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by

**Dr. Byun Wha-soon,
Senior Fellow, Korean Women's Development Institute
Korea**

Introduction

The Government of Korea has taken major steps toward advancing women's status. It has done so by focusing on gender policies which aim toward the realization of an egalitarian society where women are respected and can participate in all realms of national life on an equal basis with men.

Following the Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995, and having duly recognized the need for an integrated national plan to facilitate the implementation of existing and emerging women's policies in a systematic manner, the government identified "Ten Policy Priorities for the Advancement of Korean Women". Under the policy aimed at harmonizing "work and family," plans include introducing parental leave, introducing a family care system, enlarging the on-site childcare system, expanding flextime or work at home system, and extending the school lunch program to all elementary schools. In addition, to facilitate an integrated and coherent implementation of women's policy, a comprehensive Five-Year Basic Plan on Women's Policies (1998-2002) was prepared in collaboration with all relevant ministries.

Korea is now entering a phase of an aging society and by the year 2020, the meaning of "care work" will have a profound significance. In light of recent economic hardships, "care" for vulnerable people such as the aged or disabled must be recognized.

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the policies that recognize the linkages between paid and unpaid work in Korea. First, a brief overview of the social and economic context is presented. Second, domestic policies concerned with harmonizing work and family are delineated, including a brief section on evaluating household work. The final section offers policy recommendations for government and the public and private sectors.

1. Domestic Context for the Discussion on Paid and Unpaid Work

1.1 Government Initiatives

1.1.2. Before the Beijing Conference

Preliminary discussions on the policy implications of recognizing the economic value of household work in Korean society began before the Beijing Conference, not only at the academic level but also in government circles. For example, the Ministry of Political Affairs (II), which was the previous name of the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs, paid attention to this issue (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1990, 1991, 1993). The Ministry was mainly concerned with the issue of determining the value of a housewife's domestic work in order to integrate it into the tax system. After the amendment to family law in 1990, which guaranteed the equal division of property between husband and wife after divorce, public opinion was stirred up for reform of the heritage tax or donation tax in terms of gender equity. In fact, after several attempts, these areas were reformed.

1.1.3. In Response to the Beijing Platform for Action

- As part of the follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women, the government identified 10 priority concerns in October 1995 and began implementation (see Table 1). Items 1, 2, 3, 6 can be classified as those concerned with regulating the tension between job and family. Many of these policies were on the government's agenda before Beijing but it was only after the Conference that the government moved to implement the measures to remove the obstacles to women's full social participation.
- Among the Ten Policy Priorities, in order to recognize the importance of household or unpaid work, the government included the evaluation of the household work in the Women's Development Act, 1995. The Act aims to consolidate a legal basis for taking adequate institutional and financial measures in support of women's participation and gender equality at all levels of society. Article 26 of the Act states, "national and local governments should evaluate the economic value of household work fairly and reflect it into the legislation or policies of the state."
- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) held an international workshop in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), titled: "International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work into National Policies" in May, 1997. Senior policymakers, statisticians, and gender experts from 21 countries in the Asia and Pacific region met in Seoul on May 28-30, 1997 and determined that it was important to define and implement an action plan to integrate paid and unpaid work into national policies as a means to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and human development (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1997).

Table 1 Ten Policy Priorities for the Advancement of Korean Women

Policy Issues	Specific Activities
1. Expand childcare facilities and qualitative upgrading of service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish childcare cooperatives. • Develop effective measures to utilize religious facilities for childcare.
2. Introduce after-school child guidance systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand after-school child guidance system to all elementary schools.
3. Universalize a school lunch program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand existing school lunch program to all elementary schools.
4. Establish targets to raise the ratio of female public employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote recruitment of female public employees through competitive examinations. • Abolish the ceiling for female admission into public employee training institutions. • Expand female participation ratios in the various Government committees.
5. Introduce a public sector female employment incentive system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce incentives for public sector employment of women.
6. Establish a maternity social cost-sharing system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce a social cost-sharing system for the remuneration of female employees during their maternity leave through social insurance. • Extend the target businesses/industries eligible for the childcare leave promotion grant.
7. Expand/improve women's resource development infrastructure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen job training in junior and senior high school curricula. • Strengthen job training for women's re-entry into the labour market.
8. Establish an information network on/for women.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a women's information centre. • Establish a women's information network.
9. Enactment of the Women's Development Act.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enact the Women's Development Act.
10. Promote gender equality through the mass media.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand women's participation in broadcast media-related committees. • Prepare the Mass-Media Gender Discrimination Standard Index. • Production/distribution of women-related public interest media materials.

