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**The Implications of Cash-For-Childcare on
Gender Equality in the Korean Welfare State:**

Care Responsibility and Consequences of Cash-For-Childcare for Women

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Abstract

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Noting increasing ethos of free choice on childcare decisions, this study examines the implications of cash-for-childcare on women's gender equality in the Korean welfare state. In order to do so, this study used the mixed methods analysis for looking at care responsibility and the women with young children's decisions for cash-for-childcare, respectively. From quantitative phase, this study demonstrates in which way women's care responsibility have presented after implementing cash-for-childcare. Throughout qualitative phase, this study also looks at the consequences of cash-for-childcare for women's choice. Finally, this study discusses that the current cash-for-childcare have negative implications on the gender equality perspectives in the Korean welfare states.

Key Words: Cash-for-Childcare, Gender Equality, Korean Welfare State, Care Responsibility, Childcare Arrangement, Choice

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List of abbreviation

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
KESS	Korean Educational Statistics Service
KICCE	Korea Institute of Child Care and Education
KIHASA	Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs
KOSTAT	Statistics Korea
KOSIS	Korea Statistical Information Service
KWDI	Korean Women's Development Institute
MOGEF	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (South Korea)
MOHW	Ministry of Health and Welfare (South Korea)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TFR	Total Fertility Rate
TUS	Time-use Survey
UN	United Nations
UNECE	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
MOEL	Ministry of Employment & Labour (South Korean)

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

As evident from the fact that South Korea (hereafter referred to as Korea) has been affected by demographical issues, such as low fertility rates and a rapidly aging society, as well as a gradual increase in women's social participation, Korea has clearly been facing a variety of changes and challenges with regard to society and family. Since the 2008-2009 global economic financial crisis and the controversial debates over provision of universal childcare programs in the 2012 Korean presidential election, which increased recognition of threats to social security and the Nordic welfare model, Korea had to assume a larger role as welfare state to respond to these dramatic and unexpected challenges. That is, Korea has to address so-called 'new social risks', defined as risks 'that people now face in the course of their lives as a result of the economic and social changes associated with the transition to a post-industrial society' (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). When restructuring, welfare states must create new reform agendas in response to economic and social changes. Since family is a key factor determining the socioeconomic status of citizens (Yoon, 2011), family policy reforms have recently been high on such agendas (Mätzke & Ostner, 2010). In many advanced welfare states, the state's care responsibility role is important in reconciling work and family life. Family policies for work-family balance, which can contribute to gender equality, have been introduced to allow for combination of paid and unpaid work with childcare services, parental leave and reduced and/or flexible working hours (Lewis, Knijn, Martin & Ostner, 2008), since the 1990's.

In the Korean political context, the concept and discussion of family policy has recently appeared because, as an East Asian country where Confucianism has substantially influenced family life, Korean family had acted as an important intermediary to carry out social welfare. Besides, welfare services and coverages had applied to those who were not self-reliant (Chin, Lee, Lee, Son, & Sung, 2012). However, since the terms 'work-life reconciliation' and 'work-life balance' appeared in mid-2000 due to demographical changes, family policies for work-family balance have been implemented in earnest (Kim, Kim & Bae, 2014) to create a family-friendly social environment for work-family balance and to realise gender equality. Of Korea's work-family reconciliation policies including parental leave, working time reduction and childcare services (see Appendix 1), support for childcare services is stressed in contributions to easing childcare burden and supporting work-family balance for working parents in Korea (Hong, Kim & Sun, 2013), which will substantially enhance gender equality. Regarding support

for childcare services, one is a childcare service facilities benefit that lessens expenses for parents with young children when using daycare centres or kindergartens. State-sponsored childcare contributes to both de-familialisation (as a substitute or supplement for parental care) and commodification (by allowing parents paid employment) (Leira 2002, p. 42-43). The other is the cash-for-childcare scheme introduced as a selective provision in 2009, and expanded to all social strata in 2013. This scheme is a subsidy for at-home parental care. As to providing working parents with an opportunity to stop work for a prolonged period, cash-for-childcare allows parents the choice of whether to work or have more time with children (Hiilamo & Kangas, 2009). In cash-for-childcare, childcare is familialised (or re-familialised) and parents' labour is de-commodified (Leira 2002, p. 43). With unprecedented implementation of de-familialising and familialising childcare policies in Korea since 2013, parents with young children can choose childcare services depending on their situation.

However, free choice has been controversial in cash-for-childcare, being detrimental to gender equality and undermining mother's employment and development of childcare services (Elligsæter, 2012). When the working life of one parent (primarily the father) is overstrained, cash-for-childcare allows parents to decide that the other parent (typically the mother) should stay out of the labour market, consolidating the traditional division of labour at home and work, and economic gender equality (Sipilä, Repo & Rissanen 2010, p.148). Furthermore, women typically designated 'cash transfer parent' (Leira 2002, p. 126) account for the majority of those receiving cash-for-childcare (Elligsæter, 2012).

In the case of Korea, most cash-for-childcare recipients are women. Approximately 92% are unemployed or full-time housewives, mostly with low-educated and lower-income backgrounds (Yoo, Seo, Han & Kim, 2011). Considering the subsidy amount, less money is designated for cash-for-childcare than the benefits of childcare service facilities, resulting in additional demands for childcare facilities from those not in need. Korea is considered the only Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) country in which the enrolment rate in daycare centre was higher than the employment rate of women with young infants in 2012. This indicates that the current cash-for-childcare scheme in Korea poses significant challenges for both women's childcare arrangements, and the gap between policy intentions and actual outcomes. Moreover, regarding the aspect of cash-for-childcare challenging gender equality with traditional practices at both work and home, the socio-cultural characteristics of the Korean welfare state might be another variable which brings about different contexts surrounding cash-for-childcare, since Confucian values emphasise the roles of family and women as social welfare providers. It might generate distinct characteristics and

implications for women's childcare arrangements, which can be compared to the discourse of freedom of choice in western welfare states. This study therefore examines the implications of cash-for-childcare on gender equality in the Korean welfare state.

In this regard, both challenges of cash-for-childcare in the gender equality perspective and implications of cash-for-childcare in the Korean welfare state context raise several questions: distribution of women's (or families') childcare responsibility, women's decision for cash-for-childcare. Throughout this study, policy and philosophical implications for Korean family policy context are expected to be suggested.

1.2.Purpose and Research Questions

Given recent institutional emphasis on free choice of childcare since 2013, the purpose of this study is to examine the implications of cash-for-childcare on gender equality in the Korean welfare state. This is accomplished by 1) examining distribution of care responsibility from a throughout institutional arrangements and within families; 2) analysing the consequences of cash-for-childcare for women's choice; and 3) assessing how the cash-for-childcare scheme implies gender equality in the Korean welfare state. This study maintains its focus on women's childcare time and the implication of cash-for-childcare for women, since cash transfers for childcare may affect time-use of parents, especially mothers (Boje & Leira, 2000). Furthermore, the implication of cash-for-childcare for women is an ongoing controversy, since it depends on 'the extent to which social policies address the issue of care work as well as the extent to which women can obtain economic security through the labour market (Razavi 2007, p. 27-28).

In this study, the 'care diamond' is first conceptualised to quantitatively analyse the shape of care responsibility throughout institutional arrangements in the provision of childcare, as well as to what extent childcare responsibilities are allocated within families. Subsequently, this study qualitatively focuses on the decisions of women with young children for the cash-for-childcare to analyse the relevant implications. Finally, this study discusses the implications of cash-for-childcare on gender equality in the Korean welfare state. The following questions will guide my research:

- 1) To what extent, and in what way, has care responsibility been arranged throughout institutional sectors among family, markets, state, and 3rd sectors since the universal childcare scheme of 2013? How is care responsibility presented within families?*

- 2) *In which ways, and for what reasons, do women with young children choose cash-for-childcare? Does free choice in cash-for-childcare allow women genuine choice in childcare arrangements?*
- 3) *All things considered, what does the current cash-for-childcare imply for gender equality in the Korean welfare state?*

1.3.Delimitations

The research interests in this study concern cash-for-childcare implications for women. In discussing childcare policy and gender equality, it is considered necessary to examine both gender perspectives. However, given earlier mentioned concerns in relation to cash-for-childcare, this research intends to focus on women. Moreover, this study restricts the age range (20-39) and regions (Seoul and Busan) of women studied. Lastly, in order to look at care responsibility throughout institutional arrangements on childcare, this study optimally conceptualises childcare time which is considered as care responsibility, as a consequence of one's choice on childcare.

1.4.Disposition

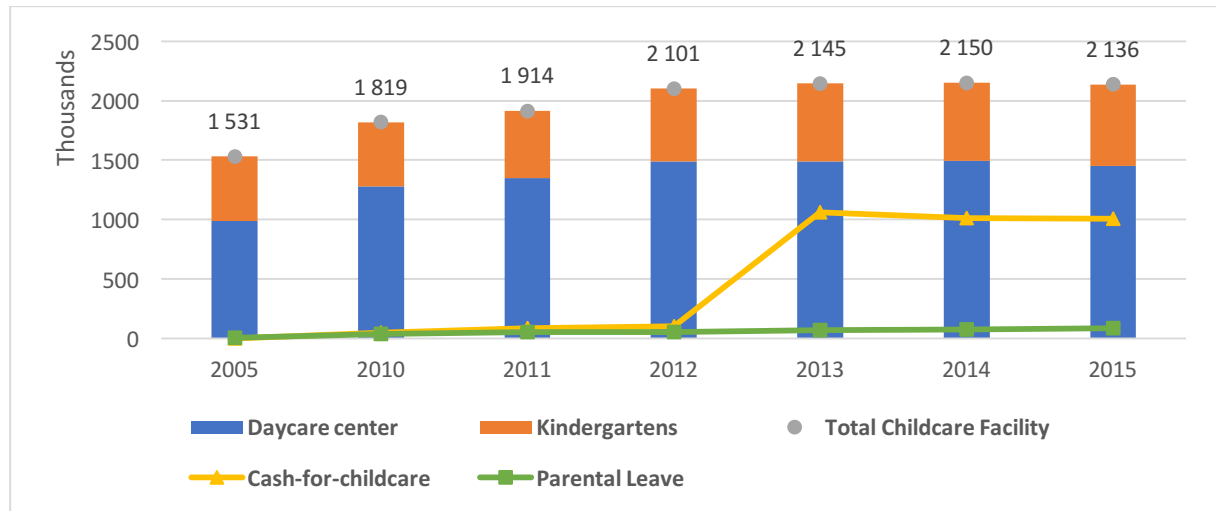
The composition of this study is as follows: a brief outline of the status of Korean women is presented to help understand the backgrounds on each side in the Korean welfare state at the end of this chapter. The second chapter provides an overview of the cash-for-childcare scheme in Korea. The third chapter constructs a theoretical framework serving as the basis of this research and situates this study within previous studies. The fourth chapter includes the research methods used in this study: the quantitative analysis for developing the care diamond, and the qualitative analysis conducted by interviewing women receiving cash-for-childcare benefit who rear children at home. The fifth chapter presents the results from both the quantitative and qualitative analysis. In the sixth chapter, the findings are further discussed with regard to care responsibility within families throughout institutional arrangements in childcare, the consequences of the cash-for-childcare scheme for women's choice, and thus the scheme's implications on gender equality in the context of the Korean welfare state. Finally, the seventh chapter concludes this study by providing a summary and delineating the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

1.5. Current status of Korean Women

Access to Childcare Services Facilities

The number of childcare services facilities, including daycare centre and kindergartens, has significantly increased over time. Among childcare alternatives, childcare facilities are the most used. This indicates a higher rate of use in childcare facilities, seen in Figure 1.

[Figure 1] The Number of Children Enrolled in Childcare Facilities, 2005-2015



Source: Edited data from KOSTAT (2016).

Regarding the use of daycare centres, first, the enrolment of infants aged 0–2 in daycare centres is higher than the other age groups (see Appendix 2). Second, despite increasing expenditure for childcare, the number of public daycare centres is still small. Third, since 2007 the number of daycare centres run at home has exceeded the number of private daycare centres (MOHW, 2015). Besides, in kindergartens, an outstanding feature is that the number of children who use public kindergartens is around 1/3 of the number using private kindergartens. Considering the characteristics of main users of kindergartens, namely children under age 3 (25.2%) and children over age 3 (74.8%), children tend to be registered in kindergartens after they have turned 3 years old.

Generally, women’s childcare arrangements can be explained with the following factors: parental leave, fertility rate, and employment. Regarding parental leave, 86.0% of the Korean population is aware of the Work-Family Reconciliation policy of 2015; however, women still account for the majority of parental leave users: 94.4% in 2015, although this percentage has decreased slightly (KEIS, Statistics on Employment Insurance; KOSTAT 2016).

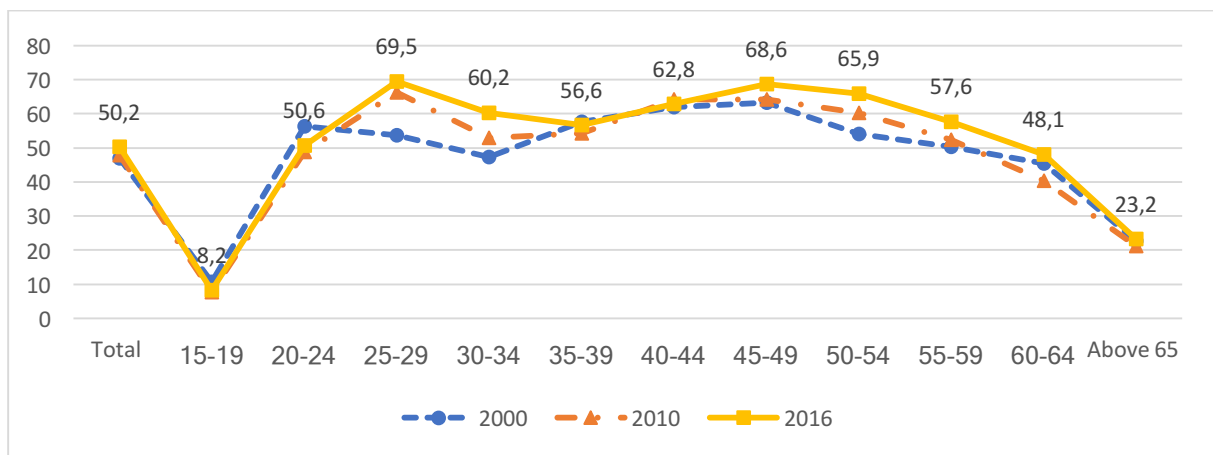
Fertility Rate

The total fertility rate (TFR) has continuously shown a downward tendency in Korea (see Appendix 3). As of 2001, TFR had dropped below 1.30, which indicates the level of the “lowest-low” fertility rate, and it fell to the historic low of 1.08 in 2005. Since then, its level has fluctuated until the present-day level of around 1.22, and Korea had a TFR of 1.24 in 2015, placing it lowest among OECD countries (OECD, 2017). In 2010, there was wide disparity of TFR between working women (0.72) and non-working women (2.12); one reason is that most working women worry about a career-break and childrearing pressure, which seems to delay marriage and childbirth (Lee & Choi, 2014).

Employment

In 2016, the employment rate of women aged 15-64 has increased slightly than previous year, by 0.05%; the labour force participation rate was 58.4%, employment 56.2%, and unemployment 3.7% (see Appendix 4).

[Figure 2] Women’s Employment Rate by Age in 2000, 2010 and 2016 (%)



Source: edited data from KOSIS (2017b), labour force participation by gender and age.

As of 2016, however, women’s employment rate in Korea was, at 59.3%, still below the average of OCED countries (OECD, 2017a). In terms of age, the employment rates of women in their late 20s (69.5%) and late 40s (68.6%) are highest, followed by their 50s (61.8%) and 30s (58.3%); this indicates an M-shaped employment pattern over women’s life, seen in Figure 2. In 2016, about 46.4% of married women aged 15-54 had experienced a career-break that resulted from marriage, fertility or childbirth, family care, education for children, in that order. Those in their 30s (53.1%) are the most liable group to experience a career-break, due to

pregnancy and childbirth. Furthermore, the younger a couple's children are, the greater the gap of working time between women and men becomes (KOSTAT, 2016).

2. Policy Content: Cash-For-Childcare in Korea

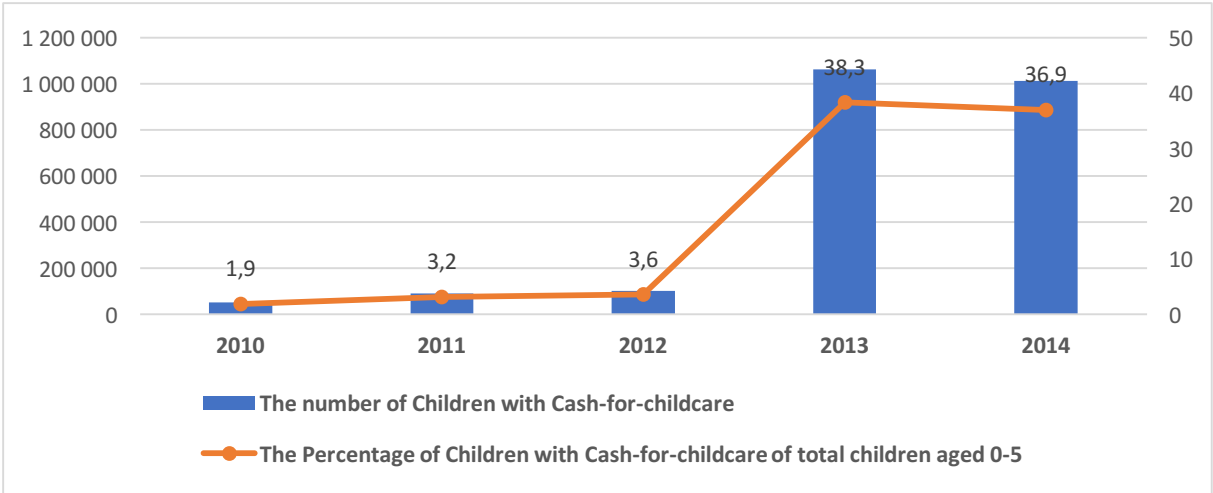
In Korea, cash-for-childcare scheme, implemented in 2009 after the amendment of <the Infant Care Act> in 2008 and expanded as a universal benefit in 2013, is cash support for parents with children aged 0-5-year-old who decide to take care of children at home or utilise childcare service facilities to a small extent. Unlike previous childcare policy schemes that focused on the construction of childcare service facilities under <the Infant Care Act> in 1991, the government has increased its financial support for childcare services¹ in accordance with the social investment approach, which focuses on finding strategies to respond to the lower fertility rate and support a work-life balance (Lee & Baek, 2014). The Roh Moo-Hyun government (2003-2008) introduced 'the Basic Plan for Low fertility and Age Society (2006-2010)' which aims to expand public childcare facilities and offer selective financial support to parents with young children (under the age of 5) based on household income. Under the Lee Myung-Bak government (2008-2013), the childcare scheme was furthered through 'the Child Love Plan (2009-2012)', which expanded the range of financial support to childcare services for low-income families and emphasised the parents' choice in arranging childcare services. Moreover, the government's financial support for childcare services was expanded with regard to the amount and range of benefits for childcare service facilities, which resulted in a rising demand for such facilities. Hence, several concerns have been expressed on infants' high enrolment rate in daycare centre, and social justice which can be arisen from those who do not use childcare facilities (Hong, Kim & Sun, 2013). Within this context, the cash-for-childcare scheme was implemented in Korea.

