

## **Mothers and Labourers: North Korea's Gendered Labour Force in *Women in Korea***

Amanda Anderson<sup>\*</sup>  
University of Wollongong

In this paper, I analyse the English language magazine *Women of Korea*, published in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) by the Working People's Organisation Publishing House between 1964 and 1992. The magazine was modelled after the Korean equivalent, *Chosŏn Yŏsŏng* (Korean Women).<sup>1</sup> While the Korean magazine was designed for the Korean population, the English language magazine was designed to inform the international community of women's roles in the DPRK, as well as the government's achievement of promulgating gender equality in state laws and policy. In the magazines, the North Korean government emphasises the roles of ordinary women as wives and mothers who supported their husbands, sons and families by working inside and outside the home. Although the emancipation of North Korean women from the patriarchal family structure is strongly emphasised in the magazine, the domestic labour women performed was seen as an important aspect of the national economy. To ensure women were able to perform their domestic responsibilities, as well as join the social labour force, the North Korean government socialised childcare and the preparation of food by creating compulsory kindergarten participation and rice-cooking shops. This illustrates that women were assigned to stereotypical feminine roles in the home as the primary carers of children and were responsible for the majority of domestic chores.

It was believed that the participation of women in carrying out the national economic plan contributed to building the economic base of an independent sovereign state,<sup>2</sup> which would then supposedly free them from their household work, as well as removing social inequalities in the DPRK.<sup>3</sup> However, realistically, joining the official workforce did not eliminate cultural and patriarchal restrictions placed on North Korean women. Instead, once women left the home to join the labour force, the government assigned them to occupations deemed suitable to their characteristics; for example, teaching and occupations in the so-called "light-industries". The visual images and text in *Women of Korea* reveal a gender-segregated labour force in the DPRK, where the government assigned women to specific roles in the economy. It can be said, therefore, that the pages of *Women of Korea* expose the government's acceptance of institutional gender inequality for the purpose of mobilising women into the social labour force.

---

<sup>\*</sup> Amanda Anderson is a PhD candidate at the University of Wollongong (Wollongong, Australia). Her thesis is titled '*Gendered Rhetoric in North Korea's International Relations*'. She completed her Masters of Asian Studies in 2009 in Gender Studies and North Korean History at Griffith University (Brisbane, Australia). She can be contacted at: [aka489@uowmail.edu.au](mailto:aka489@uowmail.edu.au)

<sup>1</sup> For further information on the Korean magazine *Chosŏn Yŏsŏng* (Korean Women) see S. Kim, "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52 (4) (2010), pp. 742–767; S. Kim, *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 174–203.

<sup>2</sup> "The Pyongyang Changgwang Garment Factory", *Women of Korea*, 4 (136) (1992), pp. 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## The Women of Korea Magazine

Between 1964 and 1992, the Working People's Organisation Publishing House, situated in Pyongyang (the capital of the DPRK), published the English language magazine *Women of Korea*. The magazine was issued under the guidance of the Korean Democratic Women's Union (KDWU, Women's Union) and was designed specifically to inform the international community of the position of Korean women in society, the political and economic goals of the DPRK and the state's achievement in promulgating gender equality in domestic laws. In North Korea, the printed word is largely limited to several state-owned newspapers and books that are published by a small number of state-owned publishing houses.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, information released is strictly controlled by the state and is deemed suitable for the international community, as the government wants to project a positive image. A writer for *Women of Korea* would have had all work approved by state officials before it was published and released to the world. Writers for the magazine were members of the KDWU.

Each edition of *Women of Korea* followed the same format as the Korean equivalent, *Chosŏn Yŏsŏng*.<sup>5</sup> Content in both magazines covers a wide range of subjects, from reports on economic development to the social and domestic responsibilities of women. The magazines also include an editorial section, a column on homemaking, educational material and an arts and literature section. The theme that emerged in the earliest editions of the magazines was the ability of ordinary North Korean women to combine their duties as wives and mothers with their new positions as workers outside the home.<sup>6</sup> This theme has continued in the Korean magazine to date.

During the 1960s and 1970s, *Women of Korea* emphasised visual images and stories of revolutionary heroines, the history and politics of the DPRK, homemaking articles and North Korean arts and literature. From the 1970s, the magazine addressed ordinary women's participation in the social labour force and the socialisation of childcare facilities and the food industry to ensure they were able to leave their homes. The magazine also criticised various situations in South Korea; for example, the failure of women's rights. In later editions of the magazine, articles included women's fashion in the DPRK and traditional Korean food. Throughout the history of the English magazine, articles also promoted the government's role in promulgating provisions for gender equality in state laws and policy.

In a society where the government shapes reality, North Korean visual culture is far from spontaneous, as it educates, entertains, and mobilises people into the workforce.<sup>7</sup> The North Korean government has strategically placed paintings, posters and other forms of visual media, such as magazines, in spaces where the population have easy access.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in the DPRK, magazines entertain people, inform people and are employed to mobilise people to certain government causes, such as women joining the social labour force. Internationally, North Korean magazines work to inform the world of events happening within the DPRK and to

---

<sup>4</sup> S. Ryang, "Gender in Oblivion: Women in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 35 (2000), p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> Just weeks after the promulgation of the Law on Equality of Sexes in September 1946, the first Korean-language magazine designed specifically for women was published, *Chosŏn Yŏsŏng* (Korean Women).

<sup>6</sup> Kim, "Revolutionary Mothers", pp. 754, 755.

<sup>7</sup> S.Y. Kim, "Dressed to Kill: Women's Fashion and Body Politics in North Korean Visual Media (1960s–1970s)", *positions: asia critique*, 19 (1) (2011), p. 162.

<sup>8</sup> J. Portal, *Art Under Control in North Korea* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2005), p. 21.

propagate the government's policies towards achieving gender equality, economics, and the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

### **The Law on Equality of the Sexes in *Women of Korea***

In *Women of Korea*, it states that the first leader of the DPRK Kim Il Sung (1912–1994) personally promulgated the Law on the Equality of the Sexes on 30 July 1946.<sup>9</sup> North Korea claims to be the first country in Asia to address discrimination against women in its legal system.<sup>10</sup> However, provisions were included in the 1930 Chinese Civil Code by the Nationalist government (1927–1948) during the Republic of China (1912–1949). The Chinese Civil Code regarded men and women as individual persons, equal in status, rights and obligations. In particular, daughters obtained equal rights to inherit their fathers' property, wives gained mostly equal rights to marry and divorce and men and women shared nearly equal rights over their children.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the Chinese Civil Code was hardly adopted or implemented due to the chaotic political situation and the brief rule of the Nationalist government.<sup>12</sup> In the DPRK, similarities in provisions to ensure gender equality can be seen between the North Korean Law on the Equality of the Sexes, the Chinese Civil Code and the earlier 1936 Soviet Constitution.

