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Enhancing the Efficiency of Fiscal Spending on Promoting the Employment of Women

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* This is an abridged version of *Enhancing the Efficiency of Fiscal Spending on Promoting the Employment of Women* (KIPF, 2017), which the author of this brief co-wrote with Nayoung Kim, PhD, of the Korea Institute of Child Care and Education.

- The low birth rate and population aging in South Korea are sapping the nation's economy of vitality and also significantly increasing concerns over the nation's fiscal sustainability.
 - These demographic changes are expected to reduce the working-age population and slow down economic growth, while drastically increasing the fiscal burden of caring for the elderly.
- Although immense fiscal resources have been invested over the years to prevent these problems, nothing has worked definitively so far.
 - An emerging and related key concern is to increase the economic participation of women in the workforce by fostering and establishing a culture of work-family balance at work.
 - Korea's legal and policy systems have almost exclusively served the interests of business over the last few decades as a way to promote growth of the national economy.
 - Working cultures centered on men are still predominant due to the short history of democracy and affluence in Korea.
 - The difficulty of maintaining work-family balance leads many women to quit their careers after marriage or childbirth.
 - An increasing number of women are also opting out of marriage and childbirth in an effort to maintain their careers.
- Creating a better work-family balance is the key to solving Korea's demographic problems.
 - If women can continue to work after getting married and having kids, their continued participation in the economy will significantly increase national output and competitiveness.
 - If women can become pregnant and have children without worrying about being unable to continue their careers, the birth rate will rise, benefitting the national economy and relieving the strain on fiscal resources in the long run.
- To make a better work-family balance a workplace norm, it is important to identify, first, what forms of support women require at work, and second, what forms of policy support employers need to in turn provide women with the support they need.
 - This study analyzes the needs of both working women and employers with a view to identifying the comprehensive scope of policy support that both need.
 - It sheds light on the disparity in the support required by women and that required by employers and suggests policy solutions toward narrowing this disparity down.

1. Employment of Women

- Female employment rate by age in Korea are charted in an M-like shape.
 - The rate plummets rapidly for women in their 30s as most get married and have children by that age. The rate rises again for women in their 40s and beyond as they are freed from the burden of caring for young children and can return to work.
 - That women in their 30s are unable to start or continue their careers due to marriage and childbirth amounts to significant loss for the national economy.
 - As women are compelled to leave the workforce at important points in their careers, they lose the opportunity to accumulate the skills and experience necessary for better careers later in life. As a result, women returning to the workforce in their 40s and later mostly work in under-paid, unskilled jobs.
- Overall, Korea's female employment rate lags behind the OECD average.
 - Korea's female employment rates for those 25 to 29 and 60 to 64 years of age are higher than the OECD averages, but for women 35 to 39 years of age, the rate is at least 10 percentage points lower than the OECD average.

Table 1. Women's Employment Rates by Nationality (2016): OECD Member States

(Units: percentage, percentage points)

