

WID, GAD or Somewhere Else?

A critical analysis of gender in Korea's international education and development

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Over the past few decades, gender equality has been considered one of the fundamental principles and a significant crosscutting issue in international development. However, beyond applying 'gender equality' as a policy buzzword, there has been a lack of critical reviews on how generally 'gender equality in education' is understood and constructed in Korea's development programs and projects. In this regard, this paper explores the use of vocabularies and semantic meanings of gender equality in the Korean Government's Academic Cooperation Program and its 52 projects. By applying mixed contents analysis as a method, the research resulted in several findings: first, the policy papers recently highlighted Korea's directions on gender mainstreaming and gender-sensitive approaches in international development. Second, 'integrating women and girls' into education institutions was emphasized in various projects; third, the term women rather than gender were used in the texts, highlighting their position as a 'marginalized group.' Lastly, there was a lack of evidence of projects dealing with changing gender-based power relations. The constructed gendered relations and powers were identified throughout projects, usually acting as barriers to project activities. However, they were only identified, not challenged, by the program. In conclusion, whilst Korean international development and educational development discourse actively embrace Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) in their programs, it is time to consider the issue of

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gender equality from different standpoints, such as identity, rights, and capabilities and a more active engagement with Korea's domestic issues in gender discourse and practices is also needed.

Keywords: Korea, East Asian donor, international education and development, women in development (WID), gender in development (GAD), mixed content analysis

Introduction

Over the past few decades, gender equality has been considered one of the fundamental principles and a significant crosscutting issue in international development. Likewise, gender equality in education has been actively promoted through numerous international treaties and institutions, and it has also been pursued as one of the goals of international development. Korea, as an active East Asian donor country in multilateral and bilateral development, also has increasingly shown great enthusiasm for promoting gender equality in education in their foreign affairs and development policies. However, more than three decades of discourse linking gender, education and development shows that gender equality in education, especially in the context of international development, has many meanings with varying degrees of interpretation. In this context, beyond 'gender equality' as a global policy buzzword, there has been a lack of critical reviews and research on how generally 'gender equality in education' is understood, interpreted and applied in development programs and projects of east Asian donor countries.

By analyzing the use of vocabularies and semantic meanings of gender equality in education in the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)'s Academic Cooperation Program and their 52 projects, this study aimed to explore how gender and gender equality were reflected in an actual educational development program based on two approaches to gender, education, and development, which are primarily used in international development policy regarding gender. Therefore, this exploration uncovers why policies and practices are presented to settle the issue of gender inequality. Put another way, unveiling these approaches is a starting point in understanding why certain policies and practices regarding gender inequality in education have been developed and implemented. Thus, this study may serve to explain how gender-related problems in education are diagnosed, and how the nature of the challenge to achieve gender equality in education is interpreted.

To this end, this study identified the following research questions: *First*, what are the vocabularies and semantic meanings of gender equality in education used in the KOICA's cooperation program with academic partners? *Second*, how are the perception and concept of gender reflected in the program? What gender or women's issues are reflected in the process of the program and its individual projects? *Third*, what outputs of the program are considered results with respect to gender? By exploring such questions, this study examined the perception and concept of gender reflected in the program, the gender or women's issues reflected in the program's projects, and the stated results and how these conclusions fundamentally challenge the

views and strategies of place of gender in Korea's development and more broadly the East Asian donor's development thinking.

Gender, Education and International Development: The Literature

Over the last four decades, the WID and the GAD approaches have had the most impact on the formulation and implementation of international development policies and academic discourse dominant around the globe. Gender-related development discourse and policy have provided the basis for gender-sensitive policies and influencing research in various institutions, including international and foreign assistance agencies (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006; Rathgeber, 1990). Many development programs and projects have been influenced by these two approaches (including Korea's international development policies), although development practitioners frequently overlook the approach or theory underlying their work (Rathgeber, 1990). It is essential to explore these critical approaches, their related theories, and their underlying assumptions because they have been used as important frameworks for institutions and organizations to diagnose problems in and understand the challenge of girls' and women's education and training. The diagnoses made on the basis of the approaches have led to different prescriptions for gender inequality in development, and to implementation of different strategies to achieve gender equality in both basic and higher education.

Since the 1970s, the WID framework has had the most influential advocates in public and private institutions including governments, intergovernmental organizations, and Non-Governmental Organizations (DeJaeghere & Wiger, 2013). Moreover, even in the 1990s, the most influential policy thinking on gender, education, and development made use of this approach (Unterhalter, 2005). The publication of Ester Boserup's monumental study "Women's Role in Economic Development" (1970) contributed to quick adoption and proliferation of WID. By exploring changes in traditional African agricultural society, Boserup analyzed the gendered impact of development. She found that development (in her study of cash cropping and technology transfer) aimed primarily at men and eventually disadvantaged women by neglecting their role in agricultural production (Boserup, 1970). Boserup's study challenged the "welfare approach" (Miller & Razavi, 1995), in which women were considered not as farmers but as mothers and wives (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). Thus, the WID approach – conceptually closely related to the modernization paradigm (Koczberski, 1998; Rathgeber, 1990) – argues that women should be better integrated into development programs to eliminate discrimination against women and to end inequality. In this respect, education plays a vital role as a crucial means of producing a stock of well-trained workers and managers to achieve modernization, which usually equates with industrialization and development. In the context of education, it is pivotal to bring girls and women outside school into the educational system because they have thus far been "hidden figures" in development: untapped potential workers, managers and human capital for development. Therefore, gender equality in education programs is sought by improving female students' enrolment and retention in school through attention to their access, attendance, and achievement¹.

However, the approach has faced much criticism. As mentioned above, it is based on modernization theory, and this fundamentally limits the approach in many ways. The early traditional modernization theory on which the WID approach is based adopts the dichotomized colonial discourse; in this view, development is a natural and linear progression from traditional, static, backward, underdeveloped society to modern, dynamic, progressive, developed society (Koczberski, 1998; Rathgeber, 1990). Therefore, the solutions it adopts for developing countries are fairly technological prescriptions for problems based on the way already-developed countries achieved their development, without consideration for the contextual diversity of developing countries. Furthermore, consideration of women and girls as a homogenous group leads to neglect of their diversity and disregard of the impact of other influencing factors, such as wealth, power, and social status among girls and women (Koczberski, 1998; Rathgeber, 1990). Many argue that the approach stereotypes women and girls as passive, oppressed, ignorant, powerless, and trapped in secondary roles. Above all, Koczberski questioned the belief that integration of women would automatically guarantee their genuine participation. She assumes that women would instead play a secondary role in participation and control of development planning process, rather than genuinely participating in development (Koczberski, 1998).

