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**POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ECONOMY OF CARE:
KOREAN PROPOSAL**

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Background:

This study will examine the political economy of care in the Republic of Korea (Korea hereafter). Since 1990, many East Asian countries have extended and strengthened their welfare states in response to the increased demand for social welfare and to imperatives arising out of changes in their countries' social, economic, and demographic structures. This is particularly the case in Korea, which responded to the social and economic fallouts of the Asian economic crisis of 1997-98, and subsequently to the rapid shifts in demographic and fertility patterns, with strong social policy initiatives.

Before the reforms, Korean welfare state was premised on two rationales: "welfare developmentalism" which sees social policy as an instrument of economic policy (Gough 2001, Kwon 1999, 2005); and Confucian familism which sees the family as the main site of welfare and care, and thus constrained the development of public social services (Goodman & Peng 1996, Peng 2004, Sung 2003). The weaknesses of the Korean welfare state based on this narrow economic growth-focused rationale and the state's heavy reliance on the family were painfully exposed during the economic crisis. The massive lay-offs following the economic crisis left many without adequate social protection, leading to a sharp increase in the poverty rate (Lee 2004, Yu 2000). The subsequent labour market deregulation opened up non-standard (part-time, contract, and temporary) forms of employment. Many women were compelled to take up non-standard employment, but at the same time, were hampered by the lack of child care facilities to be able to take advantage of the opportunities. Finally, the increase in the rates of divorce and separation shortly after the economic crisis (often called the "crisis-families") also led to a noticeable rise in the number of single-mother families. Not surprisingly poverty rates amongst single mother families are significantly higher than among two-parent families, and social policy reforms since 2000 have focused on the issues of employment and work-and-family harmonization for single mothers and other working mothers (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b; Lee and Park 2003).

The post-economic crisis welfare reforms in Korea thus led to the extension of many social welfare programmes and established the concept of social rights. It is however important to recognize that while the post-economic crisis restructuring resulted in overall welfare state expansion, the new welfare state vision premised on the idea of "active labour" also reflects an attempt to reconcile social policy with neo-liberal shifts in labour market policy. It is therefore important to examine more carefully the nature of Korea's welfare state expansion: are the reforms aimed at meeting the new conditions and needs of economic policy, and therefore a continuation of welfare developmentalism? Or are we to understand the reforms as a departure from past patterns? Evidence suggests that most economic and social policy reform programmes that were put in place after the economic crisis produced a policy mix that combined neo-liberal economic policy (e.g. labour market deregulation, including cut-backs in corporate welfare provision) with more inclusive social policy provisions (e.g. expansion of social insurance programmes such as health and pensions by including workers in small enterprises). Indeed, the reforms were initially necessitated by the economic crisis, but they continued even after the crisis ended. To understand fully the nature of welfare state trajectory since the economic crisis, we will need to pay attention to changes in political dynamics, the labour market structure, and other socio-demographic patterns.

One of the most interesting features of post-economic crisis Korean welfare reforms is their focus on gender and social care. Although there has been a steady development in policies concerning gender equality and social care since the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, the period after the economic crisis saw a noticeable jump in both policy innovation and in state commitment in this area. The Kim Dae-jung government which came to power during the crisis made it clear from the outset that it would set gender mainstreaming as one of the new government's policy priorities. Major changes under what Kim Dae-jung refers to as the "active welfare policies" or the "DJ-Welfarism" (ROK – Office of the President 2000), include the expansion of public child care program in 1999, the replacement of Livelihood Protection Act with the National Basic Livelihood Security in 2000, the extension of paid maternity leave in 2001, expansion of income and employment support policy measures for single-parent households in 2002, and the National Child Care Plan in 2006, which promises to substantially increase childcare facilities and government subsidies for child care over the next ten years. Finally, the Elderly Care Insurance has been introduced and will be implemented in 2008. The Kim Dae-jung administration also re-classified the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs to the Ministry of Gender Equality (MOGE, later renamed as Ministry of Gender Equality and Family) in 2001, thus upgrading its political and bureaucratic power and the prestige of the femocrats within the government.