Article 1 of the Law on the Equality of the Sexes was closely modelled after Article 122 of the 1936 Soviet Constitution, which stipulates equal rights for women in all spheres of economic, social, cultural and political life. The North Korean Law also includes provisions for women to vote and to be elected to local and supreme organisations (Article 2), have equal access to labour, pay, social insurance and education (Article 3), and to own or inherit land (Article 8). The Law provides equal rights for women to marry and divorce freely (Article 4 and Article 5), and the legal age for females to marry is set at 17 years and, for males, 18 years (Article 6). The Law protects women against violations such as polygamy, trafficking, concubinage, licensed or unlicensed prostitution and the *Kisaeng* system and nullifies the Japanese laws and regulations relating to the rights of Korean women (Article 9).<sup>13</sup> In the magazine, laws such as the Law on Equality of the Sexes were included to promote the idea that gender equality had been addressed by the state.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), "Consideration of reports submitted by States Parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women", *Initial Report of States Parties: Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, CEDAW/C/PRK/1 (Beijing: thirty-third session, 5 to 22 July 2005), (distributed 11 September 2002), para. 70 and para. 71, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> C. K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 93.

<sup>11</sup> M. Kuo, *Intolerable Cruelty: Marriage, Law and Society in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), p. 4

<sup>12</sup> Y. C. Chen, "Civil Law Development: China and Taiwan", *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 2 (2002), p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> A *kisaeng* is a female entertainer, trained in music, dancing, and poetry composition. R. Barraclough, "A history of sex work in modern Korea" in M. McLelland and V. Mackie (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), pp. 294–304.

<sup>14</sup> "In the Days of Proclaiming Law on Sex Equality", *Women of Korea*, 3 (123) (1989), pp. 27, 28; "Developing Women to Be Pillars of Society Turning One of Its Two Wheels", *Women of Korea*, 4 (124) (1989), p. 28; "State Benefits to Women – through the laws proclaimed immediately after liberation", *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), p. 11; T. S. Choe, "Recollection of the Promulgation on Sex Equality",

In *Women of Korea*, Choe Tan Sil's article, "Recollection of the Promulgation on Sex Equality" states that before the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), Korean women had been subjected to exploitation and oppression for a long time.<sup>15</sup> Restraints imposed on Korean women during the colonial period included no right to free marriage, confinement to their houses, or being sold like goods.<sup>16</sup> However, just one year after the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945, it is said that Kim Il Sung made preparations for the promulgation of the Law on Equality of the Sexes.<sup>17</sup> On 30 July 1946, Kim Il Sung proclaimed to the world:

With the liberation of Korea from the colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, the social position of women changed. The democratic reforms being carried out in north Korea have provided conditions for liberating women from the former inequalities in the political, economic, cultural and family life.<sup>18</sup>

On the same day the Law was promulgated it is said that the first wife of Kim Il Sung, Comrade Kim Jong Suk (1917–1949), met officials of the KDWU to share the joy with them about the new Law. As celebrations were going to be held in the capital and provinces, Kim Jong Suk is quoted as follows:

The celebrating meetings will be an effective occasion for education to get the women to know well about the significance and importance of the Law on Sex Equality and make firm resolution to repay the favour to General Kim Il Sung who enacted the law.<sup>19</sup>

Kim Jong Suk is then said to have taught the women how to hold celebrations regarding the Law, which took place across the country. She attended the celebration held in Pyongyang, where she appealed to Korean women to take an active part in nation building to demonstrate the validity and vitality of the Law on Equality of the Sexes.<sup>20</sup> It is also said that Kim Il Sung personally gave continuous guidance to the North Korean people so that the Law thoroughly materialised in all fields of state and social activities.<sup>21</sup> In *Women of Korea*, it is claimed that North Korean women enjoyed a happy life and had no idea of gender inequality because of the promulgation of the Law on Equality of the Sexes.<sup>22</sup> The Law is said to have protected women's rights in family life and society; however, visual images and text in *Women of Korea* reveal

---

*Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), pp. 7, 8; "Fifteen Women Labour Heroes", *Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), pp. 10, 11; "Democratic Revolution and Women's Problem", *Women of Korea*, 1 (105) (1985), pp. 4, 5; "Historic Days of Realising Sex Equality", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 4–6; "Towards Civilisation", *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), pp. 10, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Choe, "Recollection of the Promulgation", p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> "In the Days of Proclaiming", p. 27; Choe, "Recollection of the Promulgation", p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> "In the Days of Proclaiming", p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Choe, "Recollection of the Promulgation", p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

gendered assumptions made by the North Korean government, which are discussed further below.

### **North Korean Families in *Women of Korea***

Unlike other socialist states, such as the Soviet Union and China, the North Korean government kept the nuclear family together to ensure stability in society and the economy.<sup>23</sup> This meant, however, that gender inequality and the gendered division of domestic labour in the home was maintained. It was thought that if the North Korean government had challenged the stereotypical gendered roles within families, it may have led to instability in society, the labour force, and the basic unit of reproduction of future generations. Instead, the nuclear family as the basic social unit remained intact with gendered division of domestic labour.<sup>24</sup>

In *Women of Korea* the representation of women as mothers appears from the initial publication in 1964.<sup>25</sup> For at least two decades after the end of the Korean War (1950–1953), women were under intense pressure by the state to produce more children.<sup>26</sup> By the 1980s, however, the fertility rate in the DPRK was in decline, with the average number of children born to a family decreasing from 6.5 in 1966 to 2.5 in 1988.<sup>27</sup> The tendency to marry relatively late may be one factor affecting fertility rates.<sup>28</sup> Kim Il Sung is quoted as emphasising women's natural duty to give birth and to raise and educate children at home.<sup>29</sup>

The mother has to bear the major responsibility for home education.  
Her responsibility is greater than the father's because it is she who  
gives birth to children and brings them up.<sup>30</sup>

This statement reinforces gender stereotypes within families and does not alter the model whereby men work outside the home and women look after children.<sup>31</sup> Maternity and childbirth have been given special protection in North Korea's legal system, as seen in Article 77 of the 1972 DPRK Constitution.

