

Work and Family Policy Framing and Gender Equality in South Korea: Focusing on the Roh Moo-hyun and Lee Myung-bak Administrations*

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This research aims to identify the possibilities and limitations in realizing a feminist agenda through the state. To this end, we conduct a critical policy frame analysis of public speeches by top-level decision makers in relation to the work and family policy of two politically contrasting governments: The administrations of President Roh Moo-hyun (2003 to 2007) and Lee Myung-bak (2008 to 2012). The results demonstrate that despite some differences, the commonality between the two governments was that the work and family policy was based on an 'instrumentalist women's employment' frame, influenced by a discourse of 'developmentalism' that originated from the developmental state experience of Korea in the 1960-1970s. This paper then sets out how this 'instrumentalist women's employment' frame has consistently functioned to prohibit the work and family balance agenda from becoming a radical and reformative means to change unequal gender relations. In conclusion, we emphasize the importance of the feminist ideas outside the state based on the redistributive frame for the caring as citizens' rights, since the Korean developmental state has fundamental limitations in realizing a feminist agenda.

Keywords: work and family policy, gender equality, discursive politics, critical frame analysis, developmental state, developmentalism

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Introduction

This research aims to identify the possibilities and limitations in realizing a feminist agenda through the state. To this end, we conduct a critical policy frame analysis through feminist perspectives on work and family policy that emerged as a means to deal with the demographic problems in South Korea since the mid-2000s, and discuss its implications for gender equality.

The work and family issue has historically been of great interest within the field of Korean feminist movements. Since the 1980s, feminists have consistently demanded the abolition of forced retirement upon marriage, the extension of the maternity leave period and the social sharing of its costs, the provision of paid parental leave and family care leave, the introduction of a policy for men's participation in childcare, and an increase in public childcare facilities. Such demands from feminist movements aimed to secure women's economic independence, gender-equal employment rights, and motherhood rights. In campaigning for these rights, Korean feminists sought to fundamentally transform unequal gender relations based on the gender division of labor (Kim and Ryu 2008). However, these demands from feminist movements were not widely accepted, and policies introduced following these demands were marginalized within national policy.

Work and family policy in Korea was considered increasingly important within national policy only after it became part of the 'national project' (Kim 2009, p. 27) in response to demographic problems of low fertility and population aging in the mid-2000s. Not only was the public expenditure on childcare increased significantly¹ alongside the expansion of the childcare leave period and its generous coverage and benefits, but also the paternity leave and family care leave that feminist movements had long demanded were introduced without strong oppositions from the mainstream political actors. The phrase 'work and family balance' that had been used limitedly in feminist movements became increasingly common in public speeches from top-level decision-makers, such as the president and other ministers. Finally, 'work and family policy' was officially entitled as a major policy created through an amendment to the *Act on Equal Employment* that changed into the *Act on Equal Employment and Support for Work-Family Reconciliation*.

The mainstreaming of the feminist agenda contains both potential and

¹ The child care budget was increased from 145 billion won in 2000 to 600 billion won in 2005, and in 2014 it reached 5.3 trillion won (Kim et al. 2015, pp. 22-3).

danger in terms of transformation of gender relations. On the one hand, it can provide opportunities to more effectively address issues of gender inequality by encouraging actors with more financial, organizational, and human resources to lead the agenda, when compared with the potential of feminists existing outside the state. On the other hand, such mainstreaming of an apparently feminist policy agenda where political agents act with interests other than gender equality could weaken core feminist politics and limit the introduction of any reformative policy. It also involves the danger of contributing to the reproduction of the unequal norms and values of the mainstream. It is expected that the political ideologies of the mainstreaming policy actors and the opportunities of feminist movements to access the institutional policies bring about differences to the extent of possibilities and limitations. However, despite the differences in political actors, the dominant norms and values that the state has historically pursued at length also operate as an important factor for gender equality.

In this context, we examine differences and similarities of the work and family policy frames between the Roh Moo-hyun government and the Lee Myung-bak government, the two politically opposing governments after the emergence of work and family policy as a way to deal with the social problems of low fertility and aging population. There is an interesting contrast between the two governments in relation to the goal of this research. The Roh Moo-hyun administration, the first government to raise the work and family issue as a national agenda, was feminist friendly and socially progressive (Kim and Kim 2014). Having won the election with the support of those who were involved in the Korea's democratization movements in 1980s, President Roh appointed individuals who had historically been involved in the feminist movement as the heads of the Ministry of Gender Equality. Cooperating with feminist groups, the Roh government realized a progressive feminist agenda, including the abolition of the family-head system² and the enactment of the *ACT ON THE PREVENTION OF SEXUAL TRAFFIC AND PROTECTION, ETC. OF VICTIMS* (Kim 2009; Kim and Kim 2014). The subsequent Lee Myung-bak government was business-friendly and market-oriented. It was backed by right-wing conservative groups, which opposed the democratization movement groups. In its initial years, the Lee government attempted to abolish the Ministry of Gender

² The family head-system refers to the patrilineal Korean family system that prior to the mid-2000s bureaucratically, legally and socially recognized only the eldest male within a given family unit as responsible for the family group.

Equality as part of its effort to create 'a small but efficient practical national government' but following a strong opposition from feminist groups ended only reducing it. However, in policy-making, the Lee government excluded feminist groups and banded together with conservative women's groups (Shin 2011).

There are two main research concerns. The first is to analyze the differences of the work and family policy frames propagated by the two politically different governments, and investigate the implications of these frames for gender relations. The other is to identify the attributes of the 'deep meaning system' (Bacchi 2009, p. 24) that was consistently rooted across both governments, and critically reveal the limitations of the work and family policy as a way to deal with the national agenda of low fertility and population aging, following feminist perspectives.

This study therefore attempts to address the following questions: In relation to the first concern of the study, how does the work and family policy frame of the apparently feminist-friendly progressive government differ from that of the conservative government that excluded feminist groups? What general assumptions about gender division of labor underlie the work and family policy, and what implications do these have for the changes of gender relations? How could the differences between the two governments be explained? In relation to the second concern, what are the common dominant discourses affecting the work and family policy frames of the two governments, and how do these prevent the production of policies that could bring about a radical change of gender relations in South Korea?

This paper consists of six sections. Having discussed the outline of the study above in the introduction, section two discusses the theoretical frameworks of gender perspectives in work and family policy and the critical policy frame analysis. The third outlines the data and research methods, before the fourth moves on to demonstrate the results of the frame analysis on the public speeches made by the high-ranking decision makers from the two governments. The fifth section is the discussion of the results, followed by the implications for the feminist movement that are derived from the research.

Theoretical Framework

Work and Family Policy and Gender

Work and family balance is a multidimensional agenda within which various policy targets and objectives intersect. The various targets include women with double burden of work and family that feminist movements have long paid attention to, as well as diverse group interests such as male workers, children, the disabled, old people, and sick people (Wisensale 2001). In a democratic society, it is also within this field that fierce political debates amongst businesses, unions, political parties, and feminist movements occur, addressed to the adoption and development of the relevant policy to suit their demands. The objectives and instruments for a work and family policy have diverse focal points that intersect with other policies including those concerning family, labor market, elderly, childcare, and population. They change depending on the national macro-societal environments, historical paths of policy development, political opportunity structures, and political power structure of those involved in the policy processes.