In the early years of cash-for-childcare, eligibility and the amount provided varied depending on children's age and parents' status and income, limiting the program's supports to only lower-income families. Currently, the amount of cash-for-childcare is based on only children's ages (See Appendix 1). The purpose of cash-for-childcare in Korea is to ease parents' financial burdens and strengthen parents' right to choose (Bokjiro). The number of cash-for-

¹ The budget of cash-for-childcare has accounted for a large part of the total budget on childcare since 2013; from 1.9% in 2009 to 21.3% in 2013, to 23% in 2014, and to 22.3% in 2015 (MOHW, 2016a).

childcare recipients has considerably risen to 1,012,336 in 2014 from 51,838 in 2010, as seen in Figure 3. Young infants (less than 24 months) account for 68.5% of all infants who are raised at home.

[Figure 3] The Number and Percentage of Children with Cash-for-childcare, 2010-2014 (number, %)



Source: edited database from Health and Welfare Data Portal (2016)

However, as previously noted, Korea’s cash-for-childcare scheme has been controversial. Most cash-for-childcare recipients are women, with low-educated (under secondary school) and lower-income (less than 1,000,000 KRW, about 873 USD²) backgrounds (Yoo, Seo, Han & Kim, 2011). Due to lack of childcare facilities trusted by parents, and of a work environment that allows parents to freely use parental leave in Korea, parents’ choice in cash-for-childcare might be substantially limited (ibid., p.90). However, since 42% of working mothers who are cash-for-childcare recipients are willing to quit their job if cash-for-childcare amount increases (ibid., p.91), and roughly 26% of respondents use child care facilities due to the free childcare facility subsidy (Shin, 2009), the scheme might affect women’s choice on childcare and work.

² As of 30th of June 2017, the KRW to USD exchange rate is 1,145 KRW per USD. Hereafter, the amount of all childcare benefits is presented to USD.

3. Theoretical Discussion

3.1. Confucian Familism and Care in the Korean Welfare State

3.1.1. Confucian Familism and Care Labour in East Asian Welfare States

East Asian countries as well as Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain and Greece, are often in the comparative welfare state literatures classified as cases of familistic welfare state in which “a social security system allocates a maximum of welfare obligations to the household” (Esping-Andersen 1990, p.45; Ferragina & Seeleib-Kaiser 2011). However, considering cultural impacts on societies and social policy provision, which shape different patterns of patriarchy in both regions (Sung, 2003), it may seem inappropriate to regard both regions in the same terms as the familistic welfare state, due to traditional Confucian values and ideals of East Asian countries. Confucian familism which entails “a strong reliance on the family as the site of social welfare and service delivery” (Goodman & Peng 1996, p. 193; Cook & Kwon 2007), is a common philosophy in the East Asian Welfare States. Korea has frequently referred to as one of the East Asian Welfare states, which also encompass other East Asian countries such as Taiwan, China, Hong Kong and Japan. Generally, the traditional family structure in the East Asian welfare states is presented as patrilineally and patrilocally and further differentiated by generation and gender (Won & Pascall, 2004). Women are strongly believed to perform household responsibilities including household chores and caregiving labour. It is because that women are at a disadvantage (Palley & Gelb 1992, p.3; Sung & Pascall 2014), by the Confucian influence on women, such as the virtue of obedience to family, husband and son (Chang 1998; Won & Pascall 2004), the ethics of filial piety imposing strong obligations upon women (Choi 1995; Byun, Bae & Kim 2002; *ibid.*). In terms of care labour, women are required to shoulder major responsibilities in family care labour within the context of familism (Yoon, 2012).

3.1.2. Women’s Care Labour in the Korean Welfare State

In Korea, family policies for work-family balance along with socialisation of care (more details in Appendix 1), especially since the Roh Moo-Hyun Government (2003-08) and throughout following governments, have been in earnest implemented under <the Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act>³ in 2007 (Kim, Kim & Bae, 2014), aiming gender equality in employment and work-family reconciliation for workers. Especially,

³ This act was revised as <the Equal Employment and Support for Work-family Reconciliation Act> in 2009.

public spending on family benefits has significantly been increased from 0.105% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 2000, to 0.676% in 2010, and to 1.115% in 2014 (OCED, 2017b). Despite such governmental policy and financial efforts to family policies, women's disproportionate responsibility for unpaid care labour has remained almost unchanged. The extent to which Korean women's lives in paid employment have changed is still questionable in practice, since traditional Confucian ideas about the role of women remain in force (Sung, 2003). Because in the Korean welfare regime where traditional Confucian values have affected not only families and individuals but policy-making in welfare sectors, state policies are seen gendered due to its strong reliance on the family and private sector, which naturally shoulder on working mothers (ibid.). Working mothers who rarely share care responsibility with state and their partners within Confucian families, are expected to involve in labour markets, while holding traditional Confucian assumptions about gender relations (Won & Pascall 2004). Thus, working mothers in Korea still conflict with the traditional identity of women as mothers and/or wives under the Confucian dichotomy between 'the public (*Yang*, labour market, men)' and 'the private (*Yin*, family, women)', and motherhood ideology (Won, 2016). Furthermore, due to the traditions of modified Confucian familism and division of labours between the sexes classified by Confucianism, and the lagged state's responsibility towards social risks that each individual faced with, familialism⁴ has been formed basis on holistic motherhood in which mothers devote themselves to children's success or survival, which becomes criterial familialism (Yoon, 2012).

Given the importance of the underpinning assumptions of the East Asian welfare regimes in relation to welfare provision as well as family and gender relations (ex. Sung 2003, Won & Pascall 2004, Sung & Pascall 2014), this study attempts to relate the changing childcare policy provision in Korea to women's childcare arrangements, looking at its implication on gender equality in the context of Korean welfare state.

3.2. Care Responsibility and Welfare Arrangements in Childcare

3.2.1. Conceptualising Care Provision: The Care Diamond

The care diamond of Razavi (2007) is a conceptual framework that represents the architecture in which care is provided, especially for young children and the elderly, through different institutions such as state, market, family, and 3rd sector. When conceptualising institutional

⁴ Yoon (2012) acknowledges that each concept of familism and familialism is commonly used mixed with, due to difficulty in distinguishing the concepts clearly and the overlapping inherent characteristics on the concepts. However, he attempts to classify concepts of familism and familialism, which indicates the former considered that family's interests are prioritized, and the latter considered that the care labour and its responsibility are forcibly upon or institutionalised on family, especially women (ibid, p.264).

arrangements in care provision, one can observe the diversity of sites in which welfare is produced and the decisions made by society to benefit some forms of provision over others. However, the state's role is qualitatively different compared to other institutions (family or markets), due to its characteristics as not just a welfare provider but a significant decision-maker about the responsibilities assumed by the rest of institutions except the state (ibid., p.20). The care diamond can be used to determine to what extent the state considers care labour similar to paid domestic labour and whether it is significant enough to provide these services itself or to differently fund the provision of these services (Budlender, 2011). However, it has its limitations: some forms of care provision might be not included and market provisions are rarely pure due to state subsidies or regulations (Razavi, 2007). Nevertheless, there are important differences across institutional arrangements (ibid.), which have significant implications for East Asia welfare states in which the family exclusively assumes the role of providing care (An, 2012). Within this context, Abe (2010) has found that the care diamonds of childcare and elderly care in Japan are different in terms of policy objectives and the role of the market. Similarly, Ochiai (2009) has demonstrated that the most prevalent pattern of Asian societies as familistic welfare regimes drawn from the care diamonds of childcare and elderly care, is characterised by care provision from the family sector as well as a large market sector. However, as noted by An (2012), since previous studies (i.e. UNRISD 2007-2009, Ochiai 2009, Abe 2010) have been qualitative in nature, rather using analytical tools that were not wholly developed to draw the care diamond, An (2012, 2013) has examined institutional arrangements of care provision in a quantitative manner, regarding care time. According to An (ibid.)'s studies that examine institutional arrangements for childcare in Korea, despite the increasing roles of state and market in childcare, the family continues to be fundamental in arranging childcare, suggesting that the centralisation of the family in providing childcare has not shifted.

3.2.2. Family Responsibility and Welfare Arrangements in Childcare

Childcare policies involve the de-familialisation⁵ and familialisation of childcare. De-familialisation of childcare concerns “policies that lessen individuals’ reliance on the family; that maximise individuals’ command of economic resources independently of family or conjugal reciprocities” (Esping-Andersen 1999, p.45; Leira 2002), including state-sponsored childcare services and cash benefits for private childcare (ibid.). State-sponsored childcare services have been considered instrumental in allowing both parents, especially mothers, to

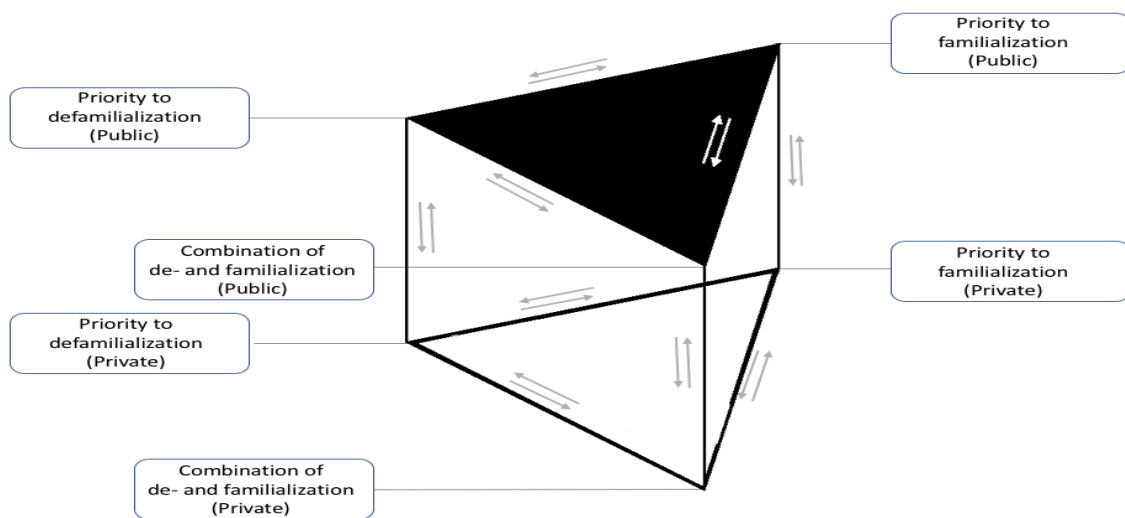
⁵ In some cases, several previous studies use the terms either ‘de-familisation’ or ‘de-familialisation’ in a similar context. However, for consistency, the term ‘de-familialisation’ is used in this study.

work (ibid.). Thus, the concept of de-familialisation can be important to fully understand to what extent care responsibilities are shifted between the state and the family. Meanwhile, familialistic (or re-familialistic) childcare policies, including paid parental leave and cash benefits for parental childcare, are considered policy measures that support at-home parental care for children (ibid., p.42). Notably, paid parental leave challenges traditional gender arrangements by facilitating a more equal sharing of childcare obligations among parents, while cash-for-care may conversely, be strengthening the traditional gender-differentiated family (ibid., p.37, 43). Within the context of welfare state restructuring, wherein new agendas on the re-privatisation and redistribution of care, are discussed, it is obvious that innovations in the care provision must accompany new welfare/care mixes (Anttonen 2005, p.91; Razavi 2007). Nevertheless, since welfare states have treated families, especially women, differently depending on its social policy function in providing care (Leiter 2003, Yoon 2012), care responsibilities can generally be distributed in a similar way. While some states strengthen family responsibility, others may advocate for high-quality childcare by the public sector, support market sectors to be more responsible in childcare services or take a principled stand against intervention (Leira, 2002).

However, there is no theoretical consensus about the way in which the degree of de-familialisation/familialisation should be determined. Esping-Andersen has focused on the idea of de-familialisation for women more as a precondition for entering the labour market than as independent of those in need of care within a family (Esping-Andersen 1990; Leira, 2002). Whereas, Leitner (2003, p.357) has criticised the way Esping-Andersen (1999) distinguishes between de-familialisation in public-social services and market-driven services. Instead, Leitner (2003) has presented four new ideal types of familialism – optional familialism, explicit familialism, implicit familialism, and de-familialism – according to the extent to which welfare regimes not only support the family as the main source of care provision, but aim to relieve the family from care responsibility, which blurs the dichotomy between de-familialisation/familialisation. Yoon (2012) has suggested typologies of familialism according to de-familialisation and familialisation and according to public and private, as shown in Figure 4. In the typologies, the presentation of familialism depends on whether familialistic policies either substitute or complement de-familialistic policies. He (ibid.) has noted that the relationship between de-familialisation and familialisation depends on who is supposed to be responsible for care labour, which is linked to how women are identified in a given state. In a state where women are identified as workers, the way how familialism is realised might be ‘priority to de-familialisation’, whereas, in a state that views women as mothers, the way how familialism is realised might be closer to ‘priority to familialisation’. Furthermore, a

‘combination of de-familialisation and familialisation’ can be observed in other states in which women are considered both workers and mothers (ibid. p.273-274). Thus, the way familialism is perceived in Korea can be changeable from priority to de-familialisation (private)” toward a “combination of de-familialisation and familialisation (private)” by implementing the cash-for-childcare, which implies increased governmental expenditure for the family while reinforcing family care responsibility (Yoon, 2012).

[Figure 4] Typologies of Familialism: De-familialisation and Familialisation by Public and Private



Source: Yoon (2012), *Familialism and Typology of Family Policies*.

Considering the previous discussions on de-familialisation/familialisation, Yoon (2012)'s typologies can help determine not only whether familialism is based on priority to either de-familialisation or familialisation, but whether de-familialisation/familialisation is accomplished by either the public or private sector. This study considers the typologies when examining how care responsibility can be viewed through the care diamond, given recent universal de-familialistic and familialistic childcare policies in Korea. Further, this study discusses the implications of the state’s intervention on childcare policies and women’s care responsibility.

3.3. Free Choice in Cash-For-Childcare and Gender Equality

3.3.1. Free Choice in Cash-For-Childcare: Freedom of Choice or Trap?

Considering free choice, which as a rhetoric device frames childcare policies (Rantalaiho 2010; Sipilä, Repo & Rissanen 2010), cash-for-childcare particularly, has been at the centre of discussion. The cash-for-childcare scheme is generally justified in terms of more ‘choice’ for

families with young children in arranging childcare between childcare services and cash benefit for taking care of children at home (Rantalaiho 2010; Ellingsæter 2015), namely, as being promoted as a support of ‘parental choice’ (Leira, 2002). Choice is associated with a liberalist anti-state paradigm (i.e., a centre-right government), limiting the state’s interference in private family affairs (Ellingsæter 2015). Furthermore, voter support of ‘parental choice’ may be reflected in other types of rationales, for instance a desire for autonomy, which may value ‘choice’ as a symbol of recognising a variety of life styles (Giddens 1991; Ellingsæter 2015). Thus, protagonists of the cash-for-childcare scheme highlight that parents know what is best for their children and those who do not use subsidised public care have a right to subsidies; they are also choosing freely between different forms of care (Hiillamo & Kangas 2009)—that is, they are exercising ‘freedom of choice’. In this regard, freedom is the possibility for families ‘to choose between different forms of care and to decide for themselves what they [need]’ (ibid., p.470). However, this discourse fails to take inequalities into account, and the choices available to parents are not independent of the family’s economic and material resources; freedom of choice is accompanied by problems. In other words, as mother’s wages and unjust cash transfer from wage earners to farmers (or low-income groups who use parental care themselves) and high-income groups (who employ nannies at home), cash-for-childcare restricts than enhances real freedom of choice: Mothers end up staying locked in their traditional roles, namely, the ‘trap for women’ (ibid., p.462). In this hegemonic discourse, freedom is regarded as ‘the possibility to fulfil oneself both in working life and in parenting at home’ (ibid. P.470). In this regard, Hiilamo and Kangas (2009) have investigated political hegemonies in cash-for-childcare schemes, arguing that in Finland, freedom has come under the dominant influence of ‘freedom of choice’, whereas in Sweden the context of ‘trap for women’ has been hegemonic. Thus, as a precondition for resolving women’s double burden, a ‘both-and’ way in the equal right to parenthood and paid labour was suggested in Sweden, while the solution was the way of ‘either-or’ in Finland (ibid., p.470).

Considering understandings and discourses on free choice in cash-for-childcare discussed above, this study investigates how and why women with young children choose cash-for-childcare and discuss the consequences of cash-for-childcare for women’s choice in relation to 1) the right to different forms of care, and 2) the right to parenthood and paid labour.

3.3.2. Cash-For-Childcare From a Gender Equality Perspective

In terms of gender equality, cash-for-childcare has several positive aspects: First, cash-for-childcare can be seen as reward for parental care by reconceptualising unpaid work as paid

work, and as a caring wage or compensation for income loss due to parental care, namely, permitting maternity/parental leave with job security or paying supplementary income not earned at work (Leira, 2002). Second, parental choice in cash-for-childcare enables each parent to choose among various types of childcare arrangements or between work and at-home childrearing. Since the cash-for-childcare scheme is generally seen as gender neutral, it is applicable for both parents deciding on maternal/paternal care (Ellingsæter, 2012). Lastly, cash-for-childcare might increase the possibility of job creation in private childcare sectors such as health or education (Leira 1991, Sipilä 1995; Leira 2002).