Despite these developments, however, some feminist scholars argue that care arrangements are still heavily tilted towards the family, and women in particular (Hur 2005). More importantly, they argue that the welfare state and society in general do not provide sufficient social and economic supports for care-givers (nor tried to get more men involved in care-giving). For instance, only women with wage-paying jobs are eligible for parental leave with benefits. Other feminists, however, acknowledge that some progress has been made. Some point to, inter alia, the increase in women's labour market participation and state care provisions (Song, 2004), while others consider the second-order variables such as women's presence in politics (Peng, 2006) as important markers of transformation.

In this project we propose to analyze the political and social economy of care in Korea within the context of the country's changing political, economic, and social structures. The Korean experience is an excellent testing case to examine the ways in which a developmental and familialistic welfare state takes on the issue of care. In this project, we propose to undertake theoretically informed and empirically based research.

First, we will examine the political and economic contexts of Korean welfare regime and what they mean in terms of care. We ask the following questions. What are the institutional bases of Korean welfare state, particularly in relation to care? How has the political economy of care been shaped by welfare state policies and vice versa? What are structural challenges faced by Korean welfare state in terms of gender and care, and what are policy responses? How do women cope with and negotiate paid work and care? Since the care regime is not only shaped by the economic and social policy but also by feminist politics, we will examine the role/contribution of feminist movements in Korea. The 1995 Beijing Conference provided a momentum for gender mainstreaming, leading to a number of programmes aimed at gender equality. Feminists also seized the opportunity to influence social policy when the Kim Dae-

jung government came to power. What rationale did feminists use to push for new care programmes, what provisions have been put in place and to what effect?

In order to answer this set of political economy questions, this study will, first, examine the institutional mix of care in Korea from a historical institutional perspective, and try to answer how the political economy of the Korean welfare state has shaped gender dynamics. We will examine more recent policy efforts at labour market restructuring and the expansion of the welfare state and assess how these reforms influenced the institutional framework of the care economy. We will apply the concept of care diamond in our analysis. The care diamond is premised on the notion that the total societal care is provided through multiple and heterogeneous clusters of institutional sites and actors, including the state, the market, the family, and the community/voluntary/non-market sector (Pijl, 1994; Razavi, 2006). Using this framework we will examine how care responsibility is shared amongst different actors to analyse the institutional mix of care.

Secondly this study will analyse the Time Use Survey (TUS) in order to find out empirically how and by whom care is provided within and across households. While the historical institutional analysis will deal with the macro structure and middle range variables, the analysis of time use data will enable us to look into the pattern of care provision at the micro-level: how individual women and men divide their time between paid work, care, and leisure. The research will disaggregate women (and men) into different groups by age, education, type of paid work, income, and family structure. The quantitative analysis will be complemented by more qualitative evidence obtained from personal narratives and life histories.

The third component of this study will examine the nature of care work in Korea today based on a qualitative survey of selected groups of women who are engaged in care work – either child care or elderly care. We will examine how such work is organized, the terms and conditions on offer (wages, social protection, working hours and conditions), how the care needs of care-givers are accommodated (who takes care of their children for example, and how their own needs for care met?), and how do policy reforms impact on their work.

In the conclusion this research will try to answer the following questions in the Korean context: How is care understood and organized in Korea; how are economic, political and socio-demographic changes impacting the understanding and organization care; what are the Korean welfare state's responses to these pressures; what are the implications of these changing political economy of care for women and men in Korea?

The Scope of Research:

This research will focus primarily on childcare and elderly care. Childcare and elderly-care are inseparably connected because individuals have no choice other than going through their life from new-born, childhood, adulthood, and old age, and be care-receivers at certain points in time. Adults, mostly women, become care-givers at different points in their lives: when they have children, when their parents become frail, and when a spouse or neighbour needs care. Families very often provide the link between care-receiving and giving, although not uniformly so. We focus on child care and elderly care for two reasons. First, these are the two key policy sectors that

are undergoing dramatic reforms in Korea since 2000. Second, these are also two policy sectors that most directly cross-cut with the broader structural and economic changes that have been taking place in Korea – population ageing and fertility decline, women’s increased labour market participation, family and gender relations shifts, and changes in labour market structures. As a result of the systems changes in Korea how child care and elderly care are provided, managed, and negotiated by different actors will have important repercussions on families, women, and men.

This research will not examine care issues in relation to disability and those who are chronically ill.