However, work and family balance is fundamentally a core concept of gender policy. Feminists have considered work and family balance as an issue of gendered social relations, and have continuously criticized the problems of gender inequality in the family and the labor market. From the industrial period onward, work and family have become spheres separated in relation to the gendered division between paid labor and unpaid labor, and this divide has worked as the main mechanism for the unequal distribution of societal roles and resources. The social order has become organized by the assumption that women will fulfill the care needs that every human being necessarily encounters throughout their life-course. This operates to directly restrict women's position within the paid labor market and adversely affect women's economic independence and freedom. Women's economic dependency on men has weakened their bargaining power within the household, while men's dependency on women's caring has privileged them in this power imbalance (Tronto 2013).

As women's participation in the labor market has increased, the conflict surrounding the balanced responsibilities of work and family also has grown. However, the experiences of such conflict are not gender symmetric. Women experience more conflicts in respect of work and family balance than men, and they are much more vulnerable economically due to having to undertake

unstable employment such as part time jobs, as a result of this imbalance. This is because the increased participation of women in the labor market and their consequent contribution to the family income do not correspond to men assuming a greater share of responsibility for caring for children and family members. Women are now more burdened with family care and paid work due to the delay in encouraging male members of the family to equally assume the burden of care work (Lewis 2009).

Lewis conceptualizes work and family policies since the late 1990s at the EU level as an instrumentalist, and employment-driven approach, which only aim to promote women's participation in the market. In line with the wider welfare state restructuring in the EU, a work and family policy was integrated into the employment-led social policy, targeting economic growth and market competitiveness (Lewis 2009). The feminist potential that work and family policies originally had, namely the concern to share family responsibilities between women and men, have become marginalized within the issue of facilitating and encouraging women's employment, as part of the European Employment Strategy (Lewis 2009). This implies that the goal of gender equality through dismantling gender division of labor is replaced by a market-oriented objective of market competitiveness and job creation (Stratigaki 2004). European feminist researchers criticize work and family policy for its de-gendered and de-politicized characteristics, arguing that work and family policies that target the increase of women's employment through flexible working environments do not challenge the gender division of labor and stereotypes perpetuated within the existing family structure (Stratigaki 2004; Jalušič 2009; Lewis 2009). Work and family policies are considered as only women's issues, while little attention is paid to men's role and responsibility within the family. Furthermore, Lewis argues that attention is paid to care-giving in policy decisions only insofar as it affects achievement of employment goals; and that policies that merely raise women's employment rates devalue caring despite it being a universal human need and desire, and make women's position within the labor market more vulnerable (Lewis 2009).

Critical Policy Frame Analysis

This study is based on a discursive politics approach, which emerged in relation to criticism of the limitations of the rational approaches based on positivism that viewed policy problems as existing objectively outside policy processes, within which the best collective decisions could be possibly

achieved (Hastings 1998; Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998; Bacchi 1999; Lombardo, Meier, and Verloo 2009; Zittoun 2009; Shim, Park, and Wilding 2015). Traditional approaches to policy have tended to focus on what the most rational choices are amongst various policy alternatives in a specific policy goal, or how to solve the conflicts that arise in relation to diverse interests and values, through a rational political process (Bacchi 1999; Shim et al. 2015). However, in taking for granted the policy problems as given rather than constructed, such approaches have limitations in not being able to consider the influence of discursive and political power relations in the policy-making processes. In contrast, the discursive politics approach is particularly suited to exploring the way power works in the policy-making process and leads us to reflect the normative implications for gendered power relations in society (Lombardo et al. 2009). As Lombardo and others have indicated, the meaning of gender equality as a political and policy concept changes dynamically through connecting to various political and policy objectives 'in its journeys through times and places' (Lombardo et al. 2009, p. 1).

The discursive politics approach concentrates on representation of policy problems and its normative effects. We view a policy as a product of political processes constructed by political actors who have access to unequal resources, as opposed to being the result of a rational decision making process. The problems that any given policy is attempting to address cannot exist as an objective unchangeable matter. Policy issues and interests consistently alter along with the intentional or unintentional framings made by the main agents involved in the policy processes, and are affected by the dominant discourses that serve to produce and constrain available truth at specific points in time and place (Lombardo et al. 2009). Discourse, as a system of thought that confines frames and ways of viewing policy issues (Bacchi 2009) influences the construction of the policy's meaning, and the languages that people with power use themselves have normative and material impacts.

Critical policy frame analysis as a discursive politics approach was theorized by European gender equality policy researchers (Verloo 2005; Verloo and Lombardo 2007; Bustelo and Verloo 2006; Lombardo et al. 2009). Generally, the notion of a frame refers to an interpretive scheme that people use to make sense of the world (Triandafyllidou and Fotiou 1998). This kind of interpretive frame can serve 'to organize experience and guide action' (Benford and Snow 2000, p. 614), cognitively order events and relate them to one another (Ferree and Merrill 2000, p. 456), and as an "interpretative

package” that has internal structure organizing core ideas (Ferree 2003, p. 308). If a frame is a ‘snapshot’, framing is the process of producing meaning through interactions amongst participants (Benford and Snow 2000, p. 614; Oliver and Johnston 2000, p. 42; Ferree and Merrill 2000, p. 456). As actors involved in the policy process constantly change and negotiate intentionally or unintentionally, a policy frame can be considered as consistently changing and not fixed.

Policy frames, by choosing and emphasizing particular elements from the diverse aspects of reality, construct reality and produce the meanings of the policy. Identical concepts or languages can, for instance, change their meanings depending on the principles of organizing and arranging them. Policy frames as the products of discursive politics are the outcomes of the cognitive struggles surrounding meanings constructed by diverse actors, but the framing process does not always assume the actors’ intentions (Bacchi 2009; Verloo and Lombardo 2007). Frames can also reflect deep cultural meaning or deep-seated presuppositions, and the important purpose of a policy frame analysis is to reveal the normative assumptions and meanings implicit in the construction of the policy. Disclosing unconscious assumptions underlying policy frames is therefore equivalent to revealing the ways that dominant discourses work, exposing the voices and ideas that dominate policy meanings, and the voices and ideas that are excluded and marginalized (Verloo 2005, p. 18; Verloo and Lombardo 2007, p. 34). Such approach to policy allows us to critically reflect on the effects of unconscious dominant discourses that actors do not realize, and by thinking outside of dominant discourses provides a starting point to imagine the reformative alternatives that could ultimately change iniquitous power relations.