Women are accorded equal social status and rights with men. The State  
shall afford special protection to mothers and children by providing

---

<sup>23</sup> *Women of Korea*, 4 (136) (1992), p. 22.

<sup>24</sup> Ryang, "Gender in Oblivion", p. 333.

<sup>25</sup> "Mother", *Women of Korea*, 3 (22) (1966), pp. 6, 7; "Mother", *Women of Korea*, 3 (22) (1966), p. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Ryang, "Gender in Oblivion", p. 332.

<sup>27</sup> K. Jung and B. Dalton, "Rhetoric Versus Reality for the Women of North Korea: Mothers of the Revolution", *Asian Studies*, 46 (5) (2006), p. 754.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> "New Aspects of Pyongyang", *Women of Korea*, 1 (97) (1983), pp. 22, 23; "Mangyongdae in Blooming April", *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), pp. 18–21; "Merry Laughing Voice Floats Out of Each and Every Home", *Women of Korea*, 4 (105) (1985), p. 32; "Women Enjoy a Rest to the Full", *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), pp. 22, 23; "Mother of 12 Children", *Women of Korea*, 4 (108) (1985), p. 30; "State Benefits to Women and Children", *Women of Korea*, 1 (109) (1986), pp. 27, 28; "Mother of 16 Bereaved Children", *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> I. S. Kim, "The Duty of Mothers in the Education of Children: Speech at the National Meeting of Mothers", (16 November 1961), in *Selected Works 3* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1971), p. 216.

<sup>31</sup> Ryang, "Gender in Oblivion", p. 335

maternity leave, reduced working hours for mothers with many children, a wide network of maternity hospitals, crèches and kindergartens, and other measures. The State shall provide all conditions for a woman to play a full role in society.

The granting of equal rights in law was not enough to liberate women from patriarchy within the family structure.<sup>32</sup> The concept of equality was strongly resisted by some in society such as in family relationships,<sup>33</sup> which only superficially changed. For example, domestic work and the nurturing of children continued to be seen as “women’s work” by both the state and the majority of North Korean people.

Although women’s work outside the home was promoted, the DPRK had a larger number of women who stayed in the home compared to other socialist countries. There are many possible reasons, including: tradition dictating that, once married, a woman should stay at home to serve her husband and care for her children; marriage to high-income earners; reluctance of employers to retain married women; decline in North Korea’s economy and economic opportunity outside the official economy; the government’s lack of concern for the number of married women staying in the home.<sup>34</sup> Once married, some women gave up their jobs voluntarily but sought ways to generate income while also having the opportunity to stay at home. This practice was supposed to reduce the “double burden” of housework and economic employment, while increasing their economic independence.<sup>35</sup> Whatever the reason, the number of homemakers increased to around 60 to 70 per cent by mid-1980.<sup>36</sup> The fact that a large number of women remained in the home suggests that views of gendered roles were strongly rooted despite legal provisions mandating equality.

Even though the principles of Confucianism are not law in the DPRK, the Kim family and the elite ruling class have enacted laws to bring society gradually into line with these principles, ultimately to strengthen their own power. Although initial state reform in North Korea attempted to liberate women from the home, no legislation or political campaign ever denounced tradition or Confucianism per se, as occurred during the Communist Revolution in China (1949–1950) when the family was configured as the source of women’s oppression, a position that aligned nationalism, feminism, and Marxism against a common enemy.<sup>37</sup> In North Korea, rather than the family being faulted for women’s oppression, the family and the home came to symbolise the Korean nation in the revolution.<sup>38</sup> In this context, motherhood became the primary trope by which to construct not only women’s revolutionary subjectivity but also all North Koreans, as everyone was extolled to emulate mothers as the sacrificial model citizen.

---

<sup>32</sup> Kyung Ae Park, “Women and Revolution in North Korea”, *Pacific Affairs*, 65 (4) (1992–1993), p. 534.

<sup>33</sup> Jung and Dalton, “Mothers of the Revolution”, p. 754

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 752.

<sup>35</sup> Park, “Women and Revolution”, p. 540.

<sup>36</sup> It should be noted that work in sideline production teams or neighbourhood work units were not officially counted as employment. E. Y. Shin, “Ideology and Gender Equality: Women’s Policies of North Korea and China”, *East Asian Review*, 13 (3) (2001), pp. 89, 90.

<sup>37</sup> Kim, *Everyday Life*, pp. 176, 177.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

In accordance with Confucian teachings, North Korean women learned their role in the family unit as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters.<sup>39</sup> The role of mothers is taken extremely seriously as the preservation, rise and fall of the family were thought to depend on the education of the children, and mothers were regarded as their primary educators.<sup>40</sup> Suk-Young Kim argues that, regardless of North Korean laws or the social circumstances within the country, women's identities are seen through the prism of familial relationships.<sup>41</sup> This attitude is reflected in the painting "*Dandelion*" (see figure 1) which was published in *Women in Korea* in 1991.<sup>42</sup> The representation of Korean women as mothers was not new and can be seen from the mid-1920s when the "wise mother, good wife" ideal was promoted.<sup>43</sup> As colonial oppression grew stronger in Korea during the 1930s, the doctrine of dedicated mothering gained even greater traction and many Koreans believed that their people's future, including freedom from colonialism, depended on women's willingness to sacrifice themselves to stay at home and raise good sons and daughters.<sup>44</sup> Becoming a mother was promoted as the most sacred duty, and females who turned away from this role were accused of being over-sexed and vain.<sup>45</sup>

In the painting, the mother supports the young child by wrapping her arms around the child's waist. The figures stand outside among flowers and both gaze at a flower held by the mother. Both child and mother blow lightly on the flower petals, which float gently through the air. The child appears to be safe and happy with no care in the world. Suk-Young Kim states that in other North Korean cultural forms almost all female protagonists are projected in familial relationships, as mothers, sisters and daughters, to ensure that female characters do not incite erotic thoughts.<sup>46</sup> This is confirmed by the visual images published in *Women of Korea*, which predominantly represent women as mothers or wives and who were traditionally surrounded by their children.

