy the same political and social legal rights as men. However, the equal rights of men and women in the public sphere were not carried out in the private sphere, which means the patriarchy in family relations has never been shaken. Under the slogan of "women can hold up half the sky", Chinese women actively participate in society and occupation, and their social status has changed dramatically, but it also brings some problems. The so-called equality between men and women is actually a kind of abandonment of gender. Women lose their gender in work, but they are required to assume the dual roles of wife and mother in the family, which makes them feel pressure under the double burden of occupation and family (Hu,2013:156). After the Chinese Economic Reform, thoughts from Western feminists came into China, such as books from Beauvoir. People started to reflect on the de-gender attitude from Mao's era.

Li (1990) analysed the three framings of women's well-being in the Chinese context. The first one is raised by government as treating gender equality as a tool of achieving political solidarity for achieving better economic result. The second is from

All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) praises women's work outside home for its 'contribution to the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization', and if the gender inequality is not remedied, 'the country's socialist modernization drive will be impeded' (Shen, 1984)

"Therefore, gender equality has been largely reduced to 'labour equality'" Li 1990: 410

Achieving equality with men by 'turning herself into a man' 411

Same clothes, same labour jihuashengyu

'Due to social discouragement, Chinese women tend to be passive about politics and regard it as a dirty game played by men'(Li 1990: 416)

Influenced by feminist theories, in recent years, East Asian women start to become conscious of their rights in various aspects and power to fight, consequently movements of different forms have taken place. For instance, university students in South Korea organized multiple demonstrations against sneak shots in public places with the leading slogan "My life is not your porn", showing collective agency of feminists. Japanese women started to question the dress code in workplaces, refusing to follow principles such as wearing high-heels, contact lenses and make-up and other regulations that only target women, demanding freedom of dressing as what men have. Chinese women, in the context of the one-child policy, began to discuss the right and freedom of children to take their mother's surname instead of father's⁸, hoping to break the default custom of children following the father's surname in the patriarchy system. Although these movements mainly concentrate in custom issues, without truly touching political or economic area where gender inequality is more symbolised and difficult

to make a change, it is a step of progress. However, while reflected by major gender equality indices, China, Japan and South Korea score poorly uniformly which shows a potential pattern.

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#中韓日交往女性主义者朋友

#日中韓フェミニストで友達を作ろう

As Chang (2012) argued, in societies like East Asia, “practitioners of women’s studies have to bear the risk of insulting the sensitivity and beauty of tradition, and committing blasphemy.”

Ewha Womans University, women’s studies department

95% of women’s movements organization leaders were graduates of here (Pally, 1994)

A mission school for girls

The Korean Women’s Institute is currently working on the project of “Producing feminist knowledge in Asia and constructing the category of Asian womne’s studies” Chang

Chang (2012): When “Asian values” and “multiculturalism” are making strife over academic and political hegemony, “Asian feminist scholars are facing a new task to reflect on how to understand the women of Asia, and how feminism might intervene in their realities Kim (1999:211)”

从西方的理论思想中选择适应东方的需求和实际的进行运用

Kim and Kang2001: 东西对立、东方同质化

4.3 Tackling Traditional Family Norms

Family is considered an inappropriate context for justice and equality

It is sometimes assumed or argued that the family is ‘naturally’ a realm of hierarchy and even injustice (Okin 1995:279)

Norms do not float free: they are materialized in specific domains of social life and are often embedded in institutions. (Pearse and Connell, 2015: 1) ---family as an important institution

Freedom from patriarchy?

4.3.1 The Conflict on Family Name

Recent years, debate on the right to give children family name has been viral in China.

Guo (2011) One of the reasons for the decline of women's family and social status is the loss of their rights to crown children's surname, which can be reflected in discrimination against girls, imbalance of sex ratio, educational level, marital contribution, husband's surname as the family name, and children's conscious and subconscious tendency towards

paternal family. GUO(2014)It leads to the inequality within marriage, in practice in 95% cases, father's family name will be inherited by the child.

Wang (2020)thinks the debate on children's surname will trigger the opposition between men and women, it is not ideal for fighting for gender equality and should not be an indicator of gendered rights.

According to Article 16 of Chinese law on marriage, "children may take their father's surname or their mother's surname."

