STRIVING FOR WORKLIFE BALANCE: FATHERS AND CAREWORK IN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN

A POLICY ANALYSIS ON INCREASING UPTAKE OF FATHER-SPECIFIC LEAVE POLICIES

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned Alexandra Wagner hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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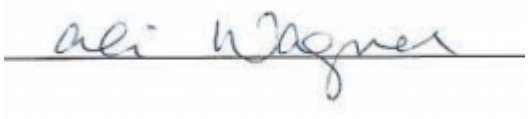
Signature: 

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses new innovations in parental leave, specifically regarding father-specific policies in South Korea and Japan. While these countries offer some of the most generous leave globally, this is juxtaposed to the significantly low uptake numbers. Through an understanding of the context in which these policies emerged, a detailed overview of the policies is provided in order to evaluate how to increase the uptake of the policies across three criteria; generosity, eligibility and redistributive capacity. A number of policy recommendations are provided to help improve the uptake of these policies.

A South Korean father on leave with his two children:

“At home in Seoul, Chung helps his kids put on their socks before heading to a day-care center, and comforts his crying two-year old after his big sister refuses to share a toy. Chung appreciates how different this is to the home he grew up in. "The reason I took childcare leave is I want to be different from my father's generation," he said” (Park, 2015).

The first Japanese Member of Parliament to take leave:

“When announcing his decision last month, Miyazaki[1] said he wanted to “promote men’s participation in child-rearing”, adding: “I’m ready to work hard to help realise a society in which everyone plays an active role.””(McCurry, 2016).

[1] This MP faced many recriminations for deciding to take leave, and was later found to have had an affair leading him to quit his position. He stated, “I have done such a cruel thing … I’m deeply, deeply, deeply sorry that what I’ve been advocating [fathers taking leave] was contradicted by my careless actions” (The Guardian, 2016).

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I. INTRODUCTION

Shifts and changes in worklife balance policies, such as the way fathers are addressed in carework policy, can take many different forms, including the care for children, the elderly, or other dependent persons. This can have significant effects and drastically alter the structure of society, gender equality, the construction of gender norms and division of labour, the rate of women returning to the workforce after childbirth, marriage and birth rates, and many others. The impact of worklife balance policies are significant as our choices in regard to carework are socially embedded and informed (Giullari & Lewis, 2005, p. 11). Leave policies for taking care of new children, whether they be maternity, paternity or parental leave, have differing effects on worklife balance, as the issue of balancing the public and private spheres of people's lives is complicated and influenced by norms and customs as well as the historical development of a country. This paper seeks to analyse the most recent changes in leave policy, specific to fathers, which could create a more equitable share of carework, and reach government goals on increasing birth rates and encouraging more women to return to the workforce. This paper will evaluate South Korea (hereafter Korea or Korean) and Japan in father-specific leave policies, as they are some of the most generous in the world, yet the uptake of said policies is contrastingly low. This extended policy analysis will first outline the methodology, provide an explanation on the choice of cases and define key terms within leave policy. The importance of this policy will be expanded upon followed by a clarification of the cases, including their historical context, the changing nature of leave policies and the current uptake rates. The main area of the analysis will be conducted through an overview of the current policy and a description of its specifics along five cornerstone factors which

will be assigned a rating. Considering these specifics, the policies will be evaluated based on three criteria measures to understand the success of the policy along the lines of generosity (in terms of the financial burden of taking leave), eligibility and redistributive capacity, all of which will contribute to its overall success, that of increasing the uptake of the policies. Lastly, a set of policy recommendations will be made to find better policy success through increasing uptake by fathers.

I.I METHODOLOGY

This paper focuses on national leave policies specific to fathers' entitlement, and while some countries do have state or provincial policies, both Japan and Korea's policies are from the national level (Koslowski, Blum, & Moss, 2016a). Therefore, this macro-level approach will use five factors that provide a descriptive understanding of father-specific leave policies (with a rating associated to each) which include:

F1. Period of leave

F2. Paying for Leave

F3. Flexibility of Taking Leave

F4. Entitlement System

F5. Incentivisation System

These factors are the cornerstones of leave policies and they will be analysed and evaluated based on three criteria, including:

C1. Generosity

C2. Eligibility

C3. Redistributive Capacity

These criteria are vital in evaluating the areas of improvement needed to allow for greater uptake of the policy. Both states, at a very general level, have put this policy in place to affect a change in worklife balance and increasing the uptake of the policy by fathers is deemed as one measure in contributing to balancing parents' public and private lives. Worklife balance is affected by many other policies, all of which can help to address demographic pressures faced by the countries in this study. Specifically, this study will evaluate the father-specific leave polices to evaluate how to improve the generosity, eligibility and the redistributive capacity of the policies to encourage and provide increased uptake by fathers.

JUSTIFICATION OF CASE SELECTION

Understanding and evaluating both the Korean and Japanese cases are important for two reasons, 1) Western countries have been the consideration and models analysed for much of leave policies, particularly Nordic ones, and 2) the dramatic changes occurring in these two cases, making the policies some of the most generous in the world for fathers (OECD, 2016a), while also being the first movers in the East Asian region (World Policy Center, 2017).

Considering the first point, while Korea and Japan have been challenged similarly to Western Europe by significant demographic transitions whereby both fertility is on the decline along with an increase in longevity (Yi & Nauck, 2006, p. 156), there has been significantly more attention paid to Western Europe's (especially Nordic countries)

leave policies. Due to this issue, in some areas data or information is difficult to find or nonexistent, further stressing the need for more research to be undertaken.

Regarding the second point, both cases have implemented dramatic policy changes since the 1990s and 2000s, continually altering the policy to work toward a best fit. Major shifts have occurred toward a parental leave system that focuses on including the role of the second parent in taking leave, meaning fathers generally (Koslowski et al., 2016a; Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016; OECD, 2016b). Moreover, these countries have had similar trends in family policy, differing from many Western welfare regimes and are prominent leaders of progressive family and social policy in East Asian states. Both countries work within a different historical and cultural context from many of their OECD counterparts. Unlike other countries that have adopted similar practices, they both uniquely face a rigid workplace culture and a history of Confucianism that has contributed to the formation of strict gender roles.

KEY TERMS

Prior to delving into the policy analysis, an explanation on the language used in this paper bears addressing. While this paper speaks of leave policy in traditional relationships where there is a father and mother and is heteronormative in its language, leave can refer to the first parent and second parent, however this often translates to mothers and fathers, particularly in Korea and Japan. In order to focus on the different roles mothers and fathers play in carework, and the gendered aspect of the problem in providing and incentivising fathers and their role in carework,

particularly childrearing, this paper focuses exclusively on fathers and the language of 'mother and father' will be used rather than 'first parent or second parent'.[2]

Regarding leave definitions, there are key differences in maternity, paternity and parental leave. Parental leave schemes cover a variety of aspects, are usually nonspecific to mothers or fathers, or they allow for a shared element of the leave between the two parents and are a much newer invention than both maternity and paternity leave. Maternity leave is a basic protection for employed women when they seek an absence from work and is generally reserved for the mother to be taken prior to, during and after childbirth in order to provide a healthy transition for mother and child (Koslowski et al., 2016a). An International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention stipulates that maternity leave must provide a minimum of 14 weeks, with six weeks leave after childbirth as compulsory[3] (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2000). Most OECD countries contribute to maternity leave public income payments in addition to protected leave (OECD, 2016b). Maternity leave has important impacts; however this paper will focus on father-specific leave, its uptake and briefly outline its utilisation by national governments to address the burden of raising children and to improve worklife balance in order to lessen demographic pressures and provide economic benefits.