---

<sup>39</sup> S.Y. Kim, *Illusive Utopia: Theatre, Film and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010), p. 205.

<sup>40</sup> Bae-Yong Lee, "Family Ethics and Women's Status within Confucian Tradition and Its Transformation", in Hwa Oh Jung (ed), *Feminist Cultural Politics in Korea* (Seoul: PrunSasang Co., 2005), pp. 11–38.

<sup>41</sup> Kim, *Illusive Utopia*, p. 205.

<sup>42</sup> *Women of Korea*, 4 (132) (1991), p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> A. Y. Wong (ed), *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia* (Aberdeen: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), p. 96. For comparable ideas of the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) in Japan, see S. Koyama, "Domestic Roles and the Incorporation of Women into the Nation State: The Emergence and Development of the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' Ideology", in A. Germer, V. Mackie and U. Wöhr (eds.), *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), pp. 85–100.

<sup>44</sup> Wong, *Visualizing Beauty*, p. 96.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Kim, *Illusive Utopia*, p. 222.



Figure 1 "Dandelion". Date unknown. Oil Painting. *Women of Korea*, 4 (132) (1991), p. 34.

### The Socialisation of Household Chores

During the Korean War, both North and South Korea suffered economic and infrastructure damage, as a result of bombings and artillery strikes, as well a workforce shortage. After the War ended in 1953, the North Korean government viewed women's participation in the social labour force as a way to supplement the labour shortage.<sup>47</sup> In this context, the promotion of a strong woman whose existence extended beyond the domestic space was part of the government's attempt to mobilise them. This created the illusion of women's liberation without actually addressing gender inequalities in society or the domestic sphere.<sup>48</sup> North Korean women remained the subject of gendered expectations from the state, in which they were predominantly responsible for domestic chores and the care of children, as well as participating in the social labour force. Kim Il Sung is said to have personally acknowledged the hard work of women in building an economically independent nation combined with their roles in the home. In the article, "At Sight of Women Carrying Water Jar on Head" published in *Women of Korea*, Kim Il Sung is quoted as saying:

---

<sup>47</sup> Jung and Dalton, "Mothers of the Revolution", p. 751; J. W. Kang, "The Patriarchal State and Women's Status in Socialist North Korea", *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 6 (2) (2008), p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> Kim, *Illusive Utopia*, p. 210.



Men eat meals cooked by women, and so, they do not know well about how painstaking women are. But women, even after they worked as hard as men did have to fetch water, cook rice and do washing.<sup>49</sup>

The sharing of housework responsibilities between husband and wife has remained uncommon in North Korean families.<sup>50</sup> Many North Korean men excluded themselves from household chores and even demanded women perform full-scale house cleaning.<sup>51</sup> To ensure women were able to leave the home, the government developed policies designed to lighten their domestic workloads.<sup>52</sup>

The North Korean government strongly encouraged mothers to put their children into state-run childcare facilities and viewed it as the state's responsibility to provide childcare, teaching and nursing necessities. The state followed the principle, "The best thing [for] the children".<sup>53</sup> Although attendance at nurseries was optional, it was available for three months to four year olds, while attendance at kindergarten was compulsory for children aged five to seven years. Between 1956 and 1960, the number of childcare facilities is said to have increased 31 times, accommodating about 700,000 children.<sup>54</sup> As of 1966, around 60 to 70 per cent of all the children in the country were said to be at pre-school, cared for by a total of 130,000 nursery and kindergarten teachers.<sup>55</sup> It was reported that by 1985, more than 60,000 nurseries and kindergartens had been built, accommodating more than 3.5 million children.<sup>56</sup> All nurseries and kindergartens are said to have been staffed by competent teachers with adequate food and furniture.<sup>57</sup> State owned supply offices were said to have been established near each nursery and kindergarten, and were responsible for providing foodstuffs such as milk, meat, eggs, fruit, vegetables and sweets as well as nursing and educational equipment, musical instruments, printed matters and teaching aids.<sup>58</sup> No payment was required for the use of the childcare facilities and they were divided into three types: daily, weekly and monthly, so that mothers could meet their work commitments.

From the 1970s, the focus of the North Korean government was to develop the food industry to lessen the time women spent preparing meals in the kitchen. Kim Il Sung is said to have stated that the "most important thing we can do to lighten the women's kitchen chores is

---

<sup>49</sup> "At Sight of Women Carrying Water Jar on Head", *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 5; "Korean Women's Burden of Household Work is Becoming Lighter", *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> Jung and Dalton, "Mothers of the Revolution", p. 753.

<sup>51</sup> Shin, "Ideology and Gender Equality", p. 97.

<sup>52</sup> Jung and Dalton, "Mothers of the Revolution", p. 749.

<sup>53</sup> "The Raising of Children at State and Public Expense", *Women of Korea*, 2 (130) (1991), p. 25.

<sup>54</sup> I. S. Kim, "Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea" (11 September 1961) in *Selected Works 2* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965), p. 160.

<sup>55</sup> I. S. Kim, "The Communist Education and Upbringing of Children Is an Honourable Revolutionary Duty of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers: Address to the National Congress of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers", (20 October 1966), in *Selected Works 4* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965), pp. 467– 469.

<sup>56</sup> "Anti-Japanese Women's Association and Its Immortal Achievement", *Women of Korea*, 4 (100) (1983), pp. 11, 12.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> J. S. Kim, "Upbringing of Children at State and Public Expense", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), p. 15.

to introduce innovations into the food industry”.<sup>59</sup> The development of the food processing industry included the production of boiled rice, noodles, bread and other foodstuff. At the same time, factories were established in towns and workers’ districts to process vegetables, meat, fish and other food products by industrial methods so that women could prepare meals quickly and easily in the home.<sup>60</sup> There was also a network of food take-out services for busy working women to collect premade food after work and before returning home. The variety of food that could be purchased from the stores was extremely limited.<sup>61</sup> It is said however, that North Korean people’s diets improved with the changes in the food industry.<sup>62</sup>

By socialising domestic chores such as childcare and cooking, the North Korean government believed that it had addressed the burdens of women to ensure they could leave their homes to join the social labour force. Yet, the representation of the North Korean labour force in *Women of Korea* reveals gender inequalities, as women were assigned by the state to certain occupations deemed suitable.