GUO(2014)

从男娶女嫁走向平等结婚、冠姓权平等、平等分享家务、营造平等的社会性别语境、完善相关社会制度（退休年龄、财产分配、暴力）

同姓不得想娶的历史 Zhang(2020)

Only in 2008 did the South Korean legislature formally amend the relevant provisions on mandatory paternity, and until today it still retains the legal provisions emphasizing the principle of paternalism.

In 2005, the Constitutional Court of South Korea, supported by seven judges, opposed one judge and ruled that some regulations in the original civil law were unconstitutional, including the Household Head system. Nevertheless, the constitutional court has ruled that paternalism is in line with the constitution. The ruling goes as, "like in many Western cultures, paternalism is a social and cultural phenomenon, and even before it became a norm, it existed as a way of life. Most of its members, to this day, are still viewing it as a part of normal life. (Pengpai, 2020)"

o

According to the supplementary plan of the basic plan for healthy families (2016-2020) issued by the Ministry of women's families of South Korea, the Korean government plans to change the time point for determining the surname of children from the time when they apply for marriage certificate to when the mother gives birth.

“Paddy Coulter, former head of the Reuters School of Journalism at Oxford University, told the global times. Paddy said he had met several middle-level female managers working in Japan's well-known media, all of whom are in their 40s and remain single. The reason is that for Japanese women who are pursuing achievements in the workplace, academic and other fields, it is a problem how to obtain the ownership of previous works and achievements after changing their surname after marriage. <https://world.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnJUyWb>

In the normal marriage relationship, the law advocates "equal consultation" between husband and wife to jointly determine the child's name, but there is no provision for compulsory corrective measures if one party refuses to negotiate and gives the child a surname alone. This reflects the modest attitude of the marriage law to the daily family life of husband and wife - except for a few cases such as divorce, it generally does not involve in the specific exercise process of the "right to crown the family name". Zhang(2020)

Culture, custom and law reinforce each other

Royal family inheritance

In 2020, Finland has its first female president, New Zealand has its first female foreign minister, the United States has its first female vice president, and Queen Elizabeth II of Britain has been in power for 68 years. But Prince Fumihito became the first heir to the

throne. Princess Aiko's amendment bill was thrown into the garbage can by the royal family. The Japanese throne is still firmly in the hands of men.

customs

the custom of living with husband

women need to leave her original place—create social relation poverty

婚姻自由作为应该去衡量的因素之一

Japan's cabinet approved an amendment to the civil law on March 8, 2016, which agreed to shorten the prohibition period for women's re-marriage from six months after divorce to 100 days, but there has been no time limit for men. This is considered a serious discrimination

against women. (<https://world.huanqiu.com/article/9CaKrnJUyWb>)

You need to keep in mind the difference between what is tangible and what is intangible—laws and cultural practice. Evidence for gender discriminatory cultural practices can be got better from sociological/ethnographic studies rather than the

Okin:

The opportunities of females are significantly affected by the structures and practices of gendered family life (Okin 1995:282).

Women are devalued, less power

CEDAW reminds people that the status of women is in most cases related to marriage status, while in the report of UNDP on gender-related social norms, it addresses political, educational, economic and physical integrity 4 dimensions, norms in family cannot be reflected.

4.3.2 other social norms and debate

Recently, an incident in sumo wrestling arena has caused widespread controversy in Japan. For a long time, sumo, a Japanese national sport, has banned women from playing. In April of this year, during the spring tour of sumo wrestling in Wuhe City, Kyoto Prefecture, the mayor who boarded the venue to address the event saw Liang San fainted at the scene due to a sudden illness. Several female nurses came forward to carry out rescue measures. However, in the process of saving people, sumo referees repeatedly used the on-site radio to urge "please women to come down from the field". Many European and American media call this a typical Japanese discrimination against

women.<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO29080150W8A400C1CR0000>

Chang: 2012 Patriarchy is analysed as located in two connecting systems: the family system and the social system. And the latter is further subdivided into three categories: social organizations, modes of production, and value systems

The operation of patriarchy as a social system has three aspects: social organization, modes of production, and value systems.

Gender discrimination is happening in every country. They are defined as women according to their physical gender. They suffer from different degrees of violence. In developing countries, women face the social rules and physical violence of religious clans and suffer from labor and physical exploitation of foreign-funded enterprises; women in developing countries are facing or only less exposed and direct physical violence than women in developing countries.