Time frame: the proposed research will cover the last four decades since Korea embarked on industrialization, but it will focus on a number of discrete points in time when important changes took place. In particular it will pay special attention to the period of 2001/02 as a turning point with respect to social and economic policy in Korea and accordingly try to compare care arrangements before and after 2001-02. The Ministry of Gender Equality was established in 2001 and the Basic Law for Women’s Development was revised in 2002. Various policy measures such as parental leave, employment policy for gender equality followed these two events. In terms of the institutional analysis, this research will examine whether this demarcation point has coincided with paradigm shifts in the political economy of care.

Korea’s two Time Use Surveys, snapshots of time-use behaviour, which will be analysed in this research will allow us to find out whether there is a significant change in time use of women (and men) for care. The Korean National Statistical Office conducts Time Use Survey every five years. The first survey was conducted in 1999, and the second survey was carried out in 2004. The total sample size was 17,000 household from 850 local district units (Dongs, Ups and Myuns). In the survey a diary technique was used in order to obtain the actual picture of the daily life (Shon, 1999). It divides the time used into four types and daily activities in seven categories, which are then further sub-divided by detailed activity codes. The ‘care’ activities fall into the ‘committed time’ category.

Table 11 Types of time and Categories of Activities in the Korea’s TUS

Types of time	Categories of Activities
Necessary time	1. Personal care activities
Contracted time	2. Employment related activities
Committed time	3. Educational activities
	4. Domestic activities
	5. Family care activities
Free time	6. Voluntary work and community participation
	7. Social life, recreation and leisure

Source: Shon (1999)

We will analyze the micro data sets of 1999 and 2004 survey. Although only two surveys have been conducted so far, these two cross-sectional data sets will enable us to follow the changes in time used and to answer those questions we have raised.

Structural Changes in Korean Society

One of most important structural changes to have occurred in Korea in recent decades is the changes in family structure. Although the majority of Korean households have been nuclear (i.e. two-generation or less) since the 1960s, most Koreans continue to subscribe to the ideal traditional image of the Korean family made up of three or more generation households, where household work including homemaking and care-giving are carried out by 'housewives'. This image of ideal traditional family has in the recent decades become increasingly challenged as reality of nuclear and single person households has become all too evident (see Table 1).

Table 1 Distribution of households by number of generations in Korea

	One-generation*	Two	Three	Four
1970	6.8	70.0	22.1	1.1
1975	7.0	71.9	20.1	1.0
1980	8.8	73.1	17.6	0.6
1985	10.5	73.3	15.8	0.5
1990	12.0	74.1	13.6	0.3
1995	14.7	73.7	11.4	0.2
2000	17.1	72.9	9.9	0.2
2005	20.6	70.5	8.8	0.1

Source: Korea National Statistical Office

(* one-member households were not included in one-generational households)

There are three social trends that underlie the emergence of new family structures in Korea, and these new trends have important implications for the political economy of care. First, it has become increasingly evident that the ideal traditional three generation households are now the rarity rather than the norm. As shown on the Table 1, although the two-generation households were already the most common household form in 1970, the three or more generation households did represent about a fifth (22%) of all households then. It was therefore not too difficult for people to hold onto the idea that the ideal traditional households could be other than nuclear. Since then, however, the proportion of the three or more generation households has dropped markedly. By 2005, these households represented less than 10%. The realities of household structural changes are now beginning to sink into public discussions and policy debates (Cha 2004, Byung, Baek and Kim 2000, Cheng 2001, Chung 2001, Korean Herald 2007). Also, as illustrated in Table 2, the average number of members per household also declined from 5 in 1975 to 2.9 in 2005. From the data in Tables 1 and 2, we can infer that an overwhelming proportion (91%) of Korean households is now one or two generation households. Since single person households are not included in the number for the one-generation households, the 91% of one or two-generation households are either couple only or couple or parent(s) with dependent children or co-residing adult children. In addition to the changes in household structure and size, national statistical data also show that in 2004, 60.7% of the elderly people were either living alone (22%) or only with their spouses (38.7%). In other words, the social reality is that the overwhelming majority of families in Korea are nuclear, and that the majority of elderly people are living separately from their children.