Country	15-64	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
Australia	67.4	47.2	69.1	71.9	70.4	70.4	74.8	76.5	74.4	64.9	47.5
Austria	67.7	28.4	66.0	79.8	80.2	78.9	82.3	83.0	79.0	60.0	18.2
Belgium	58.1	4.6	36.8	72.1	74.6	77.1	77.5	75.4	69.8	58.0	20.5
Canada	69.7	42.7	68.5	77.6	76.8	77.4	78.9	79.4	76.7	67.3	45.1
Chile	52.0	9.6	37.8	61.1	66.4	66.7	65.4	65.0	59.5	53.5	39.3
Czech Rep.	64.4	4.2	38.4	64.4	64.8	76.2	86.1	90.2	87.4	76.6	25.5
Denmark	72.0	52.1	67.1	69.5	74.3	78.6	82.5	83.6	80.9	78.6	48.5
Estonia	68.5	13.0	54.4	65.2	67.5	73.2	83.4	89.6	84.3	77.5	55.1
Finland	67.6	25.6	60.0	68.5	68.7	75.6	82.4	83.7	81.2	77.7	48.3
France	61.4	7.8	45.8	70.2	71.4	75.7	80.5	79.6	77.2	67.6	28.3
Germany	70.8	24.6	63.0	75.7	76.0	77.6	82.2	84.4	81.1	74.7	50.8
Greece	43.3	2.0	21.0	48.1	55.3	59.7	60.3	59.9	49.8	35.2	19.0
Hungary	60.2	3.9	41.8	66.1	66.5	73.4	82.6	84.2	81.6	64.7	21.9
Iceland	83.4	74.7	80.1	82.4	80.4	86.7	88.9	89.5	90.3	80.9	77.5
Ireland	59.5	14.8	54.3	72.4	72.1	70.3	68.9	65.7	63.7	58.7	37.5
Israel	65.2	28.0	62.1	72.2	75.1	76.8	76.9	76.7	72.4	67.3	52.5
Italy	48.1	2.2	24.7	46.0	56.5	61.4	62.4	61.3	58.8	50.4	27.8
Japan	66.1	16.5	68.3	78.2	70.3	69.8	73.6	76.5	75.4	69.3	50.8

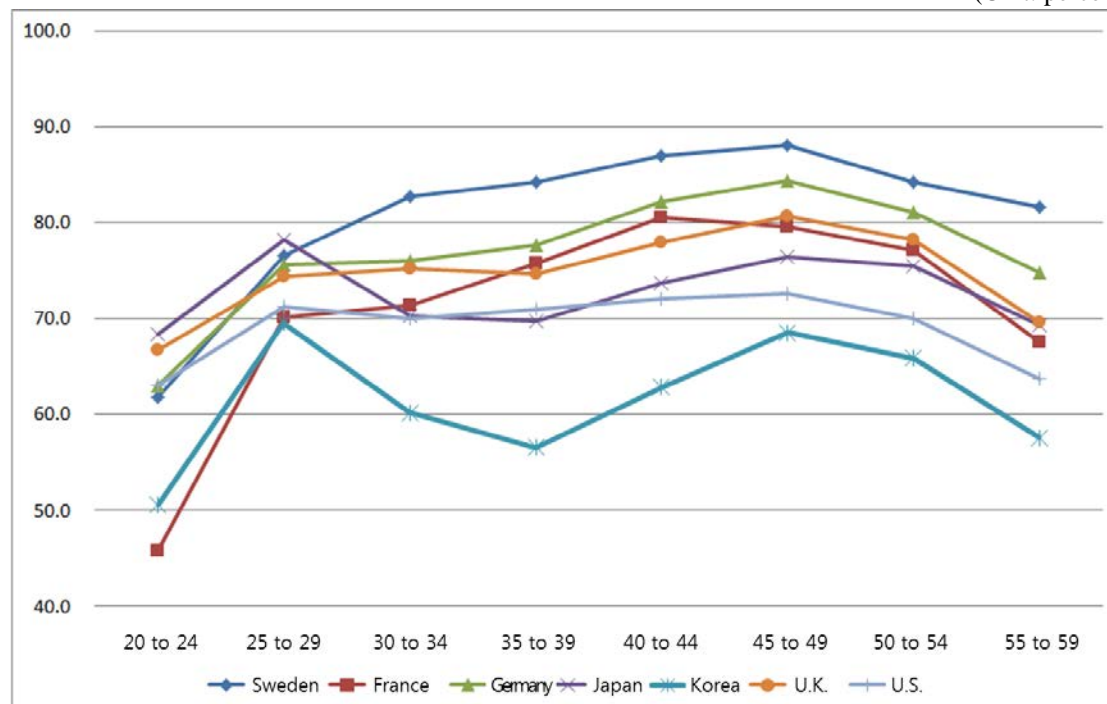
Country	15-64	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64
S. Korea (A)	56.2	8.7	50.6	69.5	60.2	56.5	62.8	68.6	65.9	57.6	48.1
Latvia	67.6	0.0	54.6	75.0	76.8	78.9	81.5	80.9	78.0	72.6	50.1
Luxembourg	60.4	0.0	44.9	84.1	84.3	82.1	80.4	78.8	68.9	49.7	3.8
Mexico	45.1	17.5	40.0	51.1	53.5	54.9	56.1	55.8	49.8	41.8	31.1
Netherlands	70.1	54.6	69.2	80.9	78.8	77.8	77.5	78.1	74.1	64.1	43.2
New Zealand	70.7	36.5	66.3	71.4	72.4	74.2	80.2	82.3	80.5	76.1	64.9
Norway	72.8	35.8	64.0	77.5	78.8	82.0	83.5	82.0	80.7	76.1	62.4
Poland	58.1	3.8	40.4	69.8	73.5	76.1	77.5	78.0	71.8	55.9	19.8
Portugal	62.4	5.2	39.8	73.3	81.1	83.0	80.4	76.6	70.3	58.5	33.3
Slovakia	58.3	3.0	30.6	62.8	64.1	71.9	81.9	82.8	79.1	67.0	20.2
Slovenia	62.6	7.8	41.7	68.1	81.7	83.6	87.1	85.0	79.3	53.3	13.7
Spain	55.1	4.6	30.4	60.9	67.5	70.2	68.8	64.9	59.4	51.9	32.0
Sweden	74.8	26.1	61.8	76.5	82.7	84.3	87.0	88.0	84.3	81.7	65.2
Switzerland	75.4	49.5	74.9	83.9	81.5	80.5	79.7	81.7	80.8	77.0	52.5
Turkey	31.2	15.6	31.5	37.4	38.2	40.2	40.6	35.0	26.1	20.5	15.4
U.K.	69.5	36.4	66.7	74.3	75.2	74.7	78.0	80.6	78.3	69.6	44.7
U.S.	64.0	30.1	63.0	71.3	70.1	70.9	72.1	72.5	70.0	63.8	48.5
Average (B)	59.4	21.1	53.0	66.1	66.2	67.5	69.9	71.1	67.7	60.6	40.8
Gap (A-B)	-3.2	-12.3	-2.5	3.4	-6.1	-10.9	-7.1	-2.5	-1.8	-3.0	7.3