Data and Methodology

Data

This study analyzes the public speeches³ made by the high-ranking decision makers such as presidents, prime ministers, and ministers and vice ministers from 2003 to 2012. The text of speeches was collected from the official

³ Policy frame analysis normally uses public documents such as white papers, but this research used public speeches because the official documents created by the Korean government tend to focus on outcomes and thus do not contain sufficient information about policy ideas.

government websites; Policy Briefings designed to promote government policy that is run by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism,⁴ the website of the Prime Minister,⁵ and the website of the Ministry of Gender Equality,⁶ which produces the largest amount of discourses regarding the work and family balance policies⁷. Within each website, we searched the key words including ‘women’, ‘women’s economic activity’, ‘women’s employment’, ‘work and family balance’, ‘work and family reconciliation’, ‘childcare’, ‘caring’, ‘motherhood protection’, ‘family friendly’, and ‘family-friendly business’. Initially we collected 119 public speeches, 41 from the Roh government (2003-2007) and 78 from the Lee government (2008-2012). As we went through the materials, we selected the public speeches that contained contents directly related to work and family balance issues. Finally 97 announcements have been included for the final analysis, consisting of 38 from the Roh government and 59 from the Lee government (See Appendix 1 for specific information about the speeches).⁸

Methodology

There are many methodologies⁹ to detect frames in text data (Matthes and Kohring 2008; David, Atun, Fille, and Monterola 2011; Shim et al. 2015), but no dominant methodology exists so far. This study employs a semantic network analysis, which is based on the theories and methodologies of social network analysis. Semantic network analysis is advantageous because of its ability to combine quantitative and qualitative methods for identifying policy frames. On the one hand, it objectively identifies the central concepts in a

⁴ <http://www.korea.kr/main.do> date of searching 2015.8.18.

⁵ http://pmo.go.kr/pmo/prime/prime03_03.jsp date of searching 2015.8.19.

⁶ http://www.mogef.go.kr/korea/view/intro/intro02_01_03.jsp date of searching 2015.8.20.

⁷ Following *the Government Organization Act*, there have been multiple changes of the name of the ministry responsible for gender equality issues including the Ministry of Gender Equality and the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. The current official title is the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. In this paper, we use the Ministry of Gender Equality.

⁸ The smaller number of announcements made by the Roh government compared with those of the Lee government is due to the duration difference where each government focuses on work and family balance as policy agenda. Discussions of work and family policy began within the Roh government’s early to mid period. The Lee government, on the other hand, emphasized work and family policy as the major issue of gender equality policy from the very beginning.

⁹ Matthes and Kohring (2008) divide frame analysis into 5 different approaches: a hermeneutic approach, a linguistic approach, a manual holistic approach, a computer-assisted approach, and a deductive approach.

given network using quantitative measurements, which helps to overcome the issues of subjectivity that qualitative frame analysis is often criticized for. On the other hand, it is also based on qualitative frame analysis in searching for hidden meanings through the process of human interpretation of connected concepts, which complements the weak points of quantitative analysis, that is, its over-dependency on specific words and terms while neglecting contexts (Shim et al. 2015). For this reason, since early 2010 within the Korean academic community, studies utilizing semantic network analysis for policy frame analysis have increased in diverse policy fields including spectrum policy (Kim, Choi, and Lee 2010), nuclear energy policy (Shim 2011; Shim et al. 2015), and economic policy (Cha and Kweon 2015). The method and methodology of this study are detailed as follows.

As the first step, we selected meaningful paragraphs from each of the given announcements and coded words with similar meanings through content analysis. 123 paragraphs were selected from the Roh government's speeches and 195 paragraphs were selected from the Lee government's. Researchers repeatedly read the speeches and discussed what would count as words with similar meanings for the coding process. 17 categories were taken from the Roh government's speeches and 22 categories from the Lee government's. For example, from the selected paragraphs, words such as 'low fertility', 'low birth rates', 'low fertility/aging', and 'aging society and low fertility' are categorized as 'low fertility and aging'. National goals related to the economy such as 'national competitiveness', 'potential economic growth rate', 'new economic growth strategy', and 'economic growth' are combined as the category 'economic growth/national competitiveness'. When necessary, we chose sentences or phrases rather than words to categorize. For example, phrases including 'childbirth and caring are the women and family's burden', and 'parents' childcare burden' are categorized as 'childcare burden for women and family'. We use the software package Atlas.ti 7.5 for the content analysis on the texts.

As the second step, we created a symmetric co-occurrence matrix that shows frequencies of all the pairs of concepts within one paragraph. In semantic network analysis, a concept, which is a combination of one or more words, acts as the node in social network analysis. The relationship between two concepts is equivalent to the edge or tie in social network analysis. If two or more concepts appear simultaneously within one sentence or paragraph, these concepts are considered connected (Shim 2011; Vogel 2012; Kim 2015; Shim et al. 2015). By applying such social network analysis, we could analyze central concepts and the meanings created through connected concepts in

the decision makers' speeches on work and family balance. To reveal the core concepts within the relational structures of various concepts, we conducted the network coreness and centrality analysis. Next, to identify latent semantic structure underlying the relational patterns amongst central concepts, we conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis, before creating a two-dimensional map to visualize the distances between the concepts. For richer interpretations of the meaning structures of the connected concepts, we cited the source data that included typically repeating relations between concepts. As the quantitative estimations of network analysis are not able to provide interpretations of meanings constructed through relations amongst concepts, it is essential to include researchers' qualitative interpretations in semantic network analysis (Drieger 2013).

For the analysis of core/periphery and centrality, and the visualization of the semantic network map, we used the software package UCINET 6. We utilized degree centrality and eigenvector centrality¹⁰ as centrality measures. SPSS package was used to conduct the cluster analysis and the multidimensional scale analysis.

Results

Work and Family Policy Frame of the Roh Government

The 8 concepts that are most frequently mentioned and centrally positioned in the semantic network of the Roh government's work and family policy are: women's economic participation, childcare provision, low fertility and aging, utilization of women's human resources, work and family balance, economic growth/national competitiveness, gender equality, and advanced country. Along with concepts that reflect the feminists' demands such as women's participation in the economic activity, childcare provision, and gender equality, there coexist the instrumentalist concepts related to the national crisis and goals, such as utilization of women's human resources, low fertility and aging, economic growth/national competitiveness, and advanced

¹⁰ Degree centrality is measured as the numbers of nodes directly connected, and the more other nodes that a given node is connected to, the higher the centrality measure becomes. Eigenvector centrality is calculated through not only the numbers of connected nodes but also reflecting the connectivity with the influential nodes. Higher degree centrality is interpreted as having higher local power, whereas higher eigenvector centrality is considered as to have more influential within the entire network.