There are two paths used by states, often instituting both, for fathers to take leave: paternity and parental leave. It is important to note the subtle differences between the two. Paternity leave is for the purposes of protecting employed fathers specifically and

[2] Additionally, the paper focuses on how leave is divided in two-parent households and different policy options on single-parent households are not included in this analysis.
[3] This potentially can be bypassed if an agreement is made by the national government along with organisations representing employers and workers (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2000).

is to be taken soon after childbirth (Koslowski et al., 2016a). However it is worth noting that paternity leave is not included in the ILO convention, as is maternity leave. Parental leave is employment protection for both parents. This leave is more often than not, supplementary to periods of maternity and paternity leave (OECD, 2016b). Parental leave can be an individual, mixed or a family entitlement. In general, paternity leave is for a short period and mostly highly paid, referring to the wage replacement rate (WRR) (Koslowski et al., 2016a).

In sum, parental leave, understood as a measure of care, allows for parents to take the time to adjust to a new child (Koslowski et al., 2016a). This paper's focus on father-specific leave includes both paternity and parental leave; both in the cases of Korea and Japan, this primarily falls within parental leave as only Korea has paternity leave in the form of five days, with only three paid (by the employer) (Kim, 2016a). The OECD provides an encompassing definition on father-specific leave:

> "[A]ny weeks of employment-protected parental or home care leave that can be used only by the father or 'other parent'. This includes any weeks of parental leave that are an individual non transferable entitlement for the father or 'other parent', plus any weeks of sharable leave that are effectively 'reserved' because they must be used by the partner of the main leave-taker (often the father) in order for the family to qualify for bonus weeks" (OECD, 2016b, p. 2).

I.II. POLICY IMPORTANCE

"Policy-making presupposes the recognition of a policy problem. Policy recognition itself requires that a social problem has been defined as such and that the necessity of state intervention has been expressed." (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney, 2007, p. 45). States, particularly those in the OECD, have both identified and created action plans

to provide worklife balance through numerous policies, such as leave policy, with a trend toward parental leave policies that include fathers. The policy problem of a lack of worklife balance has led to demographic shifts affecting the productive aspects of society and has put undue pressure on women participating in the labour market and in carework (unpaid labour done in the home). Father-specific leave policy works to address these problems and this policy analysis is significant in contributing to research in welfare state development, gender norms and worklife balance.

This policy analysis contributes to research regarding the continuing development of the welfare state and helps to better understand the "configuration of social provisions and national systems of incentives and constraints in economic production" (Hwang, 2012, p. 176) and how they are particularly structured for both mothers and fathers. The development of the welfare state has been widely studied, most specifically in industrialised countries and the system used to provide adequate social services for families. This can include a package of benefits, such as tax, cash, exemptions, subsidies, services in kind, etc. These methods are in an effort to assist families with the burden of raising children (Lewis, 2006). Numerous studies have been conducted to analyse how these packages all work to help parents take the time off that is needed to care for children (Lewis, 2006). These packages have significant impacts on parents, their role in the labour market and the division of carework. Yet, it is important to remember that these packages and policies work in conjunction with others and one policy may not be enough to address government concerns resulting in lack of worklife balance.

While much research on industrialised states' welfare systems has been conducted, the focus on East Asian states, like Korea and Japan must be considered separately

due to the different development experienced compared to Western states. Western states are prominent in welfare state literature, compared to East Asian states. While the welfare state is often discussed in its role to promote greater equality, this essentially refers to the intervention of social policy to correct inequalities. It imposes a different stratification system, “an active force in the ordering of social relations” (Esping-Anderson, 1990, p. 23). The model design is vital in understanding the ordering of social relations, with a noted shift from a male breadwinner model of the welfare state to the “adult worker model” (Giullari & Lewis, 2005, pp. 1–2). The welfare state has a strong connection between employment as there is “a direct causal impact on how employment structures, and, as a result, new axes of social conflict, evolve” (Esping-Anderson, 1990, p. 221). This connection is key as it provides the backdrop to the policy importance and the way the two cases structure their welfare state in regard to worklife balance. As a result, encouraging employment and engagement with the labour market, also has a gendered aspect in the different limitations men and women face when engaging with the labour market. Welfare state research must ensure gender is a dimension of analysis.

The importance of this policy in informing gender norms and improving gender inequality is through its role in structuring how carework is carried out. Analysing how fathers and mothers have been differently written into the welfare state and structured in their carework participation helps to not only make women visible and outline their existing role in the state, but brings “gender as a dimension of the analysis” (O’Connor, 1996, p. 104). Simply noting how fathers and mothers are apparent in the welfare state is not enough, but analysing the role policies take to adjust current social stratification that influence parents’ choices. Leave policies, considering the role gender norms

play, enable parents to make ‘real’ choices and decisions as “[c]hoices are socially embedded, which draws attention to the importance of structures designed to achieve gender equality” (Giullari & Lewis, 2005, p. 11) and provide equal opportunities for mothers and fathers. The importance of the structure of parental leave policies is understanding the ways in which policies put in place emphasise certain strategies or choices, making “employment an easy choice, and in other instances policies are structured in favour of choosing care” (Sainsbury, 1999, pp. 100–102).

Gender inequality in the area of carework has its effects on the economy, especially on demographic shifts such as declining birth (and marriage) rates, an aging population and women’s re-entry into the labour market after giving birth (D’Addio & D’Ercole, 2005). Indeed, traditional gender roles that still permeate social policies regarding who should parent have significant effects on the employment of women. The presence of children in a family highly influences the decision-making of mothers and employment, “by changing the value that they place on their time outside of paid work. The cost of alternative child care arrangements will also lower women’s effective market wages” (Sainsbury, 1999, p. 121). Spending on families with children has taken different forms and can happen in conjunction with other social spending like that on children as “a form of labor market support if it allows women to enter the work force, as in Sweden and Norway” (Lynch, 2006, p. 26). In this vein, the idea of ‘women-friendly’ welfare states are not uncommon, and the number of women integrated back into the labour force is an indicator of these ‘friendly’ systems, which create the environment where parents, precisely mothers, can return to work and where fathers can work in the home. Yet, when there is a high proportion of childcare still performed informally within the family (meaning without a paid parental leave scheme) this can

refer to a more ‘traditional’ welfare state (Lewis, 2006, p. 138). Leave policies can play a role in reproducing gender inequalities or improving them.

With parental leave schemes, these shifting policies have affected women’s employment and how the drive to increase women’s employment has changed policy. Increasing women’s employment in East Asia is a key economic and political goal that the state is attempting to address through shifting family policies to maximise the economic benefits of women in the labour force. In a study of employment of women in Japan, the USA and the UK, the effects of leave indicate that if leave is short, it may promote both growth, job retention, and positive wage effects (Waldforgel, Higuchi, and Abe 1999, 531). This and other studies show that shifts in these policies will have real effects on women’s decisions in terms of employment, and the amount of success of the policies could encourage further shifts to realise the positive effects of pushing more women back into the labour force. Shifts towards father-specific leave and parental leave could be a part of encouraging women back into employment, as argued in a study on Sweden and Denmark (Pylkkanen & Smith, 2003).

The recognition of a worklife imbalance in a country is vital and both Korea and Japan are quickly taking steps and continually adjusting their policies, highlighting the importance placed on leave policies by leaders in these countries. The introduction of parental leave policies is “based on release from the duties of an employment contract or from the obligation to take on work … [or] a kind of compensation … [or] a subsistence allowance … or a substitute for income” (Lewis, 2006, p. 140). This change in showing appreciation for carework done in the home, and providing a wage, can change the way society views something as ‘valuable’. Across welfare states, rhetoric has developed and there is an “emergence of policies and norms for [w]orklife

balance … and the rising expectations among working parents to be able to participate in employment and care and to have more time for leisure, friends, and family life" (Hobson, 2013, p. 1). To maintain worklife balance the gap between agency and capabilities in leave policy is vital to bridge:

> "The possibilities for utilizing these rights and policy options, which varies across countries and within them … [and] [t]he extent of this agency gap is dependent upon how these entitlements are built into different national policy frameworks, how they are mediated through firms/workplaces, and how they are translated into individual lives and households" (Hobson, 2013, p. 1).