Source: Republic of Korea, The Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs, 1998, p. 24.

- The National Statistical Office (NSO) held international and national workshops in collaboration with UNDP in December 1998 in Seoul titled, "The International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid work into National Policies (with special focus on time-use surveys)". As the System of the National Accounts (SNA) excludes unpaid household services from the production boundary and therefore from coverage of the gross domestic product (GDP) in most countries, it is suggested that the satellite account should broaden the production boundary. The Asian-Pacific countries gathered to consider and discuss the measurement of women's and men's contribution to the economy by developing the time-use survey (NSO of Korea & UNDP, 1998).
- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) also sought to adopt a policy on the standardization of household work and its systematization in 1997. It was suggested that an educational program to promote recognition of the importance of household work should be implemented by the government, but the plan is still under consideration.

1.1.4. Support of Women’s Employment in Formal Work

In order to promote women’s entry into employment and to support those already employed, the Government of Korea has formulated and implemented two successive basic plans for the welfare of working women. Policy objectives include the development of women’s job capacities, support to alleviate women’s burden in carrying out their dual roles, and facilitation of equal employment opportunities.

In Korea, working women with children under a year old are entitled to take childcare leave (Labor Standards Act Art. 11). In a step to firmly establish the childcare leave (parental leave) system, the recently legislated Employment Insurance Act provides 30 or more days of childcare leave above and beyond the 60 day paid maternity leave at the time of childbirth. Moreover, the Act awards promotional grants to employers who keep their female employees on the payroll as insured persons for more than 30 days after the expiration of their maternity or childcare leave. These provisions under the Employment Insurance Act have been in effect for business/industrial concerns with 70 or more employees since July 1995. The progress made so far in establishing childcare leave as a standard practice for the employment of women is still far short of the desired target, largely due to the financial burden placed on employers. Consequently, in 1998, the Government planned to expand the coverage of the promotion grants to business/industrial establishments with 50 employees or more.

- Paid Leave for Employees

Since the issue of paid leave has been entirely the employer’s responsibility, many firms find the cost of maternity leaves a heavy burden. Employers therefore have tended to avoid these extra costs by not employing women. To address this problem, the government is taking steps to socialize the cost of maternity leave through a tripartite social insurance scheme. But the issue remains to be settled.

Types of Employee Leave:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Annual leave: 10-day basic leave with pay, one extra day to be added for each year of employment from the third consecutive year.• Monthly leave: One day each month, 12 days per year, with pay.• Sanitary leave (for women): One day per month, 12 days per year, with pay.• Pre-and post-natal leaves (for women): 60 days, with pay.

Childcare Leave System

In Korea, the childcare leave system was introduced in 1987 through the Equal Employment Opportunity Act with the intent of protecting workers as mothers and enhancing the quality of both work and family life.

The system in the private sector is based on Article 11 of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Since its passage on December 4, 1987, the Act has served as a unique legal basis for the childcare leave system, obliging employers to accept a request for leave under any circumstance when a female worker who has a child under a year old, is required to take care of the child.

The newly revised Act dictates that an employer who rejects a female worker’s request for childcare leave shall be punished for penalizing a female worker. In addition, the period of leave shall be counted as part of the total length of employment, so that the system prevents disadvantages against the female worker in matters of retirement pay and promotion.

The length of the childcare leave should not be limited to the period of the maternity leave and does not necessarily have to be when the child is under a year old. In other words, according to this provision, the employer should grant the leave in full at any time it is requested. The length of the leave can neither be shortened by the employer nor supplemented with vacation leave by the employee.