Meanwhile, its negative aspects in the perspective of gender equality are as follows; First, cash-for-childcare is paid at a low level, about 10% of the income of an average worker in Finland, Norway, or Sweden (Bakken & Myklebø 2010, Eydal & Rostaard 2011b; Duvander & Ellingsæter 2016). Thus, it assumes the main male-breadwinner–female-carer family. Next, the assumption that women as carers account for most cash-for-childcare recipients might encourage or sustain traditional gendered division of labour (Leira, 2002) in societies and families. Last is a “new inequality by social-economic dividing lines” (Ellingsæter 2015, p.262). If cash-for-childcare is mostly taken up by low-income groups such as immigrant and low-educated mothers, the scheme keeps them out of the labour market and children out of childcare services (ibid.). The variation in disposable income that results from the combination of household income with other cash transfers influences what groups are typical users of cash-for-childcare; this is important for groups at high risk for poverty, such as unemployed or sick parents’ households or one-parent households (Duvander & Ellingsæter, 2016).

4. Research Methods

4.1.Mixed Methods Approach

Mixed methodologies is an emerging area with a growing amount of interest across several discipline areas, and particularly popular in the areas of applied social research and evaluation (Bazeley 2003; Cameron 2009). To examine the implications of cash-for-childcare on gender equality within the Korean welfare state, this study used mixed methods to “help answer question(s) that cannot be answered by qualitative or quantitative approaches alone” (Creswell & Plano Clark 2007, p.9). The methods used in this study were a quantitative and qualitative analysis, which were conducted by examining the care responsibility within families throughout

institutional arrangements on childcare with Razavi (2007)'s care diamond, and the decisions of women having young children for the cash-for-childcare from interviews, respectively.

4.2. Quantitative Phase

4.2.1. Time-use Analysis

Time-use data, as quantitative summaries of how individuals spend their time over a specified period (a day or a week), makes it possible to determine what, how, why and how long activities⁶ are carried out as well as relate the patterns of time allocation to the demographic and socio-economic status of an individual when properly used (UN 2005, p.5, 8). In this study, time-use analysis was used to quantitatively draw a care diamond to examine care responsibility in families through institutional provisions on childcare among different sectors such as state, market, family, and 3rd sectors. The aim of the time-use analysis is known to provide better information on labour performed by different categories of people in developing countries, specifically the time spent on unpaid activities that are generally under-recorded or not recorded at all in surveys (Budlender, 2007).

Considering the unequal distribution of paid and unpaid labour between gender, and women's key contributions to unpaid labour, time-use data on household and care labour is an essential component of the gender analysis (UNECE 2013, p.16), illustrating gender inequality by quantifying the gendered division of activities and time (Ferrant, 2014). The indicators of time used to capture gender roles and disparities in time in both paid and unpaid activities include the female to male ratio of average time devoted to household activities and the female to male ratio of total workload (ibid., p.2).

The Korea National Statistical Office (KOSTAT) has conducted time-use surveys from a sample of the population over the age of 10 every five years since 1999, aiming to collect information on how people spend and allocate their time during a 24-hour day. These time-use surveys contain household, individual and time-diary questions.⁷

4.2.2. Data Collection and Operationalisation

The quantitative data for this study was collected from both the KOSTAT's TUS in 2004, 2009 and 2014, and statistical data and analyses from MOHW (2010, 2015) and MOE & KEDI (2004, 2009, 2014), etc.. These years were selected to compare the data about childcare time before

⁶ These activities are consisted of paid and unpaid work, volunteer work, domestic work, leisure and personal activities. (UN, 2005)

and after the implementation of de-familialising and familialising childcare policies, and after expanding it as universal scheme. The TUS contains household, individual and time-diary questions, and offers a substantial amount of time-use information, including nine broad categories such as personal care, employment, education, household maintenance, family care, voluntary activity, leisure and travel of those above the age of 10. Furthermore, one set of the statistical data provides information on the status of childcare facilities in Korea in 2004, 2009 and 2014. The sample of family used in this study was restricted to those between the ages of 20-39-year-old, and to time spent on childcare as the primary activity – physical care, aid with reading, playing, studying, nursing, etc. Overall, the sampling and process of this study are based on the study of An (2012). However, the age range used for the sampling family in this study is far narrower, for this study holds its special interests in looking at care responsibility of women with young children. Besides, for the samples of the rest of institutions except family, the data on the number of workers and average working time from childcare service facilities was gathered.

To calculate the total time-use on childcare from family, the total population was estimated using the proportion of participants in childcare from the TUS. Furthermore, to calculate the time used for childcare from childcare service facilities, this study re-categorised childcare facilities into state, market and 3rd sectors by the types of establishment and running body of those facilities. A more detailed is given in Appendix 5.

4.2.3. Data Analysis

For the quantitative analysis, frequencies and descriptions were generated by combining all time-use data collected for childcare to identify the main attributes and discover findings. Since the aim of this study is to gather information on time-use in childcare and connect these findings to women's care responsibility in the gender equality perspective, the time amount used on childcare by each sector and by year was first compared to determine the institutional arrangements on childcare among each sector. Subsequently, the time amount spent on childcare within family according to gender and year was also compared to investigate the distribution of care responsibility in childcare between men and women.

4.3. Qualitative Phase

4.3.1. Interview

Unlike quantitatively structured interviews used in survey approaches, qualitative interviews are characterised by increasing levels of flexibility and lack of structure (Holland & Edwards,

2013, p. 2-3). This study included unstructured and semi-structured qualitative interviews, consisting of two group interviews and nine face-to-face interviews during Feb-March 2016, and Jan 2017. According to interviewees' preferences, the interviews were conducted at a café, a workplace, a home and early in the morning or late in the evening, as well as on the weekend for one to two hours. The interviews were audio-recorded with the consent of interviewees. Similar to unstructured interviews in which the researcher clearly has aims or a topic in mind, but it is still important "to allow the interviewee to talk from their own perspective using their own frame of reference and ideas and meanings that are familiar to them" (ibid, p. 30), the group interviews were carried out without an interview format, allowing to collect overall opinions on childcare policy and difficulties in childrearing as well as work-family balance.

The face-to-face interviews are semi-structured to allow more room for interviewees to answer on their own terms than in structured interviews, while providing a semblance of structure for comparison across interviewees (ibid). The set of face-to-face interviews were done by asking questions regarding the three broad concepts of the welfare state and gender relations, based on the book of Daly and Rake (2003, p. 32-42): resource, social roles, and welfare state and power relationships (for interview guide, see Appendix 6). Throughout the interviews, additional questions were added and developed.

4.3.2. Sampling

The total sample of this study consisted of ten women with young children who were receiving the cash-for-childcare benefit and who were currently not working, on parental leave or working part-time to a small extent. Interviewees were selected by comprehensively combining various arguments on the use and implications in cash-for-childcare schemes presented by Leira (2002), Hiilamo and Kangas (2009) and Ellingsæter (2015). In this regard, this study adopted purposive sampling in which "particular settings, persons or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices" (Maxwell 1977, p. 87; Teddlie & Yu 2007). Interviewees were recruited from an internet-based community, 'Mom's holic', and contacted through acquaintances. All interviewees are between the ages of 20-39 and are living in Seoul or Busan in Korea; their educational and socio-economic backgrounds vary (see Appendix 7).

4.3.3. Thematic Analysis

A qualitative analysis of this study was conducted using a thematic analysis. In the qualitative analysis that seeks a description of patterns across qualitative data, thematic analysis may be seen, similar to interpretative phenomenological analysis and ground theory in a way. However, thematic analysis which is not bound to any pre-existing theoretical framework or the detailed technological knowledge, is different from analytic methods, which are connected to a theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 8-9). Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method for reporting patterns (that is, themes) of experiences, meaning and the reality of participants, while at the same time, it can be a constructionist method, which examines how a range of discourses operating within society have the consequences on events, realities, meanings, and experiences. (ibid., p. 6, 8-9). In this sense, considering that the qualitative phase of this study aims to look at the reasons and ways Korean women with young children make choices on cash-for-childcare, thematic analysis was considered relevant for this study.

For coding the interviews conducted, ‘In Vivo Coding’ which provides imagery, symbols and metaphors for rich category, theme and concept development (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss 2008; Glaser 1978; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss 1987; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Saldaña 2013), was used in the first cycle of coding, followed by ‘Focused Coding’ used to develop major categories and themes from the data gathered (Charmaz 2006; Saldaña 2013) in the second coding cycles. In this way, the clusters of 3 themes, 10 sub-themes and 22 categories were gathered; the clustered themes were classified as 1) *influence of Confucian familism on women*, 2) *women’s social roles and gender Relationships* and 3) *institutional aspects of childcare policy*, respectively.

4.3.4. Ethical Considerations

Regardless of the approach to qualitative inquiry, qualitative research faces various ethical challenges generated during data collection in the field and during the process of analysing and disseminating qualitative reports (Creswell 2007, p. 141). In accordance with the criteria on ethical considerations of the American Anthropological Association, this study offered information about aim, data collection methods, process, and usage of this research to interviewees, and protected their anonymity by using numbers and allowing participants to share information “off the record”. This study especially paid careful attention not to share personal experiences or ideas on research interests with interviewees, and not to use specific terms which may initiate the opinions of interviewees in a positive or negative way, in an attempt to open bracketing and gather information their own emotions and thoughts.

4.4. Methodological Limitations

From the quantitative phase, firstly, the sampling of family was only restricted to those who aged 20-39-year-old and data of time-use in childcare, contrary to the study of Ah (2012). Such sample selection may be considered as restrictively in its validity and reliability of results, since care diamond is to conceptualise unpaid labour including household chores and caregiving labour into macro economy, and to illustrate distributions and contributions in the provision of care in the macro-economic perspective. In this aspect, sampling without age restriction is more desirable to look at the overall distribution of care provision in care diamond. However, since those who aged between 20-39-year-old account for most of the family with having young children (MOHW, 2016b), and even spend a considerable amount of time on childcare generally, the sampling used in this study also is believed to have its significance. Secondly, when calculating childcare time provided from childcare facilities, there were some minor missing data, due to lack of data available. Such need to be supplemented with additional statistics and materials. Third, due to the unavailability of extracting exact data of those receiving cash-for-childcare from TUS, it might be somewhat insufficient to directly ascribe family's care responsibility to the impact of cash-for-childcare itself.

In the qualitative phase, firstly, since this study only covered women receiving cash-for-childcare benefit, who not working full-time, taking parental leave, or working part-time, this study can be challenged in examining encompassing information, due to exclusion of women cash-for-childcare recipients working full-time. However, considering the characteristics of the majority of women in relation to care labour and the use of cash-for-childcare, this study considered those women sampled in this study as the first group to look at the issues of women's free choice in cash-for-childcare. Besides, one interview dialogue was not recorded by mistake, but it was followed by handwriting right after the interview. Lastly, the prevalence in determining themes can be another issue. In using thematic analysis, there are no rigid and standardised rules on the determination of themes, which indicates that the flexibility, which is the advantage of thematic analysis, allows each researcher to determine themes in many different ways (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, determining themes can be challengeable with flexibility or the researcher's judgement within thematic analysis. Thus, this study attempted to determine themes, in reference to prevalence at the level of the data item, and in terms of the number of different interviewees who phrased the themes (Clarke &

Kitzinger 2004; *ibid*), also with various conventional ways of representing prevalence in thematic analysis⁸.

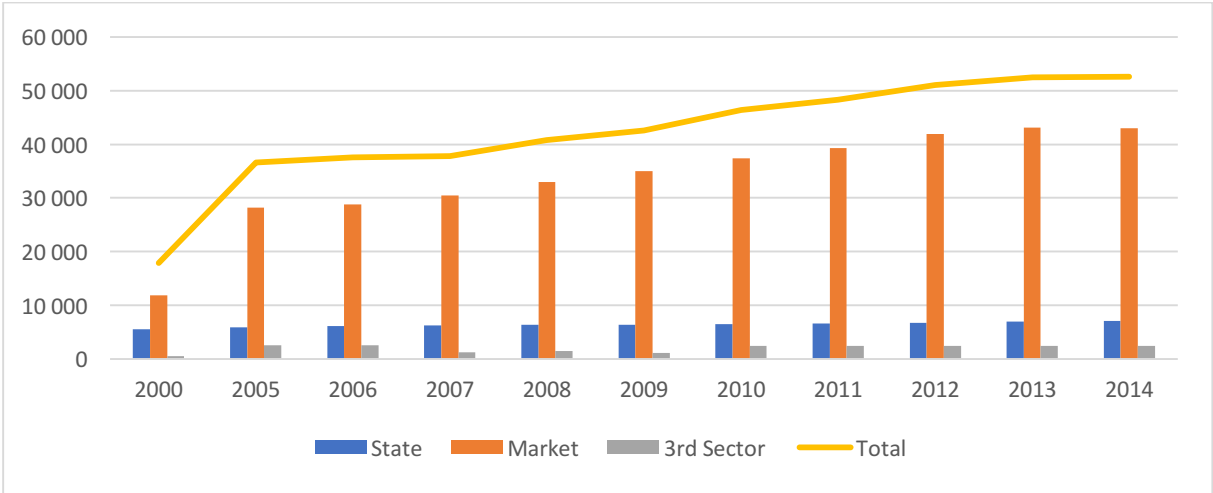
5. Results

5.1. Quantitative Findings

5.1.1. Market Sector as the Major Source in Childcare

Since 2000, the number of childcare facilities in Korea has steadily increased each year, seen in Figure 5. As of 2014, the total number of childcare facilities was 52,568 and market provisions accounted for the majority of childcare facilities, followed by state and 3rd sector provisions, respectively.

[Figure 5] The Number of Childcare Facilities, State, Market and 3rd Sector between 2000-2014



Source: MOE & KEDI (2004, 2009, 2014), MOHW (2010, 2015).

State provisions for childcare have experienced the smallest increase among the other provisions over the entire studied period. Market provisions significantly increased by 262% between 2000 and 2014 and by 23% between 2009 and 2014. The gap between childcare facilities provided by the market and the state was more than two times wider in 2002, but it has since quadrupled in 2005 and sextupled in 2014. Thus, an increase in market childcare facilities is at the centre of the trend in the rising number of childcare facilities. Furthermore,

⁸ Braun and Clarke (2006) presented several examples of various conventions for representing prevalence in thematic analysis: “most the majority of participants (Meehan et al., 2000)”; “many participants (Taylor & Ussher, 2001)”; and “a number of participants” (Braun, Gavey, & McPhillips, 2003)”.

although 3rd sector provisions still comprise an insignificant amount of total childcare facilities, they have increased by more than the other sectors: by 111% between 2009 and 2014.

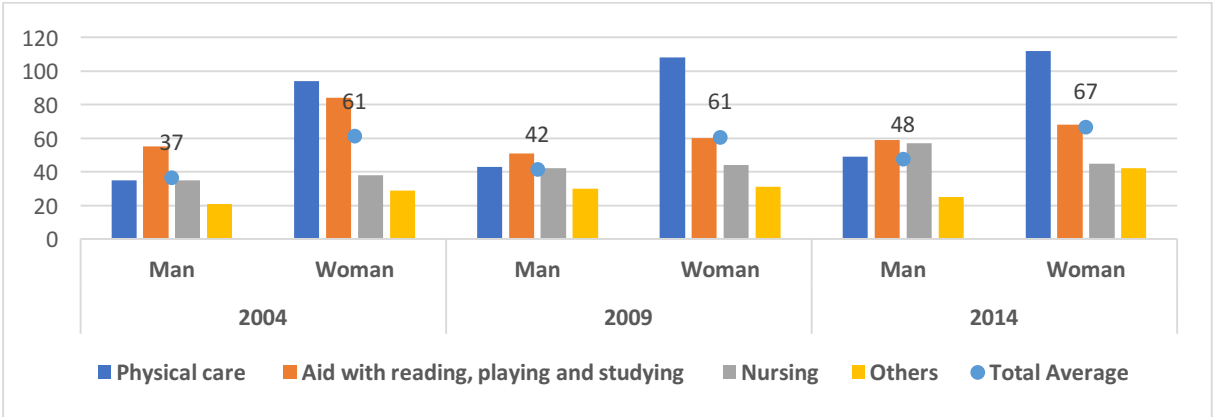
5.1.2. The Amount of Time Spent in Childcare

5.1.2.1. Time Spent in Childcare by Family

Figure 6 indicates the average time spent by family in each category of childcare activities per day. On average, women considerably spent more time on childcare than men each year. Over periods, the average time spent on childcare by both men and women has continuously increased, while the gap between the average time spent by men and by women has decreased by 24 minutes in 2004, and by 19 minutes in 2009 and 2014. Figure 7 displays the number of family members who participate in childcare per day. Similarly, the number of participants in some forms of childcare activities was significantly higher for women than for men. Generally, the number of family participants in childcare has increased over the time, and the number of male participants increased the most (by 20% between 2004 and 2009), whereas women participation increased by 14% between 2009 and 2014.

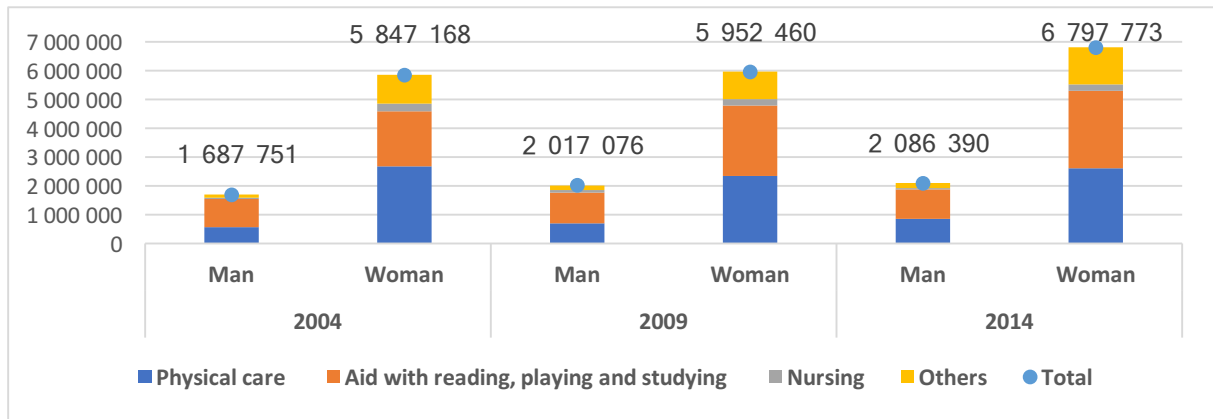
Overall, the total time spent on childcare by family in 2004, 2009, and 2014 was calculated, seen in Figure 8. There were very significant differences between the total amount of time spent on childcare between men and women in the years observed. The total time spent on childcare by family increased by 1% between 2004 and 2009, and by 22% between 2009 and 2014. As the average time spent on childcare increased, so did the amount of time spent on childcare by family, especially since 2009.