While a definition distinguishing between what is work, what is life and what is balance is not always clear, attempts at creating policy to help parents juggle these issues is necessary (Hobson, 2013, pp. 2–3). These issues are distinct barriers for analysing what is the best policy to help parents balance their complicated lives, yet, when these decisions begin to affect states at the macro level, like falling birth rates, aging populations, and a small number of women re-entering the workforce, it demonstrates some level of imbalance, although it is difficult to approximate where the line may be. Valuing care is key in looking at family policy and providing worklife balance, as it is a barrier for men and women in the labour market, but often affecting women to a greater extent, especially in East Asia. Thus, policy-makers need to consider what balance could mean in their society for the policy to have a chance at being successful and utilised.

Overall, worklife balance policies like leave schemes are tools to create different redistribution in society, influence norms, and work to reach governmental goals regarding demographic pressures. Shifts in these policies has lead to encouraging

fathers and their uptake in carework. Social policy shifts, in general, have developed and addressed different feminist concerns over the years, and must continue developing to meet changing societal norms and expectations, along with demographic constraints. While short-term paid leave was an effective way to encourage women to move back into employment, the role parents take in carework is now being addressed in Korea and Japan to consider what effects fathers taking leave will have on employment, birth and marriage rates. To address the productivist nature and productive parts of society in these countries, policies have shifted to become gender sensitive as the realities of gender division of labour, has become more apparent. The continuing changes and adjustments by national governments in this field highlights how governments have recognised a significant problem in their country and seek to find a policy that will address the issue.

II. FATHER-SPECIFIC LEAVE IN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN

The cases of Korean and Japanese leave policies for fathers is interesting because they are unique cases in East Asia and differ from the Western narrative around innovations in leave policy. This section contextualises the cases to provide an analysis specific to the arena in which the policies work.

Generally, both countries face barriers that keep fathers out of the home and participating in carework. These barriers to parental leave policy goals are intermingled with how the countries both achieved rapid economic advancement and other social changes. Both countries considered in this study suffer from very low birth rates, a key concern of each government. However, this is not unique to Korea and Japan, with most OECD countries fertility rates below the replacement rate (2.1), with 16 of the OECD countries' rates below 1.5 (Koslowski et al., 2016a, p. 8), including both Korea and Japan, with a rate of 1.2 and 1.4, respectively in 2013 (Koslowski et al., 2016a, p. 9). The opportunity costs for having children are substantial for women (Raymo, Park, Xie, & Yeung, 2015, p. 485; Sainsbury, 1999, p. 121) considering today's economy there are increased employment opportunities for women, yet declining economic security for men (Raymo et al., 2015, p. 473).

Both countries' policies have also been partly informed by the role of Confucianism in the state and welfare system development, especially considering the divide in the roles played by men and women in society (Shwalb, Nakazawa, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2010). Confucianism still plays an important role as these attitudes resonate in society, helping to construct norms today around parenting, for example the dynamic of "strict father, kind mother" (Shwalb et al., 2010, p. 341). Both countries have "strong family

traditions and normative practices" (Yi & Nauck, 2006, p. 155) and when women do have children they face "persistent, although weakening, influences of cultural norms and gender ideology" (Raymo et al., 2015, p. 474). These normative structures around gender roles are significant barriers to which leave policy must face.

Concerning the rigid work culture in the two countries, fathers in Korea and Japan face harsher labour market structures than their OECD counterparts. Since industrialisation the gender division of work, has created the expectation of "separate, non-overlapping roles, limiting men's involvement in children's care or housework. [Worklife] balance is typed as a women's issue, making it difficult for men to consider asking for their legal right to take leave" (North, n.d.). Many fathers face the reality where choosing to take leave could include a major loss of income and could significantly affect their future career prospects. Moreover, they rely heavily on their colleagues as short-term leave usually results in the work being redistributed to their coworkers, not to temporary workers hired on. There are also negative attitudes toward leaving work early (Kim, 2016a). Within the workplace, different gender norms play out around fathers working and providing for their families (Brinton & Mun, 2015). For both countries, a change in work culture is necessary in order for these policies to be fully realised. The attitudes of employers are important as employees taking leave has effects on the company economically (both in terms paying for leave, covering absent employees, etc.). It can also be viewed as lacking commitment from some managers (OECD, 2016a). For Japan, ensuring employers are apart of the solution is vital, since without alternative staffing solutions and arrangements, workers will not make full use of the leave policies in place, as the may feel it is burdensome to their coworkers (Takahashi, Kamano, Matsuda, Onode, & Yoshizumi, 2013). Overall, the issue of long work hours is a

hardship that must be addressed if policy success is to be found in encouraging fathers role in the home (Park, 2015).

As mentioned, these two states do not fit into the classic welfare regime model (Peng, 2004). Like many other welfare states, Japan and Korea's system has developed and changed, but East Asian states industrial process was significantly different than much of the West, which heavily impacted the development of the welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1997; Peng, 2004); its overall development does not fit the Western mould (Peng, 2004). Trends in East Asian welfare state literature highlight its productivist nature with its development driven by economic factors (Peng, 2004). Japan and Korea's development of social and family policies began with a societal expectation around the private provision of care in the family (Esping-Anderson, 1990). Japan and Korea both have strong traditions of this, which when shifting to a state sponsored welfare system, a change will need to occur in the public mind-set for this institutional change to be effective. The move of these countries to make strong social investments meant that Japan and Korea could better align to their other economic development priorities (Peng, 2004). Both countries have used social policy and social investments "as a key policy tool to support and incentivize the productive sector" (Peng, 2004, pp. 390–391). Interestingly, in the post-war period, both Japan and Korea's continued economic growth was in conjunction with improved equality both in terms of income and social (Peng, 2004). Notably, these improvements occurred under conservative political governments (and even in Korea during an authoritarian military regime (Peng, 2004). In sum, Japan and Korea took "a social investments approach to their social and economic development policies. [This allowed them] to achieve a high level of economic growth, in part, because of their targeted social spending that supported

and protected the productive sectors of the society" (Peng, 2014, p. 389). Yet, there has been a clear shift since the 1990s where those parties the governments had been targeting for this social investment moved "to more peripheral, marginalized and vulnerable population groups, such as women, children, and the elderly" (Peng, 2014, p. 389), from earlier targets of "predominantly skilled, male, industrial core workers" (Peng, 2014, p. 389). This significant shift of policies towards other groups of people, is exemplified with parental leave schemes for mothers and now the targeting fathers for social investment in carework by both Korea and Japan.

Concerning more recent changes to leave policies, since the 2000s, the two countries have developed more comprehensive parental leave systems, like Western Europe and particularly the Nordic countries. In Korea, leave policy began developing away from solely maternity leave, to paternity and parental leave in the 2000s. Two major changes in particular are noteworthy in Korea; in 2002 Employment Insurance began paying the leave benefit and the payment of the benefit changed to an earning-related payment, rather than a flat-rate (from KRW500,000 each month to 40% WRR, with a ceiling of KRW 1,000,000) (Kim, 2016a). Most recently, in Korea there was an increase from one 'daddy month' to three months (Kim, 2016a), which will be further explored below. In July 2015, an incentive was added whereby an increase from 15% to 25% lump sum was given when an employee returns to the same employer and stays for six months at the end of their leave, as a measure to encourage women to return to work (Kim, 2016a).