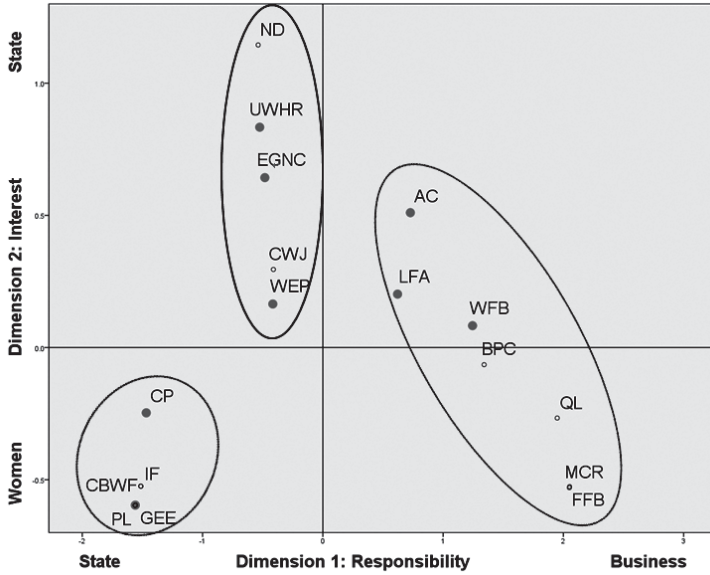
TABLE 1
OCCURRENCE AND CENTRALITY OF THE CONCEPTS WITHIN THE ROH
GOVERNMENT

Concepts (abbreviations)	Occurrence	Coreness*	Centrality**	
			Degree	Eigenvector
Women's economic participation (WEP)	47	1	6.313	63.626
Childcare provision (CP)	48	1	5.375	51.920
Low fertility/aging (LFA)	35	1	5.250	51.541
Utilization of women's human resources (UWHR)	28	1	4.313	47.689
Work-family balance (WFB)	27	1	4.813	45.246
Economic growth/National competitiveness (EGNC)	25	1	3.500	37.809
Gender equality (GEE)	22	1	3.625	35.855
Advanced country (AC)	21	1	3.563	35.144
Caring burden of women and family (CBWF)	18	0	2.125	23.954
National development (ND)	12	0	1.688	20.089
Quality of life (QL)	14	0	2.375	17.979
Men's childcare responsibility (MCR)	13	0	2.125	17.039
Creating women's jobs (CWJ)	11	0	1.250	14.210
Family-friendly business (FFB)	10	0	1.813	13.724
Business productivity/Competitiveness (BPC)	7	0	1.688	13.291
Parental leave (PL)	6	0	1.375	12.311
Investment of the future (IF)	5	0	0.438	4.308

* 0=periphery, 1=core

** normalized measures

country. Apart from childcare provision, other concepts and policy instruments for work and family policy that have implications for the transformation of gender division within family, such as men's childcare



* Stress=0.0664 RSQ=0.9828

Fig. 1.—MDS Mapping of 17 concepts under the Roh Government

responsibility, parental leave, and family-friendly businesses, are located in the periphery (see table 1).

The semantic network map¹¹ that visualizes the relational patterns amongst concepts shows women’s economic participation, the most influential concept of all, is strongly connected to the instrumentalist concepts of low fertility and aging, economic growth and national competitiveness, utilization of women’s human resources, and childcare provision as a policy instrument (see appendix 2).

<Figure 1> is the Multi-Dimensional Scale (MDS) map that visualizes the results of hierarchical cluster analysis on the two dimensional space. Results of the hierarchical cluster analysis indicate that 17 concepts are classified into three clusters.

The first cluster consists of 5 concepts, including national development, utilization of women’s human resources, economic growth/national

¹¹ The size of the node in the networks is positively proportional to the values of eigenvectors, while the strength of the tie is positively proportional to the frequencies of co-occurrences amongst concepts. The larger the value of node is, the more influential it is within the semantic networks, and the thicker the tie is, the more intimately connected the two concepts are.

competitiveness, creating women's jobs, and women's economic participation. The second cluster includes 7 concepts, including advanced country, low fertility/aging, work and family balance, business productivity/competitiveness, quality of life, men's childcare responsibility, and family-friendly business. The third cluster contains 5 concepts, including childcare provision, investment of the future, caring burden of women and family, parental leave, and gender equality.

The MDS results show the moderate level of Kruskal's stress value (0.0664), indicating a moderate level of the goodness-of-fit, while the proportion of variance of the disparities accounted for by the MDS procedure shows a high level of 98% (RSQ=0.983). In the dispersions of concepts located in the two-dimensional space, the X-axis can be interpreted as who are considered responsible for the work and family balance issues, whereas Y-axis can be interpreted as whose interests are reflected in the work and family balance issues. In the X-axis, the more it goes left from the center (0), the more the concepts tend to emphasize state responsibility or intervention in work and family balance issue, while the more it goes to right, the more the concepts stress corporate responsibility in it. On the Y-axis, the greater the positive number is, the more the concepts emphasize state/national interests, whereas the greater the negative number is, the more the concepts reflect women's interests.

Overall, highly influential concepts tend to be mainly located in the first and the second quadrant, reflecting 'national interests' rather than 'women's interests', while a few of the concepts are located in the third quadrant, indicating national support for the 'women's interests'. There are also concepts in the fourth quadrant in which women's interests and corporate responsibility crisscross, but these are not the influential concepts within the entire network.

In terms of characteristics of each cluster, the first cluster located in the second quadrant can be defined as 'instrumentalist utilization of women'. Looking at the relationships amongst central concepts that have bigger effects within the entire network, women's economic participation is closely connected to the utilization of women's human resources and economic growth/national competitiveness. Women's economic participation is considered as 'the key engine of growth for the low fertility and aging society'¹² by a top-level decision-maker. The low economic participation rate for female college graduates is used to provide evidence of the inadequate use

¹² The Commemoration Speech of the Prime Minister at the 12th Women's Week. July 4, 2007.

of the nation's 'highly educated women's human resources' to the extent that is 'worrying in terms of the national competitiveness in the future'.¹³ Therefore, the utilization of women's human resources and the expansion of women's economic participation are considered as key tasks to aid economic growth and strengthening of national competitiveness. The president as well as the prime ministers and ministers/vice-ministers all emphasize that utilizing women's human resources and economic participation are mandatory to achieve the goal of 'per capita national income of 20,000 USD' and raise 'the national competitiveness'¹⁴ set by the Roh government.

The second cluster widely located in first and fourth quadrant can be called 'work and family balance as a way to solve low fertility/aging population'. The concepts related to corporate responsibility have been included in this cluster, but most of them are marginalized to the degree that they have little impact on meaning construction within the entire network. The central meanings produced in this cluster mainly come from the combined relationships amongst work and family balance, low fertility/aging, and advanced country. That the concept of low fertility and aging and that of advanced country are related can be seen through phrases such as 'we need to urgently solve the low fertility issue... to become an advanced economy',¹⁵ a task for us 'on the verge of threshold of becoming an advanced country to 'urgently solve',¹⁶ 'The lowest fertility rate amongst OECD member countries', 'Women's employment rate and fertility rate are positively associated as seen in the other OECD countries', and 'those countries who had earlier similarly experienced low fertility problems'. In these statements, the issues of low fertility and aging society are put forward as problems in need of urgent address as they offer obstructive factors to South Korea becoming an advanced country. Furthermore, the assumption is that the problems that Korea now encounters can be overcome by learning from the past experiences of other advanced countries that earlier went through low fertility rate crises similarly.

Finally, the third cluster that contains concepts directly related to the national support for childcare and women's interests can be titled 'childcare

¹³ The Words of encouragement of the Minister of Education at the Spring Scholarly Meetings of the Korean Federation of Women Professors. June 3rd, 2005.

¹⁴ The Commemoration Speech of the Minister of Gender Equality at the 9th Women's Week. July, 2, 2004.