[Figure 6] Average Time Spent on Childcare by Family in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (minutes/ per day)



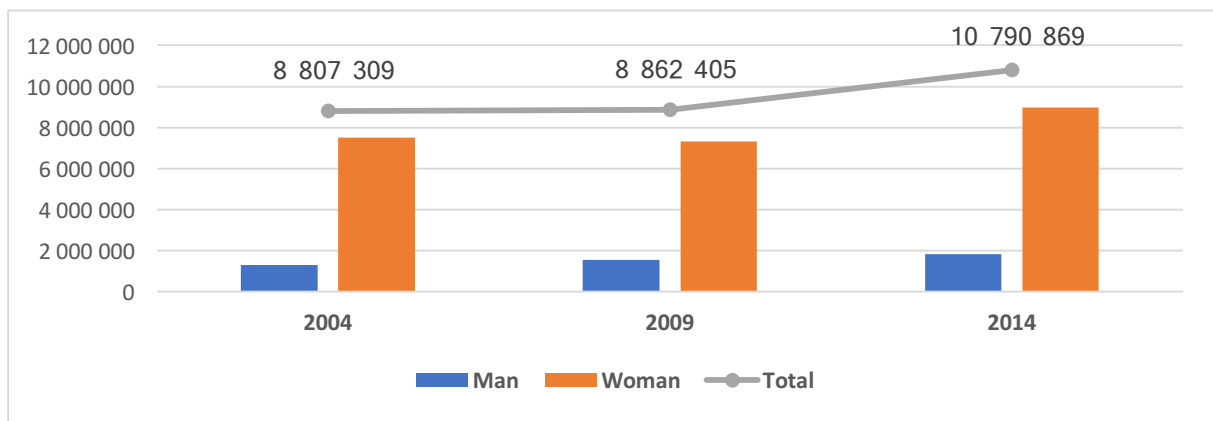
Source: edited data from KOSTAT (2005, 2010, 2015a)

[Figure 7] Participation in Childcare by Family in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (number/ per day)



Source: edited data from KOSTAT (2005, 2010, 2015a)

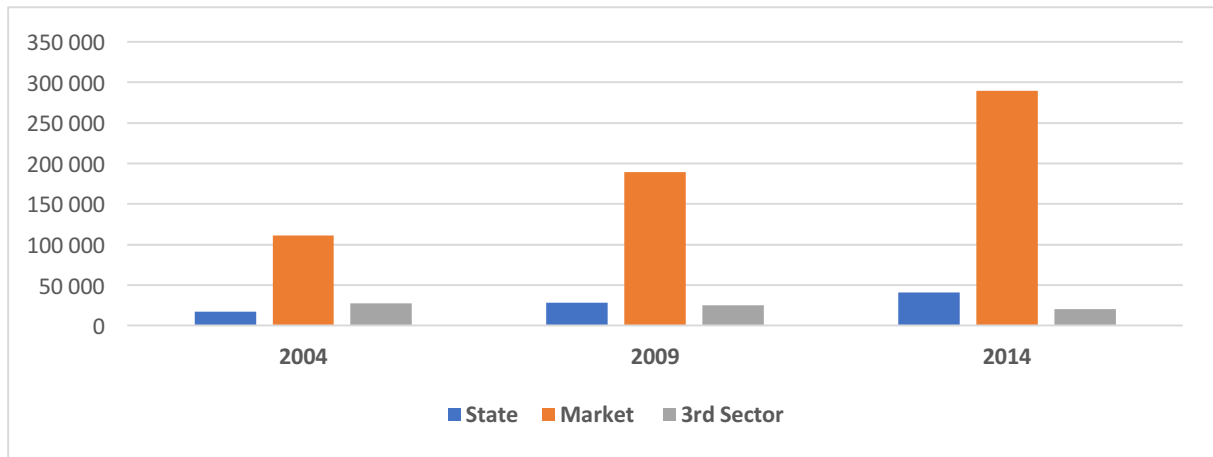
[Figure 8] Total Time Spent on Childcare by Family in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (hour/ per day)



5.1.2.2. Time Spent on Childcare by State, Market and 3rd Sector

The number of childcare workers from state, market and 3rd sector childcare facilities is presented in Figure 9. Over periods, the total number of childcare workers has considerably increased. The number of workers from childcare facilities provided by the state and the market has continuously increased in different proportions, whereas the number of workers from childcare facilities provided by the 3rd sector decreased between 2009 and 2014. Overall, the number of childcare workers is highest in the market provision, and its proportion of total childcare workers continually increased from 71% in 2004, to 78% in 2009 and to 82% in 2014. The proportion of state and 3rd sector provisions remained unchanged or decreased, especially between 2009 and 2014.

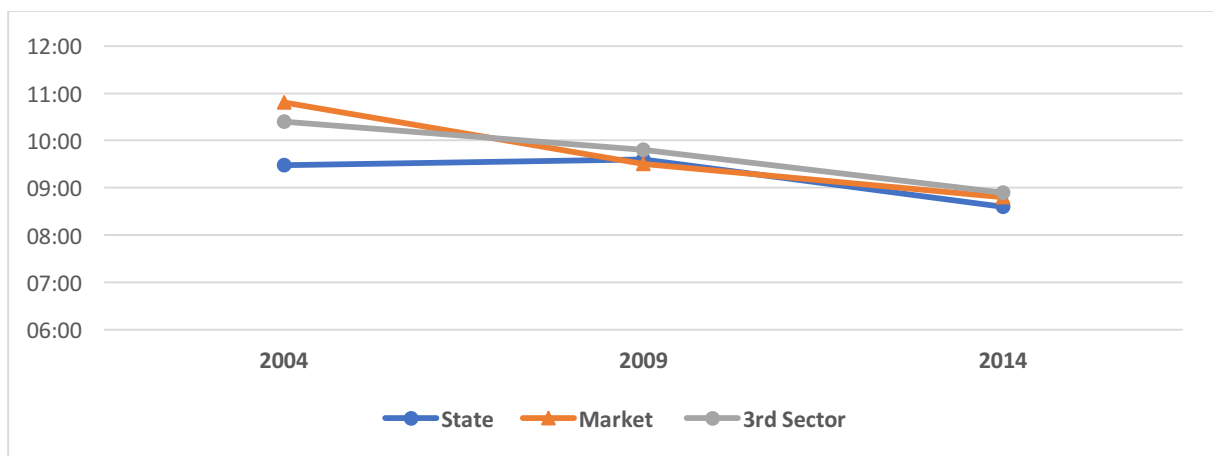
[Figure 9] The Number of Childcare Workers from Childcare Facilities in 2004, 2009 and 2014



Source: An (2012), MOE & KEDI (2004, 2009, 2014), Kim, Jang, & Cho (2013), Kim, Lee, Kim, & Bae (2014), Lee, et al. (2016), MOHW (2010, 2015, 2016c), and Na, Seo, Lee & Kim (2006)

The Figure 10 illustrates the average working hours of childcare workers from each childcare facility in 2004, 2009 and 2014. Generally, the average working hours of childcare workers have decreased over the time. In 2004, the average working hours were highest for the workers of the market childcare facility, followed by the 3rd sector, and the lowest was in the state childcare facility. It shows a significant disparity between the average working hours between childcare workers from each childcare facility. However, since 2009, the average working hours began to decline in all childcare facilities except the state facility, and further decreased for all childcare facilities in 2014, exhibiting smaller disparity between the average working hours than before.

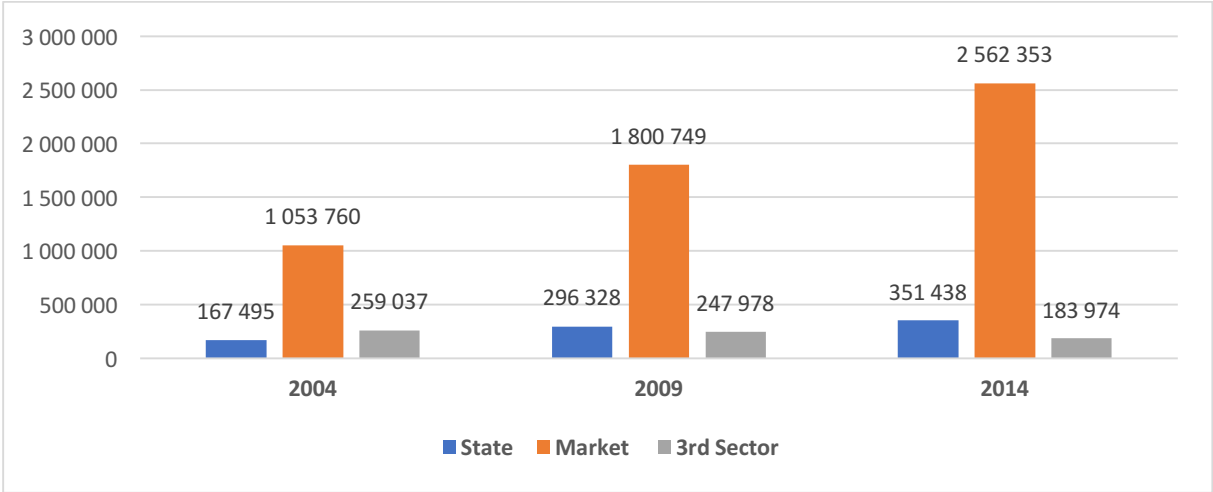
[Figure 10] The Average Working Hours from Childcare Workers in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (hour: minute/ per day)



Source: An (2012), MOE & KEDI (2004, 2009, 2014), Kim, Jang, & Cho (2013), Kim, Lee, Kim, & Bae (2014), Lee, et al. (2016), MOHW (2010, 2015, 2016c), and Na, Seo, Lee & Kim (2006)

Figure 11 presents the time volume for childcare at state, market, and 3rd sector childcare facilities provided in 2004, 2009 and 2014. Overall, the changes in the time volume for childcare from childcare facilities experienced a similar trend as the changes in the number of childcare workers over time, which means that total time volume for childcare from childcare facilities has steadily increased over the years examined. However, childcare provided by the market sector has been highest and is at the centre of the increase in total time volume for childcare. When examining time volume from each facility by the establishment, childcare volume by state increased by 59% between 2004 and 2009, and by 46% between 2009 and 2014, making it the second-largest growing sector for childcare facilities. The childcare volume by market sector increased by 70% between 2004 and 2009, and by 53% between 2009 and 2014, making it the largest growing sector in childcare facilities. Meanwhile, the childcare volume provided by the 3rd sector decreased by 7% between 2004 and 2009, and by 18% between 2009 and 2014. Since 2009, the total time volume from childcare facilities has increased mainly throughout state and market sectors, however the proportion of market sector in total time volume for childcare increased from 78% in 2009 to 83% in 2014, while the proportion of state sector declined from 12% in 2009 to 11% in 2014.

[Figure 11] Time Volume for Childcare from Childcare Facilities in 2004, 2009 and 2014 (hour/ per day)



5.2. Qualitative Findings

5.2.1. Women and Confucian Familism

5.2.1.1. Women's Duties and Pressure on Childcare by Familism

Childcare as Mother's Supreme Role

Regardless of how autonomously one is willing to involve in childcare, many interviewees consider the supreme role they perform as mother and wife within their family as childcare, accepting that they are the main caregiver to their children. The interviewees mentioned that their responsibilities and roles in the family still greatly focus on childcare arrangements. Although they were aware of recently implemented childcare policies, they still feel responsible for childcare arrangements and often struggle with how to deal with it:

“Nowadays, I as well as other mothers know well about recent childcare policies from government, [...]. But, it [childcare policies] is just like supportive thing, so there are still many things for raising children that home [family] has to take care.” (Interviewee I)

Almost all interviewees are more responsible for the children and childrearing than their husbands, and thus perform most activities related to childcare by themselves (willingly or unwillingly), recognising that their roles in childcare are of absolute importance:

“When it comes to childcare, mother's role is of the essence. In my family, there are no the grandparents of children [to ask for help in taking care of children], and family tradition is so patriarchal that I never expect that someone would help me.” (Interviewee D)

“[...] since I am now a full-time housewife, I myself think that I entirely need to deal with things relating to childrearing. That is because father of children is our boss at home.” (Interviewee E)

The aspect that family responsibility is emphasised in arranging childcare, however most interviewees mainly take responsibility and perform in childcare, can be explained within the context of what the interviewee D and E report above. It ascribes how they involve in childcare to family atmosphere. The two interviewees mentioned particular phrases such as “patriarchal family tradition” and “husband who is the boss at home”, which are considered to be attributes of Confucian familism. The use of these phrases indicates that patriarchal family environments made them assume more responsibility in childcare and consider childcare activities as their duties. In this sense, Confucian familism is still a factor that influences how women arrange childcare, by differentiating roles and obligations to childcare and childrearing based on gender.

Furthermore, some characterise the influence of Confucian familism on childcare as Korean special culture:

“[...] however, I am still the one who in charge of childcare, or family affairs like domestic labour. My children’s father does not know about it well. No matter how times are changing, Korea is still a long way off [in childrearing], due to Korean special culture.” (Interviewee C)

In this regard, the influence of Confucian familism on women’s childcare arrangements is considered to be the distinctive characteristics of the Korean welfare state; thus, this can be explained within the socio-cultural contexts of Confucianism, which may be forming and emphasising women’s gender role.

Influence and Pressure from Family Members

Several interviewees reported that family environments that embrace other family members make them feel more pressure to make childcare arrangements. Seeing that still women end up in charge of childcare throughout other family or relative members, interviewees consider whether they are required to perform childcare as they do, ending up choosing childrearing at home:

“[...] a lot of talks that the overall atmosphere towards childrearing has been changing. But, in my family as well as in my relatives’ families, [...] so prevalent that mostly women quitted job for a moment and looked after their children when women have a child, I also thought and asked myself ‘Should I do like that later?’” (Interviewee H)

Interestingly, when explaining how they care for children at home, several interviewees claim that their decisions concerning childrearing and arranging childcare activities such as selecting milk brand or purchasing baby clothes, concern their in-laws. This indicates that the grandparents of children are involved in childcare arrangements in some ways, and that childcare arrangement decisions can be affected by the extended relationship as well as by the parents themselves, which might add more stress to women’s role in childrearing.

5.2.1.2. Co-existence of Tradition and Modernity

Feeling Lagged and Confused by the Co-existence of Tradition and Modernity

Most interviewees do not have a particular antipathy toward the socio-cultural practice emphasising family value and care labours associated with childrearing. However, they have

complained about how the responsibilities of both family values and at-home childrearing have completely been given to them:

“[...] TV entertainment programmes which show that how fathers [mostly men entertainers] involve in childcare and play with children are aired recently like a trend. Such things are only true in Television, or for the entertainer. [...], I have never experienced it. It is the meaningful experience of taking care of children. But whenever I watched these programmes, I got fooled, annoyed and lost.” (Interviewee C)

This interviewee expressed mixed emotions about the gap between the recent trend toward portraying increased involvement of fathers in childcare and her own childrearing experiences. The childcare responsibility is rarely shared by husbands and therefore, women struggle from the tension and disharmony between traditional and modern values.

Noticeably, the extent to which women address the impact of the patriarchy at home and their dissatisfaction with arranging childcare varied based on their level of education and place they live. Those who with a higher education and live in Seoul not only used words representing features of Confucian familism comparatively less, but exhibited less dissatisfaction compared to those who have a secondary or higher education and live in Busan.

5.2.2. Women’s Social Roles and Gender Relationships

5.2.2.1. Childcare as a Mother

Experiencing Motherhood

Interviewees held similar views about childrearing at home, since they put their roles as a mother in relation to childrearing on special and crucial meanings as follows: first, they find it important for children to form a bond with their parents for the first 3 years. Indeed, interviewee G once pledged to stay with her children as long as she could, using her parental leave, and interviewee A is of the opinion that society is required to ensure a certain period of time for parent-child bonding. Second, some are likely to spend more time with their children; interviewee E did not want to miss watching her children grow and develop, although working would be less-demanding than childrearing. The last explanation connected to traditionally accepted notions of women’s roles in childcare, is that few interviewees rather see women as a mother more amiable to childrearing, due to biological and socio-psychological attributes that women mostly seem to hold. Interviewee B stated that because women are likely to be more delicate and affectionate than men, and play a major role in caregiving since the birth of the child, it is more proper that mothers be involved in childrearing, while admitting that her words might sound prejudiced and ambivalent.

Interestingly, with regard to how to perceive women with children and their social role as mother, it is still necessary to be cautious and sensitive when recognising child-related activities when these are not performed by a mother or performed without a mother:

“At restaurant or department store, we often see children with both parents...even with grandparents. Then, it is available to exchange small talk like ‘How old is your child? What brand is it [children products]? Or, your husband seems to be domestic.’ However, in case that we meet fathers with children by themselves, it would be totally different.” (Interviewee B)

“When a father in a suit drops children off at kindergarten on way to work, [many mothers] think that he is nice and domestic. However, when father with wearing sweatpants takes children to kindergarten, they assume ‘Does he have no job and stay home?’” (Interviewee E)

5.2.2.2. Childcare as a Wife and Gender Relationships at Home

Confused and Depression in Childrearing: No Credits?

Regarding women’s social role as a wife in childcare labour, most interviewees described it confused and depressed, since the difficulties in childcare are rather unexpected and different depending on the children’s personality or other situations. Also, women’s childcare labours and responsibility are still socially taken for granted. The interviewees emphasised the aspect of not receiving credit for their efforts in childrearing:

“When fathers have a day off, and then take care of children for a moment sometimes, they are considered as caring and thoughtful fathers, but mothers are not normally thought as good mother, although they are engaged in childcare as full-time. [...] The hardest thing is that I am underestimated and less credited for childrearing economically and socially.” (Interviewee A)

In this regard, childcare labour continues to be regarded as primarily the domain of women, according to traditionally and socially constructed gender roles.