1.1.5. Support for Women's Informal Work

- Employment Insurance System

Coverage under the employment insurance system was extended to workplaces with fewer than five employees, including temporary employees and part-time workers, in December 1998. Considering that most informal sector workers are women, and that these women are more vulnerable to discharge under times of economic crisis, it may prove to be a necessary policy for female workers.

- The "Social Allotment of the Maternal Protection" through Social Insurance

Though it was planned as one of the Ten Policy Priorities in 1995 at the strong request of women's civil society organizations, this provision has not yet been put into practice. There are two possibilities: One is to place the issue within the context of medical insurance, because married women workers contribute separately from their husbands. The other is to place it under employment insurance. In fact, it would be logical to place it within the context of employment insurance, but the fund is not yet large enough because of the short duration of its existence.

1.1.6. Dispositions to Recognize Women's Unpaid Work

- Amendments to the Income and Inheritance Tax Laws

Taking into consideration that both marital partners contribute to the creation of family assets, even if one or the other does not earn income from outside sources, following the reform of the Family Law in 1990, the Government amended the Inheritance Tax Act in 1994 to raise the upper ceiling on exemptions for gifts and/or inheritance between marital partners. In effect since 1996, under this amendment, inherited assets equivalent to 1 billion won (approximately US\$820,000) or less, are subject to exemption, and in the cases of assets received as a spousal gift, up to 50 million won (approximately US\$41,000) is eligible for tax exemption.

In December 1996, the Inheritance Tax Act was amended to allow exemption of up to 3 billion won (US\$2,400,000) worth of assets inherited from the marital partner and up to 500 million won in the case of gift assets. This amendment went into effect in 1998. In October 1997, taxation after the division of property previously under co-ownership was ruled unconstitutional.

In addition, abolition of the difference between men and women for supporting evidence of the source of money to buy immovable property, and the right to receive pension benefits for a divorced person from the former spouse came into effect as a form of recognizing unpaid work in 1998.

1.2 Roles Played by Civil Society, NGO and Academic Sectors

Civil society's lobbying for recognition of the economic value of household work was initiated by the protest organized by women's groups after an unmarried woman became injured in a traffic accident in April 1985 (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1996: 27).

Assuming that on average, women would be married at 26 years of age, and that they would be housewives, the daily income of the plaintiff could be calculated according to the average wage of adult women who did daily work in the city (4,000 won per day in 1985).

Spurred on, 16 women's organizations began to seek legal recognition of the economic value of women's unpaid work. In 1985, the Korean Women's Association held a series of demonstrations, which provided momentum to recognition of the economic value of household work.

The push to reform family law peaked with the equal distribution of the property between husband and wife in cases of divorce, and the equal right of succession between son and daughter. Two important umbrella unions of women's organizations, the Korean National Council of Women and the Korean Women's Association, joined together to

reform family law, so it would reflect equality between men and women. After much effort, the law was reformed in 1990.

In 1995, women's organizations raised the problems faced by working wives who are obligated to pay medical insurance fees geared to their income, but who are denied maternal protection. Unfortunately, this issue remains unresolved.

2. Definition of Paid and Unpaid Work

2.1 Paid Work

According to the proposal of the United Nations' System of National Accounts (SNA) in 1968, sectors are classified as formal and informal sectors based on the characteristics of the production unit. In addition, all units with the exception of agricultural units should be classified as one kind or the other depending on whether or not it has salaried employees working for it on a regular basis. SNA considers all output produced for the market as economic production. Output that is not produced for the market is treated in accordance with specific characteristics. In the case of primary producers, all output retained by them plus the processing of these products is considered economic production. But the output retained by non-primary producers is economic production only when part of it is also sold in the market. Women are likely to participate in production for their own use as primary producers in the informal sector (Kim, 1997: 146).

Korea has begun collecting data on time use. The time-use survey methodology employed consists of eight major groups of activity, with sub-groups of activity, that follows the UN SNA model (see Table 2) (NSO in Korea, 1998).

The main objective of the NSO time-use survey is to develop an accurate description of time spent by persons and households on productive activities and other activities. The NSO completed the third pilot survey in 1998. The actual survey is planned for 1999.