¹⁵ 2006 The Presidential Budget Address at the National Assembly. October 12, 2005.

¹⁶ The Commemoration Speech of the Minister of Gender Equality at the 12th Women's Week. July 4, 2007.

support for gender equality' given the connections among highly influential concepts. Childcare provision is mentioned to 'promote women's rights', as a policy to achieve 'genuine gender equality', and the issues of low fertility are seen to be resolvable through 'women's status improvement', and 'family, workplace, and social environments that are more gender equal'.

Work and Family Policy Frame of the Lee Government

The nine concepts that are the most centrally positioned in the semantic network of the Lee government's work and family policy are: women's economic participation, work and family balance, career discontinuity, family friendly businesses, economic growth/national competitiveness, low fertility/aging, flexible working arrangements, the utilization of the women's human resources, and advanced country.

The Lee government is similar to the Roh government in that women's economic participation is the most influential concept, but is different in terms of the policy instruments favored to achieve this. The mentioning of childcare provision is visibly less frequent, and it becomes marginalized in the network together with gender equality. Instead career discontinuity, family friendly businesses, and flexible working arrangements are moved to the center. The focus of work and family policy remains women's economic participation. However, now the primary concern lies in supporting the prevention of career discontinuity, women's reemployment, the creation of family friendly business environments, and an increase in part-time employment and flexible working arrangements. The labor market problems including employment discrimination against women and long working hours, which work against women's economic participation, are newly mentioned but located in the periphery in the network along with other policy instruments such as men's childcare responsibility and parental leave (see table 2).

Despite these differences, instrumentalist concepts such as low fertility and aging, economic growth/national competitiveness, advanced country, and the utilization of women's human resources, which were centralized within the Roh government's policy, remain as core interests under the Lee government.

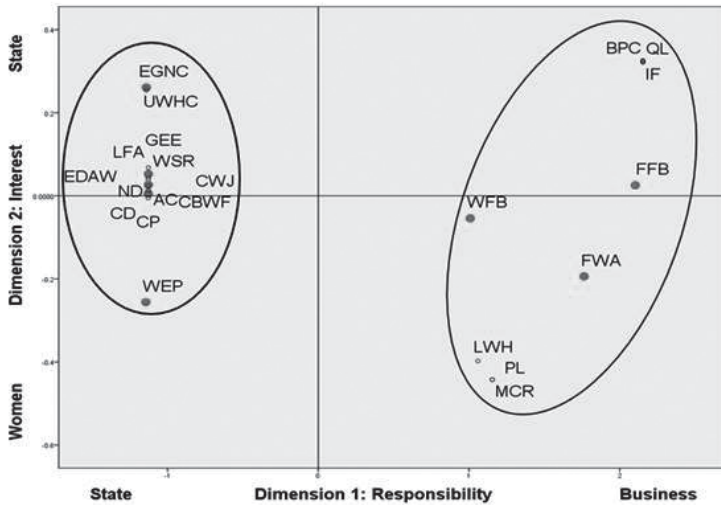
The semantic network map represents that women's economic participation continues to be closely connected to the state's primary goals of economic growth/national competitiveness, the response to crisis of low fertility and aging, and becoming an advanced country. However, corporate

TABLE 2
OCCURRENCE AND CENTRALITY OF THE CONCEPTS WITHIN THE LEE
GOVERNMENT

Concepts (Abbreviations)	Occurrence	Coreness*	Centrality**	
			Degree	Eigenvector
Women's economic participation (WEP)	83	1	8.619	73.100
Work-family Balance (WFB)	48	1	5.476	53.435
Career discontinuity (CD)	30	1	3.619	41.369
Family friendly Businesses (FFB)	50	1	4.429	39.250
Economic growth/National competitiveness (EGNC)	43	1	3.333	39.028
Low Fertility/Aging (LFA)	33	1	3.524	38.214
Flexible working arrangements (FWA)	33	1	3.238	35.362
Utilization of women's Human Resources (UWHR)	39	1	3.190	34.001
Advanced country (AC)	31	1	3.143	32.095
Caring burden of women and family (CBWF)	20	0	2.190	23.847
Gender equality (GEE)	24	0	2.095	19.961
Creating women's jobs (CWJ)	11	0	1.095	14.486
Business productivity/Competitiveness (BPC)	15	0	1.476	13.001
Quality of life (QL)	12	0	1.381	12.233
Employment discrimination against women (EDAW)	12	0	1.048	12.018
Long working hours (LWH)	10	0	1.048	11.621
National development (ND)	10	0	1.000	11.084
Childcare provision (CP)	9	0	0.810	9.248
Women's self-realization (WSR)	6	0	0.619	7.385
Men's childcare responsibility (MCR)	7	0	0.762	6.499
Parental leaves (PL)	5	0	0.571	5.246
Investment for the future (IF)	6	0	0.667	4.611

* 0=periphery, 1=core

** normalized measures



* Stress=0.0966 RSQ=0.9850

FIG. 2.—MDS Mapping of 22 concepts under the Lee Government

related concepts such as family-friendly business and flexible working hours that were marginalized in the Roh government, as well as the concept of career discontinuity, emerged as a new policy area, are closely related to women's economic participation (see appendix 3).

Hierarchical cluster analysis reveals two major clusters out of 22 concepts (see figure 2). The first cluster comprises of 13 concepts, including economic growth/national competitiveness, utilization of women's human resources, low fertility and aging, advanced country, career discontinuity, women's economic participation, and so on. The second cluster comprises 9 concepts including family-friendly business, work and family balance, flexible working arrangements, long working hours, business productivity/competitiveness, and so on.

The MDS results show the moderate level of Kruskal's stress value (0.0966), indicating a moderate level of the goodness-of-fit, while the proportion of variance of the disparities accounted for by the MDS procedure shows a high level of 99% (RSQ=0.985). The two-dimensional space can be interpreted similarly to that of the Roh government. Again, the X-axis can be interpreted as subjects of responsibility, whilst the Y-axis indicates subjects of interests in the work and family balance issue. Overall, multiple concepts are concentrated on the second quadrant, meaning 'national responsibility and

interests'. The rest of them are loosely located in the first and fourth quadrant of corporate responsibility, but the core concepts are positioned in the crisscross of women's interests and corporate responsibility. There is only the concept of women's economic participation in the third quadrant, indicating 'national support for the women's interests'.

The first cluster located in the second and third quadrant is almost analogous to the first cluster of the Roh government titled 'instrumentalist utilization of women.' Women continue to be considered 'the new engine of growth in the face of low fertility and aging society'¹⁷ by a top-level decision-maker. In this regard, it is stressed that 'We need to expand women's economic participation more than anything in order to overcome economic crisis and establish foundations for sustainable growth, as 'the experiences of the advanced countries' well demonstrate.' The concepts of 'sustainable growth' and 'green growth' form the Lee government's primary political rhetoric on economic development, equivalent to Roh's 'per capita national income of 20,000 USD'. The women's contribution to the economic growth was stressed to the degree that 'The facilitation of the women's economic participation toward sustainable growth' was featured as the theme of the Women's Week in 2009.