The GAD approach stemmed from such criticism of the WID approach in the late 1980s. Carolyn Moser's "Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs" is commonly cited as foundational to the GAD approach (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). In her influential study, Moser identified the problem of the development planning process: failure to recognize the difference between the roles and needs of men and women. She argued that among the triple roles of women's work, the two roles of reproductive and community management work were undervalued compared to productive work, and that women's gender needs and interests (both practical and strategic) should be considered in the development process (Moser, 1989). Drawing on socialist feminism (Rathgeber, 1990; Unterhalter, 2005) and responding to postcolonial feminism and the growth of women's movements in developing countries (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006), GAD advocates emphasized the gendered and patriarchal power structures of inequality and the removal of structural obstacles to equality (Unterhalter, 2005). Thus, the concern of the GAD approach is not just about women per se, but "the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities, and expectations to women and men" (Rathgeber, 1990). In this sense, women are viewed as autonomous agents of change, and are expected to organize themselves to have a more active political voice (Rathgeber, 1990; Young, 1997). Therefore, empowerment of women was essential and became the agenda for development (Lim, 2013).

According to the GAD approach to education, gender inequality in education is a structural problem, and thus, focusing only on reducing disparity in school cannot resolve the issue. Development should challenge gendered structural powers and relations surrounding education by offering strategies and processes that provide fair and equal opportunities for the genders. In this respect, education's purpose is to conscientize or identify areas of gendered and patriarchal inequality in power structure.

The GAD approach has also faced some criticism. Its biggest challenge stems from its nature, which considers the gendered structure of inequality to be the problem and focuses on complex processes involved in the reproduction and transformation of gendered relations (Unterhalter, 2005). Therefore, it is not easy to translate the GAD approach into implementation of actual development practices. Put another way, GAD appears abstract and complex, thus somewhat difficult to realize in practice. In addition, compared to WID, GAD demands a more holistic and fundamental change in society to overcome inequality. Therefore, it is more threatening than the WID approach (Moser, 1993), which suggests a relatively simpler solution—integrating girls and women into the existing system—and this elicits more bureaucratic resistance and less popularity in planning processes. Additionally, gender mainstreaming, the crucial development mechanism suggested by GAD to integrate gender into all aspects of development organizations' works—including programming, implementing, and budgeting development projects and programs—has been adopted at the policy level but not the implementation level (Vavrus & Richey, 2003). In short, criticism of GAD, concerning practical difficulties in implementing this approach, rather than the approach itself. Compared to WID, GAD's suggested prescriptions for gender inequality seem more fundamentally complex, which could lead to reluctance by program planners and project implementers to accept the GAD approaches. This might explain the continuing popularity of the WID approach, despite its many limitations and criticism, and comparatively lower popularity of the GAD approach.

Another approach is post-structuralism. Advocates of this approach, mainly highly educated critics in universities, have critiqued the hegemonic and static conceptualization of gender and development. They assume that gendered identity construction is a fluid, shifting, and dynamic process, and that education is partly a process of understanding such fluidity and of raising critical questions about the process by which non-mainstream identities are marginalized (DeJaeghere & Wiger, 2013; Unterhalter, 2005, 2006). Other critical approaches apart from post-structuralism that should be considered are the human rights and human capabilities approaches, collectively often referred to as the human development approach. Compared to the three aforementioned approaches, these two pose more foundational and philosophical questions, such as the reason for the importance of gender equality and the definitions of various rights to education (Unterhalter, 2005, 2006)ⁱⁱ. The human capabilities approach holds that equality should be evaluated, for example in providing education, based on an understanding of human capabilities and the valued freedoms of every individual (Sen, 2001; Unterhalter, 2005, 2006). This aspect, stressing the personal and private benefits of education for girls and women, contrasts with the human capital approach, an influence on WID, which highlights the aggregated social and economic benefits of education for girls and women. In addition, like GAD, this approach addresses structures and agency, but it does so in the context of the value of individuals and communities (DeJaeghere & Wiger, 2013)ⁱⁱⁱ. In short, various approaches with differing assumptions and related theories have influenced the policies of various institutions, shaping their projects and practices for gender equality particularly in education. Various scholars have explored the distinctions of the WID, GAD, post-structuralism, and human development (human rights and human capabilities) approaches to frame gender equality in education (DeJaeghere & Wiger, 2013). They appear to have a relatively distinctive set of

concerns, demands, policy implications, and favoured research, but in reality, there are considerable overlaps between approaches (Thomas & Rugambwa, 2011; Unterhalter, 2005).

Methodology

This research targeted the KOICA's Civil Society Cooperation Program, which is particularly involved with Korean universities and research institutes as private partners, to explore how gender and gender equality were reflected in the actual educational development program. Most project-implementing organizations and project personnel were affiliated with universities and research institutes. Therefore, even if a project was not classified as an education project per se, educational activities were carried out regardless in many cases, because the program was designed to harness the expertise and capabilities of development actors in academia. For this reason, it was desirable to explore crossing points between gender, education, and development in this program. The scope of this study included projects that were completed between 2014 and 2016. The projects selected as data comprised almost all the projects implemented by the program at the time; this is because the objective was to determine the vocabularies and semantic meanings of gender equality in education used in the KOICA program as a whole. The subjects of analysis included 52 projects. Pseudonyms were used to conceal the actual name of each project. During this time, the projects were implemented in 19 countries and more than a quarter (26.9%) were education projects (KOICA, in press). During the subject period, 30% of beneficiaries and 50% of local partners included local universities. Around the same time, various projects were implemented utilizing the expertise and capabilities of private development partners in academia (KOICA, in press).

The analytical foundations of this research are fundamentally based on Unterhalter's categorization of four approaches to gender, education, and development (see Table 1). With an insight from Unterhalter's four approaches concerning gender, education, and development, this study's data were analyzed to explore (i) the semantic meanings of gender in development, (ii) gender equality in education, and (iii) gender in education in the context of the Academy Partnership Program. In other words, the data gathered from documents were analyzed to explore the following: First, whether gender implies women and girls as hidden figures in development or structured powers and relations to be challenged through development. Second, whether gender equality in education stands for reducing disparity or achieving equity. Third, whether gender in education indicates education for developing human capital or for conscientization. The former interpretations in each of the three statements above were developed based on the WID approach, and the latter interpretations based on the GAD approach.