Implicit norms

China:

1. Sex-selective abortion caused by One-child Policy, Household Registration Policy and son-preference culture
2. In traditional sacrifice events or banquets, women are not allowed to participate or only allowed to stay at certain area where is considered inferior to men
3. Women are considered not belonging to her original family anymore since getting married
4. Family name brings the insider outsider binary
5. dowry

Japan:

1. Law on the accordance of the family name of a married couple
2. Women taking maternal leave is widely considered irresponsible and bring trouble to colleagues
3. Universality of sneak shots
4. Becoming a housewife is considered natural choice as women's career, therefore women face more difficulty in promotion.
5. Dress code for women is strict, not wearing make-up can be considered as disrespectful for others
6. Women are considered not belonging to her original family anymore since getting married
7. comfort women
8. It was not until 1985 that women married to foreigners were allowed to give their nationality to their children

South Korea:

1. Law on the use of the father's family name for the child
2. Universality of sneak shots
3. Becoming a housewife is considered natural choice as women's career, therefore women face more difficulty in promotion.
4. In traditional sacrifice events or banquets, women are not allowed to participate or only allowed to stay at certain area where is considered inferior to men
5. Women are considered not belonging to her original family anymore since getting married
6. Sex selective abortion was still common in Korea until the 1980s
7. Hojuje head of the family system: abolished in January 2008

4.3.3 The gendered Language

Maxson (2017) stressed some examples in women's actions towards gender equality in family, for example changing some words that has a gender and hierarchy target, such as women's

referring to their husbands or addressing about marriage. Traditionally, a husband is called “shujin (master)” by his wife, it should be replaced by “otto (husband)”. As describing marriage, a shared situation in the East Asian countries is, a word distinction between the perspective of women and men. Women “to marry outside to (in Japanese is ‘totsugu’)” and men “to take a wife in (in Japanese is ‘yome wo morau’)”. They should be both changed into “kekkon suru (to get married)”, which alleviate the gender power hierarchy in the process. Another example is women should keep in mind to avoid treat their sons and daughters differently, only because their sex and gender roles expected. By making small changes, it “empowered Japanese women to envision the home as a political space where their daily act of defiance had significance (Maxson, 2017: 40)”

The left woman, the lost dog

What Next?

“Spiritual foot-binding”

Traditional culture is a part that law does not touch
Education is the key

Papanek, 1990: 164-5:

‘Requires conscious rejection of the social norms and cultural ideal that perpetuate inequalities and the use of different criteria- perhaps from another actual or idealized society- in order to assess inequality as a prelude for action’

Cultural change is a necessary condition for gender equality : (Inglehart and Norris, 2003:9)

Li 1990 422 ‘In any case, traditional philosophy and cultural norms may not be the only (nor indisputable) place to search for answers to the questions as to whether Chinese women are capable of practical reasoning or whether the capability to engage in independent reflection is foreign to them. The answer should, among other things, come from ongoing free and open debates, participated not just by men’

Social norm changes don’t happen overnight, but behaviours can

Chen (1983) stressed that, instead of getting a standardized solution, “a situation-by-situation analysis” of women’s roles and constraints is a much more useful approach.

Society does not bring about the improvement of gender equality naturally (Inglehart, 2003). Biased social structure and traditional cultural value embedded in historical legacy require changes in systems, policies, and people's values.

From a standpoint feminist theory, “social location determines the perception of reality (Rege, 1998:44)” therefore representations for those women should come from them instead some other dominant groups

‘Fake consciousness’

Gender norms are rules that apply differently to men and women, dictating expected behaviours or attributes (Heslop, 2016). They are based on power relations and traditional views

of roles and positions of men and women in society. They shape social attitudes, behaviours and practices; affect laws and policies; and prevent changes in education.

the discrimination is both ideological and structural

women's role as wife—influence girls and boys viewing education and schools

Education report p19

Utilitarian navigation

practices around sexual and reproductive rights and health, gender-based violence, maternal health, sexuality and technologies around the body.

Policy is there but in practice people's mind set need to be changed

The patriarchal family has three basic components: patrilineage, patrilocality and pertainymy.... The mirror image of this will be matriarchal and uxoriarchal rule but they remain a logical counterpart rather than a historical truth.