Table 2 Classifications for Time-Use Analysis by Housewives and Working Wives

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Personal care and self-maintenance2. Employment3. Household maintenance and management4. Care for family5. Learning6. Social life and community services7. Cultural and leisure activities8. Travel

Source: Shon Aae-Li, 1998, p. 202.

Activities that are considered as production according to the SNA are classified under "employment." This includes four subdivisions such as employment for establishments, second jobs, self-employed work (agriculture, forestry, and fishing), and unpaid family work.

2.2 Unpaid Household (Family) Work

Women's unpaid work outside the SNA include the work that women do for their families within the home, such as childcare, cooking, cleaning, and a great number of other diverse tasks. Such activities are omitted in estimates of national gross products if they are done by a member of the household.

Activities, which fall within the general production boundary but remain outside the SNA boundary, are classified

under Groups 3 and 4 in Table 2. Group 3 represents household maintenance, management, and shopping for one's own household. It is comprised of services, which are performed by members of the household for their own house. Group 4 is care for family, preschool children, children seven years old and over, spouses, the elderly, and parents. It includes individual services pertaining to the physical and educational care of children and care provided to members of the household who are sick or elderly.

2.3 Voluntary Work

Group 7 comprises most non-profit volunteer organizations activities such as visiting the sick, caring for the elderly, shopping and cooking for the disabled, providing unpaid childcare for working mothers, and performing a variety of other social and civic services.

In fact, volunteer work replaces much of the social care work that the government should undertake for those most at risk. Volunteer work is a tremendous asset to society and economy, but is invisible in conventional economic accounts. For example, a report by GPI Atlantic, released in July 1998, showed that the province of Nova Scotia has the highest rate of voluntary work in Canada, providing services worth nearly C2\$ billion a year to the economy (Colman, 1998). Measuring and assigning an economic value to volunteer activities is an extremely important mechanism to make the economic significance of such activities visible to policymakers.

3. The Current Situation of Korean Working Women

In 1995, the total population of Korea was 45,552,000 - 22,196,000 female and 22,356,000 male, thus the sex ratio of female to male was 0.99. Breaking the population of women down by age in 1997, the 0-14 age group accounted for 22.0 percent, the 15-64 age for 70.5 percent, and the 65 and over age group for 7.5 percent.

In 1997 the economic active participation rate of women was 49.5 percent and the unemployment rate was 2.3 percent (Table 3). After the economic crisis, unemployment among women increased to 6.8 percent in December 1998.

Table 3 Economically Active Population by Sex in 1993-1997

Unit: Thousand Persons

	15 years old & over		E A P		Participation Rate (%)		Unemployment Rate (%)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1993	15,647	16,753	11,890	7,913	76.0	47.2	3.2	2.2
1994	15,916	17,023	12,167	8,159	76.4	47.9	2.7	1.9
1995	16,251	17,307	12,433	8,363	76.5	48.3	2.3	1.7
1996	16,590	15,593	12,620	8,568	76.1	48.7	2.3	1.6
1997	16,870	17,866	12,761	8,843	75.6	49.5	2.8	2.3

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

When we break down economic activity by type of household, we see that women's participation rates in farm households reached 67.3 percent, compared to that of non-farm household (47.5 percent) (Table 4). Despite their high rates of economic activity, the status of women in rural areas is still low compared to that of women in urban areas. Policies recognizing the value of unpaid labour could contribute toward the advancement of rural women.

Table 4 Economically Active Population by Type of House in 1997

Unit: Thousand Persons

	15 years old & over		E A P		Participation Rate		Unemployment Rate	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Non-farm Household	15,147	16,053	11,401	7,623	75.3	47.5	3.0	2.6
Farm Household	1,723	1,814	1,360	1,220	78.9	67.3	0.8	0.4

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Women's and men's employment structures show totally different characteristics. With the exception of those employed in the formal sector, women are mostly occupied as family workers (20.7%), whereas men are classified as self-employed (33.7%) (Table 5). This means that more women work as family workers, where the "employer" is the husband. The remuneration of the unpaid work should be estimated for the family worker.