### North Korea’s Labour Force in *Women of Korea*

From the mid-1970s, the visual images in *Women of Korea* depicted women working outside the home in society, which coincided with the government’s emphasis on women leaving the home to build a sustainable light-industry. In order to provide suitable work for women, the North Korean government transferred many men from the so-called “light-industries” to the “heavy-industries”.<sup>63</sup> Light-industries included work in the education and health sectors, office work and work in restaurants, while heavy-industries were occupations in the mining and building sectors, positions in the military and government. However, the transfer of men from one employment sector to another resulted in significant occupational segregation between genders, with women being assigned to low-skilled labour and unpopular work,<sup>64</sup> usually with lower pay. Alternatively, North Korean men dominated higher-paid jobs in the mining and building industries, and took those with the highest status, as managers, university professors and doctors.<sup>65</sup>

By 1970, women accounted for 70 per cent of the work force in the light-industries and 60 per cent of those employed in the agricultural sector.<sup>66</sup> The 1980 data shows that women composed 70 per cent of the workforce in light-industry and just 15 per cent in heavy-industries.<sup>67</sup> Specifically, women occupied 56 per cent of the labour force in the agricultural sector, 45 per cent in the industrial sector, while just 20 per cent in mining and 30 per cent in forestry. In education, women accounted for 80 per cent of elementary school teachers, while the figures for middle and high school, technical school and college were 35 per cent, 30 per

---

<sup>59</sup> “Personal Visit to Rice-cooking House”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> “Korean Women’s Burden”, p. 11; “With a Mind to Free Women from Household Chores”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Park, “Women and Revolution”, p. 536.

<sup>62</sup> “With a Mind to Free Women”, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Shin, “Ideology and Gender Equality”, p. 93.

<sup>64</sup> Jung and Dalton, “Mothers of the Revolution”, p. 751.

<sup>65</sup> M. R. Yun, *North Korea’s Policy on Women* (Seoul: Han’ul Publishing Co., 1991), p. 203.

<sup>66</sup> Jung and Dalton, “Mothers of the Revolution”, pp. 750, 751.

<sup>67</sup> Ryang, “Gender in Oblivion”, p. 332; Kang, “The Patriarchal State”, p. 61.

cent, and 15 per cent respectively.<sup>68</sup> Among professionals and technicians, women accounted for more than 37 per cent in 1989.<sup>69</sup> From these figures it appears that the proportion of women of working age participating in the North Korean workforce in the 1970s and 1980s was almost equal to men's, seemingly showing gender equality. However, women worked predominantly in feminised sectors such as agriculture, education and light-industries, which are typically paid lower-wages.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, even though many women worked as managers or supervisors in female preferred jobs, the proportion of women in high-level positions was very low,<sup>71</sup> while men dominated higher-paid occupations in the mining and heavy-industries, as well as managerial positions.<sup>72</sup>

The North Korean government promised women the same work privileges, wages and social security as men; however, in practice, women were not paid comparable wages for essentially comparable work, and they were not equally promoted.<sup>73</sup> By 1980, women earned just 70 per cent of the average income level that males earned, but continued to contribute significantly to household earnings.<sup>74</sup> Although state legislation insisted on equal employment and equal pay for men and women, there remained significant occupational segregation between the genders.<sup>75</sup> While wages in North Korea do not have the same impact on the quality of people's lives, as in capitalist societies, such job segregation results in not just unequal pay, but also unequal status.<sup>76</sup> The gender inequality shown in job segregation by gender reveals that the apparent equality of women's economic participation did not necessary guarantee actual equality in social activities.<sup>77</sup>

The North Korean government emphasised the mass production of consumer goods centring on the light industries and emphasising this campaign as part of the process of the "Revolution of Technology".<sup>78</sup> This Revolution was established as part of the "Three Revolutions" and included the "Revolution of Ideology" and the "Revolution of Culture". It was established on 24 June 1971. Then, in 1972, at the Fifth Congress of the Workers Party of Korea, Kim Il Sung is quoted as saying that one of the "vital tasks in the technical revolution is that of freeing women from the burden of kitchen and household work".<sup>79</sup> As discussed above, the government attempted to provide facilities such as childcare amenities, the pre-packaged food industry and laundromats to address the burdens of women in the home. However, such a

---

<sup>68</sup> T. Y. Lee, *Pukhan Yosong* (North Korean women) (Seoul: Silch'on Munhaksa, 1988), p. 194.

<sup>69</sup> A. S. Kim, "Yosong-ui Kyongje Hwaldong" (Women's economic activities), in *Bukhan Yosong-ui Suktae* (The status of North Korean women) (Seoul: The Second Ministry of Political Affairs, 1990), p. 189.

<sup>70</sup> Kang, "The Patriarchal State", p. 61; Kim, *Everyday Life*, p. 201.

<sup>71</sup> Yun, *North Korea's Policy*, p. 203.

<sup>72</sup> Kang, "The Patriarchal State", p. 61; Kim, *Everyday Life*, p. 201.

<sup>73</sup> Kim, *Illusive Utopia*, p. 209.

<sup>74</sup> Shin, "Ideology and Gender Equality", p. 93.

<sup>75</sup> Laws that protected equal employment and equal pay for men and women include: the Labour Law for the Factory and Office Workers in North Korea (1946), and the Law on the Equality of the Sexes (1946).

<sup>76</sup> In the DPRK housing, education, healthcare, and food are free or heavily subsidised by the government. Kim, "Revolutionary Mothers", pp. 765, 766.

<sup>77</sup> Kang, "The Patriarchal State", p. 61.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>79</sup> "With a Mind to Free Women", p. 2.

suggestion rests firmly on the belief that a home is not a workplace run by both genders.<sup>80</sup> Nowhere did Kim Il Sung mention men's duties to undertake housework or caring for children.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, although Kim Il Sung had promised timesaving equipment, it did not materialise for the majority of ordinary women, as items such as washing machines remained the property of a privileged few.<sup>82</sup>

As the North Korean government deemed factory work suitable for women to perform, women played a major role in the state's economic policy to increase consumer goods. This assumption is represented in visual images published in *Women of Korea*; for example, the poster captioned, "Let Us Produce Mass Consumer Goods More and Better!" (see figure 2).<sup>83</sup> In the poster, a woman stands among consumer products such as food, medical and stationery products. In her hands, she holds two reams of fabric and behind her are items of clothing. These products were aimed at working women, who had to take care of their families while working in the official economy. This image was also designed to encourage women to work harder to produce more consumer goods for society.