Looking back at Japan, it was ranked quite poorly some years ago but huge improvements have been made as evidenced by its new policy (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2009). Policy began to change against the backdrop of public concerns over

gender inequality, declining fertility and health problems from long working hours (Nakazato, 2012). In 1992 statutory parental leave was implemented, with a grace period given until 1995 to those companies with 30 or less regular employees (Nakazato, 2012). This leave was purposeful and unique in its implementation, focused and designed to be gender neutral, ensuring both mothers and fathers were entitled to take leave (Nakazato, 2017). While the leave was given at one year, there was no monetary benefit, until 1995 with a 25% WRR was implemented (Nakazato, 2012). In 2001, this was raised to 40% WRR, yet fertility continued to decline (Nakazato, 2012). In 2007, another jump in the WRR occurred increasing to 50% of original earnings (and to two-thirds for maternity leave) (Nakazato, 2012). In 2010, an important shift occurred, moving parental leave to an individual right, where fathers were able to take leave whether or not the mother was taking leave or part of the labour force, as well the flexibility in taking leave improved with the number of leave periods increasing (Nakazato, 2017). Other changes included an increase in the use of shortened working hours (Nakazato, 2012) a incentivised system put in place, where a bonus of two extra months after the first 12 months was given if both parents shared the leave, pointedly put in place to increase fathers' uptake of the policy (Nakazato, 2017). Lastly, a monetary incentive was put in place to increase the amount of money given during leave, where parents were exempted from social insurance contributions (Nakazato, 2017).

Overall, main drivers changing these policies include post-industrial pressures (including economic globalisation, internationalisation, demographic shifts) (Peng, 2004), other economic factors (Hwang, 2012), political changes (Peng, 2004), including leadership changes and moves to greater democratic practices (Hwang,

2012), political leaders and politicians (Hwang, 2012), cultural factors including the historical role of Confucianism (Shwalb et al., 2010), and the rigid nature of the labour market, to name a few. These pressures have led governments to create policies that are more inclusive of fathers (Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, n.d.; Korean Ministry of Employment and Labour, 2016), and arguably more gender equitable, however, the need to explore the actual uptake of the policy is required.

UPTAKE RATES

Generally, mothers and maternity or parental leave policy is relatively well used, where most take leave at least after childbirth, with some countries requiring it (Koslowski et al., 2016a; OECD, 2016a). Father-specific leave can be a different story. Fathers on leave is relatively much lower than mothers, but comparing within different countries and fathers taking leave, across OECD states there is relatively high paternity uptake rates (OECD, 2016a). However, Korea and Japan both have little to no paternity leave (respectively). Concerning uptake of parental leave by fathers, this remains low across OECD nations, save some of the Nordic countries (OECD, 2016a). Yet, the uptake of the policy should be considered in context, considering normative behaviour or other constraints that must be overcome. Policy does not operate in a vacuum and this particular policy may need to consider other barriers that will affect its success.

The uptake of leave policy in Korea has improved over the years with new innovations in leave for fathers. As mentioned, since the benefit began to be paid by Employment Insurance, the rise of employees using the leave “has increased on average by 29 per cent per year, rising from only 3,763 (0.8 per cent of the number of new born children) in 2002 to 87,339 (20 per cent of new born children) in 2015” (Kim, 2016a). While the uptake remains low, it has increased sharply in recent years, from 2011 to 2015 it rose

from 2.5% to 5.6% of fathers taking leave (Kim, 2016b). This sharp increase does not take into account the recent increase to three months leave for fathers at a 100% WRR, which could have significant effects on fathers taking leave in the future. Moreover, it is not clear the uptake of paternity leave in Korea, as this is a payment by the employer, which could underestimate the actual take-up if it is not included in national record-keeping (OECD, 2016a). Interestingly, with a new government in power in Korea, changes are set to come to worklife balance policies, including addressing long working hours and parental leave, which could facilitate greater uptake of fathers using leave in the future (Choi, 2017; Lee, 2017).

The uptake of leave policy available to fathers in Japan since 1992, has been slow when compared to Korea and other countries, particularly European, despite numerous revisions that have been directed at fathers and their uptake of the policy (Nakazato, 2017). However, in 2012-2013 while only 2.03% of fathers took leave (Nakazato, 2017; Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016), it is a significant increase from 2005 when the rate was 0.5% (Nakazato, 2017). Importantly, a recent survey on fathers taking advantage of paternity leave offered by companies (not a statutory benefit) shows swift increases (The Japan News, 2017).

Overall, much can be done to improve uptake through addressing different barriers that stop fathers from making use of these policies. In Korea, “[t]he Korean Women's Development Institute found that 64 percent of men were willing to take paternity leave but only 2 percent had done so” (Park, 2015), although today the number is slightly increased at 5.6% (Kim, 2016b). In Japan a 2008 study by the NLI Research Institute (cited and translated by Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, n.d.) found

30% of men wished to use leave, yet today's rates remain low at 2% (Nakazato, 2017; Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016).

II.I POLICY DESCRIPTIONS

To analyse the ability for each policy to deal with constraints and find success through increased uptake, the countries' specific policies (both paternity and parental leave) will be identified across five factors in Table 1. Following Table 1, the policies and the five factors will be evaluated across three criteria measures. The five factors are as follows with the first four being reformulated, but based on the work by The Leave Network (Koslowski, Blum, & Moss, 2016b) and the fifth factor added as its own factor to understand the role incentivisation plays in encouraging uptake.

F1. Period of Leave

F2. Paying for Leave

F3. Flexibility in Taking Leave

F4. Entitlement System

F5. Incentivisation System

Table 1: South Korea and Japan Father-Specific Policy Descriptions

****PARENTAL LEAVE & PATERNITY LEAVE***

(Kim, 2016a; Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016)[4]

FACTORS	SOUTH KOREA	JAPAN
F1. PERIOD OF LEAVE	12 months	12 months
F1.	Five days	N/A
F2.1. PAYING FOR LEAVE – AMOUNT PAID	Full-time leave: - 40% WRR - minimum of KRW 500,000 (€388[5]) per month - maximum of KRW 1,000,000 (€776) per month Part-time leave:[6] - 60% WRR	Full-time leave: *(first 180 days)* - 67% WRR - minimum of JPY 46,230 (€356) per month - maximum of JPY 426,000 (€3,280) per month *(remaining time)* - 50% WRR - minimum of JPY 34,500 (€266) per month - maximum of JPY 213,000 (€1,640) per month
F2.2. PAYING FOR LEAVE – BODY PAYING & REQUIREMENTS	Employment Insurance Fund pays for leave: - employees must be insured (180 days prior to taking leave) - minimum 30 days taken consecutively - possibility of employer refusing to grant leave if employee has not worked continuously for one year.	Employment Insurance system pays for leave: - funded by contributions from employees, employers and the state - employees must have contributed to Employment Insurance during the two years for a minimum of 12 months[7], before taking leave - employee must be a fixed-term contract and meet all required conditions[8] - employees could be excluded if they are with the employer for less than a year, employment will end within a year or their contract is two days or less each week
F2.1.	First three days 100% WRR. Remaining two days unpaid.	N/A
F2.2.	Paid by employer.	N/A

[4] All the specifics in Table 1 is drawn from these two sources unless otherwise cited.

[5] Currency conversion for Korean and Japanese currencies calculated on July 9, 2017 using https://finance.yahoo.com/currency-converter.

[6] See also F3. Flexibility in Taking Leave aspect.

[7] Must have worked 11 days or more in each month of the 12 months.

[8] Must be employed with same employer for at least one year (continuous), likely to still be employed after the child reached one, likely to not have the contract end (two days) before the child's second birthday without extension.