Table 2 Distribution of households by numbers of household members in Korea

	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six & over	Average
1975	4.2	8.3	12.3	16.1	18.3	40.7	5.0
1985	6.9	12.3	16.5	25.3	19.5	19.5	4.1
1995	12.7	16.9	20.3	31.7	12.9	5.5	3.3
2005	20.0	22.2	20.9	27.0	7.7	2.2	2.9

Source: Korea National Statistical Office (1975/1985/1995); Korea National Statistical Office (2005)

These changes in the family structure, however, do not suggest that care is no longer provided by family care givers such as mothers, wives and daughters. On the contrary, studies show that care-giving still remains primarily a family responsibility, and that care-giving is often done across as well as within households (Sung 2001). The proposed research will shed further light on this aspect through the analysis of time use data and through interviews / case stories by women about their lives and experiences. Although much of care may remain within the family, the process and dynamics of care may have changed from the past. We anticipate that the time use survey and interviews / case stories will help us understand better the complex dynamics and negotiations that exist with regards to care amongst family members and other care givers today.

During the period of industrialization, male industrial workers were the main target of social protection, even though young female workers were the providers of cheap labour for some labour-intensive industries. Under this arrangement young female workers were expected to go back to the family as housewives after marriage and to provide care for the elderly parents and young children. Despite the dual role women played, policy assumption under the developmental welfare state was the male breadwinner model which saw women as full-time caregivers. How do the current dynamics of care-giving differ from those of the past? In particular, as the post-crisis social policy reforms have begun to redefine women as both workers and carers, how do women negotiate their work and family responsibilities, and how do social policies articulate with the market and family in the provision of care?

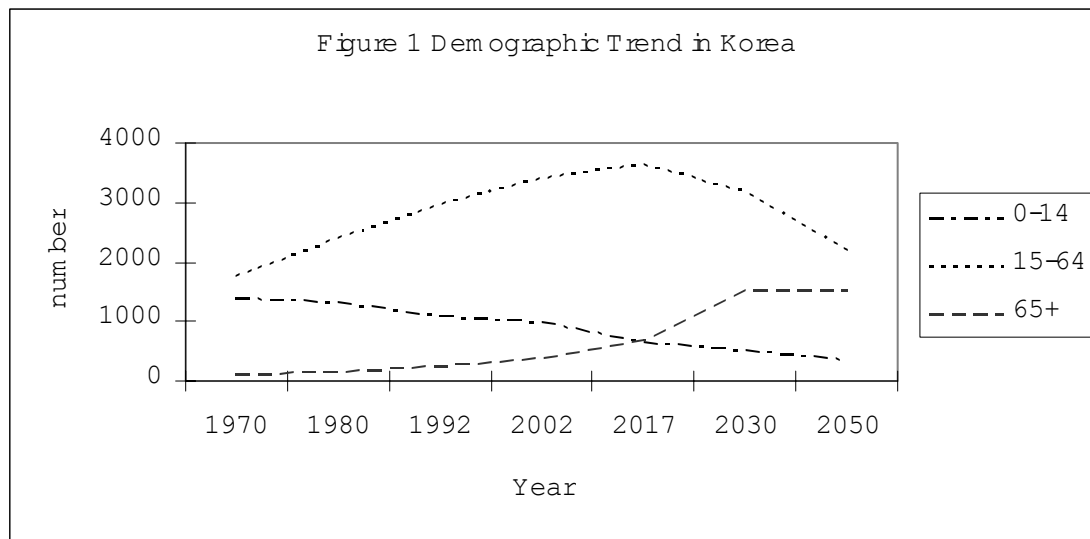
Secondly, population ageing creates a huge demand for care. It is true that demographic ageing is happening in most OECD countries and a great number of the developing countries as well. What is different with East Asian cases, however, is that the speed and the scale of ageing are much faster and greater. As illustrated in Table 3, the speed of demographic ageing in Korea is even faster than Japan where a significant social policy reform has been introduced since 1990 to meet the welfare needs of the elderly. With family changing, and the welfare state based on the developmentalist assumption, it will be a huge challenge for Korean society to find a policy mix that will address simultaneously the economic growth imperatives and the care needs of an ageing society.

Table 3 the Speed of demographic ageing

	Year reaching the proportion of the elderly			Time span	
	7 %	14 %	20 %	7 to 14 %	14 to 20 %
Korea	2000	2019	2026	19	7
Japan	1970	1994	2006	24	12
France	1864	1979	2020	115	41
USA	1942	2013	2028	71	15

Source: National Statistical Office (2001)

Saying that population ageing leads to increased social welfare and care needs, we should also be mindful that the elderly do not only create care demand. Many elderly people, especially elderly women, are also key care providers for their grandchildren and frail elderly spouses. Elderly women may not always choose to be care providers; but rather they are forced to do so because of poverty, obligation, and family responsibility. Sometimes this may be a rational family strategy to enable mothers of small children to participate in the labour market when little or no affordable or public child care is available. In other cases, providing child care to grand children may be a way for elderly women to offer support to their daughters and daughter-in-laws and earn some financial and material support from them. Should women be held responsible for caring their grand children after having cared their own? How do family members negotiate intra-familial arrangements vis-à-vis care, and what are the implications of that? What does living longer mean for women?