Father as a Supportive Role in Childcare

With regard to men’s involvement in domestic labour within the family, interviewees reported that their spouses tend to participate more in child-related care as a helper rather than in household labour, as mentioned by Interviewee A: “I have never considered my husband as the same agent as I am.”

During the interviews, some interviewees came together with their spouses and children after work or on the weekend and their spouses helped take care of the children during the interviews. Considering that these interviewees held master’s degrees or higher and work at public institutes and corporate companies, the degree of education and employment of women

is a factor in their husbands' participation in domestic work, including housework and childrearing.

Women's Unemployment or Lower Income: Making Women inevitably Assume Childrearing Responsibilities

Interviewees attributed their views on childrearing to their status in relation to both employment and income. According to interviewee I, when arranging childcare with her spouse, she found it difficult to find a new job after moving to another city and thus, could not work after having her child. Thus, she ended up being responsible for childrearing including all household labours. Conversely, interviewee D explained that her lower income played a role in how she ended up assuming more responsibility in childcare:

"If mother would be working as professionals or earn more money than father, then it might be possible to talk and negotiate how to do childcare with fathers. However, since I am not, it makes me difficult to express my opinion. The perception that women need to have responsibility on childcare is definitely problematic, but I think that how much women earn is the more important thing, but you know it is hard for women with children to work." (Interviewee D)

Thus, the extent to which social perception of women's roles affects women's childcare responsibilities might be less influential than how much women earn. The fact that what matters more is income might be due to recurrent interactions between both social perceptions and employment status of married women.

5.2.2.3. Barriers to Women in Childrearing

Back-to-Work Still in Question

Many interviewees reported that their barrier to less traditional childrearing was whether they could return to work. Specifically, this question involves both whether they could go back to the job they had previously held, and whether they could find a new job. Only the three who worked in public institutions or a large company were able to use parental leave and were guaranteed that they could return to work. Furthermore, whether the five who quitted or were not employed before and after having children could get back to work, seemed to be in the middle of uncertainty on employment. According to interviewees, the labour market environment prefers to hire young people, especially in administrative and service or unskilled fields. Indeed, the visible and invisible discrimination against married women who are pregnant or have young children is a major reason why it is difficult for interviewees to return to work.

Furthermore, women who take a long-term career-break appear to have a harder time returning to work.

It is notable that the matter of married women's career-break appears to similarly affect those with a higher education and a long career.

5.2.2.4. Childcare as a Worker

Becoming a Working Mother

Interviewees expressed the reason why they strongly intend to return to work sooner or later in two different ways: certain interviewees prefer to participate in society and career-related activities than apply themselves to childcare, while the others are worried about the effects of career-break on their chances of finding better job or being promoted and consequently, end up deciding to return to work:

“If I would quit this job I have at present, and thus have a career-break, it would be difficult to have a job as good as current one, have a better job, or get promoted later. So, I have no choice but to go back to work.” (Interviewee B)

However, these ways are likely to apply only to those who already have a job or are involved in professional or highly skilled areas.

5.2.2.5. Working Mothers and Gender Relationships at Work

Commuting Time and Overtime Work Making Hard to Use Childcare Service

Commuting time and overtime work were problematic in relation to the use of childcare service facilities. First, the commuting time made it difficult for women to use childcare centres:

“Those centres open around 9.30–10 am, and the children leave around quitting time. However, there are no such workplaces in Korea where I could go to work at 10 am and go off work at 4 pm.” (Interviewee A)

In the face of such difficulties, she once decided to employ an assistant to drop-off and pick-up her children. However, in the end, she had to take care of her children herself due to additional cost. Secondly, work environments in which overtime work is frequently expected of an employee make it difficult for women to use childcare services. According to interviewee H who was demanded to work overtime sometimes, although there were extra care services for the children of those who had to work overtime, she did not use the service. Because she worried that her child would be alone until late and that her child would be disadvantaged, since she

heard that the teachers at the daycare centre do not want to work longer for only a small number of children.

Burdens in Combining Work and Housework or Childrearing, and on Childcare Fee

Interviewees who previously worked or whose work is flexible or part-time mentioned that they still shoulder the continued burden of housework and childrearing, despite going to work. Those who have fixed working hours have more help from their spouses in both housework and childrearing than those who are unemployed or work irregularly scheduled part-time jobs. Nevertheless, there are significant disparities between the share of responsibilities and the performance of household work and childrearing:

“Though I am working, every work related to household and childrearing, and education is mainly mine. Sometimes at weekend, or when I am busy, my husband helps me in such works a bit, but it is literally help to an extent.” (Interviewee F)

Moreover, several interviewees with less than a college degree and low-income tend to work part-time or irregularly. They work on an irregular part-time basis because they need the additional money, due to burden of childcare costs, thus finding it difficult to hold a steady job or work regularly while taking on childcare responsibilities. Thus, those who received less education and have lower-income background are more likely to shoulder double or triple the burdens of additional childcare costs as well as in entering to labour market and thus in balancing work and family.

Less Women or Less Family-friendly Work Environment

Some interviewees who have worked previously and whose job is flexible or who work irregularly part-time noted that their challenges are less women- and family-friendly work environment. They mentioned that it is difficult to continue working in environments that lack understanding for working mothers and are neither woman- nor family-friendly work environments, despite the implementation of more women- and family-friendly policies; this is attributed to the corporate culture of Korea which barely values family:

“There is a corporate culture deeply rooted in Korea, and it does not respect family. In this case, someone should take care of family. Both men and women are at work, and such corporates do not consider family as important. Then, someone needs to be put at home, and the one who is probably going to be at home is mostly women. Those who assess work performance are mostly men, and when I went to work by the time that my child aged 6 months, such social view like ‘How dare mother with such young child could work?’” (Interviewee A)

A second challenge related to the insufficiency of woman- and family-friendly workplaces is the long work-hours culture. According to interviewee D, with the help of the women employment support centre, she was assigned to work 4 hours per day as a telemarketer at a large company. However, due to the practice of working long hours, she was often unexpectedly required to work overtime, making it made difficult for her to balance working and childcare.

Difficulties in Using Family Supporting Benefits

Although the benefits for family support guaranteed by law are well-structured in interviewees' workplaces, they are not easy to use. The main reason for this is that they are worried they will be put at a disadvantage in a workplace where most employees are rather passive and cautious to use such benefits actively. The degree to which working mothers use family support benefits can be explained by their spouses' uptake in these benefits as well as women's work-related issues. As interviewee J described, her spouse rarely uses family benefits although the benefits are guaranteed in his workplace, since it is unusual for men to take benefits such as parental leave in practical.

Furthermore, while some interviewees were pregnant, they considered quitting their jobs, since it is difficult to use sick leave freely in male-dominated workplaces where pregnancy is not considered a health-related issue. Furthermore, interviewee J stated that she is paid less than her worth, based on her education and capacity, but she prefers to keep working, since she has the option of using parental leave.

Married Women with Children: 'You are Not Professional at Work'

The situation that working mothers sometimes make time for child-related work while working is, according to managers or employers, a reflection of the women's commitment to their works:

"In case that my children get sick or need my help, I used to go home earlier in the middle of working, or arrive late at work. Then, the company considers me as if I am not that professional at work, which makes me hard to keep working. I think Korean culture has created such atmosphere 'If you cannot commit your work, you had better take care of children at home, instead of working.'" (Interviewee G)

Interviewee B explained that long-term projects are generally not assigned to female employee of reproductive age at work, and she sees it somewhat understandable, since the absence of female employee due to children-related matters might bother the other co-

workers. Thus, she personally prefers not to be involved in a new project sooner or later, without knowing her next fertility plan and what would happen with her child.

5.2.2.6. Barriers to Working Mothers

Feeling Guilty and Regret as Working Mother

Interviewees who worked or are currently working reported that the hardest aspect of being working mothers is the feeling of guilt. Despite having a greater share of responsibility in childrearing than their spouses while working, they consider themselves to be sinners or inadequate mothers who do not fulfill the responsibilities of childrearing while working. In fact, one of interviewees who experienced such feelings claimed that she is seriously considering quitting her job, although she can take available family supportive assistances comparatively freely.

However, men are comparatively freer in this respect, which implies that working mothers' feelings of guilt are closely related to the deeply-rooted gender norms that childcare is considered to be a woman's responsibility, although they also work.

5.2.3. Institutional Aspects of Childcare Policy

5.2.3.1. Taking Cash-For-Childcare

Extra Money not as Reward for Mother

All interviewees except one reported that the current amount of cash-for-childcare is roughly equivalent to the minimal costs of child-related purchases such as milk powder, diapers, etc. These interviewees do not consider it a reward for their childcare labour, but either financial support only for childcare expenses or extra cash that does not significantly affect family finances. Therefore, the question is the purpose or effect of cash-for-childcare:

“When you hire a full-time nanny for childcare, it costs around 1,397 to 1,659 USD (1,600,000 to 1,900,000 KRW) per month. But, I only could receive 175 USD (200,000 KRW) at maximum for taking care of children at home. What is it for really?” (Interviewee A)

Regarding why they decided to do at-home childcare and accept cash-for-childcare, the answers differ among interviewees. Those who do not work said that they do not have a job when someone needs to take care of the children at home, not because of cash-for-childcare. Those who have jobs mentioned that they decided to take up childrearing because they are able to take parental leave (such as interviewee B), which implies that the use of cash-for-childcare

by women can be explained differently based on a woman's employment status, not by the cash-for-childcare scheme:

Women as Caregiver and Recipient?

Since this study included women who take care of children at home using cash-for-childcare, interviewees were asked whether they have ever seen a case in which men were solely responsible for childrearing and received this benefit. None answered in the affirmative. Thus, it can be interpreted that women still play a crucial role in childrearing as the primary caregiver, despite an increase of men's participation in childcare. However, not all interviewees are direct recipients of cash-for-childcare; four interviewees mentioned that the cash-for-childcare is transferred to the bank account of their spouses, which implies that the primary caregiver and the recipient of the cash-for-childcare funds are not always the same.

Ambivalent Effects to Low-income Family Mother

Most interviewees claimed that cash-for-childcare scheme is more important to low-income families, since it is cash benefit. Similarly, several interviewees who have middle-lower income backgrounds have a more positive view of cash-for-childcare. However, it is important to note that the contribution of cash-for-childcare might, in reality, be insignificant to low-income women. Although the low-income interviewees receive the cash benefit, they do not just stay home with the young children all the time, but try to find work to earn extra money needed for their children's education or other expenses.

5.2.3.2. Receiving Benefits for Childcare Service Facility

Lower Barriers to women's involvement in labour market

Most interviewees view the benefit for childcare service facilities more positively than the cash-for-childcare scheme, regarding its benefit amount and utility. The benefit for childcare service facility might more lessen the financial burden of childrearing as well as re-entry barriers to work for mothers, by helping re-educate themselves for development of career, or involve in work, as mentioned by several interviewees.

When comparing the benefit for childcare service facility to cash-for-childcare, interviewees found that the amount of cash-for-childcare is comparatively less than the benefit of childcare service, which is also accessible to every family with young children. In this respect, interviewee H stressed that although she decided to do childcare at home with cash-for-childcare, it was not that she felt motivated voluntarily to do due to cash-for-childcare itself,

since she could have obtained help to not be solely responsible for childrearing by using childcare service facility. Therefore, she feels that she assumed a loss for not choosing the benefit of childcare service facility, which is worth more than receiving cash-for-childcare, noting that the financial aspect of cash-for-childcare causes those who do not work or need childcare facilities to use them.

Childcare Facility in favour of Full-time Mother

Several interviewees mentioned that a significant number of facilities for childcare service seem to be operated in accordance with the schedule of full-time mothers who do not actually work, or are flexible in sending and picking up children. They added that this aspect is attributed to full-time mother's unnecessary or additional use in childcare facility, having with benefit for childcare service facility.

Regarding the use of childcare facility by full-time mothers, there are two different views of it among interviewees. One view in support of it is that full-time mothers without jobs might need help from a childcare service, allowing them to have free time away from childrearing. This prevails among interviewees who are not at full-time work. Conversely, other interviewees believe that the use of childcare facilities from full-time mothers makes it difficult for working mothers to use these facilities that works with their schedules, also making it difficult for them to find vacancies at childcare services centres. Interviewees who previously had or have full-time jobs support this view, arguing that the use of childcare services by full-time mothers needs to be more considerate.

Private Childcare Services: Additional Expenses, Security, Quality of Education

All interviewees indicated that compared to public or national childcare centres, the number of private childcare centres is far greater in Korea, increasing the demand for public facilities for childcare services:

"I wanted to send my child to public daycare centre, however there was no vacancy. I am 109th in the waiting queue for public centre, and I heard that my child would not enter there until he would be aged for going to elementary school." (Interviewee G).

Several interviewees reported that despite their eligibilities to receive the benefit of childcare facilities, they attempted to find part-time work to concerns over using childcare facility run by private or market sectors, such as additional costs. Unless they are able to use public childcare

facilities, it would cost more extra to use childcare facilities by private sectors, which means that parents of young children might feel additionally burdened:

“When it comes to benefit for childcare services, they [government] say that it is free childcare, however, it is practically not free, since it would be additionally costly. [...] would cost less for using public childcare centres, for example around 26 USD (30,000 KRW), however, 70 to 87 USD (80,000 to 100,000 KRW) for private childcare centres per month.” (Interviewee A)

The second concern is child security in private childcare facilities. Interviewee A also compared using private childcare centre to public childcare centre and pointed out that private ones are less-restricted and do not always observe appropriate management conditions. Furthermore, she was not satisfied with the safety of the food and was worried about child abuse at private facilities in a less regulated environment. The final concern is over the qualifications of the teachers and the carers at private childcare centres. According to interviewee G, public childcare centres comparatively recruit many teachers having bachelor or master degrees (and 1st class teacher licenses), while private ones primarily employ teachers with 2nd or 3rd class teacher licenses. Thus, these concerns about using private childcare centres rather than cash-for-childcare itself are associated more with women’s childrearing and decisions to childcare arrangements (see Appendix 8 for a summary of theme analysis from interviews).

6. Result Discussion

6.1. Institutional Arrangements and Care Responsibility on Childcare in Korea

6.1.1. Institutional Arrangements on Childcare: Childcare Diamond

Figure 12 illustrates the childcare diamond that represents the time volume for childcare among different institutional sectors in 2004, 2009 and 2014. This analysis reveals three key findings. First, each institutional sector, except the 3rd sector, has expanded their childcare provisions over time. Especially, the childcare time provided by both state and market sectors significantly increased by 61% and 71% between 2004 and 2009, respectively. The time volume from the family sharply rose from 1% in 2009 to 22% in 2014, showing that the gap between the increase rate for non-familial and familial time volumes for childcare has narrowed since 2009. The proportion of care-time of non-familial sectors to the familial sector has increased from 17% in 2004, to 26% in 2009 and 29% in 2014. Concerning this, An and Peng (2016) have shown that

changes to state intervention in childcare in Korea have shifted from ‘implicit familialism (weak de-familialisation and familialisation)’ in 2000, to ‘de-familialism (money de-familialisation)’ in 2005, and to further ‘de-familialism (labour and money de-familialisation)’ in 2010. Meanwhile, Jeon (2015) has noted that the trend in childcare policies in Korea has shifted toward ‘implicit familialism’ since 2009, since the government had changed institutional arrangements on childcare, by expanding childcare services provided by the private sector rather than publicness of childcare service, adopting childcare vouchers, and allowing cash-for-childcare. In this respect, there is no consensus view on how to conceptualise institutional childcare arrangements in Korea. However, based on data regarding beneficiaries of each childcare services and time volume of each sector between 2009 and 2014, time volume for childcare from both the non-familial and familial sectors simultaneously increased by varying degrees in 2014, which allows to cautiously estimate a shifting tendency toward ‘strong de-familialisation and familialisation’, i.e. ‘optional or hybrid familialism’ in a limited way.

[Figure 12] The Childcare Diamond in 2004, 2009 and 2014



Secondly, despite increasing time volume from non-familial sectors, the market sector continues to overwhelmingly provide childcare time compared to the state sector. Time volume by the market sector was 6.3 times greater than that of the state sector in 2004, 6.7 times in 2009 and 7.3 times in 2014. Since the 1990s, expanding public childcare facilities have been of significant interest, as the Korean government began concerning itself with issues of quality and parents’ childcare burdens. However, due to the financial burden of initial investments into

additional facilities and the logic behind using private sources, the government found it difficult to establish public childcare facilities and consequently lowered their objectives in newly expanding facilities (Lee, et al., 2011). Lastly, family has been the ultimate primary provider in the institutional arrangement of childcare. Indeed, the time volume by family has been considerably higher than that of other sectors. Notably, the rate of time volume by family drastically increased from 1% in 2009 to 22% between 2009 and 2014. Thus, it can be assumed that one of the reasons behind the increase in time volume by family was the implementation of the cash-for-childcare scheme since 2013, along with slight increase in parental leave. Considering the increase in the number of participants and total care time, Korea has become a more familial caring state (An, 2013).

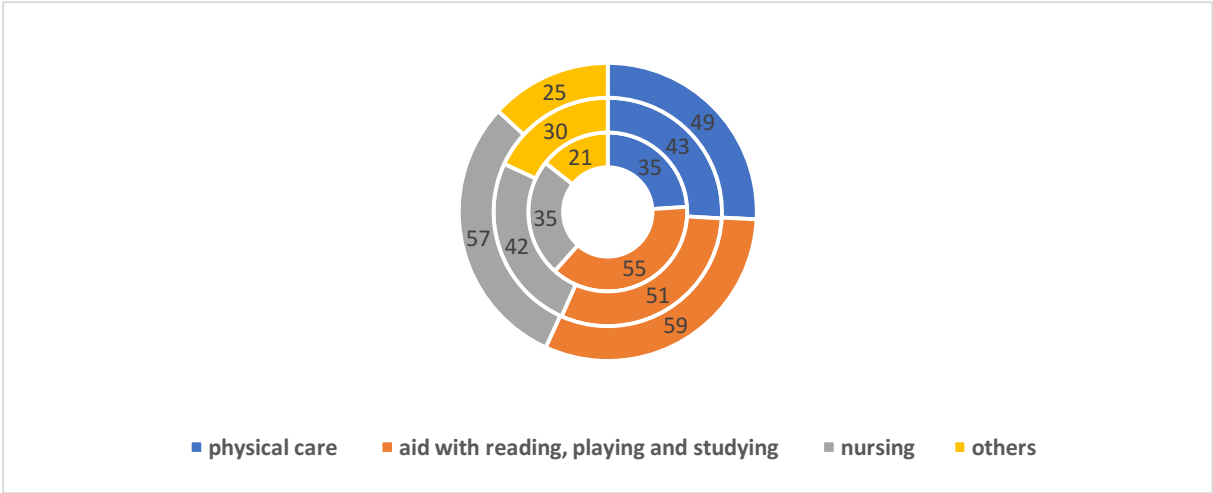
Among the findings presented above, the second and third findings are significantly in accordance with the characteristics of the Korean welfare state, which as one of the East Asian welfare states both highlights the roles of family and one's informal network in the provision and delivery of welfare (Choi, 2012), and adopts a regulating role in social responsibility with the market that is fulfilling an important secondary role (Kuypers, 2014). As determined by Abe (2010), Ochiai (2009) and An (2012, 2013), extent to which care responsibility is arranged among different institutions largely works within an orbit of East Asian welfare states.