F3. FLEXIBILITY IN TAKING LEAVE	Leave can be taken for two separate periods (full-time or reduced hours[9]). Leave can be taken until child is eight years old or in the second grade. Part time leave available at a higher WRR than full-time leave. Benefit is in proportion to the hours worked. Some variation in leave policy for multiple or premature births, poor health of parent or child or one-parent family. Parents can take leave at the same time, but only one parent will receive the benefit.	Fathers can take leave in two separate periods; during the eight weeks after childbirth and another period later. Leave can be taken in during only during the first 12 months of child's life. Parents may work part-time for 80 hours or less a month, but benefits may be reduced if the part-time earnings and leave benefit given exceed 80% of earnings before leave was taken. Leave can be extended to 18 months due to child sickness or injury or a childcare centre has denied a request in the meantime. Can take leave at same time and receive benefits.
F3.	Three to five days allowed to give some flexibility to the employer. Leave must be taken within 30 days of child's birth.	N/A
F4. ENTITLEMENT SYSTEM	<u>Individual non-transferable entitlement</u> - no conditions about partners situation ("If a father decides to take leave it does not affect his partner's entitlement" (OECD, 2016c).) - non-transferable period where parental leave is exclusively for second parent (normally fathers) at a certain WRR).	<u>Individual entitlement</u> - no conditions about partners situation ("Fathers can take leave and get the benefit even when their partner is on leave or not in labour force" (Nakazato, 2012).)
F4.	N/A	N/A
F5. INCENTIVISATION SYSTEM	The second parent can take leave after the first parent and for the first three months of the second parent's leave the WRR is 100% (maximum of KRW 1,500,000 (€1,654), which is referred to as Daddy month(s). If parents return to the same employer and work for more than six months when the leave ends, 25% of the parental leave is paid in a lump sum.	Two months bonus (one parent can take their leave up until the child is 14 months old, if both parents take some of the leave). Benefit payment is tax-free. Exempted from social insurance contributions.
F5.	N/A	N/A

[9] Reduced Working Hours during Childcare Period - minimum of 15 hours per week, maximum of 30 hours per week. Considered part-time parental leave and paid in proportion to number of hours worked.

These five factors are given ratings on a scale from 1-5 (poor to good) based on a presentation of what a good structure of each factor could look like and the layout of each country's policy. This rating will be helpful when considering the criteria.

The first factor of leave policies, **F1. Period of Leave**, considers both the length of time and the restrictions on this period. The best amount of leave is not easily identified, but generally periods of parental leave for too long can be damaging to career advancement as shown through maternity leave examples[10], but providing flexible requirements of when the leave can be taken (such as until the child is older) has shown that this flexibility can help promote the labour supply of women which would be a benefit to the overall goal of the policy in providing equitability (Pylkkanen & Smith, 2003). It is not yet clear, what amount of parental leave for fathers will result in the highest uptake, but looser requirements and flexibility of when the period of time can be used, could provide parents with easier decisions resulting in increased uptake.

Based on this assessment, considering the cases, both Korea and Japan have similar amounts of parental leave, of which fathers technically could access for the entire amount of time, making it one of the highest rates globally (OECD, 2016a). The rating for Korea of 4.5 is justified by considering that Korea provides both paternity and parental leave options. Moreover, the period of time is the most generous taken together, however the paternity leave is shorter than the average OECD (OECD, 2016a) and as seen in F2. Paying for Leave, paid for by the employer, which could possibly be negative, as will be expanded upon in F2. The rating for Japan of 4 is slightly lower than Korea's due to its lack of paternity leave, yet still a good rating as a

[10] This is not necessarily mean the same could occur for fathers, but some initial conclusions can be hypothesised based on the experience of mothers taking leave, as fathers taking leave is relatively new.

year leave available to fathers can be highly encouraging of the importance of fathers contributing to carework and childrearing. Overall, if both countries fully utilised paternity leave, it could provide beneficial effects in uptake as it is shown that in many other OECD countries, paternity leave has led to increased uptake of fathers on leave (OECD, 2016a).

The second factor, **F2. Paying for Leave**, should be highly generous to encourage uptake. Fathers would ideally receive benefits related to wages (not a flat-rate) with a high WRR, as fathers are shown to be more encouraged by this aspect (O'Brien, 2009; OECD, 2016a). To increase uptake, benefits should allow access for more of the population, as well as paid for through an insurance system or by the state fully, to address the restrictive work culture environment which could further suppress fathers taking leave if their employer is frustrated by the employee leaving as well as having to provide pay for the leave.

Based on this argument on the ideal amount and method of paying for leave, the rating for Korea of 3 is justified by the low WRR, as fathers are shown to be more influenced by the amount of pay in encouraging uptake (Kim, 2016a; OECD, 2016b). However, this rating should be considered in conjunction with the three months of leave essentially reserved for fathers at a 100% WRR, but this will be assessed in F5. Incentivisation System. Furthermore, points diminishing Korea's leave rating is also due to the paternity leave paid by the employer, which could be detrimental to encouraging uptake of leave by fathers due to a restrictive work culture in Korea. As shown by the increase in uptake when parental leave was covered by Employment Insurance in Korea, paternity leave in Korea could suffer as it is paid by the employer. The rating for Japan of 3.5 is slightly higher than Korea's, as the WRR is higher in

Japan than Korea, where if parents structure their leave where mother's take the first six months and the father's the second six months it is possible for the 67% WRR to be given to both and not the diminished WRR of 50% after the first 180 days (Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016). Yet, Hatanaka's 2015 study (cited and translated by Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016) of men who have used parental leave, only 20% were eligible for the benefits, meaning the actual leave taken could be quite short due to the inability to afford time off.[11] Indeed, in Hatanaka's study the men taking leave were noted to have higher wages than the men not taking. Overall, this is not the best rating as a higher WRR is noticeably more important for fathers when deciding to take leave (OECD, 2016a). Both countries also allow for employers to use discretion in revoking parents' leave resulting in a rating for both countries under 4.

The third factor, **F3. Flexibility in Taking Leave**, can be loosely defined as the ability for parents to more easily decide how to take leave. This factor includes 1) the ability to take some or part of the leave until a child's certain age, 2) to take more than one leave period (still staying within the overall period of leave limit), 3) taking leave either full or part-time (in order to also work part-time), 4) option for taking leave for a shorter period with a higher pay or vice versa, 5) additional leave provided for different unforeseen issues (multiple births, illness, injury, lack of access to childcare centres, etc.), and 6) the possibility of parents to take leave at the same time (Koslowski et al., 2016b).

Based on this argument on the ideal flexibility across the six aspects listed above gives a rating of 3.5 to both countries as they provide flexibility across all the issues except

[11] Unable to find corresponding percentage of Korean fathers who had access to monetary benefits when taking leave, therefore unable to gain a clear picture on how difficult it is for fathers to be eligible for the pay benefit.

on the option of taking leave for a shorter period with higher pay or vice versa. This could be important in initially convincing fathers to make use of the policy and to change norms on fathers' participation in carework, or until more flexibility exists within the workplace structure that encourages and allows for more time taken off. Other areas that could see improvements are in Japan with the flexibility of when leave can be taken until a certain age of the child. In Korea improvements could be made in terms of allowing parents to take leave concurrently (as the Japanese model allows), while having access to the entitlement, as this could possibly provide more flexibility for parents to decide what is best for them.

The fourth factor, **F4. Entitlement System** would be ideal as a non-transferable individual entitlement as this has the best advantages to increase uptake of leave by fathers. It would not affect the mother's entitlement, it would make no conditions on mothers' employment and it provides a normalisation and legitimation of fathers taking leave (OECD, 2016c).

Based on this argument on the ideal entitlement system, the rating for Korea of a 4.5 is justified as the system is a non-transferable individual entitlement protecting equal amounts of time for mothers and fathers, but does not allow leave to be taken concurrently. The rating for Japan is a 4 as this individual entitlement allows for both parents to receive the benefit at once, yet the leave is transferable, which lacks the structure that carves a place for fathers in the leave system.

F5. Incentivisation System considers areas where the policy seeks to provide bonuses (of any sort) to incentivise uptake by fathers. An ideal system would provide extra payments, periods of leave, and exemptions from other costs if fathers make use of leave.