Table 1

Unterhalter's Categorization of Four Approaches in Gender, Education and Development

Approaches	Related theory	View of gender	View of development	View of education	View of equality
WID (1970s–present)	Modernization, human capital theory	Gender = women, girls	Growth, efficiency, good governance, social cohesion	Schooling	Equality of resources; sometimes termed “parity”
GAD (1980s–present)	Structuralism, Marxism	Constructed social relations, power	Challenging inequity and oppression	Conscientization	Redistribution of power; sometimes termed “equity”
Post-structuralism (1990s–present)	Post-colonial theory	Shifting identities	Struggle with the past in the present to shape multifaceted identities and new narratives	Deconstruction	Stress on difference
Human development (human rights/human capabilities, 1990s–present)	Capability approach	Inequality and denial of capability	Development as freedom	Basic capability	Equality of rights and capabilities

Note. Originally from Unterhalter (2005, 2006) and reconstructed by author

The research studied not only the underlying discourse and definition of Korea's development strategy and program to conceptualize the gender equality in development, but also explored the actual use of vocabularies and semantic meanings of gender equality in the Academic Cooperation Program as well as the 52 individual projects. Content analysis is adopted to systematically analyze the context, contents and underlying concepts that are presented and constructed in the documents that are produced for the KOICA's academic partnership program and projects. While content analysis is a widely used research method of analyzing texts or other

meaningful textual data to make replicable and valid inferences to the contexts of their use, it often offers ‘more systematized’ insights, helping a researcher deeply understand particular phenomena, and serve as a practical guide to actions (Krippendorff, 2013, p.24).

The content analysis is often criticized for heavily focusing on frequency list of words such as key words analysis and control of distribution of the words. Given these methodological concerns, the authors adopted a mixed methods version, which includes both quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis. This method allows in maintaining detailed analysis of words, presented and represented in the texts, but also includes the issues of context as well as conceptual definition, that are innovatively examined and applied in recent multi methods researches such as combining contents analysis and discourse analysis (see Bennett, 2015; Collier & Elman, 2008; Liberman, 2005; Small, 2011). The newly adopted analytical tool, called CUCC (Context, Unit of Analysis, Contents, Conceptual Definition) analysis allows researchers to systematically examine written *contents* and *units of analysis* that are visibly presented in the text data and further explore *conceptual definitions* that can be analyzed by understanding the context of the program as well as project documents. For the sub-categories of analysis, the French Development Agency (AFD)’s assessment criteria (AFD, 2014), which examine the potential positive and negative impacts of a project on gender equality - perception and concept of gender reflected in projects, the gender-related outcomes or outputs of projects, and gender or women’s issues addressed at the phases of design, implementation (process and content), and monitoring and evaluation phase – are applied. Table 2 presents the details of criteria and detailed questions explored for this research.

Table 2

C (Context)– U (Unit of Analysis) – C (Contents) - C (Conceptual Definition) Analysis

Category	Questions	Sub-categories for analysis	Approach
Context	What is the relevant context in the documents?	i.e. year, publisher, program’s background	Qualitative
Unit of Analysis	What are the boundaries of this analysis in the documents?	i.e. list of contents, detailed list of contents, suggested guidelines	Qualitative
Contents	(Gender-sensitive processes) what and how the words, phrases, expressions are included in the documents?	i.e. gender marker - principal: marked as 2 - significant: marked as 1 - not targeted, marked as 0	Quantitative
	(Gender-sensitive processes) what and how the words,	i.e. gender or women’s issues reflected in overall situation and problem analysis at the planning phase,	Qualitative

	phrases, expressions are constructed in the documents?	implementation phase, monitoring and evaluation phase	
	(Gender-related results) what kind of gender-related results are highlighted in the documents?	i.e. gender-related outcomes or outputs of projects	
Conceptual Definition	(Perception of gender) How gender and development is defined in the documents?	i.e. women in development approach, gender and development approach, human development approach	Qualitative

Findings and Discussion

Context.

Over the past few decades, gender has been considered as a significant as well as crosscutting issue and gender equality has been recognized as a basic principle in development cooperation. (KVINFORM, 2018) Likewise, gender equality in education has been actively promoted through numerous international treaties and organisms, and it has also been pursued as one of the goals of Korea's international development. Fundamental strategy papers highlighted Korea's directions in gender mainstreaming and gender-sensitive approaches. Based on the Framework Act on International Development, which showed Korea's willingness to achieve gender equality, KOICA set up the Gender Equality Mid-term strategy as well as an institutional framework for gender mainstreaming in ODA such as Regulations on Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment. Also, guidelines and toolkits have been published to spread knowledge and information about gender and development in society.

Cooperation between KOICA and private partners has been continuous since 1995, when KOICA launched a program supporting CSOs, and KOICA has since broadened its sphere of public-private cooperation. One strategy to strengthen cooperation with other stakeholders was to expand KOICA's partners to include not only CSOs but also various other development actors including universities, research institutes, and businesses. Since 2012, universities have been able to participate as private partners in the Public-Private Partnership Program in a more systemic manner. In 2012, under the name "International Development Cooperation Program through Partnership with Universities," KOICA launched a new program for cooperation with universities to expand and diversify its Public-Private Partnership Program, to improve ODA effectiveness by making use of universities' expertise, and to harness the field experiences of the Korean labor force in developing countries (KOICA, 2012a, 2012b)^{iv}. Beginning in 2015, the program was changed once again, generally termed the "Academy Partnership Program" (KOICA, in press). It was divided into a partnership project for research capacity building (Track 1), which was in turn subdivided into capacity building in development planning (Track 1-1) and

capacity building in local universities (Track 1-2); and a partnership project for results-based management (Track 2) to utilize the expertise and capabilities of private development partners in academia (KOICA, 2015a)^v. Track 1-2 was particularly designed for university faculties and students in developing countries. The goal was to promote development of highly qualified human resources to lead social change in developing countries, as well as to establish a basis for capacity building in tertiary education faculties and to improve learning environments (KOICA, 2015b). Example outcomes were increased numbers of highly qualified human resources, nurtured through capacity-building workshops and newly established education training courses; and improved quality of tertiary education in developing countries, achieved through joint development of curricula and student evaluations (KOICA, 2015b)^{vi}.

Contents.

When KOICA initially launched the program cooperating with development partners in academia, under the name “International Development Cooperation Program through Partnership with University,” the project was assessed based on whether different impacts for men and women and vulnerable and non-vulnerable groups are expected in its beneficiaries, and whether gender and vulnerable groups are reflected in its performance indicators to address crosscutting issues (KOICA, 2012b). Through the format of interim and final reports presented in the program guidelines, the project is required to explain how it addresses crosscutting issues, including gender equality, and to describe the mainstreaming strategy adopted in its activities^{vii}. In 2014, a KOICA gender toolkit was developed, and checklists were created for gender mainstreaming according to the project phase. These tools were designed to help clarify private partners’ understanding of KOICA project implementation procedures and gender mainstreaming strategies (KOICA, 2014).