Patriarchy as a family system constitutes the basic unit on which a social system is constructed.

Opening more place for debate

Comparing people's capabilities would require the use of one universal set of 'comprehensive' objectives shared by all, and that demanding such uniformity would be a mistake. (Rawls 1988b, Sen 1995)

The feasibility of alternative arrangements (Sen, 1995: 270)

Male have also been restricted by their traditional roles paralleling with female

Sen (1995) argues that there is a close relation between gender equality and the notions of legitimacy and correctness. In family behavior, inequality between the genders are often accepted as 'natural' or 'appropriate' in a subtle and intangible way. Women themselves, through their day to day practice and expression of agency, also join in the force to accept the inequality.

Cut indicators that do not fit in a region any more

Break the dichotomy, take "private" into account

Okin(1995:279) pointed out that development studies and justice related theories show a clear dichotomy between what is public/discussable and what is private/untouchable. In the public sphere, issues of politics and economy are outstanding examples on which we should work hard to achieve

Besides, there are other social policies that are not directly related but can influence gender equality, which are always neglected when measuring, for example the one-child policy and household registration policy in China and the law of the accordancy of the family name of a married couple in Japan and the law of children taking father's family name in South Korea.

As Stuart Hall points out, identity is about defining oneself against what one is not:

To be English is to know yourself in relation to the French, and the hot-blooded Mediterraneans, and the passionate traumatized Russian soul You go round the entire globe: when you know what everybody else*1s, then you are what they are not. (Hall, 1991)

According to Fraser (1989, 1997), existing hegemonization can be challenged only if there is some space for "subaltern or non-hegemonic counterpublics" to participate in the debate. Government shouldn't just tackle symptoms, long-lasting solutions will come from addressing the root causes of inequality, often in grade in the country's history or culture.

'so long as policy-makers make the artificial distinction between the farm and the household, between paid work and unpaid work, between productive and domestic work, women will continue to be overlooked' (Chen, 1983: 220) Similarly, Verloo 28. "the existing divisions between labor and care", paid and unpaid, men and women, put women into a subordinate position

"institutional sexism occurring in the main political parties" (Lovenduski 2005)

intersectionality

Chapter 5 Conclusion

Globally, economic development has been accompanied by growing economic opportunities for women (particularly in manufacturing and services). World bank 2011:199

Economic growth does not directly change people's cultural values on gender equality

makes women's economic and political participation not up to that of men, which is the main reason for their low rankings. On the other hand,

According to the *Global Gender Gap Report 2020*, “At the current pace, gender gaps can potentially be closed in 54 years in Western Europe, 59 years in Latin America and the Caribbean..., 71 and a half years in South Asia, 95 years in Sub-Saharan Africa, 107 years in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 140 years in the Middle East and North Africa, 151 years in North America..., and 163 years in East Asia and the Pacific.”

some traditional custom factors have not been taken into consideration by most indices, but due to their practical meanings and strong influence, policy makers should work on how to achieve the balance between cultural traditions and a modern society,

1. To contribute feminism research from the case of East Asia
2. To provide analysis and suggestions on improving gender equality in China, Japan and Korea.

无意制造性别对立、东西方对立

Intersectionality with class, religion, ethnicity

Place of birth or residence, religion, age, economic or social status, race and ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability and many other factors

Reframe:

Major international gender inequality indices failed to reflect on the real situation of the society of East Asia by neglecting important institutional factors that rooted from local culture, which East Asian countries should work on to empower women and improve gender equality.

Pessimism

People need to constantly talk about it until we reach a consensus of what traditions are acceptable and what is not inappropriate.

性别不平等的现象是原因也是结果

Representation and right of speech in Public sphere

The measurement results reflect the fact from a certain angle or to a certain degree, should be valued

Although through various statistical data and calculations, we can make a rough statistics and calculation of the situation of gender equality in a region, but the real life is often very diverse and complex. Girls living in different regions, with different ages, educational

backgrounds, ethnic and religious beliefs, and speaking different languages face different discrimination, restrictions and challenges, and they also have their own solutions.

The relationships between genders in a society are shaped by politics, economy and culture, and at the same times give impact back on them reversely as well.

In a patriarchal world, how do we achieve gender equality for women as men?
Chronical comparison?

Heading level 4

Normal first paragraph: paragraph below heading without first line indent).