A rating of 4.5 is given to Korea as the incentive used here is monetary, with 100% WRR for the 'second parent' using leave for up to three months, which is quite a jump from the normal 40% WRR. As the importance of compensation seems to trump periods of leave for when fathers decide to make use of a policy (as fathers usually take short periods of leave), Korea's policy is ranked slightly higher than Japan's. Yet, providing additional periods of leave at the 100% WRR could increase the rating. Moreover, parents receive 25% of the parental leave in a lump sum if they return to the same employer and continue working there for more than six months, providing incentives for both the employee and employer on the benefits of leave. The rating of 4 is given to Japan considering it provides a bonus of extra periods of time, two months (with continued benefits), if both parents take up some of the leave. Japan also provides tax-free benefit payments and parents are exempted from contributing to social insurance for the duration of leave. Further areas where this incentivisation could be improved includes increased monetary bonuses.

Table 2: South Korea and Japan Father-Specific Policy Ratings (1-5; Poor to Good)

FACTORS	SOUTH KOREA	JAPAN
F1. PERIOD OF LEAVE	4.5	4
F2. PAYING FOR LEAVE	3	3.5
F3. FLEXIBILITY IN TAKING LEAVE	3.5	3.5
F4. ENTITLEMENT SYSTEM	4.5	4
F5. INCENTIVISATION SYSTEM	4.5	4

II.II CRITERIA EVALUATION

The criteria used to evaluate the above policies in Korea and Japan include:

C1. Generosity

C2. Eligibility

C3. Redistributive Capacity

The factors studied above will be considered within these criteria areas. This may provide overlap of the factors; however, these factors cross a variety of areas and this evaluation can help policy-makers when considering the different areas they need to improve to encourage uptake.

C1. GENEROSITY

The generosity of leave policies, in terms of cost to the parents, can be affected by the period of leave given (F1.), the wage paid during leave (F2.), in addition to how the leave system in incentivised (F5.), whether that be with monetary bonuses or additional paid leave time. These factors all amount to the policy's generosity and understanding how the factors work together can provide insight for improvements to increase the chances of success in increasing uptake of fathers making use of the policy.

Table 3: Generosity - Factor Ratings

FACTORS	SOUTH KOREA	JAPAN
F1. PERIOD OF LEAVE	4.5	4
F2. PAYING FOR LEAVE	3	3.5
F5. INCENTIVISATION SYSTEM	4.5	4

Considering the ratings given to each factor within the criterion of generosity, the factor of paying for leave (referring to the WRR), despite its low rating, Korea and Japan have the highest paid systems among OECD countries, even when considering the payment rates across father-specific leave, calculated through full rate equivalence - simply calculating the number of weeks allowed on leave if paid at 100% of the wage - which helps with comparison as many countries have different pay rates and amount of weeks of leave allowed (OECD, 2016b, p. 2). While countries such as Norway and Sweden may provide father-specific leave that pay almost full earnings for a shorter amount of time, Japan and Korea's benefit rate is lower, but over a longer period of time. The amount paid to parents in Korea and Japan results in higher pay overall than both Norway and Sweden. If paid at 100%, Norway's leave would be one months, Sweden provides 10 weeks, while Japan and Korea provide much more. Korea provides 16 weeks and Japan 30.4 weeks of 100% paid leave using this full-rate equivalent comparison tool. "[Japan's] is by far the most generous paid father-specific entitlement in the OECD" (OECD, 2016b, p. 8). However, these calculations by the OECD reflect old statistics and with increases in the WRR in both Korea and Japan, the number of weeks given using the full-rate equivalent comparison tool are even more generous than 16 and 30.4 weeks.[12] Yet, this information can be analysed in two ways. Positively, both countries provide highly generous paid leave using the full rate equivalency method. However, the reality is that the leave is not paid at 100% for the entire period, but is at lower WRR over a longer period of time, which may be less desirable for fathers as the WRR is a significant factor for fathers (OECD, 2016a).

[12] Even more generous when also considering F5. the incentivisation system, whereby Korea provides the first three months of leave for fathers at 100% WRR and Japan allows for an extended period of leave (of two months) with their current WRR. Therefore, the overall sum of money given using the comparison tool would be even more generous.

Therefore, fathers may not make use of the full period of leave, therefore ending up with a lower sum of money overall. In sum, the generosity of the leave in terms of payment (F2.) over what period of time (F1.) is a significant concern, as take-up of leave policy by fathers is constrained to a large extent by financial considerations. In both of these countries, fathers often earn more, so the amount of earnings lost during leave is higher than when mothers take leave, unless the WRR is 100% (OECD, 2016a).

Considering the bonuses given either in a monetary form or through an extended period of leave, Korea and Japan have taken on similar incentive schemes as some Nordic and European states. As indicated in F5., the method in both countries is an incentive for an extended period of time or an increase in WRR (Japan and Korea, respectively). It is similar to a quota system and quite generous, but not as generous as some other countries finding success with father-specific policies like Sweden (OECD, 2016a) and other Nordic countries that have provided very high WRR throughout the period of leave provided which has resulted in higher uptake (OECD, 2016a). Korea may be an exception here, as their recent increase from one 'daddy month' of 100% WRR as an incentivisation system has increased to three months, which could help increase uptake significantly, although as this is a recent change, the uptake numbers currently do not reflect how this increase of two months of 100% WRR has affected fathers' choices in taking leave.

C2. ELIGIBILITY

This criterion includes factors related to understanding how these policies are in terms of eligibility as increasing this would provide greater uptake possibilities for fathers.

Eligibility can be limited by parents' inability to meet certain conditions and fulfill requirements. This includes the different requirements and conditions that must be filled to receive the monetary benefit (F2.) and the entitlement system put in place (F4.).

Table 4: Eligibility - Factor Ratings

FACTORS	SOUTH KOREA	JAPAN
F2. Paying for Leave	3	3.5
F4. Entitlement System	4.5	4

This criterion is primarily concerned with the requirements in receiving the monetary benefit as outlined in F2., which has one of the lowest ratings across the five factors for both countries. Adjusting the requirements and conditions is vital in increasing uptake as it will allow more parents to be eligible for leave, as most are not able to take significant amounts of time off without some sort of compensation. As mentioned, Hatanaka's 2015 study (cited and translated by Nakazato & Nishimura, 2016) found that among those Japanese men who took advantage of parental leave, only 20% fulfilled the eligibility requirements to receive the parental leave benefits, indicating the eligibility issues are a problem in leave policy in the area of receiving benefits. In Korea, no such information was found, indicating further studies and surveying should be conducted to understand the eligibility conditions that limit (or not) fathers in receiving the benefit.

Considering the entitlement system in place (F4.), the ratings given to the two cases are much higher, as both have put in place individual entitlement systems. Therefore, in terms of eligibility, fathers are entitled to take leave at the payment rate indicated under F2. However, Korea's system is much more robust as it is a non-transferable

right, where each parent has a right and is eligible for an equal amount of parental leave, 52 weeks. Japan's entitlement system has resulted in the ability for fathers to access leave but it is a transferable right, meaning the mother can take the entire amount of leave (Koslowski et al., 2016a). Thus, in order to adequately create eligibility for fathers, managing the entitlement system to create clear structures and places for fathers involvement is necessary, such as instituting a system with a non-transferable individual right for parents.

C3. REDISTRIBUTIVE CAPACITY

Redistributive capacity can be defined as the ability of a policy to structure, institutionalise, incentivise and create a system that is more equitable (in terms of sharing carework between parents and encouraging the uptake of a leave policy by fathers). The ability of a policy to create a new stratification system, where fathers and mother share in carework more evenly is necessary in the policy's success. To evaluate this criterion, all the factors need to be considered as they all work to overcome barriers creating inequality, such as gendered division of work and rigid workplace structures.