In addition, when the program was divided into a partnership project for research capacity building, which was in turn subdivided into capacity building in development planning and capacity building in local universities; and a partnership project for results-based management to utilize the expertise and capabilities of private development partners in academia (KOICA, 2015a), it was suggested that participants promote and raise awareness of crosscutting issues, including gender equality, by setting them as main objectives in each project, reflecting crosscutting issue perspectives and thereby contributing to the achievement of development goals (KOICA, 2015b). Accordingly, an item for assessment of written project proposals and interviews was consideration of crosscutting issues, including gender equality. Since 2016, the KOICA gender toolkit, published in 2015, has been attached as reference material for the Public Private Partnership Program. Furthermore, when the program was redesigned and divided according to theme and known as the “Civil Society Cooperation Program” (KOICA, 2016a), sex-disaggregated statistics have been used as evidence for representative indicators and a list of the gender classification of beneficiaries is mandatory (KOICA, 2016b). To achieve gender equality, a minimum proportion of female beneficiaries can be set as a project outcome; otherwise, projects are requested to submit sex-disaggregated statistics to the extent possible (KOICA, 2016b).

In 2018, after the researched projects were mostly completed, the program once again changed its subprogram areas. The integration of the university cooperation program into the higher education–themed subprogram resulted in a predominance of projects for capacity building in local universities. The vision, the main outcomes, and core indicators of the higher education subprogram are not distinctly different from those of the previous project for capacity building in local universities. The vision of the subprogram in higher education seeks to expand human resources for economic and social development through quality tertiary education (KOICA, 2018). The outcomes are the development of highly qualified human resources to lead social change in developing countries and improvement of tertiary education quality in developing countries^{viii}. For the gender equality subprogram, outcomes include economic and social empowerment for gender equality, social status for gender equality, and basic rights for gender equality (KOICA, 2018). Examples include provision of gender-equal training and education in order to acquire decent jobs, expansion of women’s leadership, securing rights for women’s sexual and reproductive health care and establishing their own health issues, and reduction in gender-based violence (KOICA, 2018). The outcomes encompass more than access, but the main indicators do not; they include the participation rate by sex of youth and adults in formal and non-formal education and training (KOICA, 2018). Does the increased participation rate of women and girls in formal and non-formal education alone indicate gender equality in education? Interestingly, improvement in access to education is established as an outcome for the vulnerable groups–themed subprogram. Therefore, the main objectives for vulnerable groups include the number of female students who complete education (or training) programs, including employment and startup support. Ultimately, in the redesigned five-theme program, the outcome level addresses more than the issue of access, but the associated indicators and the focus remain concerned with accessibility alone.

Contents of the Individual Projects: Perception of Gender.

First of all, it was necessary to determine whether gender and gender equality were even considered in the program. Using the criteria of the OECD-DAC gender policy marker, only 35% of projects completed from 2014 to 2016 could be classified as gender equality focused, meaning that gender equality was either the primary or an essential and deliberate objective of the project (OECD, 2016).

Table 3

Gender Policy Marker Scoring for Projects Studied

	Not targeted (0)	Significant (1)	Principal (2)	N/A
2014	17	8	2	-
2015	9	4	2	-
2016	7	1	1	1
Total	33 (63%)	13 (25%)	5 (10%)	1 (2%)

Note. Reconstructed from KOICA (in press) by author

Table 3 above illustrates the OECD-DAC gender policy marker scoring for projects completed by the program from 2014 to 2016. According to this, only 35% of the program's activities would have been reported as targeting gender equality as a policy objective in the annual reporting of aid to the OECD-DAC. However, upon closer examination, this information is insufficient to explain what was really happening in practice. In accordance with the data above, gender was not addressed at all in the final reports of 15 projects, accounting for 29% of the program. Most of the final reports addressed how the project handled crosscutting issues such as gender equality, human rights, or environmental protection, and how it engaged vulnerable groups. However, nothing about gender was mentioned. In nine of the 15 projects, female participants were identified primarily through the pictures taken, even if nothing about gender was stated in the reports. In the remaining projects, gender was usually considered in three ways: women, women and men, and social structure. This tendency can be seen in the processes and results of the projects. For the most part, projects' approaches to the issues concerning girls and women in developing countries were reported by equating "gender" to women and girls as hidden figures in development. In a few projects, gender was perceived as an issue in which men and boys should also be considered, or as an issue of structured powers and relations.

Planning Phase.

Projects investigated the overall situations and problems, and reported on women's or gendered problems and situations. Division of labor, different gender roles, and specific responsibilities within society, as well as within household, were identified as gendered/women's issues. For example, in the region where project B-8, concerning rainwater management, was conducted, women took responsibility for drawing, boiling and reserving water. Water is considered as one of essential services. To ensure the survival of their households, women, as an extension of their domestic and reproductive role, are forced to take responsibility for the provision, maintenance, and allocation of scarce resources of collective consumption such as this (Moser, 1989). Moser (1989) defined this as community management role of women. In the context of B-8, the organization implementing the project deemed that offering safe and clean water would alleviate the burden on the women who managed water use. The project aimed to satisfy practical gender needs and interests for women, allowing them to procure safe and clean water more easily, but it did not address the gendered responsibility of managing water, as illustrated in project B-8. The report highlighted the gender analysis in their planning document and the details are as follows: *According to the results of observation of the X, Y, and Z regions, women take responsibility for drawing, boiling and reserving water. Providing safe and clean water can lighten the burden of women. (B-8)*

Moser (1989) pointed out that women implicitly accept the sexual division of labor in performing this role. She additionally argued that although men also participate in community activities, they undertake different roles in a community, such as formal political organization,

usually within the framework of national politics; this reflects a further sexual division of labor, creating a spatial division between men in the public world and women in the private world. Several projects identified the rural exodus of young men to cities or other countries. Even if no decent jobs were available in the area, women stayed in the region and undertook the men's former roles and responsibilities. Why did men decide to leave their hometown, but not women? These projects did not address the implicit gender norms and stereotypes underlying the phenomenon. Project B-10 found the rate of female professors to be low, even though the ratio of male and female students in the university department was balanced. Fewer female faculty in higher education in developing countries occupy management and senior leadership positions compared to other education sectors (UNESCO, 2018). A survey assessing the participation of female faculty in senior, management, administrative, and academic positions in commonwealth universities revealed that in the majority of developing countries of the commonwealth, female faculty still lag far behind male faculty in management of academic institutions (Singh, 2008).

The constraints on addressing male and female imbalances are complex and varied. These constraints showed that this problem would not be solved simply by sending more female students to universities. Morley and Crossouard's (2015) analysis of under-representation of women in senior leadership positions in higher education in six South Asian countries (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka) demonstrated several barriers such as sociocultural belief systems related to the division of labor between gender, social class, and caste regarding women's leadership, lack of investment in women, the patriarchal nature of higher education institutions, negative perception of leadership, the political nature of leadership appointment processes, family and corruption and association of leadership with masculinity discouraging women's authority. Moreover, simply being qualified for senior posts is not enough for female faculty. Kagoda's (2011) assessment of the effectiveness of affirmative action on women's leadership and participation in the education sector in Uganda revealed that even though many women now have qualifications for leadership positions, men still dominate; this implies that gender parity does not mean equal representation in leadership positions. In sum, projects identified issues of gender division of labor and different gender roles and responsibilities. In these contexts, "gender" can be understood to mean a set of structured relations. Investigation of overall situations and problems also revealed limited social participation by women and little interest in women's issues. Authors of the project reports assumed that the implicit patriarchal system working across society and strong Confucian values of the partner country contributed to each phenomenon, respectively. Additionally, reported problems that would negatively influence a project included negative factors, like high rates of female illiteracy and low self-esteem, and low Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) ranks, indicating a low score in areas such as education and female political rights. In this respect, "gender" referred to women.