Source: OECD Labour Force Statistics (<http://stats.oecd.org/>, accessed July 25, 2017).

- As Figure 1 below shows, Korea's female employment rates by age form an M-shaped pattern due to women leaving the workforce in their 30s for reasons related to family.
 - The patterns elsewhere, except in Japan, are a reverse U-shape.
 - Even when compared to Japan, Korea's overall female employment rates are lower and more women leave the workforce for family-related reasons.

Figure 1. Women's Employment Rates by Age in Major Economies (2016)

(Unit: percentage)



Source: OECD Labour Force Statistics (<http://stats.oecd.org/>, accessed July 26, 2017).

2. Policy Support for Work-Family Balance

• The Korean government provides a number of policy programs to encourage maternity and parental leaves and prevent financial difficulties for women on such leave.¹

- **Maternity leave benefits:** Women are guaranteed a maternity leave of 90 days each around the time of giving birth, with Employment Insurance paying women's wages for the first 30 days.
- **Parental leave benefits:** The government pays parental leave benefits for workers, whether mothers or fathers, who take a leave of absence from work to care for their young children.
- **Workplace daycare facilities:** The government encourages workplaces to run daycare facilities for employee children through subsidies for daycare staff wages and daycare operations, and loans and grants for facility-related expenses.
- **Employment Stability Fund for Maternity and Childcare:** provides financial support for employers that allow their workers to take parental leave or work reduced hours to care for their children.

• The Korean government also supports flexible work arrangements for working parents by subsidizing employers that allow such arrangements.²

- **Support for employment with selectable work hours:** The government subsidizes employers that hire workers who are allowed some choice in their work hours for reasons related to childcare.

¹ See Ministry of Employment and Labor (MOEL), *Employment Insurance White Paper 2016*, 2016.