Table 5: Redistributive Capacity - Factor Ratings

FACTORS	SOUTH KOREA	JAPAN
F1. PERIOD OF LEAVE	4.5	4
F2. PAYING FOR LEAVE	3	3.5
F3. FLEXIBILITY IN TAKING LEAVE	3.5	3.5
F4. ENTITLEMENT SYSTEM	4.5	4
F5. INCENTIVISATION SYSTEM	4.5	4

The period of leave provided in the policies (F1.) has the ability to be redistributive in the sense of mandating leave for fathers for a generous amount of time helps to normalise the idea of fathers participating in carework. As mentioned, these cases have the longest period provided globally. In terms of paying for leave (F2.), the ability to provide a wage that effectively influences parents' choices in taking leave is important, as it has been noted that "fathers' use of parental leave tends to be highest not just when leaves are paid, but rather when leaves are well paid" (OECD, 2016a, p. 15). Iceland, Norway, Portugal and Sweden have been noted within OECD countries as having the most amount of fathers participating in leave with all providing benefits over 50% WRR. Those with a very low percentage of fathers taking leave tend to provide low WRR (OECD, 2016a). Moreover, as mentioned, fathers tend to make more money than women, thus unless there is 100% WRR more money will be lost when the father takes leave rather than the mother, providing incentives to maintain a gender division in carework. The paying for leave factor could improve its redistributive capacity through increasing WRR in both countries.

The flexibility factor (F3.) contains many aspects to be considered. This factor works to create redistribution by acknowledge different barriers like rigid workplace structures and gender divisions of labour, by providing flexibility meant to help create ease in breaking down these barriers. Both cases were given low ratings in this regard as there is much work to be done in providing parents with more flexibility. To consider some of the aspects that fall within the broad factor of flexibility, the flexibility in taking leave until the child reaches an older age, allowing for more than one leave period to be taken and providing the ability to take full or part-time leave are important. These aspects allow fathers to be more flexible with their employer. Together, this could allow

fathers to take leave several times over a longer period of time or through part-time leave/work, which could ease some of the barriers faced in the workplace and providing the ability to negotiate some leave. Moreover, allowing parents to take leave at the same time could provide fathers with the time to work with their partners and adjust to a new child. The most important aspect of flexibility involves the option of taking leave for a shorter period with higher pay (or vice versa). This allows fathers to participate more in the home and with childrearing by encouraging them with higher pay for a short time which may be easier to negotiate within their workplace and overcome reservations to fathers taking leave, considering the normative ideas on that. Through this flexibility they are still able to adequately provide for their families, while also participating, even for a brief time, in carework. Overall, as shown in Table 1 depicting the specifics of the policies, it is evident that Korea and Japan have adjusted their policies somewhat to deal with the everyday realities for parents, fathers specifically, allowing more flexibility which may help redistribute carework by making it easier for father to make use of leave, but there is still many aspects of this factor that can be worked on, primarily on the aspect allowing for shorter leave at a higher pay rate, or vice versa. Currently there is no possibility of this flexibility.

Considering the entitlement system (F4.) the structure of this can help carve out space for fathers in leave policy, important in redistributing carework. As was described in the eligibility section, allowing for a transferable right can mean Japanese fathers are not adequately encouraged to take the leave. This is only changed by the incentivisation system (F5.) which provides monetary and other incentives to encourage fathers to make use of their entitlement. A more extreme system could even create a quota or mandatory amount of leave for fathers, strictly enforcing their

role in carework and strongly institutionalising the redistributive capacity of the policy. Quotas for fathers have lead to significant uptake of the policy in some countries (OECD, 2016a), but Korea and Japan lack this effect. Some countries even have obligatory paternity leave (although short), specifically in Belgium, Italy and Portugal (Koslowski et al., 2016a, p. 15; Wall & Leitão, 2016).

Overall, combined policy of a high WRR, plus an entitlements system that not only provides non-transferable space for both parents, but carves it out more strictly can be key in institutionalising a more redistributive system. Especially considering gender norms and rigid work culture, these types of enforcement measures could help drastically provide redistribution in carework and childrearing.

Considering all the criteria– generosity, eligibility and redistributive capacity – there are a number of policy recommendations that can improve these aspects, which could trigger greater uptake.

III. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This section offers specific recommendations (R1. to R5.) to improve the policies in place in Korea and Japan and ways forward that could increase future uptake. Adjusting current measures which could improve the generosity, eligibility and the redistributive capacity are all in an effort to increase uptake of leave by fathers. Other considerations outside of leave policy are included in the last two recommendations (R6. & R7.) as leave policy – and encouraging its uptake – does not operate in a vacuum and must work with other government measures and tools (or even employer policies).

R1. Increasing leave benefits

Increasing the WWR for fathers is a recommendation that is key in increasing fathers' uptake of the policy. As has been mentioned numerous times, fathers are more incentivised by increased WRR. Most paternity leave schemes in the world focus on the wages received in order to encourage fathers (OECD, 2016a, 2016b). An increase would also be highly effective as fathers are in good positions to make use of the policy due to the current entitlement system of an individual right (however this entitlement system has its own recommendations in R2.). Both the cases would benefit from this increase in the WRR as it would remove financial disincentives (OECD, 2016a) as findings have shown that generally fathers use leave when the benefit is higher, such as when the WRR is higher than 50% (O'Brien, 2009). Moreover, an increase would help balance the different economic positions of fathers across the two countries, so that even poorer households can make use of the policy (O'Brien, 2009). As stated, fathers often make more money, and thus a family could suffer a greater loss of

household income when fathers take leave unless the WRR is very high. Improving this area would both improve the **generosity** of the policies and the **redistributive capacity.**

R2. Entitlement System: Individual Non-Transferable Right

This recommendation is made in reference to the Japanese case, as the Korean system has already instituted an entitlement system with a non-transferable right of a year for each parent. However, creating this entitlement system with the added stipulation of allowing both parents to take the leave concurrently while still receiving the benefit could improve the Korean case, as well. A move by Japan to a non-transferable system would further institute the normalisation of fathers' roles in carework, as has been mentioned throughout this analysis. Due to mounting demographic pressures, strategies to improve the take up rates across OECD countries, discussions indicate that a move entirely toward parental leave with an individual entitlement that is non-transferable, i.e. reserved for each parent (Koslowski et al., 2016b), would help ensure the equality of carework. Currently, Japan relies heavily on F5., the incentivisation system to encourage fathers to make use of the leave benefit. However, a non-transferable entitlement itself is not a panacea. The case of Austria highlights the struggle of having fathers make use of provided leave and it has had this entitlement system since 1995 (OECD, 2016a). Indeed, countries across the Western world make use of different entitlement systems (Koslowski et al., 2016b), yet studies still show that the entitlement system in a country plays a significant role, among the other four factors, in increasing fathers' uptake through creating 'quotas' exclusive for each parent (OECD, 2016a). Norway, Sweden and Finland, all with higher uptake than most Western countries, make use of this system

(OECD, 2016a). This recommendation would improve the **redistributive capacity** of the policies.

R3. Increase use of Flexibility Measures

Increasing flexibility measures, primarily along the aspects of allowing multiple leaves (currently limited to two different leave periods) as well as allowing fathers to chose to take shorter amounts of leave with higher pay (or vice versa) could increase the number of fathers taking leave, albeit perhaps choosing shorter amounts of time. However, this change could impact normative ideas around carework and could be beneficial in the long run for fathers' uptake and gender equality in carework. Currently, as the rigid workplace culture is seen as a major barrier for fathers taking leave, partly due to the lack of companies making alternative staffing arrangements, providing increased flexibility measures could mean "that workers availing themselves of WLB policies would not be a burden to others" (Takahashi et al., 2013). Shorter periods of fathers taking leave or taking multiple leave periods could result in less of a burden for employers and other employees, and thus helping to decrease the negative impacts on their career development. Moreover it has been noted that men's uptake across countries increases when parents have the ability to take multiple separate periods of leave over the years (OECD, 2016a). Improving these flexibility areas would significantly improve the **redistributive capacity** of the policies.