6.1.2. Care Responsibility within Families

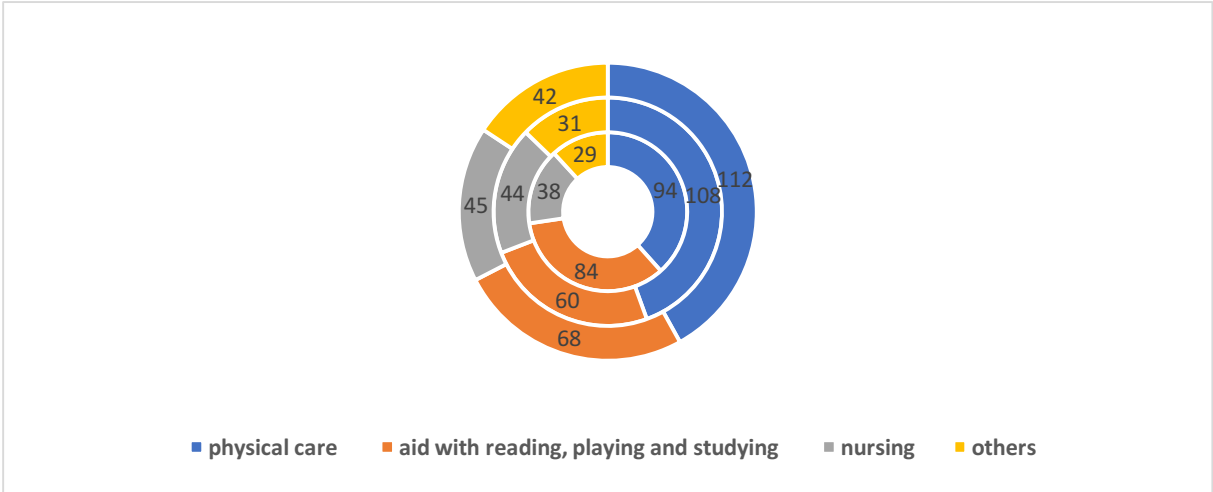
The way in which men and women share childcare responsibility within a family is an indicator of gender equality, since “gender is a predictor of different childcare practice when men and women share other characteristics, including full-time participation in the paid workforce” (Craig 2006, p. 274). To what extent both sexes spend time on childcare can be discussed in two aspects: total amount of time spent on childcare and characteristics of childcare activities. Figure 13 and Figure 14 indicate time spent on childcare activities by both men and women in 2004, 2009 and 2014, respectively. Regarding the total amount of time spent on childcare, time spent on childcare by men increased by 14% both between 2004 and 2009 and between 2009 and 2014 each, while total time spent by women decreased slightly by 1% between 2004 and 2009 and then increased by 10% between 2009 and 2014. This implies that men's participation in childcare has increased over time, although women continue to participate in childcare to a greater extent than men. The increase in women's time spent on childcare, especially between 2009 and 2014, is assumed to be mainly due to the effect of the cash-for-childcare scheme. Despite the narrowing gap in the proportion of total time spent on childcare by women to time spent by men, gender disparity in time spent on childcare continues to persist. According to

KOSTAT (2015b), men and women in dual-earner families spent 371 minutes and 292 minutes on paid work, and 41 minutes and 193 minutes on unpaid work, respectively. It indicates that women’s time spent on unpaid work is 11.7 times greater than time spent by men in single-earner (male) families and 1.6 times in single-earner (female) families.

[Figure 13] Time Spent on Childcare Activities from Men in 2004, 2009 and 2014



[Figure 14] Time Spent on Childcare Activities from Women in 2004, 2009 and 2014

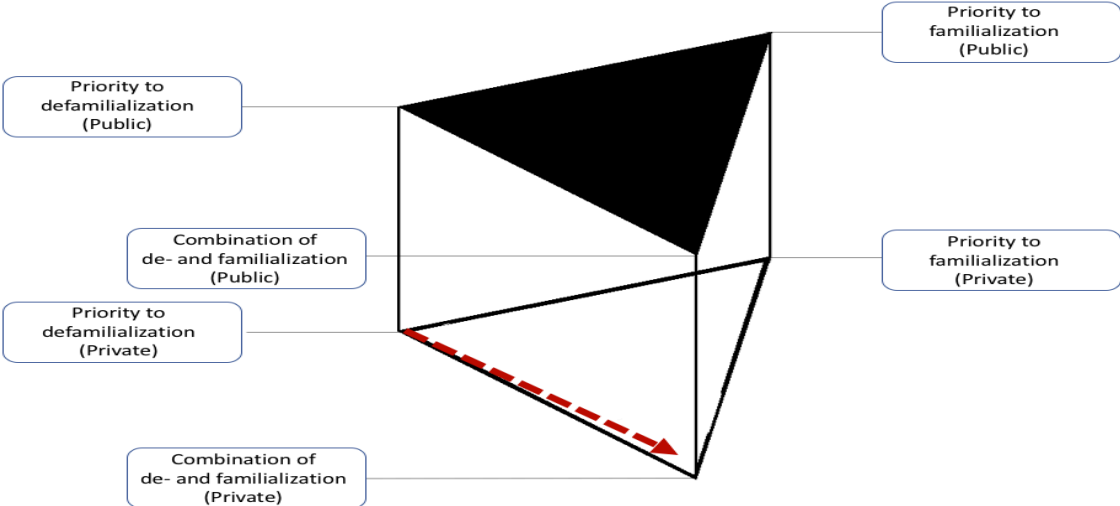


Concerning the characteristics of childcare activities, there are clear differences between the characteristics of childcare activities that both men and women perform. Men primarily spent their time on interactive care such as aid with reading, playing and studying, whereas women mostly allocate their time to physical care. Regarding the aspects of physical childcare are arguably considered more demanding, the childcare activity in which women primarily participate requires higher intensity labour than the activity in which men participate (Craig

2006). Furthermore, despite an increase in the rate of time spent on physical care by men by 23% between 2004 and 2009 and by 14% between 2009 and 2014, the proportion of time spent on physical care of total childcare time by both sexes has rarely changed over time: 25% by men and 41% by women on average. Craig (ibid, p.275) has further noted that since interactive childcare, such as reading and playing, does not need to be done according to a timetable, while physical care is quite inflexible, women are more time-constrained by their childcare duties. This suggests a significant gender discrepancy in childcare responsibility, especially for full-time working women who balance care responsibilities with work; this influence women’s employment and gender equality. Thus, still there are considerable gender disparities for time commitment to childcare and care responsibility in Korea.

To sum up, it is evident in this study that institutional arrangements in childcare have expanded in both the non-familialistic and familialistic sectors in Korea, however non-familialistic care is mostly provided in market-based, and function of family, especially of women in care responsibility is continuously unchangeably strengthened over time. With regard to the typologies of familialism (Yoon, 2012), the results gathered during the quantitative phase of this study can be considered within the context of the changing aspect of familialism and its implication on women’s identification as mothers and workers within a society. Figure 15 represents how the aspect of familialism is expressed in Korea after the implementation of the universal childcare scheme.

[Figure 15] The Changing Aspect of Familialism in Korea since the Universal Childcare Scheme of 2013



Considering aspect of familialism over time, the way in which familialism is realised has shifted from ‘de-familialisation (private)’ toward a ‘combination of de-familialisation and

familialisation (private)', since the free choice on childcare under the universal childcare scheme of 2013. This means that to a degree, women in relation to care responsibility seem to be regarded as both worker and mother, at least throughout the care provision within the state. However, whether the state considers women as both women and mother is significantly in question. That is, the aspect in which de-familialisation is mainly carried out throughout market-based sectors, and despite higher care responsibility upon family, public spending on family benefits is rather focused primarily on support to de-familialising policies⁹, reflects a considerable gap between state intervention on childcare and family's actual childcare arrangement. In this regard, Yoon (ibid., p.279) has presented that the gap can be explained with the aspects of 'transitional/criterial familialism'. In terms of 'transitional familialism', due to lower level of welfare in Korea, still there is lack of sector to substitute family's care labour, despite its increase in public spending on family benefits. In 2013, public spending on family benefits was 1.125% of GDP which was lower level among OECD countries (OECD 2017b). Importantly, regarding 'criterial familialism', holistic motherhood in which modern division of gender roles has been continued with a transformation of traditional gender roles, still strongly exists in Korean society (Yoon 2012, p.279-80). It is argued that with government efforts and implementations to publicness of childcare, the way in which women (and family) are involved in taking care responsibility, cannot be easily substantially changeable, under the prevailing belief of holistic motherhood in which mothers are required to devote themselves to children's success or survival (ibid.).

Taken together, the above discussions raise pivotal questions concerning women's (and families') care responsibilities through the current institutional arrangements in the Korean welfare state, which needs to be reconsidered in both policy and socio-cultural aspects. Policy-wise, there is a clear need to gradually reinforce 'publicness' in childcare. However, it matters more to rethink the substantial adequacy of the aspect of supporting the familialisation of childcare (i.e. the cash-for-childcare scheme) in the Korean context, where women (and families) shoulder a large share of care responsibility. Besides, in socio-cultural terms, if criterial familialism determines women's care responsibilities, as Yoon (2012) points out, further time and effort are needed to reshape 'holistic motherhood', which is required of women at present. This will demand a paradigm shift not only in the socio-cultural view of motherhood,

⁹ In 2013, public spending on family benefit in kind is 0.949% of GDP, which is above the average OECD countries, while its spending in cash (0.176%) is at the very lowest level (OECD, 2017).

but in welfare interventions that could bridge and supplement the shifting motherhood paradigm in the long-term.

6.2. The Consequences of Cash-For-Childcare for Women

6.2.1. The Ways and Reasons for Women's Decision on Cash-For-Childcare

Confucian Familism's Influence on Women

It is well-known that Confucianism was accepted and adopted early in Korea by all social classes as philosophy of many areas of daily life (Sechiyama, Sechiyama & Smith, 2013). In this context, this study found that Confucian familism socio-culturally affects family life and women's childcare arrangements in Korea in two ways. One way pertains to women's childcare duties and pressures within the context of Confucian familism. Most interviewees, as mothers and wives, consider childcare their supreme roles and feel more responsibility for childcare than their partners. As noted in previous studies, traditional Confucian values differentiate women's and men's roles in a patriarchal sense and thus stress women's household responsibilities, including household chores and caregiving labour. The way Korean women perceive and arrange childcare is still largely bound to those values. Furthermore, interviewees thought that, despite increasingly implemented childcare policies, the family's role in childcare is still paramount, which aligns with Confucian familism in that the family functions as the main site of social welfare and service delivery (Goodman & Peng 1996; Cook & Kwon 2007). In case that care is not fully complemented within the family boundary, one tends to criticise the family's morality rather than critique the absence of a social mechanism in Confucian familism (Kim, Lee, Choi, Kim & Im, 2015). However, the extent to which women with young children perceived childcare as their role within Confucian values differed among interviewees; less-educated and unemployed women tended to not only perceive, but actively perform, this role. Meanwhile, according to interviewees, women's childcare responsibilities are influenced by family members. Interestingly, grandparents, especially paternal grandparents, play considerable parts in childcare, which can be explained related to the three-generational household context of traditional East Asian family structures. In this regard, Sung (2003) has stressed on main distinct part of the Confucian family system in Korea, which is notably different from Western families; Confucian families interact with in-laws and between husband and wife, whereas Western families mainly interact with spouses in the household. Nowadays, notwithstanding the trend that parents and grandparents do not want to live together due to a

preference for individual independence, the familistic mode of thought and way of life have remained in many different ways (Kim et al. 2015, p.71); children and parents often live and interact with one another. It implies that although the physical distance between children and parents might be great, the emotional distance between them remains small.

The other aspect of Confucian familism that affects mothers is the co-existence of tradition and modernity. The traditional Confucian family system has largely faded compared to previously (Sung, 2013); there have been increasing trends toward more frequently implemented childcare policies and a social atmosphere of increasing men's involvement in childcare. However, several interviewees described feelings of confusion and lagging concerning this changing paradigm, since it is hard for them to get any childcare benefits from anyone. Many women find it difficult to have fewer childcare responsibilities. In this regard, although younger generations are more exposed to individualism, their goals of an individualised life are still framed within the traditional family relations of Korea. Women today are less influenced by gender roles and do not want to take the individual sacrifices of family or motherhood for granted; however, they find it conflicting (Kim et al., 2015).

Women's Social Roles and Gender Relationships

In their lifetime, women may have been assumed to perform various social roles, such as mother, wife, and worker. However, considering that women have primarily held the roles of mother or wife for a long time, undertaking different social roles might prove demanding in either their traditional roles at home or as paid labour workers, or both. Given the various findings surrounding women's social roles and gender relationships, the discussion here is based on the two aspects of women's roles as mother and wife and as worker in relation to childcare and gender relationships. Prior to beginning the discussion, the unique model of patriarchy in the context of Confucian society in Korea, which has resulted in inequality in the distribution of power and authority between genders (Sechiyama, Sechiyama & Smith, 2013) discussed in a previous part, is considered as important here, for it would affect or aggravate the relation between women's social roles and gender relationships. Regarding their roles at home and in childcare, interviewees explained that they find their roles as mother important, since they want motherhood experience; for sharing a bond and spending time with children, and by their biological and socio-psychological attributions that are seemingly more amiable to childrearing. Besides, what is interesting from this study is that women themselves ironically tend to perceive it as unnatural or insensible when child-related activities occur without the mother or are not performed by the mother. This may indicate that with the remaining effect of Confucianism,

the gendered stereotype in Korean society continuously influences on women's role, while women also perceive what is considered to be ideal especially in childcare within the context of gendered stereotype.

Regarding their roles as wife, interviewees specified several difficulties with childcare in terms of gender relationships. First, the value of childrearing is rarely recognised in economic and social terms; women's childcare is underestimated or less credited for the effort. This can be relevant to the context of that childcare labour is socially and traditionally regarded as the domain of women as mother and wife. In this context, the status of women in the domains of employment and income has been more or less negative, shown in the statistics on the status of employed women (e.g., the M-shaped employment patterns, the proportion of women (47.7%) among irregular and part-time workers, and women's income level (68.0%) compared to men (KOSTAT & MOGEF, 2016)). Next, the extent to which men are involved in childcare is still much lower. Interviewees described how men merely play supportive roles in childcare at home, which implies gender-differentiated division of household labour. Similarly, the quantitative findings of this study, along with the statistic on time-use (KOSTAT, 2015b), support that women not only spent more time on childcare but are involved in more demanding childcare activity than men. Furthermore, women's unemployment and lower-income matter in terms of women's childcare responsibilities; an interesting question, as indicated by the interviewee, is what economic factor matters than social perception on gender roles in women's greater care responsibility. One way to describe the relationship can be women's relative earning power which allows them to negotiate greater father involvement in childcare (Raley, Bianchi & Wang, 2012). But importantly, another is that the worse the economic satisfaction, the stronger mother hold the gendered stereotype of the mother's role in Korea. (Won, 2014). Lastly, what women worry about while childrearing at home is that returning to work is in question. Only three interviewees are employees at public institutions or a large company, and holding the possibility to return to work, since they are on parental leave. However, despite the increasing use of parental leave among both genders, the proportion of those who take parental leave is still lower compared to other benefits, and it is mostly women who take it (94.4% of total number) (KEIS; KOSTAT 2016). Besides, the proportion of women taking a career-break due to pregnancy, birth, or childcare has increased (KOSTAT; KOSTAT 2016); this implies that women rearing their children at home are exposed to difficulties being attached to the workforce.

Meanwhile, with respect to women's role as worker and childcare, interviewees of this study expressed that they have strong intentions for being a working mother sooner or later for two reasons: one, for preference for participation in society and career activity over at-home

childrearing, and the other, for preventing a “career-break” which is what women raising children at home are concerned with, in order to seek a better job and promotion in labour market. However, the question whether to be a working mother or not is only available to those who are already in public, or highly specialised or skilled areas, with a higher level of education, which implies that the extent to which women may choose their position in the labour market or at home, is as yet considerably limited upon specific occupational and educational group.

Furthermore, the aspects of a working mother’s hardships with childcare in terms of gender relationships and work can be explained as follows: First, some interviewees attributed their difficulties in using childcare facilities to commuting time and frequent overtime work in the current work environment; that is, the operational conditions of the childcare facilities do not harmonize with the conditions of work environment. Second, interviewees indicated that despite their work, they still shoulder the burdens of household tasks, including household chores and childrearing, which is in line with the previous studies (e.g., Sung 2003, Won & Pascall 2004). However, the more and longer women are involved in workforce, the more help they receive from their partners, according to interviewees. Although the idea of the equal distribution of household tasks has shown a continual increase in acceptance in Korea (from 32.4% in 2008 to 53.5% in 2016), there is still significant disparity in it: Men spent 40 minutes, while women 3 hours 14 minutes on household tasks in dual-earner households in 2014 (KOSTAT; KOSTAT 2016). Third, the less women- and family-friendly work environment, which interviewees attribute it to the corporate culture of Korea, is problematic. This can be explained with the Confucian dichotomy between ‘the public’ (labour market, men) and ‘the private’ (family, women) (Won, 2016), which differentiates gender roles: thus, in the labour market, the companies become ‘the public’, while men as the provider within family, become ‘the private’. Traditional gender stereotypes (in terms of breadwinner roles of men and the gendered source) lessened between 1996 and 2010, but there have rarely been perceptible changes towards the employment distribution in the labour market in Korea (Won, 2014). Within this context, working mothers tend to be seen as “lacking motherhood” at work. Fourth, a workplace atmosphere in which one finds it difficult to take advantage of family support benefits, also challenges working mothers. Reasons for this are worries about creating disadvantages at work or about adding more work-related pressure on other employees. Nevertheless, working mothers constitute most of beneficiaries of the benefits. Consequently, when working mothers sometimes make time for child-related tasks at work, they are more or less considered as being less committed to their work. This may be due to not only a workplace atmosphere in which the executives are mostly men and male-oriented but to additional pressure

resulting from the vacancy of a care provider at home; it is assumed that the working mother will supplement the vacancy by having more responsibility for the household. In 2015, those who were employed mostly prioritised paid labour (53.7%) over family; however, the extent is higher among men (61.7%) than women (42.3%) (KOSTAT; KOSTAT 2016), which indicates women's greater responsibility for family. Thus, women tend to accept a long-term project or avoid it, or make decisions at work, while mainly taking account of her next fertility timing and child-related work. Last are the working mother's feelings for children. The interviewees expressed the feeling of guilty about children, since they themselves thought as if they did not fulfil their childrearing responsibilities enough while working. In this respect, Won (2014) has suggested that the reason the gendered stereotype of the mother's role is stronger among women than men is that the negative results resulting from the mother's absence due to her involvement in the labour market are considered the mother's fault under the Korean circumstances in which mothers are required to shoulder the responsibility of childrearing as well as education and its results.