Following the relationship amongst the most influential concepts, the second cluster, located in the first and fourth quadrant, can be titled 'corporate responsibility for work and family balance.' The emphasis point in the work and family policy is moved to flexible working arrangements and family friendly businesses. Creating family friendly working environments and culture to prevent women from leaving the workplace due to childbirth and caring, and supporting women's reemployment through various flexible working arrangements such as part-time, telecommuting, and flexible hours become the core instruments of the work and family policy. The responsibility for the issues of work and family policy now lies in corporations and the labor market, shifted from the emphasis within the Roh administration on the role of the state's social responsibility to provide childcare. The Minister of Employment and Labor in this context is tasked with persuading businesses to 'create many jobs that are compatible with work and family balance, such as part time and telecommuting, rather than favoring women who can work full time',¹⁸ and the Minister of Gender

¹⁷ The Commemoration Speech of the Minister of Gender Equality at the 13th Women's Week, July 3rd, 2008.

¹⁸ The Speech of the Minister of Employment and Labor at the Gender Equal Employment Week, April 1st, 2009.

Equality in its many agreement ceremonies with corporations that are the family friendly businesses constantly states that it would help 'businesses to create a better work culture in order to be better workplaces for women.'¹⁹

Discussion

Differences in Policy frames and Gender Norms between two governments

The most distinguishable difference in the work and family policy frames between the two governments lies in the subjects of changes and emphasis points of policy instruments in work and family balance. Childcare provision under the Roh government was the centrally important policy instrument. Childcare was considered to be a public service area where the state and society should share the responsibility, as opposed to remaining the responsibility of the individual family.²⁰ In contrast, under the Lee government the policy was used to encourage a changing of the working and employment environments through the creation of family friendly business and the expansion of the flexible working arrangements.²¹ The responsibility for the issues of work and family policy now lies with corporations and the labor market, shifted from the emphasis within the Roh administration on the role of the state's social responsibility to provide childcare. The second difference is in the centrality of gender equality. Under the Roh government, gender equality was not the most influential concept in its policy frame, but was centrally located in the semantic network, being the crucial foundation for introducing childcare provision. In contrast, under the Lee government, gender equality became marginalized, and was shifted to the subcategories under other concepts related to national goals such as economic growth/national competitiveness and advanced country.

¹⁹ The Congratulatory Message of the Minister of Gender Equality at the Agreement Ceremony of Women Friendly Businesses with SK Telecom. February 25th, 2009.

²⁰ Although the childcare policy under the Roh government was criticized as making insufficient effort to encourage public responsibility for caring due to a high dependence on a private supply of services (Song 2014), there is no dispute that it promoted the de-familialization of caring.

²¹ The subsequent Lee government continuously expanded childcare support, but its meaning was now changed. Childcare policy did not represent the means to the de-familialization of childcare but was instead a cash support policy that was designed to lessen the financial burden of the household (Song 2014). The introduction of a childcare allowance for families who did not use state provided childcare facilities demonstrates the changed characteristics of the Lee administration's policy on child care.

Such differences between the two governments contain gaps in their normative implications on gender relations. If we view the Roh government's policy to have normative implications for women to transform into workers through a de-familialization of childcare, which had long been considered the primary responsibility of women, that of the Lee government implies the women's normative role now as both children's care-givers, and as workers to be enabled through flexible employment practices. Whilst the work and family policy under the Roh government is characterized as an instrumentalist utilization of women to achieve mainstream political goals, it also implies gender norms that call for changes in women's traditional responsibility through an expansion of childcare services. Meanwhile, under the Lee government, the strong connectivity among work and family balance and flexible working arrangements assumes the norm that women are responsible as both care-givers for family members and workers in the labor market. Although 'Purple Jobs' in which workers can work by the hours and use their hours flexibly were promoted as the jobs that enable work and family balance for 'workers', the gender neutral term,²² the work and family policy has now become a policy that encourages 'women to take care of both work and family'.²³ The prior implicitly endorses 'the universal breadwinner family model' and the latter the '1.5 breadwinner family model'.

How can we explain the differences between the two governments? We argue that the following three factors brought about the differences in the meaning construction of work and family balance policy: the ideologies regarding social policy, the characteristics of the organizations and actors that were involved in constructing the meaning of the policy, and their degrees of coalition with the feminist movement.

Firstly, in terms of the ideologies regarding social policy, the Roh government pursued a policy line conceived as a 'virtuous circle of growth and welfare' to expand state welfare. This particularly served to improve a social service policy that previously lagged behind the social insurance system and public assistance (Seong 2014, pp. 90-8). The expansion of childcare policy that accompanied a radical increase in the policy budget was part of these efforts. On the other hand, having taken power with its so-called '747 promise'²⁴ highlighted as a policy directive, the Lee government was a

²² The Congratulatory Message of the Minister of Gender Equality at the Next Generation Women Leader Conference. November 25th, 2009.

²³ The Congratulatory Message of the President at the 50th anniversary of Korean National Council of Women. November 3rd, 2009.

²⁴ This means 7% annual economic growth, 40,000 USD income per capita within 10 years, and

growth-oriented, business friendly government. Due to the path-dependency of the policy as continuing from the previous government, it was not able to shrink established welfare policy (Seong 2014, pp. 103-10), but it accelerated new labor market policy that was pro-business. This aimed to achieve job creation and a surge in the employment rate through flexible working hours and the expansion of temporary work positions. Women's economic participation was part of these employment policy efforts, and, as such, was only used as a tool to attain employment targets through the expansion of the part-time labor and the activation of a previously inactive sector of the population within the workforce.

Secondly, the differences between the two governments could be explained by the role allotted to the Ministry of Gender Equality, as the principal actor producing work and family discourses, and in its status amongst other national bureaucratic bodies. Under the Roh government, childcare policy was transferred from the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and Welfare to the Ministry of Gender Equality,²⁵ on the basis of the argument that approaching childcare issues from a gender perspective was necessary to avoid simply maintaining childcare as the responsibility of women. The fact that the Ministers appointed by Roh all had experience in the feminist movement also explains how the concept of gender equality became central within the administration's work and family policy. On the other hand, the Lee government transferred childcare policy back to the Ministry of Health and Welfare, and reduced the scale and functions of the Ministry of Gender Equality. The new core tasks that were assigned to the Ministry of Gender Equality included promoting a family friendly business culture and supporting women whose careers had been disrupted due to their family responsibilities. This resulted in the issue of childcare work becoming marginalized, and the issues of family friendly business practice and career discontinuity becoming significantly more important. Flexible working arrangements, however, cannot be explained fully within the context of this change of responsibility for the Ministry of Gender Equality. Flexible working arrangements that were linked to a change of working hours was emphasized as a policy instrument within the Ministry of Gender Equality, although this had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Employment and Labor. This implies that the work and family policy of the

entrance to the Group of Seven advanced economies.

²⁵ It was also part of the strategic choice to enhance the rather weak status and power of the Ministry of Gender Equality within the government organizations.

Ministry of Gender Equality was subordinated to the employment policy of the Ministry of Employment and Labor which focused on the improvement of employment rate through flexible working arrangements, which the Lee government stressed the most.