R4. Instituting Mandatory Leave

An aggressive policy measure to drastically increase fathers taking leave is that of a mandatory leave period for parents. Many western countries already have short

mandatory leave periods for mothers, and Belgium, Italy[13] and Portugal have obligatory leave for fathers too (Koslowski et al., 2016b; Wall & Leitão, 2016) with uptake[14] in Belgium at 68% (Merla & Deven, 2016) and uptake in Portugal at 56% (Wall & Leitão, 2016). This type of policy should not be taken lightly, but carefully considered as its effects could be numerous. It would force a radical change in society, transforming working culture and the gender division of roles in carework. The negative externalities that could result must be carefully considered, as this can put undue pressure on parents rather than actually helping to increase their worklife balance. Employers may react with increased flexibility for parents who take leave as it becomes mandatory, or the nature of work contracts could change to make their future at a company insecure. Moreover, fathers may also experience what many mothers do across the world, where they face unfair hiring practices, with employers hesitant to hire any person around the childbearing/rearing stage of life, meaning a mandatory leave system could end up targeting a large sector of young (generally married) adults in both Korea and Japan. A cautious review should be taken in each country as well as a slow introduction to these institutionalised measures to ensure negative externalities are minimised. This measure would also mean the use of an incentivisation system (F5.) would no longer be necessary. This recommendation focuses on measures to improve the **redistributive capacity** of the leave policies.

[13] No statistics have been collected on uptake as this is a relatively new leave.
[14] While it may seem counter-intuitive to see uptake rates below 100% when leave is mandatory, this can be due to a variety of factors like the lack of accordance and implementation by employers or parents working in industries with unique social protection systems (Wall & Leitão, 2016).

R5. Expanded use of Paternity Leave

Instituting paternity leave with a benefit system paid for through an insurance program or by the state could be useful in increasing uptake in a number of ways. Paternity leave plays a key role in providing fathers when the leave directly after childbirth for normally a short period of time to help both mother and child adjust. In Korea, five days are provided with three days paid by the employer and the other two unpaid. However, this structure leaves the policy in the hands of the employer and can create undue pressure between the employee and employer, both for asking for time off and getting paid; considering the working culture in both of these countries the relative generosity of the father-specific policy (referring to parental leave) may have little effect due to workplace concerns. While the trend has been to move to a parental leave system with time reserved for both parents, the use of paternity leave has been proven successful in other countries whereby specific time named for fathers, can help normalise the culture of fathers in carework. In general, across many OECD countries the uptake of statutory paternity leave is high, making the change for fathers to take leave easier, in terms of normative barriers. “In a majority of those countries for which data are available, paternity leave recipient rates are above 50 per 100 live births—in other words, there are more than 50 individuals claiming publicly-administered paternity benefits or using publicly-administered paternity leave for every 100 children born” (OECD, 2016a, p. 9). Common among approximately half of OECD countries is providing paternity leave for around two weeks, specifically the time directly after birth (OECD, 2016a). Increasing paternity leave, covered by insurance can allowing fathers to participate in childrearing right from the beginning. Important to note with this recommendation is that current uptake of paternity leave in Korea is difficult to track

as it is employer paid and provided (OECD, 2016a). This recommendation could improve the policies against all three criteria measures, **generosity, eligibility** (depending on how paternity leave and its pay is implemented) and **redistributive capacity.**

R6. Increased Policy Measures Directed toward Rigid Workplace Structures

This is a specifically vague recommendation as more research must be done to understand the environment with statutory and company provided leave for fathers. One survey in Korea asking respondents what measures would adequately incentivise fathers to take leave, most highlighted attitude shifts in the workplace, specifically in terms of a strong sense of support from the highest levels of management, shifting attitudes of middle management, general awareness raising, and the need for replacement workers (Kim, 2016a). Fathers were concerned with a loss of income, how their future career prospects were affected and how leave would impact their colleagues (as there is a general lack of hiring temporary workers to cover this leave), and general negative attitudes towards fathers taking leave (Kim, 2016a; Mun & Brinton, 2015). Another study in Japan also concluded that workplace culture is a main determent for father taking leave and it is important to note that workplace culture is also informed by some gender norms around the division of work and carework (Brinton & Mun, 2015). Ways to incentivise companies should be investigated[15] and

[15] One example in Japan highlights an Act on Advancement of Measures to Support Raising Next-Generation Children passed in 2003, whereby private companies, alongside national and local governments were obliged to establish different action plans in order to improve worklife balance for parents (Nakazato, 2012, 2017). These action plans concerned areas including, 1) implementing paternity leave, the encouragement of fathers to take parental leave, creating work environments that help balance worklife needs, and creating targets in the take-up rates of leave by gender (Nakazato, 2012). Companies could earn a “Kurumin” certification for those companies having at least one male employee take leave (as well as more than 70% of female employees taking leave) which can help in increasing the awareness of worklife balance issues (Nakazato, 2012).

how to deal with noncompliance by companies.[16] Another method to ease the workplace barriers would be the makeup of the insurance systems that pay for the leave benefit and to provide more state revenue thus meaning less burden on the company which may make them more in favour of implementing the policy.[17]

R7. Coordinating Leave Policy with Early Childhood Education and Care Policy

While early childhood education and care (ECEC) policies have not been mentioned thus far in this analysis, they fall within worklife balance policies and have significant effects on the success of leave policies. Leave policies and ECEC policies are strongly connected as once the leave period ends, ECEC policies take up the care that is required of children. Both are vastly important in supporting families (Koslowski et al., 2016a, p. 38). Japan and Korea must ensure that these policies work together, as parents' concerns with taking leave are connected with this policy as well. For example, in ensuring access to affordable child care facilities are noted as a significant concern of parents.

[16] For example, a survey conducted in Korea highlighted almost 20% of companies had no policy in place, despite the statutory requirements and another 29% acknowledged their failure to implement a policy. This could be for a variety reasons including the lack of capacity of smaller organisations (Baek & Kelly, 2014).

[17] In Japan it is noted that many companies already provide paternity leave, even when no statutory requirement exists. While this analysis has focused on statutory provided leave policies, companies also have policies which may provide parental or paternity leave policy even when it is not guaranteed by the government. Japan ranks in the top ten countries in a report by Mercer which found the most companies (percentage wise) are providing paternity leave that is above the federal requirement (which is zero in the case of Japan) (Mercer, 2016). To accurately understand uptake rates, employer provided leave should be considered, as it might lead the way to different policy paths to utilise this already existing and growing amount of companies providing some leave. Even with this information, Japan and Korea can still work to make their statutory requirements more successful.

IV. CONCLUSION

This extended policy analysis seeks to provide understanding on the development of worklife balance policies in Korea and Japan in the area of fathers and carework. Father-specific leave policies in these countries are some of the most generous in the world, yet, the uptake is alarmingly low. Identifying issues with the policies across the three criteria measures allows for recommendations to be made on how to improve the uptake. Increasing the uptake is vastly important in creating numerous effects in both countries, in terms of reaching government goals of addressing demographic pressures, challenging restrictive normative issues around the gender division and rigid workplace structure that parents must contend with. This piece of work is also a commentary on a larger conversation on how public policy is conceived – are countries seeking to address real problems with a policy that has a real chance of success? Arguably, in the case of the policies in both Korea and Japan, government leaders are, as the numerous tweaks and changes to the policy in a relatively short amount of years highlights the action being taken to ensure uptake is occurring. Focusing on social policies to leverage the economy is not a new phenomenon, and more countries are utilising social policies to reach economic goals. Addressing barriers is necessary in utilising existing policy and the recognition on how to bridge the gap between agency and capabilities must be written into national policy frameworks, specifically regarding workplace structure and gender norms. Currently, the fathers taking leave in this part of the world are still pioneers (Nakazato, 2012), but with improvements across a variety of measures, increases in uptake are very possible in the future.

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