² See MOEL, *Guide on Policy Support for Employers 2017*, 2017, available online at https://www.moel.go.kr/view.jsp?cate=7&sec=4&smenu=null&mode=view&state=A&bbs_cd=105&idx=1502179708575&seq=1502179708575 (accessed October 19, 2017).

- **Support for conversion to selectable work hours:** The government subsidizes employers that allow existing workers to convert to selectable work hour schedules for reasons related to childcare.
- **Support for flexible work arrangements:** The government subsidizes small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that adopt or expand their flexible work arrangement programs to support employees' childcare needs.
- **Support for work-from-home infrastructure:** The government subsidizes SME expenses from developing infrastructure for work-from-home systems to support employees' childcare needs.

3. Work-Family Balance Today

- The Work-Family Balance Fact-Finding Survey (2016)³ revealed that the programs supporting better work-family balance were not being used in most cases at Korean workplaces.
 - Whereas employers were relatively well aware of maternity, parental, and spousal leaves, they were relatively ignorant of reduced work hour arrangements for workers caring for young children and family care leave.
 - Workplaces of at least a certain size were more likely to put these programs into place on their own.
 - Only 10 percent or so of employers provided for flexible work arrangements, such as selectable work hours, delayed starting times, and flexible work hours.
 - Only three to four percent of employers provided for discretion in work hours and work-from-home arrangements.
 - Seventy-eight percent of employers did not provide any form of flexible work arrangements.

³ MOEL, *Work-Family Balance Fact-Finding Survey 2016*, 2016.

III Legal & Policy Effects on Women's Employment

• The effect of legal requirements and government policies supporting work-family balance on women's employment was analyzed in terms of both supply (working women) and demand (employers).

- The Survey on the Economic Activity of Women and the Job Market 2016⁴ was used to identify and analyze factors that contribute to women's discontinuation of their careers.
- This study also included an opinion poll of employers, designed to identify their perceptions of work-family balance programs and the policy incentives they need to better implement such programs.
- Human resource managers at certain companies were also invited to participate in focus group interviews (FGIs) to ascertain opinions omitted from statistical surveys.

1. Effect of Policy Support on Employer Behavior in Terms of Women's Employment

• The policy effects on women and their employment were identified and measured using data from the Survey on the Economic Activity of Women and the Job Market 2016.

- The 2016 survey was the second of its kind, and asked 4,835 women aged 24 to 54 a wide range of questions pertaining to makeup of their families, their and their spouse's economic activities, and their past and present work experiences.
- These 4,835 participating women were divided into six categories (Table 2) according to their past and present work status.

Table 2. Participating Women, by Category

Description		Category
Unemployed	-Women who have never been employed; -Women who have not been compelled to quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons.	A (N = 831)
	-Women who have had to quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons, and who remain unemployed.	B (N = 876)
	-Women who have had to quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons, and who have held jobs afterward, but are not presently employed.	C (N = 233)
Employed	-Women who have had to quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons, and who still work at the first jobs they found after returning to the workforce.	D (N = 564)
	-Women who have had to quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons, and who work at jobs other than the first ones they found after returning to the workforce.	E (N = 317)
	-Women who have never quit their jobs due to marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, childcare, or other family reasons, and who continue to work.	F (N = 2,014)

Source: See MOGEF, *Survey on the Economic Activity of Women and the Job Market 2016*, p. 6

⁴ Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF), *Survey on the Economic Activity of Women and the Job Market 2016*, 2016.

•• Women in Category F, who had never had to quit their jobs, were compared to women in categories B, C, D, and E who had had to quit their jobs at one point or another, in order to look at the diverse factors leading to women discontinuing their careers.

- Of particular interest were the characteristics of the jobs held by the Category-F women and those held by women in the other categories, in light of the need to identify job characteristics associated with career discontinuation.

- Table 3 looks at the relationship between women having to quit their jobs and whether they have children and how many they have.

- The proportion of women who discontinue their careers, 11.4 percent without any children, rises to 59.6 percent for those who have children.

- The percentage of women discontinuing their careers increases with the number of children.