Gender-sensitive Processes.

First, practical procedures targeting effective access for women were practiced in more than a third of the projects studied. For example, affirmative action to promote participation by women

was taken in recruiting or selecting students or participants, such as giving priority to female candidates. A certain percentage of women participants (usually 30%, but also 40%, 60%, and even 80%) were set as a goal in some projects, or participants were organized by sex in a certain proportion. In some cases, projects were aimed primarily or entirely at women. In these contexts, “gender equality” can be understood to mean achieving quantitatively or numerically equal participation by reducing gender disparity.

Second, barriers discouraging women from participating in a project were identified. For example, the opposition of family (husbands) to women’s social activities and education gave rise to frequent dropouts among women, and household burdens led to absences. Actions or procedures were taken to overcome these barriers and encourage women to participate in the project. For instance, when visiting households to register women in their childbearing years, the organization implementing the project recognized the cultural problems of visiting a women-only household. Thus, the partner organization and a community leader accompanied the team. The implementing organization also considered working women, who could not be registered by a household visit; thus, registration was also conducted at workplaces in cooperation with local health authorities, farms, and factories where women worked. Motivation programs were launched, and friendly environments were organized. For example, individual interviews were arranged with female participants who were frequently absent or dropped out, so as to resolve such issues. Subsequently, motivation programs were implemented, such as spouse-participation programs, a jam-making workshop, and education on food storage, women’s rights, and entrepreneurship. The IT department of a vocational training center, which had the greatest concentration of female students, was actively supported, and a website was built for the department. With this support, an IT club was established and operated. In addition, the project-implementing organization considered women who were reluctant to reveal themselves in front of others, and thus reluctant to make use of health promotion zone with men present. Therefore, to increase female use, a health promotion zone was established on the same floor as the pediatric and obstetrics and gynecology departments and designed less open. Creating friendly environments is a very common strategy to improve accessibility for female participants. For example, providing secure waiting places between classes, separate toilets, and sanitation facilities made a great difference to female students and women (Vimala, 2010). In short, actions or procedures implemented to overcome barriers discouraging women’s participation in projects were focused on improving female accessibility.

Third, women were encouraged to participate in project governance, for example by becoming a manager or a committee member. Projects were designed for, or appointed, women to participate as staff, committee or board members, and managers. These efforts were intended to enable women to take part in the decision-making and management processes. They aimed to open paths for women to become more autonomously and independently involved in projects by serving as managers or decision-makers. This was expected to reflect women’s voices and perspectives in the projects. Such actions can be understood as offering strategies and processes to provide fair and equal opportunities. Fourth, counterparts in gender equality in relevant sectors or organizations were engaged in the project. Local entities concerning women, such as NGOs,

local groups, and public officials were engaged in collaboration with organizations implementing projects, participating in meetings or workshops. Collaboration with existing counterparts in gender equality in the relevant sectors and organizations was expected to reflect the needs and interests of local women in the project. Furthermore, it aimed to empower the counterparts by encouraging them to participate in the project. These collaborations can be understood as efforts to achieve gender equity. Fifth, when conducting research with a local university for research capacity building projects, gender issues were addressed in research questions to residents. In project B-1, four questions were asked: whether there was a gender difference between patients and why the respondent thought so; whether the respondent should get her husband's permission when going to medical facilities and why; what cultural customs were observed by female residents regarding health issues; and what diseases were commonly found in female residents. In this way, gender-related issues concerning the topic were identified. Similarly, project C-1 held a workshop reflecting gender aspects in the context of the research topic to incorporate gender perspectives in the topic's discourse. As a result, gender perspectives on the research topic were included in the final report as part of the literature review. In these contexts, "gender" can be understood to refer to structured powers and relations underlying the development process.

Project Monitoring and Evaluation Phase.

Sex-disaggregated data and statistics about the project's beneficiaries and the subjects of preliminary research were collected. Notably, in project A-17, a satisfaction survey was conducted before and after the project was implemented. The reports of the survey stated in detail the sex ratio of respondents and whether the results showed statistically significant gender differences. More than a third of the projects studied explicitly stated sex-disaggregated data or statistics in their final reports. This appears to have been the result of KOICA's demand for evidence materials for representative indicators with sex-disaggregated statistics, one of the tools for gender mainstreaming. Gender statistics, which reflect the realities of the lives of women and men as well as policy issues relating to gender, rest on sex-disaggregated data (EIGE, 2018). Therefore, reporting sex-disaggregated data and statistics can be understood as a process to provide fair and equal opportunities. Second, gender relations surrounding projects or gender-related environments usually served as barriers to effective project implementation. In this context, education can be understood as areas of inequality due to gendered and patriarchal power structure. Third, gender stereotypes in education continued to manifest in many cases. Universities of engineering, a traditionally male-dominated field of study, were concerned about low enrollment rate of female students and their concentrated major choices within the field, such as IT. Similarly, low female participation rate was a concern for training for farmers, agricultural instructors, and public officials, due to the small number of women working in the field in the first place.

In contrast, female students mainly took courses related to the service and fashion sectors. Education and training programs for teaching staff and health-related projects, particularly concerning maternal, newborn, and child health (MNCH), highlighted the concerns and projects'

realities in regards to the locally reinforcing gender roles in projects. One of the projects illustrated the ‘practical challenges’ as follows: *As for the practical consideration, that teachers’ pay is too low to play the role of a breadwinner. In the cultural consideration [in the project country], that education is perceived as suitable for women and this culture is an important reason for this [low enrolment rate of male students in MNCH project]. However, when the actual treatment of teachers is improved, the sex ratio is expected to improve gradually (B-4).* At the same time, women’s reproductive role and gendered relations within the family had an influence on their participation in education. Women faced difficulty taking part in the educational activities implemented by projects due to the opposition of their family and their responsibilities for doing housework and caring for children. Another MNCH project described as follows: *The number of dropouts is high due to the opposition of family (husbands) to women’s activities in society and education...The leading causes of absences are health and household burdens. (A-2)*

For this reason, women could not participate in the activities in the first place, or if they did, they were frequently absent or dropped out. This is because women must continuously juggle and balance their triple role of reproductive, productive, and community management work, and this severely constrains them (Moser, 1989). The gendered cultures were identified through other projects. As an illustration, women were unwilling to show themselves to others, and had little chance to voice their opinions as equals in hierarchical organizations. In addition, relatively lower experience in smartphone use among middle-aged and elderly women had a negative impact on a project campaign conducted through SNS, because gender differences in digital accessibility could result in exclusion of women if the campaign were conducted as planned. In short, by investigating overall situations and problems and by monitoring and evaluating projects, “gender” was identified as a set of social relations or powers that had an influence on projects, but these were not strongly challenged by the program.