Table 5 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status (1997)

Unit: Thousand Persons, (%)

	Male	Female
Population 15 years over	16,870	17,866
Economically Active Population	12,761(100.0)	8,843(100.0)
Employed	12,409(97.2)	8,639(97.7)
Self-employed	4,187(33.7)	1,763(20.4)
Family worker	183(1.5)	1,786(20.7)
Employee	8,039(64.8)	5,190(60.1)
Unemployed	352(2.8)	204(2.3)

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Among working persons, 7.0 percent of all women over 15 years work part-time keeping house, while only 0.4% of men work under similar conditions (Table 6). In addition, women comprise almost two-thirds of part-time workers in Korea (Table 7).

Table 6 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status in Korea

Unit: %

	Total	Male	Female
1995			
Working persons	49.0	70.3	29.1
Mainly working	3.8	0.4	7.0
Partly working, keeping house	0.3	0.3	0.2
Partly working, mainly attending school	0.1	0.2	0.1
Partly working, doing something else	0.3	0.5	0.2
Worked before but not working during reference period			
Persons over 15 years	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Table 7 Yearly Distribution of Part-Time Workers by Gender (less than 35 hours)

Unit: Thousand Persons (%)

	Male Workers			Female Workers			Female/PT
	TE	PT	PT/TE (%)	TE	PT	PT/TE (%)	
1993	11,493	507	4.4	7,710	776	10.1	60.5
1994	11,832	514	4.3	8,005	788	9.8	60.5
1995	12,153	506	4.2	8,224	778	9.5	60.6
1996	12,330	480	3.9	8,434	817	9.7	63.0
1997	12,409	598	4.8	8,639	948	11.0	61.3

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

4. The Trends in Unemployment Rates after the Economic Crisis from December, 1997

After the economic crisis, the unemployment rates increased rapidly for both males and females. The rapid increase of 5.1 percentage points for male employees during one year is remarkable. For female employees, the unemployment rate increased 3.5 percentage points during the same period. Considering that most female workers are family workers or part-time workers, the unemployment rate of women is in actual fact, much higher (Table 8).

Table 8 Trends of the Unemployment Rate after Economic Crisis

Unit: %

	January		April		July		October	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1997	3.2	2.8	2.7	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.8	2.3
1998	4.9	3.9	7.5	5.4	8.5	6.3	7.9	5.8

Source: Ministry of Labor Republic of Korea, Report on Monthly Labor Survey, December, 1997 and December, 1998.

5. Public and Private Sector Initiatives that Recognize Women's Unpaid Work

Korean families have changed a great deal in recent decades. The economic participation rate of women has drastically increased. Korea has never had an explicit family policy which consciously tries to foster one particular kind of family (Byun, 1987). Instead, we have had a medley of social welfare policies which address different issues concerning families in need, much like Canada (Eichler, 1987).

Since the early 1980s, Korea has recognized the importance of women's economic activities, and elaborated policies "to harmonize work and family," especially for the caring of children of working mothers. The childcare leave system in Korea uniformly requires the mother to take a fixed leave of absence. From the standpoint of the employee, an extended leave of absence requires disengagement from the workplace during that time. An extended leave of absence also hinders career advancement and development. To the employer, it represents a substantial loss of productivity. Thus, Korea should follow the example of developed nations by expanding the childcare system beyond the single leave of absence model. One alternative would be a reduced work-schedule scheme, under which the work schedule is shortened on a flexible basis to a length determined jointly by the employee and employer.

5.1 The Measurement of Women’s Unpaid Work in Private Insurance

Private insurance companies have attempted to put a monetary value to women's unpaid work to compensate for injuries and lives lost in traffic accidents. The companies have evaluated a housewife's work based on the average monthly wage of daily workers. In 1995, it was about 614,000 won (about US\$790). The average wage of female workers was 790,000 won (US\$1,013). In 1996, insurance companies compensated the unpaid women's work at a rate of 687,262 won.