- This analysis is based on the 3,185 survey participants who had children at the time of the survey.

Table 3. Number of Children & Discontinuation of Career

(Unit: Number of persons)

		Women who had had to quit their jobs (A)	Women who had not had to quit their jobs (B)	Percentage of women who had had to quit their jobs (A) / (A+B)
Overall (N = 4,004)		1,990	2,014	50.3%
With/without children	With children (N = 3,185)	1,897	1,288	59.6%
	Without children (N = 819)	93	726	11.4%
Number of children	One (N = 914)	515	399	56.3%
	Two (N = 1,899)	1,133	766	59.7%
	Three or more (N = 372)	249	123	66.9%

Source: See MOGEF, 2016

•• Table 4 shows the mean differences between women who continued their careers and those who did not.

- Women who discontinued their careers had more children and were slightly more likely to be married to high-earning spouses, and less likely to work in the public sector, than women who did not discontinue their careers.

- Women who discontinued their careers were far less likely than women who did not to have worked at workplaces offering, or making it easy to use, work-family balance programs.

- Whether their workplaces provided these programs and whether they were easy to use were the decisive points of departure between women who discontinued their careers and those who did not.

- Women who discontinued their careers were significantly more dissatisfied with the jobs they left than women who never quit their careers were satisfied with their current jobs.

Table 4. Women Who Continued to Work (A) Vs. Women Who Discontinued (B)

(Unit: Number of persons)

		A	B	Gap (A-B)
Number of children		1.80	1.88	0.08
Education (college or higher)		0.56	0.57	0.01
Postgraduate education		0.07	0.03	-0.04
Work hours per week		43.22	46.95	3.73
Spouse's monthly income (KRW 5 million+)		0.12	0.14	0.02
Public sector		0.19	0.06	-0.13
Nonprofit sector		0.08	0.05	-0.03
Large corporations (300+ workers)		0.12	0.12	0
Regular worker		0.61	0.81	0.2
Full-time worker		0.84	0.94	0.1
Health insurance provided by employer		0.83	0.75	-0.08
Pension provided by employer		0.60	0.66	0.06
Available work-family balance programs	Maternity leave	0.59	0.45	-0.14
	Parental leave	0.53	0.36	-0.17
	Workplace daycare facility	0.17	0.05	-0.12
	Delayed starting hours	0.24	0.12	-0.12
	Reduced work hours	0.25	0.04	-0.21
Ease of using available support	Maternity leave	0.45	0.21	-0.24
	Parental leave	0.37	0.14	-0.23
	Workplace daycare facility	0.11	0.03	-0.08
	Delayed starting hours	0.14	0.06	-0.08
	Reduced work hours	0.14	0.02	-0.12
Satisfaction with job aspects	Wage level	0.29	0.27	-0.02
	Match with aptitudes	0.44	0.39	-0.05
	Future prospects	0.37	0.31	-0.06
	Work hours	0.41	0.29	-0.12

Source: See MOGEF, 2016

•• To analyze in greater detail the factors that lead women to continue to work, a probit model of regression was set up.

▪ The dependent variable is whether women continued to work (equaling one for the 1,288 women with children who did not have to quit their jobs, and zero for the 1,897 women with children who did.)

▪ As Table 5 shows, the availability and ease of using maternity leave, parental leave, workplace daycare facilities, and reduced work hour programs for childcare determined the likelihood of a

woman continuing to work at the same workplace.

- Delayed starting hours, however, failed to have a significant effect.
- The longer a woman had worked at a given job and the more satisfied she was with it, the more likely she was to continue to work.