Educational Contents of Projects.

The efforts were made to enable the contents of education to satisfy women’s gender needs and interests, particularly those of practical matters, such as ‘managing food’. For example, jam-making and food storage training was conducted to increase women’s motivation to participate in the education and training. It was reported that female students participating in the training to utilize letters, which they learned from literacy education, and this training increased their interest. Additionally, nutrition education was offered to women because the project-implementing organization believed them to play an essential role in preparing food in a household. Offering nutrition education—consisting of basic nutrition knowledge, recipes minimizing nutrient destruction, and nutritionally balanced menus—was considered a way to improve women position as agents of their family’s health. It is important to consider the gender needs and interests of women when preliminary research is conducted and actual project activities are implemented. By doing so, a project can provide what women actually want, resulting in high attendance and high satisfaction. For example, in the first village visit training,

reflecting the needs of the residents, an expert in producing sugar was invited who taught residents to produce and market sugar. It was reported that many local women participated in the education resulting in a high female participation rate. However, it is necessary to distinguish whether women's needs and interests are practical or strategic. Moser (1989) differentiated an interest as a prioritized concern and a need as means by which concerns are satisfied. Following this definition, Moser translated Molyneux's differentiation between practical and strategic gender interests into practical and strategic gender needs. In this respect, strategic gender interests are concerns for an equal society with challenging deeply entrenched forms of gender inequality, and strategic gender needs could be identified as the abolition of sexual division of labor (Moser, 1989; Unterhalter, 2005). On the other hand, practical gender interests are concerns with immediate day-to-day requirements for human survival, such as food, water, and shelter, and practical gender needs could be provision of these needs (Leach, 2003; Moser, 1989; Unterhalter, 2005).

In projects concerning health, the needs and interests of women as mothers were usually and more visibly taken into account, particularly in MNCH projects. This could have been a strategy to align the project with MDG 4, to reduce child mortality, and MDG 5, to improve maternal health. For example, a project was reported to have an effect on breast milk concerning how it addressed gender equality issues. Another project reported that early detection and treatment of breast cancer were induced by offering facilities for breast cancer screening and biopsy. The same project recommended installing a playground and securing space for feeding rooms on the same floor as the MNCH department because many female patients took their children with them and the children became bored running around in a hospital hallway. MNCH-related topics, for instance, were included as part of health education. In this way, housewives and women from low-income families learned the importance of family planning, methods of birth control, facility-based deliveries, childhood vaccinations, and HIV tests. When a project team carried out nutrition education, visiting teaching programs for pregnant and lactating women were conducted. In the same project, education materials intended for children, pregnant and lactating women, and infants were developed and used to educate residents and children. Focused counseling and follow-up care for nutritionally vulnerable groups, such as pregnant and lactating women, infants, and the elderly, were also conducted. Through a project implemented in regions where women's education level and environment were considerably poor, and women's empowerment education had rarely been conducted, various quality programs were offered to regional women, such as parenting techniques and parenting roles. The project-implementing organization believed that the project contributed to improving women's education level and capacity to care for children: *For prevention and management of the disease, preventive education related to health for residents, especially for women, is necessary. This is because women play a pivotal role in the health of family members, such as in pregnancy and meal preparation. (Interview with a Ministry of Health official, research report, project B-1)*

In general, health-related projects more clearly highlighted women's role in reproductive work, which is required for the maintenance (domestic tasks) and reproduction (childbearing and rearing) of the labor force (Moser, 1989). Women were mainly considered as mothers or expectant mothers in the context of the family, with focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Of

course, pregnancy and childbirth are critical and urgent issues in the field of health, but they are not the only issues related to women's health, and there was little consideration for the health of women who were not pregnant or mothers. In addition, aside from a few cases, little consideration was made of men as nurturers. Therefore, in many projects, the team was concerned about low male participation or few male benefits from the project. One of the projects illustrated significance of the project by highlighting: *This project concerns MNCH (Maternal, New-born, and Child Health), that is, aiming at improving the health of women and children, so there are relatively few benefits for men. (B-6)*

In Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET), as one of the most important aspects in Korea's education sector, traditionally female-dominated courses were often offered. Professionally specialized courses, such as design and pattern-making, were offered based on what students wanted to do after graduation, in countries where sewing is a skill that women can easily access and develop in everyday life. Where entrepreneurship was common, a shopping bag, which could be made and sold in a short period, was chosen as a business item. In an academy for educating middle managers, female students mostly took courses in service education and fashion design. Through these projects, female participants were highly satisfied because the educational contents met their needs and interests. Therefore, providing education or training in traditionally female-dominated fields seems an efficient method to bring more women into education or training in areas of imbalanced participation. What then is the problem? In fact, female students who take courses in traditionally female-dominated fields will work in traditionally female-dominated sectors, and male students who take courses in traditionally male-dominated fields will work in traditionally male-dominated sectors. This phenomenon is not confined to TVET. In higher education, gender imbalance concerning field of study still persists. Even though gender stereotypes have been gradually changing to a certain extent, educational gender stereotyping continues to manifest, with female students tending to study in so-called "women's" disciplines such as nursing, education, child development, and social services and male students tending to study in so-called "hard sciences" such as physics, mathematics, and engineering (Masanja, 2010; Vimala, 2010). Thus, in STEM fields, traditionally considered male-dominated, female graduates are still a minority (UNESCO, 2018). Such tendencies intensify occupational horizontal segregation by gender. Horizontal segregation is understood as under- or over-representation of a given group, like gender, in occupations or sectors not ordered by any criterion (Bettio et al., 2009). It refers to concentration of one gender in one profession or sector of economic activity. It also partly explains the gender wage gap (Blau & Ferber, 1987). Second, projects conducted various gender-related education programs, such as gender equality promotion, gender equity promotion, and gender discussion. For example, women's rights education covering various themes was provided once per quarter during a project to promote awareness of women's rights and women's empowerment in the region. In the same project, education for women and their spouses, with contents including positive gender roles, formation of harmonious family relationships, and parenting, was reported to elicit a positive response from men. Another project, focusing on improvement of childrearing capacity, took father education into account and publicized it as part of good parenting education to ensure gender balance in the

project. Such projects recognized the importance of male participation in this issue, and “gender” in these contexts referred to both men and women.