Thirdly, the differences between the two governments' emphasis points in policy are rooted in the extent of the coalition each government had with the feminist movement. The Roh government maintained a close and cooperative relationship with feminist movement groups as policy partners. <The coalition meetings for the low fertility and population aging> organized to create a consensus on the problems of low fertility and aging population had co-chairs that included those from feminist groups, along with governments, unions, and corporations. As a result, the vocabulary used by Korean feminists to demand 'the enforcing of the social responsibility of childbirth and caring' are reflected in the decision makers' speeches. Decision makers recognize childcare provision as a tool to de-familialization of childcare, as shown by their remarks, 'childbirth and caring are no longer the responsibility of women or family'²⁶ and 'we are now moving forward from the past where childbirth and caring were considered individual responsibilities.'²⁷ In contrast, the Lee government excluded feminist movements from its policy process, and cooperated with conservative women's groups. Conservative women's groups, not being able to work as an axis of the policy making process, were mobilized to promote its government policy through campaigns such as 'G-Korea, the World Women Draw' that promoted the green growth movement and green life and culture. Their work was limited to providing uncritical support for the government rather than acting as a strategic joint partner to resolve gender inequality issues.

'Instrumentalist Women's Employment' Frame and The Discourse of Developmentalism

It should be noted that in spite of these clear differences, many concepts related to work and family policy in both governments had commonalities in that they implied 'instrumentalist utilization of women'. In other words, concepts that are related to women's interests were relatively less influential in the network or were marginalized. In both cases, women's economic

²⁶ The Commemoration Speech of the Minister of Gender Equality at the Low Birth-rate Problems Seminar. November 26, 2004.

²⁷ The Commemoration Speech of the Prime Minister at the Korea-Norway Work and Family Balance Seminar. May 9th, 2007.

participation was the central concept and was linked intimately with instrumentalist concepts, such as low fertility and aging, economic growth and national competitiveness, and the utilization of women's human resources as a means to become an advanced country. This suggests that in the ten years following the introduction of a state strategy to address the issue of low fertility and aging, work and family policy was trapped in the 'instrumentalist women's employment' frame.

The term 'Instrumentalist' captures the idea that the characteristics of work and family policy are constructed mainly around the nation's instrumental goals and incidents of national crisis rather than political/social values of gender equality. This seems to be similar to the Lewis' criticism on Europe's work and family policies since the late 1990s discussed above. Yet, Korea's 'instrumentalist' attributes are significantly different from those of Europe. The criticism of work and family policy suggested by Lewis was in relation to Europe's changing of the policy goals and instruments which deviated from the previous policies that explicitly targeted gender equality and equal gender division of labor, and moved towards the merging of such policies into the employment policy in the midst of social welfare reductions. In Korea, there has never been a case where policy supporting women's economic participation has set its goals explicitly as strengthening women's economic capacity or more equal gender division of labor. Rather, Korea's instrumentalist attributes of work and family policy were rooted in its history as a developing country that pursued a path of strong state-led industrialization.

We suggest that the instrumentalist women's employment frame reflects the dominant discourses of developmentalism that originated from Korea's developmental state experience in the 1960s–1970s. While the developmental state has now declined, developmentalism as a discourse (Kim 2014, p. 169) arguably remained to work as the values and norms that govern national goals as well as the rationales behind national policies. Kim defines developmentalism as 'the attitudes and discourses that prioritize a society's economic development through industrialization and economic growth over any other values' (Kim 2014, p. 168), and argues that the goal of becoming an 'advanced country' has consistently been the national target for every government and the underlying blueprint for Korean society.

There are two traces of developmentalism that can be seen within both of the two governments' meaning construction of work and family policy.

First, the results indicate that the two governments prioritized national economic growth over the value of gender equality itself. The concepts

related to national economic growth, such as economic development/national competitiveness and the need to become an advanced country, were centrally placed in the semantic network within both governments. The Roh government's 'per capita national income of 20,000 USD' and the Lee government's 'sustainable growth and development', and 'green growth' all demonstrate the unquestioned value attached to national economic growth, and the strong assumption that an 'advanced country', meaning a 'developed state' (Kim 2014, p. 172), should be the intended destiny of the state. Becoming an 'advanced country' through economic growth is the ultimate national goal that could be achieved only after overcoming the current crisis of low fertility and aging population. In this respect, the expansion of women's economic participation constituted an indispensable means to conquer the current crisis of low fertility, aging population, and economic downturn, and entering into the realm of 'advanced countries'.

The second element of evidence can be found in the centrality of women's human resources as essential for economic growth and national competitiveness. 'The development and utilization of women's human resources' is the concept that has continued since the advent of gender equality policy in the mid-1980s. It was this language that informed the creation of the <Women's Development Basic Plans>,²⁸ the first national plan of this sort, produced in 1985, designed to enable South Korea to join the UN's Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. The term 'women's development' demonstrates how the relationship between the state and women has been consistently connected through developmentalism discourses. The purpose of the <Framework Act on Women's Development> which had continued to provide the foundations for gender equality policy since the mid-1990s, was to 'promote women's development'. Its basic idea was 'to have both men and women participate in the development of the State and society and share responsibility through the promotion of gender equality'. The official objective of the gender equality policy was to have women 'participate in the development of the State and society' rather than attempt a redistribution of the unequal balance in power and resources between men and women. This phrase 'participate in the

²⁸ The first of five objectives of the <Women's Development Basic Plans> included "the maximum utilization of the women's human resources in every social area", and the second was to strive for "the utmost efforts to develop the women's ability to make infrastructures for the gender equality and women's higher status. 2 out of 3 strategies for the plans were "the utilization of the women's human resources" and "women's ability development"(Korean Women's Development Institute 1985, pp. 9-10).

development of the State and society' was removed from the official objectives, through which *Women's Development Basic Act* was replaced by the new *Framework Act on Gender Equality* in 2014. However, the language continues to inform the defining language of the relationship between the state and women in actual policy practice.

The Effects of Developmentalist Discourses

We argue that the developmentalism has worked as the dominant discourse, which limits policy development from enabling the equal division of labor between paid and unpaid work and changing the gendered social hierarchy. This was done by prioritizing instrumentalist values such as economic growth and development, and by excluding the thought that gender equality should itself become a value of the policy. The impacts of these discourses are listed as follows.

First, as mentioned earlier, under the developmentalist discourse, women's economic participation is not regarded as an issue of unequal distribution of economic resources by gender. Women's economic participation is dealt with as a tool to enable the national goal of becoming an advanced country and as an additional benefit of economic growth, but not in itself in relation to the stand-alone value of gender equality. The issue of women's fragile position within the labor market and the gender pay gap are marginalized, and never the core objective of the women's employment policy. Under the Lee government, the negative impacts of the instrumentalist values of women's economic participation were further exacerbated. Within the limited perspective of the Lee administration, women's economic participation was seen as an instrument to boost the employment rate, and women were considered as a low-income workforce flexibly utilizable depending on the needs of the capital.