The institutional aspects of childcare policy

Women's childcare and childcare decisions seem to be significantly affected by the institutional aspects of childcare policy provision. The focus of these institutional aspects is based on childcare policy, for example, the cash-for-childcare scheme and the benefit for childcare service facilities in Korea. In terms of cash-for-childcare, this study has found that the scheme is generally seen as extra money for parents. Interviewees explained that accepting cash-for-childcare is not considered as a reward for their childcare labour but either as financial support for childcare expenses or as extra cash, which rarely affects a household's finances. This indicates that the lower-level amount of cash-for-childcare, which is strongly reflected in Korea's very lowest level among OECD countries of public spending on benefits in cash for families (OECD, 2017b), rather calls into question the policy purpose of the scheme for the parents. Cash-for-childcare is effective to a comparatively large extent in lessening the burden of childcare cost; however, the lower the amount of cash-for-childcare by children's age, the more the beneficiaries of cash-for-childcare have negative perceptions towards it, and especially the higher the number of women working full-time (Kim, 2014). Furthermore, the scheme itself does not play a major role in the decision regarding cash-for-childcare. The main reasons for childrearing at home are the children's younger age and the lack of vacancy in the childcare facilities the parents trust or want, in that order (ibid, p.104). However, this study has identified that the reasons for at-home childcare are also more or less associated with the status

of women's employment; interviewees noted that those who are not employed attribute their childrearing at home to unemployment, while those who still attached to workplace attribute it to availability of parental leave instead. Lastly, the effect of cash-for-childcare on lower income families is in question. The cash-for-childcare scheme is commonly considered as an incentive relied on mostly by families with lower income or education (Repo 2010; Ellingsæter 2012). Regarding the use of cash-for-childcare in Korea, the scheme's beneficiaries are mostly women, especially from low-educated and lower-income backgrounds (Yoo, Seo, Han & Kim, 2011). However, Choi and Chin (2015) have suggested that the support the scheme provides for women's childrearing at home has something to do with the mother's employment or the children's age, not the household's income. However, an interesting finding of the current study is that despite the preference for the scheme, especially women in lower-income families are put under pressure for working part-time or irregularly to earn extra money for the children's education or for childcare expenses, which seems to be reflected in the context of "holistic motherhood" (Yoon, 2012). This pressure implies that women from lower-income backgrounds may have double or even triple burdens on both childcare and employment.

Besides, regarding the benefit for childcare service facilities, most interviewees acknowledged that compared to cash benefit, it has more positive effects on women's re-education for career and on attachments to employment. In fact, parents with young children prefer support for childcare-related services, including the expansion of public childcare facilities or the improvement of facility quality (approximately 64-65%), to a cash benefit for childcare (approximately 18-35.5%) (Seo 2010; Hong, Kim, & Sun 2013, and Kim 2014). Nevertheless, the reason the parents of young children do not use childcare service facilities can be explained through two points, as suggested by interviewees. First, childcare facilities tend to favour children who have a "stay-at-home" mother. Due to the childcare benefits offered regardless of the parent's employment status, it motivated non-working mothers' use of daycare centres on a full-day basis and thus limited working mothers' use. In 2016, the "customised childcare" plan" designed to differentiate childcare use according to employment status and parents' demand, was implemented. Nevertheless, the plan's side effects which resulted from some parents' misuse and mothers' full-time use of daycare centres, have remained controversial. The second point is the issue of lower levels of workforce qualifications, education and environment, and the higher cost of private childcare facilities, in the situation that the number of private or in-home childcare facilities is overwhelmingly larger than the number of public ones. As pointed out, the important considerations for using daycare centres are distance (38.7%), operating systems (17.2%), workforce (16.5%), and whether they are

national or public facilities (15.4%) (Kim 2014, p. 144). These factors are crucial in parents' decisions to use daycare centres. However, despite increased public spending on childcare, the reason such issues have been insubstantially resolved seems to be relevant to the way in which the provision of services and care has been arranged within the context of the Korean welfare state. That is, despite increased financial and policy supports for childcare, the state still plays a minor role in the provision of childcare, instead granting its role to private childcare facilities. This implies an imperative necessity to expand public childcare. Parents' childcare burdens will remain, unless there are fundamental changes to the structure of childcare provision in Korea.

6.2.2. Women's Genuine Choice?

The right to different forms of care

The first aspect of the discussion on the right to different forms of care is that policy-wise, cash-for-childcare was not considered as an attractive option for choosing childrearing at home. The number of choices of childcare alternatives has been nominally increased, due to the implementation of universal childcare and no special qualification needed for the benefits. Deciding at-home childcare was not related with the cash-for-childcare, instead there were situations where choosing childrearing is inevitable for the interviewees, especially due to children's younger age. However, it is understood that this reason does not largely influence choices made for children above the age of two, since they are usually registered at childcare facilities (Hong, Kim & Sun, 2013). Furthermore, compared to the support to childcare facilities, policy design of the cash-for-childcare itself already has asymmetric information (i.e. amount) that makes rational choices difficult (ibid.). Second, interviewees indicated fewer public childcare facilities trusted by the parents the most. There are a large number and variety of childcare facilities, but private facilities, the overwhelming majority of the overall number, are not trusted as much as public one, due to problems such as management conditions, regulations, safety, food, education quality. In situation where there are not enough trustworthy facilities, cash-for-childcare does not guarantee parental choices but can instead act as a mechanism that strengthens women's responsibility for childrearing at home (Kim, 2014). Third, parents still feel a burden regarding both finances and emotions, when using private childcare facilities, nannies, or grandparents/family according to some interviewees. It is known that about 48.1% expressed that the burden of additional expenses was demanding, which increased for private facilities, urban areas, unemployed mothers, and lower-income families (ibid., p.65-55). The conflicts regarding childcare alternatives along with financial and emotional burdens might

make women consider that taking care of children themselves is the most practical course of action.

In summary, it does not really seem to be the case that parents, especially women truly have “freedom of choice”, since their choices regarding childcare alternatives are limited by policy/institutional factors such as family situation irrelevant to the benefit of cash-for-childcare, shortage of public facilities, and financial or emotional burden in using private facilities and childrearing by grandparents/family.

The right to parenthood and paid labour

The aspect of right to parenthood raises several issues which can be discussed with the respect to the rights of women. Firstly, women who have not yet entered the labour market or earn lower wages influence the decision of childrearing at home. Some interviewees claimed that their choices of at-home childcare were because of maternal experiences, while others expressed that when there was a need for a carer within the family, they involuntarily or inevitably took charge of childrearing at home since they were not in the labour market and had a lower income compared to their spouses. Thus, the parental rights in relation to cash-for-childcare is not of both parents but still inevitably limited as a women’s duty. The choice to take on a long period of childcare may limit women’s future labour market integration (Duvander & Ellingsæter, 2016). In such aspects, promoting childrearing at home may be delayed, making it difficult for women to re-enter the labour market, which recurrently leads to women’s involvement to childrearing at home. Secondly, the parenthood of women with labour rights is quite limited within the parameters that can be accepted by the labour market. Few claimed that they adjusted their childrearing period given by law, mostly according to the acceptance of their bosses and co-workers as well as paid parental leave benefit period. Contrary to using childcare facilities, individual childcare is known to protect the choice of parents regarding types of childcare, emphasising parental rights (Hong, 2011). However, this study shows that women with labour rights might ‘acquire’ parental rights through deciding to raise children at home, but the fact that there are limitations to this ‘free time’ is an aspect that should be reconsidered. Lastly, the effects of cash-for-childcare are contradictory for stay-at-home women in low-income families. Cash-for-childcare is the most relied incentive by the families with low-income and low-education backgrounds (Repo 2010; Ellingsæter 2012). Its beneficiaries in Korea are mostly women who have low income/educational backgrounds, which shows that the cash-for-childcare has a large influence upon decision for women within low-income households to do at-home childcare, while it contributes to lowering the burden of

childcare to low-income families (Yoo, Seo, Han & Kim, 2011). However, are parental rights of lower-income women sufficiently guaranteed? As indicated in this study, cash-for-childcare as a cash benefit is considered to have a positive effect to low-income households in that financial aspect. Women within low-income household perform childrearing at home, while they still face the situation of having to leave their children to friends or family due to having a part-time or irregular job to pay for their children's education. Thus, cash-for-childcare is not an effective way for full-time childrearing. This aspect can be different from the previous studies, which seems to imply that women in low-income households are more likely to choose childcare at home, but their parental rights can be quite limited due to the high fervor for education and low levels of cash support.

Accordingly, women's parental rights in relation to cash-for-childcare does not seem to be fully guaranteed within the aspects of involuntary take-up of childcare due to unemployment, women's parenthood bound to the labour market, and the cash-for-childcare's contradictory effect to women in low-income households.

Besides, the right to paid labour can be further discussed considering the women's perspective. First, married women's labour rights were practically non-existent or vulnerable with lower levels of entrance and settlement in labour markets. This represents the fact that women are still in a subordinate position within society (Lundqvist 2014, p.93); thus, men cannot be immune from responsibilities for, not only women's subordination in the labour market but for men's responsibilities for inequality within families, which results in parenthood being the female domain, instead of a role shared by both parents (ibid., p.104). In this sense, women's vulnerable labour rights show two problems. One is the difficulty of balancing work and family. The degree of maturity of the earner-carer opportunity structure has affected a mother's choices (Duvander & Ellingsæter, 2016). In Korea, the dual-earner model is increasing despite its challenges in the biased labour market, while the dual-carer model is yet to be well-settled since women still shoulder a larger part of care responsibility, which implies a higher possibility that women choose childrearing at home from among the different options on childcare. Another problem is one associated with a career-break. Throughout interviewees, the career-break is understood as an issue, that not only women who are not in the labour market have to solve but one that women with having the possibility of entering the labour market do not want to face with. Thus, the career-break becomes a universal obstacle for all married women, regardless of their position but due to their attachment to the labour market. Second, the amount of cash-for-childcare is so low that it barely influences women's labour rights. Regardless of employment and the levels of education, or income, all interviewees revealed

that the current amount of cash-for-childcare did not motivate them to quit their jobs or give up the possibility of entering the labour market. However, considering that women in low income households showed the strongest intentions of quitting their jobs when the amount of cash-for-childcare is increased, continual observation is needed to see the relationship between the increased amount of cash-for-childcare and women's labour rights. Third, women who are continuing their childcare at home along with their labour rights are challenged within the current structure of the labour market. Throughout interviews, those who could continue their labour rights and do childrearing at home at the same time were a minority of women who are highly-educated and work for public or large private corporations. The fact that these women are on paid parental leave at present allows for the assumption that parental leave contributes to the prevention of women's exit from the labour market. However, these women have a comparatively higher possibility to be attached to the labour market, despite also having difficulties balancing their roles as the main carer within the family and as a female worker in the male-oriented and non-family friendly labour environments, which is consequently understood as women rather having the tendency to delay the possibility of leaving the labour market. Therefore, when it comes to choosing childcare forms, these women might be advantageous compared to women with low-income and low-education backgrounds, however they are still at a disadvantage when compared to men in the gender perspective. Lastly, low-income women's labour rights are categorised as a multiple trap for having disadvantages between genders and within the same gender. As presented in this study, women within low-income households have the burden of childrearing itself with receiving cash-for-childcare, however simultaneously they are also pressured to enter the workforce as an irregular or in the low-paying labour market to cover the cost of their children's education. Nevertheless, as the labour conditions and childcare issues collide, they often have no choice but to leave the labour market, which shows that it might be easier for low income women to enter the labour market, but the quality of labour is severely limited. This aspect can be explained with "the complex dual structure" in the Korean labour market (Keum, 2002), which is understood as gender segregations between gender and between female workers in the labour market. Thus, women with low-income can be in the most vulnerable position compared to women with high-income/educational backgrounds and male spouses.

Conclusively, women's labour rights do not seem to be guaranteed when considering the aspects of women's vulnerable attachment to the labour market, the lower amount of cash-for-childcare, and the contradictory labour rights for low-income women.

6.3. The Implications of Cash-For-Childcare on Gender Equality in the Korean Welfare State

Overall, the quantitative and qualitative findings showed that the current cash-for-childcare in Korea has major gendered implications for women. Regarding the distribution of childcare responsibility, family was the principal primary provider among other institutions, and increasingly performed mainly by women. Compared to men, women's time spent on childcare, as well as the number of women participants increased significantly between 2009 and 2014, allowing the cautious, and perhaps premature, assumption that promoting choice on childcare especially in 2013 led to the increase in women's responsibility. In Korean society where family values are still based on Confucian tradition, expanding familial policy such as cash-for-childcare is rather considered as an institutional mechanism to further strengthen women's traditional role as carer at home, which aggregates to highlight women's unequal share of care responsibility. This points to the need to change the perception of men as caretakers at home and the necessity of expanding public responsibility.

Also, women's inferior status in the labour market becomes a near insurmountable barrier to their childcare arrangements under cash-for-childcare. On one hand, the limitation in labour rights for women causes an overburdening of childcare responsibility for them in comparison to their spouses. On the other hand, it made it difficult for women to re-enter the labour market as well as causing a hindrance to those in the labour market as well as to remain there. Here again, despite women's increasing participation and the family policy for work-family balance, women are still considered as the prime carer of the family more than as a valued worker within the gendered labour market. Therefore, women remain on the periphery of the labour market, and tend to be trapped in the repeating loop of 'labour participation→exit→childrearing at home→career break→low-paying/skill labour market'. Unless accompanied by fundamental changes to gender role attitudes and dual labour market, the matter of women's childcare arrangements might be left as dead-end question. This indicates that when it comes to support to childcare, there is a need to institutionally differentiate the focus on supporting childcare by gender; supports for paid labour for women and care labour for men.

The current amount of cash-for-childcare needs to be reviewed in terms of its policy effects, as they appeared differently among women who were receiving cash-for-childcare. Women, except those who were in low-income households, mostly considered the cash-for-childcare benefit as spare money, whereas those in low-income families comparatively had

positive perceptions of it. Nevertheless, the second group decided to work for the purpose of childcare costs. This supports the idea that women having lower-income backgrounds might be vulnerable to the usage as well as take-up of cash-for-childcare, which results in inequality among women. Therefore, the current cash-for-childcare scheme implies a scrutiny to re-arrangements in amount and requirements.

7. Conclusion

7.1. Summary of Main Findings

Care Responsibility within Families

Despite the expansion of care responsibility in both non-familistic and familistic sectors, the function of family in the provision of childcare was continually reinforced over time. Within families, women took a greater share of childcare responsibility than men, and their time spent on childcare even increased considerably between 2009 and 2014, compared to between 2004 and 2009. This presents that gender disparities in care responsibility with a family became considerably wider due to the implementation of cash-for-childcare.

The Consequences of Cash-for-childcare for Women's Choice

The way in which women receiving cash-for-childcare chose at-home childrearing was affected by three aspects. First, Confucian familism, which still substantially influences Korean family life, means that women have the childcare responsibility. Interviewees mostly seemed to take on more responsibility for childcare than their spouses, although some showed mixed feelings between this tradition and the changing atmosphere surrounding childcare. Second, women's roles at home and at work are still strongly conflicting. However, women's traditional roles at home remain unchanged. As indicated by interviewees, they are barely credited for their childcare responsibilities, although they are much more involved in childcare than their spouses. Interestingly, women's care responsibilities seem to be influenced more by economic factors than by social perceptions on gender roles, which implies the interrelationship between women's status in the labour market and childcare arrangements. However, except for those working for public institutions or large companies, most interviewees strongly expressed worry about the matter of returning to work. Besides, being a working mother is challenging in Korean corporate culture. Interviewees attached to the labour market found it difficult, not only using

childcare facilities due to commuting time and overtime work, but in bearing a heavier burden of household tasks, compared to their spouses. In less women and family-friendly workplaces, interviewees were seen lacking motherhood, since working mothers are likely to be considered more attached to childcare. Despite family support policies, using those benefits is not easy because of the possibility of being disadvantaged at work and the pressure on other colleagues. Among interviewees, only those with a higher education who are working at public institutions or large companies were able to take parental leave, but the extent to which they arrange work and childcare seemed to depend on their work environments. It is because that the cases that women often had to make time for child-related tasks or become the main beneficiaries of family policies rather put them to be judged as less committed to work. Also, interviewees expressed that as working mothers they strongly felt guilty about their children. Last, the institutional issues of childcare policy significantly affected women's childcare arrangements. Regarding cash-for-childcare, it was not an important consideration in women's decisions to at-home childcare in practice, since interviewees overall considered that it offered a lower level of cash benefit. However, despite its contribution to lowering the burden of childcare for low-income families, some in those backgrounds were put into a situation where they found it necessary to work for additional childcare costs. Meanwhile, concerning the benefit for childcare facilities, interviewees considered that more beneficial than cash-for-childcare in relation to employment opportunities. Nonetheless, the aspects of childcare facilities favour stay-at-home mothers, and a number of private childcare facilities in which qualifications, education and environments are comparatively less, but the cost is relatively higher than public ones, rather led to home-based childcare.

In conclusion, it is reflected that as the consequences of cash-for-childcare, women are challenged in making genuine choices, both in different types of childcare and to the right to parenthood and paid labour.