A project-implementing organization team reported providing courses on the role of women in rural communities. This team notably broadened awareness of women’s potential and educated participants on recognizing social alienation. By doing so, the team believed that the project contributed to improving the reality of local women facing social alienation and economic poverty. One staff member from another project participated in gender equity education for six months, organized by the ministry of women’s affairs. This education was adopted as the basic curriculum in all local projects, and participants were helped to internalize gender equality. To that end, basic awareness-raising education, which addressed gender equity as one of its topics, was provided for child-care teachers, parents, and residents, and the team believed that it contributed to improving awareness of children and women among residents and teachers in the region. In research for a project in development planning capacity building, one topic of the literature review was the relationship between the research topic and gender. The same project conducted gender discussion, the principal contents of which were the trends of female workers in country P, the gender roles and relations in modern society of country P, the change of gender roles in the household, and sharing of good practices. These examples illustrate education working as conscientization. Through such education and training, women and girls are given an opportunity to be conscious of the gender issues and problems surrounding them. In addition, it provides a good example for how a project-implementing organization could attempt to address gender equality as a crosscutting issue in its project activities. However, this practice was not common throughout the program. In most cases, it appeared that the organization did not know how to reflect the issue in its project activities aside from incorporating more female participants, or that the team considered the project to be irrelevant to gender equality. However, gender equality is a cross-cutting issue that relates to and must be considered within other categories to be appropriately addressed (Global Education Cluster, 2010). Moreover, in the field of development, mainstreaming a crosscutting issue like gender equality implies that all development initiatives should have a positive effect on the issue (Solheim, 2014).

Development Results.

In many cases, the number and the percentage of female participants were reported as project results. This can be seen as an effort to demonstrate improvement in women’s accessibility through increase in the proportion of female participants. In practice, as stated above, to improve female accessibility and participation, various actions were taken to address gender equality in the program and facilitate greater access for and participation of girls and women. For instance, female candidates were given priority, or a particular percentage or proportion of female participation was set as a goal. Women-specific projects were organized, and obstacles barring female participants from participation were identified and mitigated as much as possible to improve their accessibility. In addition, the number or percentage of female participants was reported as a crucial project result. Put another way, all efforts were made to integrate more girls and women into the development program. In this context, “gender” could equate to women and

girls as hidden figures of development, and these efforts could contribute to reducing gender disparity.

Incorporating girls and women and reducing gender disparity are essential. However, are they enough to achieve gender equality? Does gender parity achieved by integrating girls and women in development inevitably result in gender equality? Koczberski (1998) questions the belief that integration of women will automatically guarantee genuine female participation. Similarly, while exploring the program, gendered relations and structures surrounding projects were identified, which usually had a negative influence on the projects. Gender inequalities are complex issues, and they cannot be solved just by encouraging more girls and women to participate in the projects. The issue of access alone does not solve the problem of inequality (Jacobs, 1996). Integrating girls and women is not a panacea for gender inequality. It is a necessary step towards equality, but is an insufficient precondition per se for its realization (Subrahmanian, 2005).

Conceptual Definition.

In summary, the WID approach is still predominated in the KOICA academia cooperation program. In many projects, gender was in the sense of girls and women as hidden figures in development. Gender equality in education is referred to as achieving quantitative or numerically equal participation by reducing disparity. Education was intended to serve in developing human resources or characterized as an area of imbalanced participation as shown in table 4. In many cases, projects' processes pursued an effective access to as well as ensuring retention of girls and women in the project's educational activities. Actions were taken to address gender equality by facilitating greater access for and better participation of girls and women in many projects. For instance, female candidates were given priority, or in other cases, particular percentages of their female participants were set as 'a goal'. Women-specific projects were organized, and obstacles barring female participants from taking part in the project were identified and mitigated to improve accessibility for women. In addition, the number or percentage of female participants was reported as a crucial project result. Put in another way, efforts were made to integrate more girls and women into the development program, and which was closely in line with the WID approach of understanding in gender and equality. On the other hand, the identified projects identified constructed gendered relations and powers, and these usually had a negative impact on effective implementation. These issues remained at the level of the identification phase and were not explicitly or thoroughly challenged by the program. Gendered division of labor, different gender roles, and responsibilities within society and family were reported as overall situations and problems during the planning phase of projects. At the phase of monitoring and evaluation, gendered social relations and powers usually functioned as obstacles in projects. First, gender stereotypes in education continued to manifest in many cases. Second, women's reproductive role and gendered relations within the family had an influence on their participation in education. Third, the projects identified gendered cultures.

Table 4

Summary of Findings

Concept	Definition
Gender in development	Women and girls as hidden figures in development
	Structured powers and relations to be challenged through development
Gender equality in education	Reducing disparity (quantitatively or numerically equal participation) was to some extent addressed in the program and projects.
	Achieving equity (offering strategies and processes providing fair and equal opportunities) was hardly mentioned in all phases of the project documents.
Gender in education	Education was conceptualized for developing human capital or as an area of inequality due to imbalanced participation.
	Education for conscientization or as an area of inequality due to gendered and patriarchal power structure

Several efforts were made to identify gender needs and interests and reflect them in the contents of projects. However, the needs addressed remained mainly practical, which women identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Therefore, (although they arise from these issues) the programs as a whole do not challenge the gender division of labor or women's subordinate position in society (Moser, 1993). For example, based on women's roles of reproductive work, necessary for maintenance and reproduction of the labor force, and of community management work, an extension of their reproductive role, motivation programs including jam-making and food storage, as well as nutrition education program were created, and safe and clean water supplies were provided to lighten women's burden. Additionally, traditionally female-dominated fields such as design were offered to female students in TVET, and a center focused on vocational training in the engineering sector identified low female enrollment rates and high concentrations of female students in IT major as problems to solve. Projects concerning hygiene and health primarily considered the needs and interests of women as mothers or mothers-to-be, especially in MNCH projects.

Gender in education was conducted in some projects. The topics of education varied, including women's rights, positive gender roles, gender equality, the role of women in rural society, gender equity, and interrelationships between various research topics and gender. Through such education, project-implementing organizations aimed to raise awareness of women's rights, empowerment, and potential. Furthermore, they intended to enable women to recognize their social alienation and internalize gender equality. Therefore, this education can be understood as an effort to meet the strategic needs and interests of women, moreover as a process of conscientizing participants on gender issues in their society. In this context, education was viewed as conscientization and an area of inequality due to gendered and patriarchal power structure.

Conclusion

This study for the first time examines South Korea as an emerging East Asian development actor and analyzes their constructed views on gender, education, and development as identified through the case of the vocabularies and semantic meaning of gender equality in education. The data was collected from the systematic of KOICA's academic cooperation program with development partners in academia. The study focused on the perception and concept of gender reflected in the program, gender or women's issues reflected in the process of program's projects, and the gender-related results as outputs of the program. In the process of qualitative analysis, the data was reconstructed to understand the context of how gender, gender equality, and education were understood in the program. Above all, this study identified the WID approach as a framework that continues to dominate the construction of gender equality in education. Many of the program's projects pursued greater access to education as well as the need for retention of girls and women in education and multiple varied procedures were conducted to promote accessibility of education for girls and women. Similarly, figures concerning women's access and participation were reported as important project results. On the other hand, constructed gendered relations and powers were identified throughout projects, usually acting as barriers to project activities. However, they were only identified, not challenged, by the program. Similarly, many efforts were made to identify gender needs and interests and to reflect them in the contents of projects. However, the reflected needs were mostly practical gender needs, which women identify in their socially accepted roles in society, and which thus do not challenge gender division of labor or women's subordinate position in society even though they arise from these issues (Moser, 1993).