Source: National Statistical Office: www.nso.go.kr (visited January 2006)

The issue of population ageing in Korea as it is currently framed in public and policy debates offers us a window to understand the more fundamental underlying concerns of the state and policymakers with regard to the country's demographic shift. Population ageing in Korea, as it stands now is, in fact, based on demographic projections, not on actual population data. Indeed, the working age population in Korea will continue to increase until 2017 (see Figure 1). The real concern is,

therefore, not so much the current level of ageing but rather the projected ageing process, which in turn will have a direct effect on reduced labour supply when the baby boomers reach their old age. Put it simply, the real fear is not just the increase in care needs, but rather, the longer term effects of demographic shifts on the labour supply, on social insurance contributions, and the eventual economic slowdown. The underlying factor behind the rapid demographic change in Korea is its low fertility rate. At 1.17, Korea's current total fertility rate is even lower than that of Japan. The current sense of demographic crisis felt by the Korean policymakers is therefore a response, inter alia, to the inadequacy of its welfare state with respect to women and care. It has been inadequate in supporting young nuclear families to raise their children when these young adults are still responsible for caring their ageing parents.

New care programmes recently introduced by the Korean government, such as National Child Care and other family support programs and family-work harmonization legislations are aimed at raising the country's total fertility rate. The new programmes are women- and family- friendly, and some do suggest positive steps towards greater gender equality. Nevertheless it would be important to consider whether these policies will actually lead to greater gender equality in the provision of care. It would be also important to examine whether it is possible to develop social policies that would address simultaneously economic development concerns and equality of care responsibilities between men and women, and if so how effective such policies are.

Thirdly, the increase in women's labour market participation which has taken place over the last two decades has transformed the women's lives (see Table 4). It is often hypothesized that labour market participation will enable women to lead their life in a more independent manner. Nevertheless, much depends on the quality of jobs that women find. Table 5 suggests the need for caution. If the income obtained from paid work is not sufficient, then women may not be able to purchase care services in the market (given the limited number of public care facilities). The opposite causal relation may be also the case. Women with care responsibilities may have to resort to part-time work so that they can reconcile paid work with their continued responsibilities for care. We will examine the nature of women's labour market participation in relation to the kind of paid work they do and how they manage family and work responsibilities. The analysis of Time Use Survey data will provide statistical evidence on how men and women divide their time between paid work, care, and leisure. We will further supplement and nuance this quantitative data with qualitative research based on interviews and case studies that will examine women's life stories.

Table 4 Labour Market Participation Rate, people aged 15-64 (%)

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005
Female	39.3	40.4	42.8	41.9	47.0	48.4	48.6	50.0
Male	77.9	77.4	76.4	72.3	74.0	76.4	74.2	74.4

Source: National Statistical Office

Table 5 Employment Status by Gender

		1990	1995	1997	1998	2000	2005
Men	Regular	64.5	67.6	64.6	64.7	59.2	62.3
	Irregular	35.5	32.4	35.4	41.9	40.8	37.7
Women	Regular	37.6	42.8	38.4	34.8	31.1	38.2
	Irregular	62.4	57.2	61.6	64.2	66.9	61.8

Source: National Statistical Office

Components and Organization of the Research

As its organizing theme this research will address the following questions:

- How is care regime in Korea configured, and how has it developed and how has it been reshaped over the last several decades as the result of changes in the country's social, economic, political and demographic conditions?
- At the household level, how is care being provided, received, and negotiated amongst family and non-family members, and between women and men? Have there been changes in the nature and patterns of care provision and receiving over the last decade? Have there been changes in roles of care recipients and care providers, and who provides care to whom? Finally, how do care receiving and care giving at the household level articulate with broader economic, social, and demographic changes?
- How would Korean "care diamond" look? What are the characteristics of the constituent points forming Korean care diamond and how do they articulate with each other?
- At non-household level, who are engaged in care work outside of home? How are these work carried out, evaluated, and organized? What are the care needs of women and men whose work is to provide care to others, and how do they receive and organize care for themselves and their family?
- What can we learn from our research on social and political economy of care in Korea, and what are policy implications?