5.2 “Maternity Leave” and “Child-Rearing” Provisions for Working Women in the Private Sector

Research done by the Korean Women’s Development Institute (KWDI) examined the rates of implementation for support system related to maternity leave and childcare, as well as the cost of such systems to employers and the cost to working mothers where no such system exists. It also focused on the provision of monthly leave, maternity leave, leave for miscarriages, leave for premature and still-births, nursing hours, parental leave, on-site day care facilities, and childrearing benefits (Yun and Suh, 1995). One hundred and three companies or establishments and 593 working women were surveyed (Table 9).

Table 9 Implementation and Utilization Rates of Related Maternity Policies

Unit: %

	Implementation rate	Utilization rate
Menstruation leave	82.2	61.6
Maternity leave	96.0	90.4
Leave for spontaneous abortion/premature birth	55.4	3.3
Nursing time	12.9	2.0
Childcare leave	56.4	5.8

- Menstruation Leave

Implementation and use: A menstruation leave was legislated in Act 59 and 111 of the Labour Standards Act and in Act 20, Article 2 of the Civil Workers’ Service regulations. In the survey, 83 of 101 workplaces stated that a menstruation leave was provided for female employees, while the remainder gave negative responses to the question. This represents an implementation rate of 82.2%, despite the fact that punishment is mandated for failure to comply with the provision.

While the provision was observed in most manufacturing places and 16 workplaces from the construction, wholesale/retail, hotel/catering service and transportation/communication sectors, only 40 out of 57, or 70.2% of the banking/insurance and other related businesses abided by this system.

The utilization rate for married women was even lower, at 61.6%. The low utilization rate is affected by a number of involuntary factors, rather than by personal choice; it may also be partially attributed to the survey respondents compensating for low wages by choosing to work instead of taking a day off.

- Maternity Leave

Implementation and use: Female workers’ right to claim maternity leave is protected under Article 1 of Act 60 and in Acts 27, 37, 48 and 110 of the Labour Standards Act. Ninety-seven out of 101 firms (96.0%) currently observe this provision. The utilization rate is 90.4%.

- Leave for Spontaneous Abortions, Premature and Stillborn Births

There are no specific regulations as to whether female workers are entitled to such leave or, if they are, whether it should be paid or non-paid leave. But if a female employee can supply a doctor's note or other evidence to prove her illness, she is entitled to benefit from the policy. Elective abortion operations are excluded from claims for the leave.

Fifty-six firms (55.4%) said they did not offer leave for abortion, premature births, or stillbirths, while 45 firms responded positively. The utilization rate, by industrial classification, was 35.7% in manufacturing and 66.7% in banking and its related services.

- Nursing Hours

The Labour Standards Act states that nursing hours must be provided for working mothers. The responses concerning this policy were therefore quite surprising. Only 13.9% of the companies (14 firms) questioned said they allowed this practice, while 87 firms gave negative answers.

Among the female employees participating in the study, only 11 working mothers (2%) made use of this benefit, while 541 (98%) working mothers did not take advantage of the law at all. Concerning the space allocated for nursing, one working mother said it was on-site and the remaining 10 said it was at home. In the latter case, the workers were allowed to return home one hour earlier than the normal quitting time.

- Childcare Leave

Working mothers have the right to take a break from work for childcare according to Article 2 of Act 9 in the Gender Equality in Employment Act, Act 2 in the enforcement regulation of the same law, and Acts 44 and 45 of the provisions of maternity leave and childcare in the law of educational public service employees.

Of the 101 companies surveyed, 57 companies (56.4%) allowed women to take a break for childcare, while the others disallowed such an activity (this compares with 25 of 101 companies during the previous year). Of the firms allowing female employees time off from work for childcare last year, more than half (52.7%) reported no employees utilizing the provision, 20.2% of them allowed one or two people, and 10.9% allowed three to five people, and 16.4% allowed five people or more.

There were various reasons for not fully utilizing the policy. 42.2% of the women responded that the company didn't let them take a childcare sabbatical, 12.5% responded that they could not afford the loss of wages, 8.2% said there was too much work, 9.6% said public attention was uncomfortable, 6.4% said that it interfered with their promotion, and 3.8% cited the absence of guaranteed reemployment. Therefore, if we cannot find a way to relieve companies or working mothers of the cost burden, it will be a long time before this measure experiences greater development.