Although the WID approach and GAD approach have been the most influential in formulation and implementation of development policies and academic discourse, they are not perfect solutions to tackle all problems of gender inequality. Therefore, it is time to consider the issue from different standpoints, such as identity, rights, and capabilities. In so doing, veiled aspects will be revealed, leading to a more in-depth understanding of the issue and suggesting new ways to settle the problem of gender inequality. Second, in many cases, the number or percentage of female students who participated in education was reported as a project result. What does the improvement in female participation in education imply? Why are greater access for and participation of girls and women pursued and achieved? Should more girls and women participate in education because education of girls and women is the world's "best investment with the widest-ranging returns" (Sperling & Winthrop, 2015)? Is education of girls and women intended to benefit the country's economic and social development, because it will encourage them to become high-quality human resources? Is it intended to benefit their family or future generations because they are or will be the caregiver for their family and children? Is it intended to challenge unequally constructed social structures, by conscientizing students on inequality? At the base of all these rationales, education serves as a means and instrument for something else. In addition, only the social and economic impacts of education are highlighted and considered. However, education has personal and private impacts as well. Girls' and women's education are not only for the benefit of others, but also for themselves.

In many projects, education was conducted to empower students and participants. However, confirming the social roles and responsibilities of education in development are hardly analyzed and measured in regards to the concept of empowerment. Empowerment may have become a buzzword, but there is no consensus on its definition; it is thus difficult to measure (Kabeer, 1999). Therefore, in the context of the program, empowerment should first be defined, and how to measure it should be discussed. By doing so, the outcomes and impacts of the program can be identified beyond participation figures. Finally, the WID and GAD approaches identified in the program developed along with the discourse on women in the Western world. The women's movement formatively influenced the WID approach in northern countries in the 1970s (Miller & Razavi, 1995; Rathgeber, 1990; Unterhalter, 2005). The GAD approach, which emerged in the 1980s, was theoretically rooted in and, thus, resonated with socialist feminism (Rathgeber, 1990; Unterhalter, 2005). Other approaches have also developed within the context of development cooperation and interaction between countries. For instance, post-structuralism problematized the Western universalization of a notion of women in developing countries (Unterhalter, 2005).

How does discussion of women and gender in the field of education within Korea related to the context of multilateral and bilateral development cooperation with other countries? The educational development experiences of Korea can be considered provoking in this light. With respect to gender parity in education, Korea's story of achieving parity has been introduced and recognized as a successful case in many international development reports. However, going beyond the issues of disparity, Korea's education have still been identified as problematic such as the issues that are shown in the gender-stereotyped textbook contents, teaching and learning contexts and practices in Physical Education classes, and different learning outcomes in mathematics and science between male and female students (Jung, Chung, Shin, & Seo, 2003; Jung, Chung, & Kwon, 2004; Bae, Kim, Won, Cho, & You 2005; Chung, Koo, & Choi, 2010). In conclusion, whilst Korean international development and educational development discourse actively embracing Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) in their programs, it is time to consider the issue of gender equality in education from different standpoints, such as identity, rights, and capabilities. And it is necessary for Korean actors to develop a more active engagement with their own domestic issues in gender discourse and practices. The context, diverse definitions, conceptualizations, and applications of gender equality in educational development programs in East Asia need to be further examined in more robust comparative analyses.

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Appendix

ⁱ Several researchers have studied numbers of male and female students, male and female teachers, and images of boys and girls in textbooks (Herz & Sperling, 2004; Joshi & Anderson, 1994; King & Hill, 1997; UNESCO, 2004). In this sense, gender equality in education would equate to achievement of quantitatively or numerically equal participation of genders in school. The aim of education would be to develop human capital or identify areas of imbalanced gender participation. As a result, education development policies and practices associated with the WID approach have focused on ameliorating access of women and girls to schools or vocational training centers. Accordingly, various donor aid agencies and NGOs have offered scholarships for female students, made schools and centers tuition-free, and developed infrastructure for female teachers and students including providing school buses, dormitories, and sanitary facilities. In addition, they have encouraged communities and parents to enable girls and women to go to schools and centers, and to ensure that female students continue in and complete their courses.

ⁱⁱ Advocates of the human rights approach consider education a universal human right that should be guaranteed to all, regardless of their race, gender, social status, and so on. Thus, this approach considers women and girls to be rights holders, the same as all others. Wilson's classification of three-fold characterization of rights concerning education: rights to education, rights in education and rights through education and Subrahmanian (2005)'s definition on rights to education as having "access and participation", rights within education as having "gender-aware educational processes and outcomes" and rights through education as "important education outcomes that link education equality with wider processes of gender justice" are the some of the more well-known approaches that link development, gender and education.

ⁱⁱⁱ Adapting Nussbaum's capabilities to intergenerational research, Raynor examined to what extent formal, nonformal (usually through NGOs), and informal education contributed to increasing the capabilities of three generations in Bangladesh (Arnot & Fennell, 2008).

^{iv} Initially, the program was divided into two tracks: (1) post-management of completed projects and (2) the self-excavating university development cooperation projects (KOICA, 2012a).

^v Track 1-1 was designed for researchers in developing countries. The goal was to contribute to capacity building in economic and social development planning and in research led by developing countries through technical research and feasibility studies, as well as to provide an opportunity for learning-by-doing through joint research with Korean research institutes and universities (KOICA, 2015b). Example outcomes were to yield high-quality development planning research based on the participation of research partners from developing countries, to develop policy recommendations based on the research results, to produce joint papers, to participate jointly in international conferences, and to publish research in international journals (KOICA, 2015b)

^{vi} Example outcomes were increased numbers of highly qualified human resources, nurtured through capacity-building workshops and newly established education training courses; and improved quality of tertiary education in developing countries, achieved through joint development of curricula and student evaluations (KOICA, 2015b).

^{vii} As an example, consider a school establishment project. Illustrated instances may indicate gender parity in schools, such as a male majority among the beneficiaries and the percentage of female students among all beneficiaries who were educated through the project.

^{viii} Specific example includes an increased number of highly qualified human resources trained through developed contents for formal higher education according to actual demand and circumstances, faculty capacity building, development of curricula and learning materials, training for pedagogy, supporting facilities and training aids, and development of educational systems (KOICA, 2018).