We see the conceptual organization of this project in terms of three frames: structure/institution, process, and policy outcomes/programmes, as broadly illustrated in the table below.

Structures/Institutions	Processes	Policy Outcomes/Programmes
Structural/institutional pressures or imperatives underlying changes in political economy of care.	Political/institutional actors and interests negotiating policy changes or continuity.	Combination of neoliberal and inclusive welfare reforms with more attention paid to social care.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic globalization: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Neoliberal reform pressures ○ Human resource imperatives for flexible labour market • Demographic transition: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Population ageing ○ Fertility decline ○ Human resource implications of demographic changes. • Familial/ideational shifts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Changing international and domestic norms about gender equality – e.g. Peking Summit 1995. ○ Women’s political mobilization. ○ Changes in family/women’s work and care patterns and arrangements (Time Use Survey). ○ Public opinion polls about attitudes towards marriage, gender relations, family, work and care. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic crisis as an important opportunity for policy change. • Domestic political dynamics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Political transition to the D.J. government. ○ Civil society activism ○ Women’s political mobilization. • Global/multilateral institutional actors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ UN and other global NGOs promoting/setting gender policies and targets. ○ OECD framework on family and work reconciliation – see for example, OECD’s <i>Babies and Bosses</i> series. ○ Active labour market model/templates 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Basic Livelihood Assistance • Extension of active labour market policies • Employment legislation reforms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Parental leave policies reform ○ Care leave policies • Long term care insurance • Child care reform • Gender mainstreaming

As proposed earlier, we will focus on two policy areas: elderly care and child care.

Based on this conceptual framework, this project has broadly four inter-related sub-components.

1) Theoretical / Conceptual Component:

- Political economy of care in Korea – building on the idea of care diamond and applying it to Korean case. Develop a useful framework to understand and analyze political economy of care for Korea.

2) Structural/Institutional component:

- Outlining structural / institutional bases of care regime in Korea, including how it has shaped and were in turn shaped by gender dynamics.
- Examining structural/institutional challenges facing the Korean welfare state vis-à-vis political economy of care.

3) Quantitative Analysis of Work and Family

- TUS data analysis on gendered family-work time use and their implications.
- Here, we bring in demographic and other statistical data on Korean households as well.

4) Politics and Processes component:

- Discuss dynamics of institutional changes by focusing on changing actors, political regimes, and policy and ideational contestations.
- We bring in interviews and case study oriented research to examine the nature of women's work, how women manage work and family responsibilities, etc.

Output

This research will produce five research reports:

Report 1: Historical institutional context

This report will provide historical and institutional context for Korea's care regime. It will examine the impacts of: a) political transformations, especially post-democratization and post-economic crisis period; b) socio-demographic changes; and c) macro-economic restructuring, on policy making processes and welfare state restructuring in Korea.

Report 2: Time Use Data Analysis

This analysis will show the micro level links between paid work and care, for women and men, across households, stratified by income, household structure, educational backgrounds, employment sector, and geographical location. This analysis will provide us with a more clear understanding of who provides and who receives care and how at the household level. Also the report will illuminate ways in which household and care work do or do not reflect the changes in relation to men and women's real and expected work patterns outside home.

Report 3: The Care Diamond

This report will build on the concept of Care Diamond and develop it for Korean context. It will bring together an institutional analysis of the different institutions where care is carried out – state, markets, family, and “community” – and explain how these different institutions articulate with each other and what the political dynamics and policies for care are.

Report 4: Care Providers

This report will focus on selected categories of non-family care workers to see how they provide care and how their own needs for care are met. Using case study and/or interview surveys we will examine in depth the nature of care work – who do they work for, what kind of services they provide, what are their working conditions, how are their work evaluated, and how do they see their work within the context of the expanding social economy of care in Korea today. We will also gather information about what care needs these care providers and their families might have, and how they negotiate their care needs while providing care for others.

Report: Synthesis Report

This report will synthesize the findings and analyses from the research with a view to extracting learning from our research on social and political economy of care in Korea, and understanding policy implications of our study.

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