Normal text: Garamond 12 pt, first line indented 0.5 cm, full justification, hyphenation on.⁹

Examples of lists

List abc

- a. List abc, hanging indent
- b. For lists of items with many lines, it is advisable to use spacing between the items for easier reading (3–5 pt).

List numbered

1. List abc, hanging indent
2. For lists of items with many lines, it is advisable to use spacing between the items for easier reading (3–5 pt).

List square bullet

- Check that all page numbers flush to the right margin. Add a tab after 'Notes', for example, to bring the page number to the right margin.
- Add the chapter number to the left of the chapter title.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Global Religious Landscape

Projected Population Change in Countries With Largest Unaffiliated Populations in 2010

	COUNTRY'S POPULATION AS SHARE OF WORLD'S POPULATION IN 2010	COUNTRY'S POPULATION AS SHARE OF WORLD'S POPULATION IN 2050	SHARE OF COUNTRY'S POPULATION THAT IS UNAFFIL. IN 2010	SHARE OF COUNTRY'S POPULATION THAT IS UNAFFIL. IN 2050
1 China	19.5%	14.0%	52.2%	50.8%
2 Japan	1.8	1.2	57.0	67.7
3 United States	4.5	4.2	16.4	25.6
4 Vietnam	1.3	1.1	29.6	30.5
5 Russia	2.1	1.3	16.2	11.3
6 South Korea	0.7	0.5	46.4	46.3
7 Germany	1.2	0.8	24.7	29.8
8 France	0.9	0.7	28.0	44.1
9 North Korea	0.4	0.3	71.3	71.3
10 United Kingdom	0.9	0.7	27.8	38.9
Top 10 (2010) Total	33.2	24.9	42.3	43.2

Source: The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050

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Appendix 2 2019 GII Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries

Country	GII Rank	HDI Rank	Maternal Mortality Ratio	Adolescent Birth Rate	Share of Seats in Parliament	Population Rate with Secondary Education		Labour Force Participation Rate	
Korea	10	22	11	1.4	17	89.8	95.6	52.8	73.3
Singapore	11	9	10	3.5	23	76.3	83.3	60.5	76.3
Japan	23	19	5	3.8	13.7	95.2	92.2	51.4	70.7
China	39	85	27	7.6	24.9	75.4	83	61.3	75.9
Brunei	51	43	23	10.3	9.1	69.5	70.6	58.2	71.7
Malaysia	58	61	40	13.4	15.8	79.8	81.8	50.9	77.4
Vietnam	68	118	54	30.9	26.7	66.2	77.7	72.7	82.5
Mongolia	71	92	44	31	17.1	91.2	86.3	53.3	66.7
Thailand	84	77	20	44.9	5.3	43.1	48.2	59.5	76.2
Philippines	98	106	114	54.2	29.1	75.6	72.4	45.7	74.1
Indonesia	103	111	126	47.4	19.8	44.5	53.2	52.2	82
Myanmar	106	145	178	28.5	10.2	28.7	22.3	47.7	77.3
Lao PDR	110	140	197	65.4	27.5	35	46	76.8	79.9
Cambodia	114	146	161	50.2	19.3	15.1	28.1	75.2	87.6
Timor-Leste	131	131	215	33.8	33.8			25	52.6

Appendix 3 2012 WEOI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries

Country	WEOI Score
Japan	73.9
Singapore	71.4
Korea	69.4
Thailand	60.1
Malaysia	57.7
China	52.3
Philippines	50.3
Mongolia	50
Indonesia	47.5
Vietnam	47.1
Cambodia	44.6
Lao	38.6
Timor-leste	36.9