The fact that the North Korean government has resorted to campaigns to promote consumer goods production points to the improper functioning of the day-to-day management system, as well as a lack of incentives for workers to achieve the desired economic results. These campaigns also suggest that the liberation of women from the home was not based on any radical change in social or cultural norms, but were included in state laws and policies to achieve economic campaigns through the participation of women.<sup>84</sup> Representations of women in the labour force aimed to promote the idea to the world that women had achieved gender equality in North Korean society and were able to participate in the state economy.

---

<sup>80</sup> Ryang, "Gender in Oblivion", p.335.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> *Women of Korea*, 2 (98) (1983), p. 41.

<sup>84</sup> Jung and Dalton, "Mothers of the Revolution", p. 747.



Figure 2 “Let Us Produce Mass Consumer Goods More and Better!” Poster. *Women of Korea*, 2 (98) (1983), p. 41.

The visual images and personal stories in *Women of Korea* reflect the importance placed on women to educate the younger generation according to Kim Il Sung’s *Juche* idea.<sup>85</sup> In North Korea, education is considered crucial to the destiny of the country.<sup>86</sup> All children, even those who live on remote islands or in mountainous areas are said to be educated at state expense and are regarded as the “Kings of the Country”.<sup>87</sup> There is said to be a free universal education system, which consists of a twelve-year program, compulsory for children to attend (1972 DPRK Constitution, Article 45). By 1980, North Korean women composed 80 per cent of the work force of primary school teachers and nursery school teachers.<sup>88</sup> This dominance in the sector can be seen in visual images and articles published in *Women of Korea*. For example, the article “Woman Principal in Mountain Village”, tells the story of a female teacher, Kim Yong Suk,

<sup>85</sup> While Marxism-Leninism is still important in the DPRK, *Juche* has superseded this as the official state ideology. The three principles include: “political independence”, “economic self-sustenance” and “self-reliance in defence”. E. K. Choi, E. H. Kim, and Y. Merrill (eds.), *North Korea in the World Economy* (London: Routledge Advances in Korean Studies, 2003), p. 159.

<sup>86</sup> “Primary importance to education”, *Women of Korea*, 3(135) (1992), p. 11.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Yun, *North Korea’s Policy*, p. 203.

who worked for more than twenty years at Sodu Senior Middle School, located in the remote area of Paegam County (Ryanggang Province, DPRK).<sup>89</sup> The article states that she went to teach the students because no other teachers would live in a remote location. From the first day, Kim Yong Suk is said to have pledged to the students that she would stay in the area and not return to the city to marry as other female teachers had done previously.<sup>90</sup> This claim places great importance on women's contribution to educating the future generation rather than fulfilling one's own plans, thus sacrificing one's own happiness for the betterment of the country.

The female teacher, Kim Yong Suk, was said to have been so dedicated to her work that even after teaching the students during the daytime, she would visit the students' homes at night to guide them with their homework. However, the students work did not improve greatly so Kim Yong Suk started walking with them to and from school and teaching them along the way. She is said to have made small plaques with mathematical formulas and foreign languages painted on them and placed the plaques on the trees along the path where the students walked. Kim Yong Suk was dedicated to improving the marks of students because she knew that they were the future of the revolution.<sup>91</sup> All students at the Sodu Senior Middle School were said to have become honour students because of Kim Yong Suk's hard work. This article not only exemplifies qualities that all women were to emulate, it also places great importance on women as educators. This shows the international community that women are equal with men, but also that women are willing to sacrifice themselves for the country's revolutionary cause.

The importance of women in working in education is represented in the visual image "*Children Enter School*" (see figure 3), which depicts three teachers welcoming students into the classroom.<sup>92</sup> The large figure of the female teacher in the foreground is dominant as she towers over the students and looks down at them happily. In comparison, the other teachers fade into the background and appear only in a supportive role to the main figure. The main teacher holds in one hand a book and, with the other, she is greeting a male student as he enters the classroom. In the painting, students enter the classroom and walk towards their desks. Some children carry colourful bunches of flowers and one student a hat. In this image, both male and female students attend school.

---

<sup>89</sup> "Woman Principal in Mountain Village", *Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), p. 14.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>92</sup> *Women of Korea*, 3 (131) (1991), p. 22.



Figure 3 “Children Enter School”. Date unknown. Oil Painting. *Women of Korea*, 3 (131) (1991), p. 22.

The North Korean government places great importance on self-sufficiency and food production. In the agricultural sector, efforts to increase production included a variety of experiments with land tenure, farm organisation and managerial techniques.<sup>93</sup> Women were active members of the agricultural workforce during planting and harvesting, and laboured in road construction, land reclamation projects and similar endeavours that required mass mobilisation.<sup>94</sup> In the visual images and articles in *Women of Korea*, women are often represented working on cooperative farms and producing food to sustain the country.<sup>95</sup> The government saw women’s roles in the agricultural sector as an important contribution to self-

<sup>93</sup> J. S. Chung, “The Economy”, in A. M. Savada, *North Korea: A Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kptoc.html> (accessed 6 May 2014).

<sup>94</sup> Kim, “Revolutionary Mothers”, p. 765.

<sup>95</sup> “Faithful Servants”, pp. 21–23; “Personal Visit”, p. 3; “Bringing Up Women into Socialist Builders”, *Women of Korea*, 4 (104) (1984), pp. 2, 3; “Manageress”, pp. 13, 14; “At Chongryu Restaurant”, *Women of Korea*, 4 (105) (1985), pp. 31, 32; “Upbringing of Children at State and Public Expense”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 12–15; “The Child Is King”, pp. 22, 23; “Mistress Responsible”, pp. 26, 27; “Li Byong Nam, “Direct Sale store Crowded with Shoppers”, *Women of Korea*, 1 (109) (1986), pp. 30, 31; “Tenth Anniversary of Promulgation of Law on Nursing and Upbringing of Children”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), pp. 25, 26; “Shop”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (122) (1989), p. 40.



sufficiency. However, working on a farm or producing food was not so different to domestic activities performed by the majority of women in the home. Visual images of women working on cooperative farms as food producers appear regularly in the magazine; for example, “A Nesting Place” (see figure 4).<sup>96</sup> It is unusual, though, to find depictions of men working alongside women in the agricultural sector in the magazine.