The second impact is to prevent 'caring,' something crucially important in the issue of gender inequality, from being considered through a social justice perspective. Citizens are worth policy attention only when they are able to contribute to economic growth. It is argued that the national policy focused on the value of women as motors for new growth, and social support for children was considered as an investment in the national future. Conversely, the elderly and the disabled who are assumed not to contribute to economic growth and national development are regarded as 'burdens' for the society, or objects of charity. Socialized care work outside the family became devalued as low-status jobs. For example, elderly long-term care work was

initially designed as low-income jobs for middle-to-old aged women. The national budget for childcare has expanded considerably since the Roh government, but childcare service providers remain subject to long working hours and poor income conditions. These unsatisfactory care environments fail to attract and encourage appropriately qualified caregivers. Instead the caregivers are often unqualified, and as such the citizen's right to quality care is denied.

Lastly, a policy concern dealing with an unequal gender division of the care work within the family became marginalized. A change in unequal gender division of labor would only be obtainable when the role of women's paid work and the role of men's caring responsibility are balanced. Top-level decision makers from both the governments highlighted women's excessively assigned caring responsibility as a barrier for solving the problems of low fertility and aging populations, but no-one seriously problematized men's lack of responsibility as care-givers and their household labor participation in general. The equal sharing of caring and household chores was never a focal point within policy. Even in the Roh government in which the societal sharing of the childcare responsibility was a central theme in the work and family policy, the issue of men's caring for children and housework participation drew little attention from the mainstream policy actors. Under the conservative government, in relation to the premise that women would continue to be responsible for caring for children and family members while flexibly working, it is not surprising that the governmental interest in the expansion of men's caring responsibility became even more marginalized.

Conclusion

Taken together, the above discussion shows that the Korean developmental state has fundamental limitations to realizing a feminist agenda. The more feminist-friendly and progressive Roh government, compared with the conservative Lee government, had more potential to change the role of women as paid-workers. However, the study shows that the dominant discourse of developmentalism still worked to impede the development of policy that would lead to fundamental changes in gender relations. Despite the differences in political ideology and the extent of alliance with feminist groups, the dominant developmentalism discourse as the deep meaning system, which the two governments had in common, functioned to prohibit the work and family balance agenda from becoming a radical and

reformative means to change unequal gender relations.

In conclusion, we argue that a critical policy change contributing to the transformation of gender relations will only be possible through feminist ideas outside the state. Feminist research and movements should aim to recover the political aspects of work and family policy agenda through thinking and working outside of the frames dominated and composed by the mainstream policy actors, and attempt to influence new policy directions. Going beyond the developmentalism discourses is the first departure point for any feminist movements that might attempt to create an alternative work and family policy frame. Work and family balance as the feminist agenda should be replaced by the redistribution frame for caring as citizens' rights. Feminists should reconstruct a work and family balance agenda and transform the discourse by considering questions like, how can the care needs that every citizen experiences throughout their life course be secured as a citizens' right? What are the ways to encourage men to engage in unpaid carework? And what are the impacts of gender hierarchy within the paid labor market on caring practices within the family?

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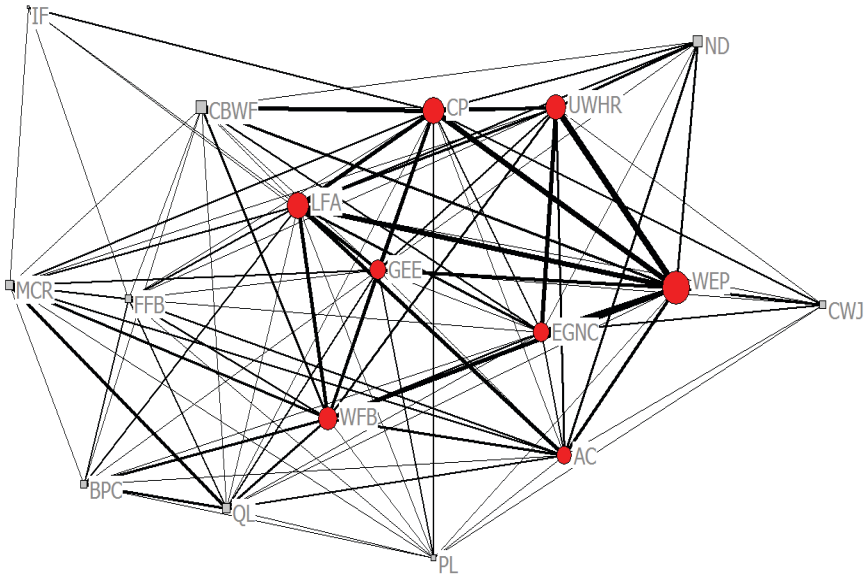
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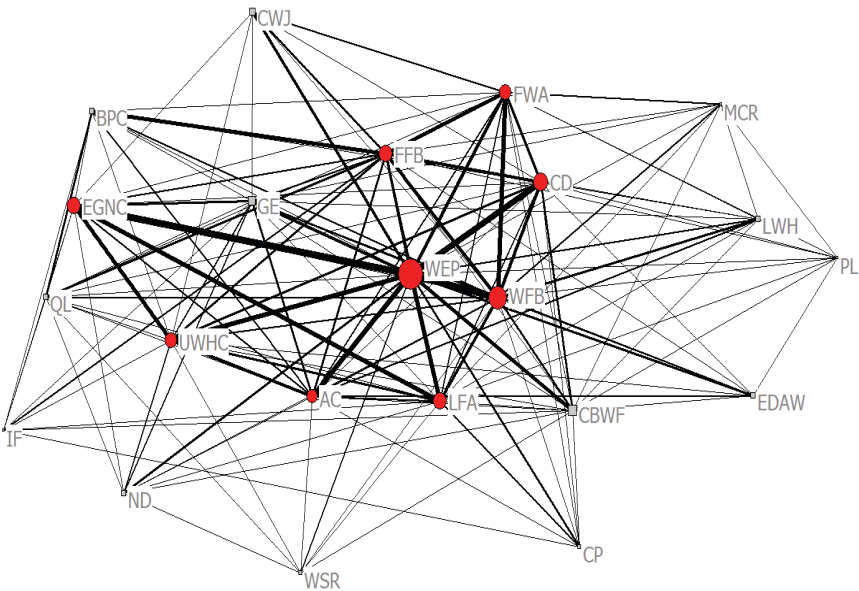
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Appendix 1. Characteristics of the Public Announcements in the Analysis

Categories	Types	Roh government	Lee government
Speakers	President	7(18.4)	11(18.6)
	Prime Ministers	8(21.1)	6(10.2)
	Ministers and Vice-ministers	23(55.3)	42(72.2)
Events	Overall National Speeches (Speeches at the National Assembly, New Year's Speech etc.)	4(10.5)	7(11.2)
	Ministry of Gender Equality-led events (Women's week events etc.)	11(28.9)	26(37.8)
	Other events organized by the government	1(2.6)	4(6.1)
	Women's groups events	10(26.3)	12(22.4)
	Policy forums	10(26.3)	10(20.4)
	Others	2(5.2)	0(0.0)
Total		38(100.0)	59(100.0)



Appendix 2. Semantic Network Map under the Roh Government



Appendix 3. Semantic Network Map under the Lee Government