Appendix 4
2019 GDI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries

Country	Value	HDI Index Female	HDI Index Male	Life expectancy Female	Life expectancy Male	Expected Years of Schooling Female	Expected Years of Schooling Male	Mean Years of Schooling Female	Mean Years of Schooling Male	GNI per capita Female	GNI per capita Male
Mongolia	1.031	0.746	0.724	74	65.6	14.8	13.7	10.5	9.9	9666	11931
Philippines	1.004	0.712	0.71	75.4	67.1	13	12.4	9.6	9.2	7541	11518
Vietnam	1.003	0.693	0.692	79.4	71.2	12.9	12.5	7.9	8.5	5739	6703
Thailand	0.995	0.763	0.766	80.7	73.2	14.8	14.6	7.5	8	14319	18033
Singapore	0.988	0.929	0.941	85.6	81.3	16.5	16.1	11.1	12	74600	92163
Brunei	0.987	0.837	0.848	77	74.6	14.8	14	9.1	9.1	65914	86071
Japan	0.976	0.901	0.923	87.5	81.3	15.2	15.3	13	13.6	28784	53384
Malaysia	0.972	0.792	0.815	78.2	74.1	13.8	13.1	10	10.3	20820	33279
China	0.961	0.741	0.771	79.1	74.5	14.1	13.7	7.5	8.3	12665	19410
Myanmar	0.953	0.566	0.594	69.9	63.8	10.5	10.1	5	4.9	3613	8076
Indonesia	0.937	0.681	0.727	73.7	69.4	12.9	12.9	7.6	8.4	7672	14789
Korea	0.934	0.87	0.932	85.8	79.7	15.8	16.9	11.5	12.9	23228	50241
Lao	0.929	0.581	0.625	69.4	65.8	10.8	11.3	4.8	5.6	5027	7595
Cambodia	0.919	0.557	0.606	71.6	67.3	10.9	11.8	4.1	5.7	3129	4089
Timor-leste	0.899	0.589	0.655	71.4	67.3	12	12.8	3.6	5.3	5389	9618

Appendix 5
2020 GGGI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries on
Economic Participation and Opportunity

Country	GGGI Score	Labour Force Participation Rate	Wage Equality for Similar Work	Estimated Earned Income	Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers	Professional and technical Workers
Philippines	0.78	0.63	0.81	0.66	1.00	1.00
Lao	0.73	0.98	0.75	1.00	0.47	1.00
Singapore	0.72	0.83	0.80	0.82	0.52	0.91
Thailand	0.71	0.82	0.77	0.81	0.51	1.00
Mongolia	0.71	0.81	0.73	0.67	0.64	1.00
Indonesia	0.70	0.65	0.69	0.51	1.00	0.67
Vietnam	0.70	0.92	0.68	0.82	0.38	1.00
Cambodia	0.69	0.87	0.70	0.77	0.52	1.00
Brunei	0.69	0.82	0.76	0.75	0.51	0.94
Malaysia	0.68	0.68	0.74	0.62	0.26	0.80
China	0.68	0.83	0.64	0.61	0.20	1.00
Korea	0.67	0.76	0.55	0.48	0.11	0.93
Myanmar	0.67	0.63		0.53	0.48	1.00
Timor-Leste	0.66	0.48		0.57	0.33	0.50
Japan	0.65	0.81	0.67	0.54	0.17	0.68

Appendix 6

2020 GGGI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries on Educational Attainment

Country	Literacy Rate	Enrolment in Primary Education	Enrolment in Secondary Education	Enrolment in Tertiary Education
Philippines	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Lao	0.88	0.98	0.98	1.00
Singapore	0.97		1.00	1.00
Thailand	0.96	1.00	1.00	1.00
Mongolia	1.00	0.98	1.00	1.00
Indonesia	0.97	0.95	1.00	1.00
Vietnam	0.97			1.00
Cambodia	0.87	1.00	0.92	0.87
Brunei	0.98	0.99	1.00	1.00
Malaysia	0.95	1.00	1.00	1.00
China	0.97		0.97	1.00
Korea	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.79
Myanmar	0.90	0.99	1.00	1.00
Timor-Leste	0.89	1.00	1.00	0.72
Japan	1.00	1.00	0.95	0.95

Appendix 7

2020 GGGI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries on Health and Survival

Country	Sex Ratio at Birth	Healthy Life Expectancy
Philippines	0.94	1.06
Lao	0.94	1.03
Singapore	0.93	1.04
Thailand	0.94	1.06
Mongolia	0.94	1.06
Indonesia	0.94	1.04
Vietnam	0.89	1.06
Cambodia	0.94	1.05
Brunei	0.94	1.03
Malaysia	0.94	1.04
China	0.89	1.02
Korea	0.94	1.06
Myanmar	0.94	1.05
Timor-Leste	0.94	1.05
Japan	0.94	1.06