Based on the principle of Gender Equality in the Employment Act, a non-paid break from work for childcare is prevalent among Korean employees. However, in the survey, two firms paid 25-50% of wages, three firms paid 60-75%, and one firm paid 80-95%.

- Childcare

The present childcare policy is based on the Infant and Child Care Act prescribed in December 1990. Most working mothers (62%) have a strong dependency on relatives such as their mothers, mothers-in-law, and aunts. Other choices are public or private nursery schools (22%), babysitters or paid neighbours (8.8%), and home-based daycare centers (7.2%).

6. Gender Equality Education in the Public Sector

It was in December 1989 that the 8th National Committee on Women's Policies decided to include gender equality education in the various public sector-training institutions in an attempt to break down traditional prejudices against women for public employees of all levels. Gender equality education for public employees, which includes changing men's attitude toward household work and childrearing, has been institutionalized since 1991.

The enactment of the Women's Development Act consolidated the system of consciousness-raising education toward the goal of gender equality. In 1991, 40,905 persons underwent such training in 27 separate courses while, in 1995, 18,468 persons did so in 185 separate courses, showing a marked increase of activities in this subject area during 1990-1995. In 1995, 33 of the 45 national or public sector training institutions operated 185 courses among

them; 76 were conducted on a regular basis (The Presidential Committee on Women's Affairs, 1998).

Beyond the public sector actions in this area, numerous women's NGOs also engaged in a wide variety of gender equality consciousness-raising training, the most typical of which were those undertaken by KWDI's social education division and Women Link's Center for Women Workers.

Article 21 of the Women's Development Act stipulates that it is the duty of the state and of local autonomous bodies to endeavour to enlist all public sector training institutions, social education agencies and business/industrial establishments in providing gender equality consciousness-raising training. This provision is intended to eliminate socio-cultural factors underlying gender discrimination and fixed notions of gender roles.

7. Recommendations

Korean society has attempted to harmonize conflicting pressures of work and family, and has made much progress toward the promotion of women's economic activities. Of special note are policies to extend childcare facilities and qualitative upgrading of services, and to raise the ratio of female public employees. Korea still does not have a system or mechanism to integrate the value of unpaid work into GDP. Thus a priority is to include unpaid work in the budget by using the data obtained through time-use analysis.

In order to achieve this goal, the government and the public and private sectors must collaborate. On the government side, it is necessary to put the issue of paid and unpaid work on the political agenda and to fully recognize women's contribution to the macro-economy.

Equally, the collaboration of the public and private sectors is necessary to create family-friendly job environments that recognize and attempt to respond to the demands of paid work and family life. Flexible benefits, employer-sponsored daycare, flextime, employee assistance, and maternity/paternity leave, part-time work (with or without pro-rated benefits), flexible work arrangements, telecommuting, or "teleworking" should be encouraged.

Policy recommendations centre around three main points: first, policy should strive to harmonize work and family; second, policy should evaluate the unpaid work concretely; and third, policy should compensate unpaid work with in-kind or substitute services as a way to revitalize and acknowledge voluntary sector activity.

Policies aimed at harmonizing work and family responsibilities:

- Job-protected, paid parental leave
- Maternity and childcare leave to enable women to temporarily exit the paid workforce without sacrificing their jobs, tenure, or continuity of experience
- Care of elderly
- Family friendly workplaces and social support structures
- Support for employed workers: childcare, flextime, pension adjustment, maternity/paternity leaves
- Introduction of the reduced work schedule scheme
- Introduction of various nursing leaves systems for children/families
- Reforms to taxation regimes to address assumptions of a sole breadwinner in a two adult family

Policies aimed at providing economic and social recognition for unpaid work:

- Tax credits for individuals caring for a disabled person in their home
- Tax credits for childcare expenses
- Pay equity policies

Policies aimed at recognizing and supporting volunteer work in the community:

- Tax deductions for community volunteer work.
- Establish a centralized system that would enable volunteers to “bank” their volunteer service hours against “withdrawals” of volunteer services at another time. Alternatively, establish a system whereby individuals could exchange volunteer services.

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