In the painting (figure 4), three people are working on a farm in a mountainous region of North Korea.<sup>97</sup> The location is unspecified in the accompanying article. The small work team, or perhaps a family work unit, is composed of a man or “father figure”, a woman or “mother figure” and a young woman or child. The man or “father figure” kneels beside the birdcage, looking down towards the pheasants that he is releasing into the wild, while the older woman or “mother figure” stands beside the man with her hands in the air releasing one of the birds. The position of the woman within the artwork and the colour of her clothing draws the viewer’s eye to the figure. The woman stands tall and strong and wears the ethnic Korean dress for females, the *hanbok*, with some alterations to allow for easier mobility.

In the painting, the younger girl stands in the background watching the male figure release the birds, while carrying a cage of pheasants towards him. The young female figure is lost in the background as the events in the painting take place in front of her. This suggests the young girl is less important than the other figures and is acting in a supportive role to her male counterpart. This painting confirms the government’s assumptions about the role of men and women in the workforce, assigning women to less prominent roles, even in industries thought to be suitable to their characteristics.<sup>98</sup> It also shows that the gendered segregation of work begins when North Koreans are young and continues into their adult lives.



<sup>96</sup> *Women of Korea*, 3 (103) (1984), p. 24.

<sup>97</sup> “A nesting place”, *Women of Korea*, 3 (103) (1984), p. 24.

<sup>98</sup> Kim, *Illusive Utopia*, p. 216.



Figure 4 “A Nesting Place”. Date unknown. Oil Painting. *Women of Korea*, 3 (103) (1984), p. 24.

## Conclusion

To conclude, visual images and articles published in the DPRK’s English language magazine *Women of Korea* represent the government’s constructed view of femininity and masculinity in the family unit and the social labour force. It is evident in the visual images and articles published in the magazine that women’s primary role is seen to be as mothers and that the state assigns women to gender specific jobs in the social labour force, which are based on perceived attributes rather than actual ability. However, work in these industries is paid less than other occupations and women have fewer opportunities to progress to managerial roles outside work deemed appropriate by the state. This means that any gender equality laws promulgated in the North Korean legal system, such as the Law on Equality of the Sexes (1946), are undermined by the segregation of women to gender-specific roles in the labour force. Therefore, the magazine reveals the way in which the North Korean government chose to promote formal gender equality in order to mobilise women for the goal of economic development, while at the same time disregarding actual social, cultural, and familial gender equality.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, under the surface of claims made by the North Korean government, that women had achieved equality because of the laws promulgated, the visual images and text in *Women of Korea* reveal that the stereotyping of men and women to certain roles in families, as well as discrimination against women, continued to persist socially and culturally.

---

<sup>99</sup> Kang, “The Patriarchal State”, p. 62.

## References

### Primary Sources

- "A Nesting Place", *Women of Korea*, 3 (103) (1984), p. 24.
- "Anti-Japanese Women's Association and Its Immortal Achievement", *Women of Korea*, 4 (100) (1983), p. 11, 12.
- "At Chongryu Restaurant", *Women of Korea*, 4 (105) (1985), pp. 31, 32.
- "At Sight of Women Carrying Water Jar on Head", *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 5.
- "Bringing Up Women into Socialist Builders", *Women of Korea*, 4 (104) (1984), pp. 2, 3.
- "Changsan-ri Today", *Women of Korea*, 4 (124) (1989), pp. 17-19.
- Choe, T. S., "Recollection of the Promulgation on Sex Equality", *Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), pp. 7, 8.
- "Democratic Revolution and Women's Problem", *Women of Korea*, 1 (105) (1985), pp. 4, 5.
- "Developing Women to Be Pillars of Society Turning One of Its Two Wheels", *Women of Korea*, 4 (124) (1989), p. 28.
- "Faithful Servants of People (A visit to the store of the Sinuiju Textile Mill)", *Women of Korea*, 1 (101) (1984), pp. 21-23.
- "Fifteen Women Labour Heroes", *Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), pp. 10, 11.
- "Great Solicitude: At the Women's Clothing Factory in Pyongyang", *Women of Korea*, 4 (57) (1972).
- "Historic Days of Realising Sex Equality", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 4-6.
- "In the Days of Proclaiming Law on Sex Equality", *Women of Korea*, 3 (123) (1989), pp. 27, 28.
- Kim, J. S., "Upbringing of Children at State and Public Expense", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), p. 15.
- "Korean Women's Burden of Household Work is Becoming Lighter", *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), p. 11.

- "Li Byong Nam, "Direct Sale store Crowded with Shoppers", *Women of Korea*, 1 (109) (1986), pp. 30, 31.
- "Manageress", *Women of Korea*, 1 (105) (1985), pp. 13, 14.
- "Mangyongdae in Blooming April", *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), pp. 18–21.
- "Merry Laughing Voice Floats Out of Each and Every Home", *Women of Korea*, 4 (105) (1985), p. 32.
- "Mistress Responsible for a County", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 26, 27.
- "Mother", *Women of Korea*, 3 (22) (1966), pp. 6, 7.
- "Mother", *Women of Korea*, 3 (22) (1966), p. 39.
- "Mother of 12 Children", *Women of Korea*, 4 (108) (1985), p. 30.
- "Mother of 16 Bereaved Children", *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), p. 28.
- "New Aspects of Pyongyang", *Women of Korea*, 1 (97) (1983), pp. 22, 23.
- "Personal Visit to Rice-cooking House", *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 3.
- "Primary importance to education", *Women of Korea*, 3(135) (1992), p. 11.
- "Shop", *Women of Korea*, 2 (122) (1989), p. 40.
- "State Benefits to Women and Children", *Women of Korea*, 1 (109) (1986), pp. 27, 28.
- "State Benefits to Women – through the laws proclaimed immediately after liberation", *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), p. 11.
- "State Benefits to Women and Children", *Women of Korea*, 1 (109) (1986), pp. 27, 28.
- "Tenth Anniversary of Promulgation of Law on Nursing and Upbringing of Children", *Women of Korea*, 2 (110) (1986), pp. 25, 26.
- "The Child Is King of Our Country", *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 22, 23.
- "The Pyongyang Changgwang Garment Factory", *Women of Korea*, 4 (136) (1992), pp. 19, 20.
- "The Raising of Children at State and Public Expense", *Women of Korea*, 2 (130) (1991), p. 25.