Appendix 8

2020 GGGI Rankings of East and South East Asian Countries on Political Empowerment and Unpaid Care Work (OECD database)

Country	Women in Parliament	Women in Ministerial Positions	Years with Female/Male Head of State	Unpaid Care Work(OECD)
Philippines	0.39	0.12	0.46	
Lao	0.38	0.13	0.00	
Singapore	0.30	0.20	0.04	
Thailand	0.19	0.00	0.06	1.77
Mongolia	0.21	0.15	0.00	
Indonesia	0.21	0.31	0.07	
Vietnam	0.37	0.04	0.00	
Cambodia	0.25	0.10	0.00	4.00
Brunei	0.10	0.00	0.00	
Malaysia	0.17	0.23	0.00	
China	0.33	0.07	0.08	2.57
Korea	0.20	0.29	0.10	5.28
Myanmar	0.13	0.04	0.07	
Timor-Leste	0.63	0.22	0.00	
Japan	0.11	0.06	0.00	4.83

Appendix 9

2018 GPS Scores on Gender Equality in Work

		Gender Equality in Work				
		Labour-force Participation rate	Professional and Technical jobs	Perceived Wage Gap for Similar Work	Leadership positions	Unpaid Care Work
East Asia	China	0.81	1.07	0.59	0.2	0.39
	Japan	0.7	0.66	0.61	0.15	0.21
	South Korea	0.70	0.93	0.45	0.12	0.19
Southeast Asia	Indonesia	0.61	0.94	0.63	0.3	
	Philippines	0.64	1.42	0.76	0.96	
	Vietnam	0.89	1.19	0.58	0.35	
	Thailand	0.79	1.31	0.73	0.48	0.56
	Myanmar	0.93	1.12		0.4	
	Malaysia	0.64	0.8	0.76	0.26	
	Cambodia	0.87	0.57	0.72	0.45	0.25
	Singapore	0.76	0.91	0.78	0.52	

Appendix 10

2018 GPS Scores on Gender Equality in Society

		Gender Equality in Society									
		Essential Services and enablers of economic opportunity					Legal Protection and		Physical Security and Autonomy		
		Unmet need fo family planning	Maternal morality	Education level	Financial inclusion	Digital inclusion	Legal protection	Political representation	Sex ratio at birth	Child marriage	Violence against women
East Asia	China	4	27	0.97	0.87		0.58	0.2	116	3	15
	Japan	20	5	0.95	0.8	0.97	0.51	0.14	1.06	1	15
	South Korea	6	11	0.86	0.81	0.93	0.58	0.15	1.07	0	23
Southeast Asia	Indonesia	12	126	0.98	0.81	0.86	0.45	0.29	1.05	26	
	Philippines	18	114	1	1		0.7	0.37	1.06	2	18
	Vietnam	6	54	0.97	1		0.47	0.19	1.1	8	34
	Thailand	6	20	0.98	0.84	0.98	0.29	0.09	1.06	11	44
	Myanmar	16	178	0.98	0.6		0.39	0.08	1.03	12	38
	Malaysia	18	40	0.98	0.82	0.96	0.28	0.1	1.06	5	
	Cambodia	13	161	0.86	0.8	0.97	0.5	0.17	1.06	20	14
	Singapore	11	10	0.96	1	0.96	0.64	0.17	1.07	0	

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Notes

¹ According to Pew Research Center, Global Religious Landscape 2012, see Appendix 1.

² See the webpage of UN Women, available at <https://www-un-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/women-watch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions.htm>

³ <https://www-un-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/en/sections/issues-depth/gender-equality/index.html>, accessed on 12th September, 2020.

⁴ The 2019 version of GII uses mainly data from year 2018, which is why I use data of GDP per capita from 2018 to do comparison.

⁵ The 2012 version of WEOI uses data in various years, most are from 2010. The data is from World Bank database.

⁶ <https://www-un-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/en/sections/issues-depth/gender-equality/index.html>, accessed on 12th September 2020.

⁷ <https://www-un-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/en/sections/issues-depth/gender-equality/index.html>, accessed on 12th September 2020.

⁸ In Chinese custom, everybody keeps the family name for the whole life. Not like western convention, a Chinese woman doesn't change her family name when getting married., therefore a couple usually use two different family names. This is the same as South Korea. In fact, Korea even had a centuries-long history that people who have the same family name are legally not allowed to get married, as a worry for inbreeding.