The Implications of Cash-for-Childcare on Gender Equality

This study has further discussed that in the Korean welfare state the current cash-for-childcare may have implications on the gender equality perspectives. First, in Korean society, wherein the importance of family value is emphasised by Confucianism, cash-for-childcare as a familial policy is seen as an institutional mechanism to highlight women's care responsibilities. Second, women's position in the Korean labour market is likely to restrict the extent of childcare choices available, and the level of quality of the choice. Last, the effect of cash-for-childcare for lower-income women needs to be reconsidered, due to gender inequality among women.

7.2.Limitations

This research has the following limitations: first, the time-use data used to apprehend the care responsibility throughout institutional arrangements on childcare has to be supplemented with additional details. Such data represents the trend of the extent of time spent on childcare within families throughout the observation periods. In this research, the time spent on childcare was optimally set as the consequence of choice on childcare to observe familialisation through the policy intervention. However, due to lack of information that in which way members within family engaged in childcare from time-use data, there were limitations to asserting whether the time volume was a direct consequence of cash-for-childcare. Such limitations will be solved when the time spent on childcare is understood better according to the usage of the childcare policy of family members.

Furthermore, in discussing the consequences of cash-for-childcare for women, interviewees were selected randomly. However, there was a higher percentage of highly educated people compared to less-educated people, which shows a large deviation in the education variable. As pilot study, this study sought to look at comprehensively and add minor opinions for further discussion in terms of choice, but there needs to be more research for wider generalisation in the future.

7.3.Further Studies

Future research needs to observe the effects of re-arrangements in the amount and qualifications of cash-for-childcare upon women's childcare arrangements. The effect of current cash-for-childcare in the amount and qualifications aspects is minimal, which thus shows a need for policy change. The need for rearranging cash-for-childcare has been an issue for years but has not shown any change. Accordingly, potential future changes in the policy have to be observed closely.

Meanwhile, the implication of introducing cash allowance needs to be observed more closely regarding cash-for-childcare and its effects on easing women's burden in regard to childcare arrangements. The new government released its plan to implement cash allowance starting in September 2018. Compared to cash-for-childcare, the cash allowance differs in its goal towards emphasis on the state's responsibility for childcare and its provision to families excluding those with income in the top 10%. However, similar to cash-for-childcare, care allowance as cash benefit implies that it may continue to alleviate women's burden on childcare at home.

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Appendix

[Appendix 1] Work-family Reconciliation Policy in Korea

- **Maternity Leave and Paternity Leave:** Female workers can use maternity leave for 90 days (for 120 days in case of two more childbirths) before and after childbirth. Of the entire maternity leave period, the leave taken after childbirth should be assigned 45 days or more. Pregnant workers deserve to be eligible for maternity leave, regardless of regular, part-time or temporary work and work time. However, maternity leave is only paid to those who have previously insured over 180 days in total, prior to the end of the maternity leave. Based on <the Labour Standard Act>, the employee is required to pay wage replacement for the 5 days, while the rest of the 30 days are covered by the National Employment Insurance. The wage replacement for those who work in small businesses is supported by the National Employment Insurance up to 1,179 USD (KRW 1,350,000) per month. Paternity leave (3 to 5 days within 30 days after childbirth) applies to male workers whose spouses give birth. Employers should allow employees to take at least 3 paid days of paternity leave.
 - **Parental Leave:** Parents with children under the age of 7 are granted parental leave for a maximum of one year. To be eligible for parental leave, one of the parents needs to be off at least 30 days in a row and insured under the National Employment Insurance over 180 days. The payment for parental leave is 40% of their previous income* (maximum 873 USD (KRW 1,000,000) and limit amount 437 USD (KRW 500,000)) and 25% of the parental leave payment is paid right after 6 months when return to work. In cases where both the mother and the father use parental leave for the same children in turns, the first 3 months of the father's wage replacement are aided as 100% of their incomes with a maximum of 1,310 USD (KRW 1,500,000) and vice versa. This can be considered "daddy's month".
 - **Working Time Reduction Policy:** The working time reduction policy enables parents of children 7 years old and younger to simultaneously work and care for their children. Instead of using full-time parental leave, the parents could work between 15 to 30 hours per week and for a maximum of one year. The wage replacement is 60% of income (maximum 1,310 USD (KRW 1,500,000)) * the ratio of reduction in working time.
 - **Benefit for Childcare Service facilities:** The benefits for childcare service facilities were originally introduced as selective provisions in relation to household income in 2006 and expanded in 2013. Therefore, families with children aged between 0 and 5 years are allotted benefits for childcare facilities, regardless of household income or property, when using those facilities such as day care centres or kindergartens. The amount paid for childcare service facilities varies according to the age of the children. If daycare centres are used, families are granted 355 USD for children aged 0 (KRW 406,000), 312 USD for children aged 1 (KRW 357,000), 258 USD for children aged 2 (KRW 295,000) and 192 USD for children between the ages of 3 and 5 (KRW 220,000), per month, respectively. When sending their children to kindergartens, children between the ages of 3 and 5 years old are granted 96 USD (KRW 110,000) for public kindergartens and 253 USD (KRW 290,000) for private kindergartens.
 - **Cash-for-childcare:** Cash-for-childcare, introduced as selective provision in 2009 and expanded to citizens of all social strata in 2013, is granted to families that choose parental or alternative in-home care, rather than using childcare service facilities. Similar to the benefit for childcare facilities, the amount of cash-for-childcare also depends on the children's ages. For example, 175 USD is granted for children aged 0 (KRW 200,000), 131 USD for children aged 1-2 (KRW 150,000) and 115 USD for children aged 3-5 (KRW 100,000), per month, respectively.
-

Source: edited information from *Work & Life Balance*. 1143.4

* In 2015, the monthly average income from workers in the companies with more than one person was 2,112 USD (KRW 2,415,000); men 2,481 USD (KRW 2,837,000), and women 1,557 USD (KRW 1,781,000) (KOSTAT & MOGEF, 2016).

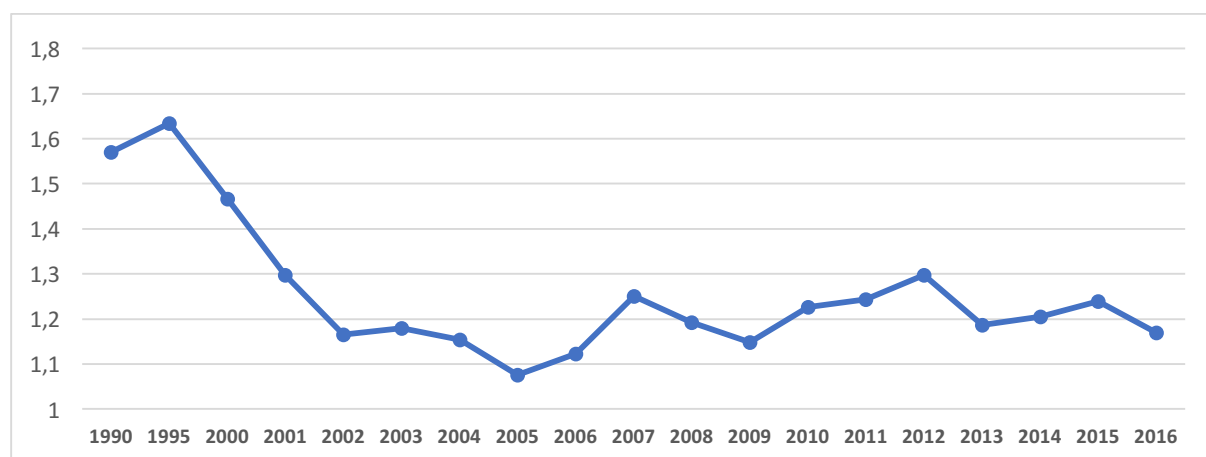
[Appendix 2] Daycare centre and Kindergartens Enrolment by Age

Classification			Daycare centre and Kindergartens by Foundation									
Daycare centre	Age	Total	National - Public			Private						
			Sub	Nat'l	Pub	Sub	Soc. Foundation	Cor. Foundation	Private	Daycare home	Parent coop.	Daycare centre at work
			Total	1,496,671	159,241		159,241	1,337,430	104,552	49,175	775,414	365,250
0	138,563	3,871		3,871	134,692	2,784	1,023	35,084	94,175	163	1,463	
1	342,056	21,053		21,053	321,003	14,922	6,081	138,708	154,388	618	7,286	
2	409,954	34,642		34,642	375,312	25,533	10,604	216,513	112,432	916	9,314	
3	265,338	36,354		36,354	228,984	24,270	11,588	180,139	3,072	814	9,101	
4	177,014	32,198		32,198	144,816	17,948	9,447	109,420	640	660	6,701	
5	155,510	29,640		29,640	125,870	17,060	8,667	93,817	476	576	5,274	
Over 6	8,236	1,483		1,483	6,752	2,035	1,765	2,733	67	27	126	

Kindergarten	Age	Total	National-Public			Private							
			Sub	Nat'l	Pub	Sub	Social welfare foundation	School, foundation	Corporation foundation	Judicial foundation	Private	Military	Others
			Total	682,553	161,339	256	161,083	521,214	-	-	-	-	-
Below 3	172,114	26,550	54	26,496	145,564	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
4	249,197	55,803	87	55,716	193,394	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
5	260,544	78,688	115	78,573	181,856	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	688	290	-	290	398	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Over 7	10	8	-	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

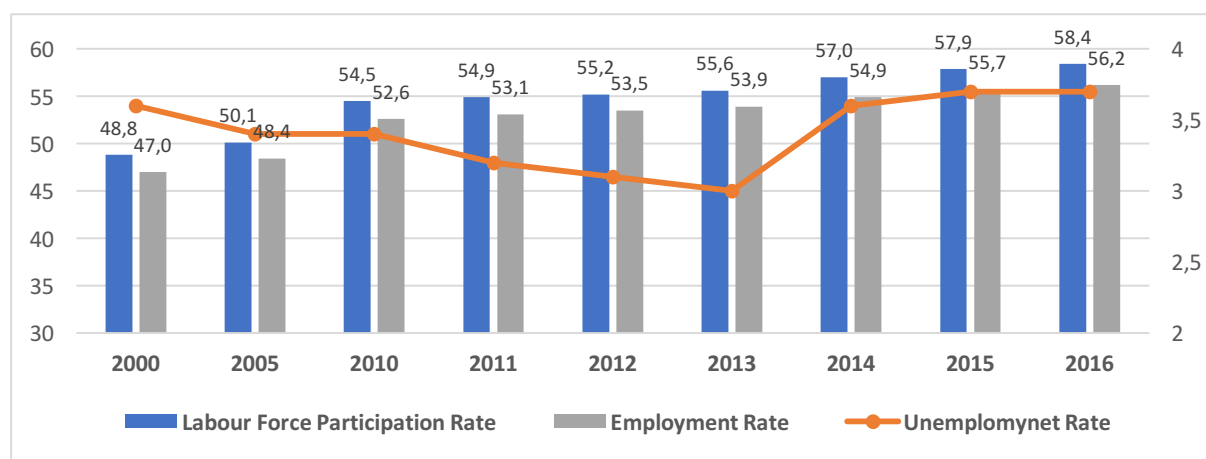
Source: MOHW (2015), KESS (2015).

[Appendix 3] Trend of Total Fertility Rate in Korea, 1990-2016



Source: KOSIS (2017a), Trend of Population.

[Appendix 4] Trend of Employment of Women aged 15-64, 2000-2016 (%)



Source: edited data from KOSIS (2017b), Labour force participation by gender and age.

[Appendix 5] Description of Data Collection and Operation

Data Collection		
Data	Description	Source
Family	The average proportion of time spent on whole daily activities for those over the age of 10 years old from 2004, 2009 and 2014.	KOSTAT (2005, 2010, 2015a)
State	The number of workers and average working hours provided by public nursing care centres and kindergartens from 2004, 2009 and 2014.	An (2012), MOE & KEDI (2004, 2009, 2014), Kim, Jang, & Cho (2013),
Market	The number of workers and average working hours provided by private nursing care centres and kindergartens from 2004, 2009 and 2014.	Kim, Lee, Kim, & Bae (2014), Lee, et al. (2016), MOHW (2010, 2015, 2016c), and Na, Seo, Lee & Kim (2006)
3rd Sectors	The number of workers and average working hours provided by 3rd sectors nursing care centres and kindergartens from 2004, 2009 and 2014.	
Data Operation		
Data	Description	
Total amount of time spent in childcare from		
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sampling the average proportion of time spent on childcare (i.e. physical care, aid with reading and playing, nursing, etc.) from those aged 20-39 years old. - Inputting entire population and calculating the number of estimated participants in childcare * the average amount of time spent. 	
State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-categorising the state according to facilities, including public facilities. - Calculating the number of workers * the average amount of working time. 	
Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-categorising the market according to facilities, including commercial, individually run household-based and workplace-based facilities. - Calculating the number of workers * the average amount of working time. 	
3rd Sectors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-categorising the 3rd sectors according to facilities, including social welfare corporate bodies, other corporate bodies and parents' co-ops. - Calculating the number of workers * the average amount of working time. 	

[Appendix 6] Interview Guide

Interview date
Interview place
Name

Demographics

- a. Age (including spouse)
- b. Education (including spouse)
- c. Religion
- d. Family background
- e. Number of children / their sex and age
- f. Jobs (previous or current, including spouse)
- g. Characteristics of jobs (previous or current, including spouse)
- h. Monthly income and economic status (including spouse)
- i. Marriage and childbirth time
- j. If one has ever received cash-for-childcare (including how long they received it)
- k. The amount of cash-for-childcare one has received
- l. Available resources for work-family reconciliation besides cash-for-childcare (i.e. aid from grandparents, helper childrearing, etc.)
- m. Others (i.e. maternity and parental (especially paternal) leave)

Interview Questions

a. Changes throughout one's life cycle

b. Daily schedule and current situation

c. Resource

- What do you think about cash benefits for childcare? Its effect on family?
- What do you think about benefits to childcare services? What is the reason that you do (did) not choose them?
- When deciding to receive cash-for-childcare, what was the main reason that you considered it?
- Considering the cash-for-childcare policy, which was introduced comparatively recently, what do you think about it?
- What do you think about cash-for-childcare in comparison to the opportunity cost of working instead?
- How does cash-for-childcare affect family income or living condition in general?
- What do you think about the environment of childcare services in which most of them are run privately?

d. Social roles

- When it comes to childrearing, what do you as a mother think about it?
- What do you think about the attachment to children?
- What do you think about the social convention that women are more important in childrearing?
- How do you negotiate with your spouse when arranging childcare and what does (did) happen during the process of negotiation?
- What do you think about the role of men in childrearing?
- What do you think about working as a mother with children?
- Would it be difficult to work as a mother? If so, what is the most difficult thing?
If you may have (had) difficulties in working as a mother, how do (did) you deal with them?
- How is (was) the characteristics of the labour market, considering the supports from the labour market for childrearing?
- Are you willing to return to work sooner or later after childrearing?
- When it comes to returning to work again, what is the largest challenge and what is necessary for you to do so?
- As a full-time or part-time mother, have you ever had difficulties negotiating the arrangement of childcare with your spouse?
- If your husband is the sole source of income in your household at present, would cash-for-childcare have any influence on your household income?

e. Welfare state and power relationship

- What do you think about the current cash benefit (cash-for-childcare) provided by the government?
- What are the good and bad aspects of the cash-for-childcare policy? What do you think about the amount of it?
- Considering that policies to childcare expand gradually, what is the policy you need the most, and how do you expect the government to support childcare policies?
- What do you think about the current family and childcare policies, and how do you expect the government to complement them more effectively?

[Appendix 7] Socio-demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

	Age	Education	Economic status	Work status	Characteristics on working condition	Alternatives to childrearing
A	33	Master degree	Middle	Flexible work / On parental leave	- private enterprise - involving in government's project for promoting married women - Not supportive to work-family reconciliation	-
B	35	Doctoral degree	Middle	On parental leave	- public institute - family-friendly work environment	- Aid from grandparents and babysitter
C	40	High school graduate	Middle-low	Flexible work	- public institute - involving in government's project for promoting married women - comparatively supportive to work-family reconciliation	-
D	36	Bachelor degree	Middle	-	- sometimes work as part-time job	-
E	27	High school graduate	High	Quit job	-	-
F	35	Master degree	Middle-low	Part-time work	- public institute - involving in government's project for promoting married women - comparatively supportive to work-family reconciliation	- Using childcare service sometimes when it needed
G	34	Master degree	Middle	Quit job	- worked at public institute - comparatively poor to support work-family reconciliation	- Aid from grandparents sometimes
H	32	Bachelor degree	High	Quit job	- worked at public institute - comparatively poor to support work-family reconciliation	-
I	35	Bachelor degree	Middle-low	-	- sometimes work as part-time job	-
J	29	Bachelor degree	Middle	On parental leave	- public institute - family-friendly work environment	-

[Appendix 8] Theme Analysis results from Interviews

Category	Sub-theme	Theme
Childcare as mother's supreme role	Women's Duty and Pressure on Childcare by Familism	Confucian Familism Influencing on Women
Influence and pressure from family members		
Feeling lagged and confused in the co-exist of tradition and modernity		
Experiencing motherhood	Doing Childcare as a Mother	Women's Social Roles and Gender Relationship
Difficulties and depression in childrearing: no credits?	Doing Childcare as a Wife and Gender Relationship at Home	
Father as a supportive role in childcare		
Women's unemployment or lower income: making women inevitably to taking responsibilities for childrearing		
Back-to-work still in questions	Barrier to Women in Childrearing	
Becoming a working mother	Doing Childcare as Worker	
Commuting time and overtime work making hard to use childcare service	Working Mother and Gender Relationship at Work	
Burdens in combining work and housework or childrearing, and on childcare fee		
Less women or less family-friendly work environment		
Difficulties in using family supporting benefits		
Married women with children: 'You are not professional at work'	Barrier to Working Mother	
Feeling guilty and regret as working mother		
Extra money not as reward for mother	Taking Cash-for-childcare	Institutional Aspects of Childcare Policy
Women as caregiver and recipient?		
Ambivalent effects to low-income family mother		
Choosing between cash-for-childcare and childcare services		
Lower barriers to women's involvement in labour market	Taking Benefit for Childcare Service Facility	
Childcare facility in favour of full-time mother		
Private childcare services: additional expenses, security, quality of education		