“Towards Civilisation”, *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), pp. 10, 11.

“Under the Great Love”, *Women of Korea*, 3(71) (1976), pp. 16, 17.

“Upbringing of Children at State and Public Expense”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (106) (1985), pp. 12 –15.

“With a Mind to Free Women from Household Chores”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (102) (1984), p. 2.

“Woman Principal in Mountain Village”, *Women of Korea*, 3 (111) (1986), p. 14.

“Women Come out Valiantly in the “Movement for Winning the Red Flag of the Three Revolution”, *Women of Korea*, 1 (69) (1976).

“Women Enjoy a Rest to the Full”, *Women of Korea*, 3 (107) (1985), pp. 22, 23.

*Women of Korea*, 2 (98) (1983), p. 41.

*Women of Korea*, 3 (103) (1984), p. 24.

*Women of Korea*, 3 (131) (1991), p. 22.

*Women of Korea*, 4 (132) (1991), p. 34.

“Women Run Factory”, *Women of Korea*, 1 (113) (1987), p. 27.

“Worthwhile Working Place of Women”, *Women of Korea*, 3 (71) (1976), pp. 36, 37.

Yun, S. N., “Fishery Base for People”, *Women of Korea*, 2 (98) (1983), pp. 12, 13.

## Secondary Sources

Armstrong, C. K., *The North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Barraclough, R., “A history of sex work in modern Korea” in M. McLelland and V. Mackie (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), pp. 294–304.

*Bukhan Yosong-ui Suktae* (The status of North Korean women) (Seoul: The Second Ministry of Political Affairs, 1990).

Chen, Y. C., “Civil Law Development: China and Taiwan”, *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs*, 2 (2002).

- Choi, E. K., E. H. Kim, and Y. Merrill (eds.), *North Korea in the World Economy* (London: Routledge Advances in Korean Studies, 2003).
- Chung, J. S., "The Economy", in A. M. Savada, *North Korea: A Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kptoc.html> (accessed 6 May 2014).
- Frank, R. (ed), *Exploring North Korean Arts* (Vienna: Verlag für moderne Kunst, 2012).
- Germer, A., V. Mackie and U. Wöhr (eds), *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014).
- Jung, K., and B. Dalton, "Rhetoric Versus Reality for the Women of North Korea: Mothers of the Revolution", *Asian Studies*, 46 (5) (2006), pp. 741–760.
- Kang, J. W., "The Patriarchal State and Women's Status in Socialist North Korea", *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 6 (2) (2008), pp. 50–70.
- Kim, A. S., "Yosong-ui Kyongje Hwaldong" (Women's economic activities), in *Bukhan Yosong-ui Suktae* (The status of North Korean women) (Seoul: The Second Ministry of Political Affairs, 1990).
- Kim, I. S., "Report on the Work of the Central Committee to the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea" (11 September 1961) in *Selected Works 2* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965).
- Kim, I. S., "The Communist Education and Upbringing of Children Is an Honourable Revolutionary Duty of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers: Address to the National Congress of Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers", (20 October 1966), in *Selected Works 4* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965).
- Kim, I. S., "The Duty of Mothers in the Education of Children: Speech at the National Meeting of Mothers", (16 November 1961), in *Selected Works 3* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1971).
- Kim, S.Y., *Illusive Utopia: Theatre, Film and Everyday Performance in North Korea* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010).
- Kim, S.Y., "Dressed to Kill: Women's Fashion and Body Politics in North Korean Visual Media (1960s–1970s)", *positions: asia critique*, 19 (1) (2011), pp. 159–191.
- Kim, S., "Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 52 (4) (2010), pp. 742–767.
- Kim, S., *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945–1950* (Ithaca and London:

- Cornell University Press, 2013).
- Koyama, S., "Domestic Roles and the Incorporation of Women into the Nation State: The Emergence and Development of the 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' Ideology", in A. Germer, V. Mackie and U. Wöhr (eds), *Gender, Nation and State in Modern Japan* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), pp. 85–100.
- Kuo, M., *Intolerable Cruelty: Marriage, Law and Society in Early Twentieth-Century China* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012).
- Lee, B. Y., "Family Ethics and Women's Status within Confucian Tradition and Its Transformation", in Hwa Oh Jung (ed), *Feminist Cultural Politics in Korea* (Seoul: PrunSasang Co., 2005).
- Lee, T. Y., *Pukhan Yosong* (North Korean women) (Seoul: Silch'on Munhaksa, 1988).
- McLelland, M. and V. Mackie (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Sexuality Studies in East Asia* (Oxford: Routledge, 2015), pp. 294–304.
- Park, K. A., "Women and Revolution in North Korea", *Pacific Affairs*, 65 (4) (1992– 1993), pp. 527–545.
- Portal, J., *Art Under Control in North Korea* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2005).
- Ryang, S., "Gender in Oblivion: Women in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 35 (2000), pp. 323–349.
- Savada, A. M., *North Korea: A Country Study* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1993), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/kptoc.html> (accessed 6 May 2014).
- Selected Works 2* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965).
- Selected Works 3* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1971).
- Selected Works 4* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1965).
- Shin, E. Y., "Ideology and Gender Equality: Women's Policies of North Korea and China", *East Asian Review*, 13 (3) (2001), pp. 81–104.
- United Nations Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), "Consideration of reports submitted by States Parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women", *Initial Report of States Parties: Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, CEDAW/C/PRK/1 (Beijing: thirty-third session, 5 to 22 July 2005), (distributed 11 September 2002).
- Wong, A. Y. (ed), *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia* (Aberdeen:

Hong Kong University Press, 2012).

Yun, M. R., *North Korea's Policy on Women* (Seoul: Hanul Publishing Co., 1991).