Table 5. Probability of Continuing to Work

		Regression coefficient	Standard error	P> t
Number of children		-0.131***	0.041	0.002
Education (college or higher)		-0.396***	0.059	0.000
Postgraduate education		0.225	0.149	0.131
Work hours per week		-0.022***	0.004	0.000
Spouse's monthly income (KRW 5 million+)		-0.211***	0.080	0.008
Public sector		0.652***	0.107	0.000
Nonprofit sector		0.373***	0.100	0.000
Large corporations (300+ workers)		-0.121	0.081	0.134
Regular worker		-0.302***	0.091	0.001
Full-time worker		-0.293**	0.138	0.034
Health insurance provided by employer		0.418***	0.102	0.000
Pension provided by employer		-0.068	0.086	0.431
Available work-family balance programs	Maternity leave	0.201**	0.087	0.021
	Parental leave	0.352***	0.096	0.000
	Workplace daycare facility	0.275**	0.139	0.047
	Delayed starting hours	-0.089	0.111	0.425
	Reduced work hours	0.779***	0.146	0.000
	Wage level	-0.097	0.066	0.142
Satisfaction with job aspects	Match with aptitudes	0.045	0.073	0.541
	Future prospects	-0.098	0.077	0.200
	Work hours	0.161**	0.067	0.017
Constant		1.012***	0.174	0.000
N		2,764		
Pseudo R-squared		0.1656		

Note: The asterisks, ***, **, and * indicate statistical significance at one-, five-, and 10-percent levels, respectively.

2. Employers' Perceptions of Work-Family Balance Programs

- This study also involved an opinion poll on employers regarding their perceptions of flexible work arrangements for childcare and maternity and parental leaves and how these programs affect women's employment.
 - Human resource managers at 500 firms were surveyed with respect to the general characteristics of their workplaces, the availability of flexible work arrangements and maternity and parental leaves, the ease of using such programs, and how necessary they thought these programs were.
- Flexible work arrangements are generally not used at Korean workplaces.
 - As for selectable work hours, the business, personal, and public service industries had the highest percentage (8.5 percent) of using selectable work hour systems, while only two to four percent of firms in other industries did so.
 - When asked whether they thought flexible work arrangements were necessary, more respondents regarded them as “unnecessary” than “necessary,” with the exception of flexible work hours.
 - With respect to flexible work hours, 30.8 percent of respondents regarded them as necessary while 29.6 percent answered that they felt they were “unnecessary.”
 - This contrasts with the findings of other surveys on workers, more of whom thought flexible work arrangements were necessary than unnecessary.
- While most of the firms surveyed were aware of maternity and parental leaves, the ease of access for workers to these leaves varied significantly in relation to firm size.
 - Of the surveyed managers, 92.6 percent of respondents were aware that maternity leave is required by law, while 90.6 percent knew that parental leave was also required.
 - Even fewer—85.8 percent and 71.4 percent, respectively—were aware that paternity leave and reduced work hours are also guaranteed by law.
 - While 72.5 percent of large corporations made it easy for workers to use maternity leave, only 51.9 percent of SMEs did the same.
 - Of the surveyed companies, 50.6 percent answered that they excluded the periods of time workers spent on maternity and parental leaves from the length of service periods necessary for promotion.
 - The proportion of companies assigning workers returning from parental leave to their original positions was greater among larger corporations (73.1 percent) than among smaller businesses (59.2 percent).
 - Relatively few employers hire substitute workers to compensate for the loss of labor associated with workers on maternity/parental leaves (or flexible work arrangements).
 - Only 25.8 percent of all surveyed employers hired substitute workers, while 68.7 percent of the employers preferred to re-divide the workload among the remaining workforce.
- A regression analysis was performed to determine policy effects on the use of these programs.
 - A Poisson regression model was set up to identify policy factors influencing the cumulative numbers of workers using maternity, spousal, and parental leaves.
 - Policy support for maternity leave benefits increased the cumulative number of workers taking maternity leave.
 - Policy support for maternity leave benefits and for rehiring non-regular workers returning from these leaves increased the cumulative number of workers taking spousal leave.
 - Parental leave benefits and the Employment Stability Fund for Maternity and Childcare also increased the cumulative number of workers taking parental leave.

3. FGIs with Employers on Women's Employment

- In an effort to hear a wider range of opinions on the practices of employing women at actual workplaces, FGIs (focus group interviews) with human resource managers were held.
 - Interviewees were from firms of varying sizes (small, medium, and large) to ascertain how the availability and practices of work-family support programs varied in relation to firm size.
 - The FGIs were used to determine the difficulties employers had with respect to implementing work-family balance programs and what forms of policy support they needed to improve implementation.
 - Most employers were in agreement with the necessity for maternity and parental leaves.
 - These leaves, however, also ended up resulting in an increased workload for the leave-taker's coworkers.
 - Although a number of companies hired substitute workers, employers felt uneasy about letting these substitute workers go in one year, as it involved psychological burden and financial inefficiency.
 - Many employers were skeptical of flexible work arrangements.
 - Many jobs were not suited to such arrangements, which were prone to raising tension among coworkers over perceived unfairness.
 - While government support could help, many employers would still be reluctant to introduce and expand flexible work arrangements.

IV Conclusion & Implications

- This study shows that government policy supporting work-family balance at work did have the effect of making women stay in the workforce and increasing their employment.
 - Government support for women in the form of maternity and parental leaves do improve the probability of women continuing their careers.
 - The positive effect is greater when these leaves are not just available, but also easy to use.
 - Government support also increases the number of workers taking maternity and parental leaves.
 - Policy support for maternity leave benefits, parental leave benefits, the Employment Support Fund subsidies for parental leaves, and the subsidies for re-hiring non-regular workers returning from these leaves increases the number of workers who take maternity and parental leaves.
- We can draw multiple policy implications from the findings of this study.
 - First, as the policy measures supporting work-family balance have definitive effects on preventing women from discontinuing their careers, the Korean government should continue to provide and expand these measures.
 - Fiscal support for maternity and parental leaves, in particular, positively increases the number of workers that take such leaves.
 - The government ought to increase and differentiate the amount of such subsidies available by employer and employee type and also in light of the realistic financial difficulties faced by working families.
 - Government support for flexible work arrangements, however, has not yielded visible results so far, and employers generally disapprove of such arrangements.
 - Policy support for flexible work in its present form fails to show much positive impact.
 - Diverse flexible work arrangements should be developed for a variety of jobs to expand the scope of workers eligible for such arrangements and reduce perceptions of unfairness.
 - It is important to invest limited fiscal resources wisely, by rolling back fiscal support for ineffective programs and increasing it for effective ones, and also by introducing non-fiscal forms of support.
 - For example, the government may curtail ineffective spending programs, and instead increase support for the creation of daycare facilities at workplaces and restrict eligibility in such facilities to children of couples who are both working full time so as to reduce simultaneously their burden of parenting and the need for flexible work arrangements.
 - The Korean government, moreover, should actively advertise maternity and parental leaves as well as flexible work arrangements as a way to discourage long work hours and diversify work schedules in the long run.
 - Policy support is also needed to increase the pool of substitute workers.
 - Most employers in Korea are reluctant to hire substitute workers, leaving it instead up to existing personnel to re-divide the leave-taker's responsibilities and take on greater workloads.
 - This, in turn, encourages a negative perception of parental leave, and workers taking it often come back early, uncomfortable as they are about burdening their coworkers.
 - The Korean government thus needs to make more active use of its bank of substitute workers to encourage employers to hire more of them.
 - The government needs to set up a diversified pool of substitute manpower. If it actively matched employers with suitable workers, this would serve to increase employer use of the pool.
 - It is also critical to raise awareness of the measures in place to support work-family balance and the fact that they are required by law, while care should be invested to make sure that workers are

not disadvantaged for making use of legally-guaranteed parental leave.

- The Korean government should actively advertise the legally-mandated nature of these programs, enhance compliance and ensure that employers do not disadvantage workers making use of them. This can be done by, for example, making it illegal for employers to exclude leave periods from the length of service needed for workers to be considered for promotion.
- With these policy efforts succeeding, economic participation of women will increase in the short run, helping the Korean national economy grow in output and size. These efforts will also increase the birth rate and thereby benefit the Korean economy and fiscal resources in the long run.

- MOEL, *Work-Family Balance Fact-Finding Survey 2016*, 2016.
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