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The Child Maintenance Enforcement and Support System: A 5-Year Evaluation and Measures for Improvement

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Korean Women's Development Institute

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I . Necessity and Purpose of the Research

Korea's legal systems related to child maintenance have continually changed to improve the poor situation of enforcing child support payment. For example, Korea has amended the Civil Act to reinforce parental responsibilities for fostering children, revised the Family Litigation Act to strengthen the means of enforcing child support payment, and legislated the Act on Enforcing and Supporting Child Support Payment (hereinafter referred to as the "Child Support Enforcement Act").

However, the situation of enforcing the child support payment in Korea has not greatly improved yet. In this situation, single-parent families have continuously raised their voices to call for reinforcing sanctions against child maintenance defaulters and introducing a substitute child support

payment system besides the ineffective support service for child maintenance enforcement.

The Child Support Enforcement Act has taken effect for five years with a goal to create an environment in which minor children can have their rights guaranteed during childhood and single-parent families can raise their children without financial difficulties. In this background, this study aims to evaluate the five-year implementation of the support system for child maintenance enforcement and to seek measures for improving the system to overcome the limitations revealed in the implementation process.

II. Formation and Development of the Support System for Child Maintenance Enforcement

This section examines the process of forming and developing the current support system for child maintenance enforcement. Legal systems related to child maintenance have continually improved as an institutional support for “enforcing child support payment in a stable manner to create a secure environment for raising minor children.”

Since the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations played a role of raising social issues over the difficulty of bringing up a child after a divorce, the judicial system has improved to secure debt instruments (*schuldtitel* in German) and to enforce payment through earnest discussions at the national level. Specifically, to discuss the issues, the Reform Commission on Domestic and Juvenile Justice System was established in the Seoul Family Court, and the Second Special Sub-committee on the Amendment of the Family Law under the Ministry

of Justice was organized in 2004.

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family has since devised a management system for child support enforcement through diverse research projects. Based on these research results, the Ministry has prepared the current support system for child maintenance enforcement. By establishing a new government agency called Child Support Agency to support a smooth payment of child maintenance according to this support system, the Ministry has not only provided litigation support for counseling on child maintenance and for application cases but also urgently supplied temporary support for child maintenance and visitation services.

Based on the consensus on the need for complementing child maintenance systems, the support system for child maintenance enforcement was established by enacting a separate law to improve the judicial system and to establish a support organization for the enforcement. This support system is significant in that it has prepared various means of enforcing the child maintenance payment and minimizing the period during which no decision is made on the child maintenance.

However, the support system has the following few limitations: First, although it can serve as a reference for deciding on the child maintenance, the calculation standard table for child maintenance has no legal binding power and thus lowers its predictability due to various reasons that should be considered. Second, as the agency launched with insufficient status and power to perform its roles, the Child Support Agency must exert a lot of effort to make up for the necessary matters to carry out its duties. Since its establishment in March 2015, the Child Support Agency has seen a gradual increase in the child maintenance

enforcement rate every year, to reach 37.5% as of September 2020 (inside data of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2020). Nevertheless, the ratio of counseling to reception for the support service has decreased every year. Also, as the agency mainly supported proceedings for child support claim and enforcement, its litigation-centered support has acted as a factor impeding the efficient use of its already-lacking personnel and budget. Not only this, due to its lack of authority and power to inquire of information, the agency had to apply for specification or inquiry of the debtor's property in the process of providing the support service for child maintenance enforcement. Its applications for inquiry reached 10,421 cases in September 2020. Third, since the formation of the support system, studies have followed to continuously improve the system, leading to the amendment of the Child Support Enforcement Act many times by reflecting the results of the studies. The amendments have made it possible to extend the support period centered on urgent temporary support for child maintenance, to ease the eligibilities of applicants for support, and to permit the inquiry into income and property without the debtor's consent and the collection of child maintenance according to examples of the disposition on default of the national tax. In spite of all this, the support system still has limitations in expanding its application to the overall support services for child maintenance enforcement. Also, the amendment of the Child Support Enforcement Act on December 9, 2020 made it possible to request for prohibition of the defaulter's departure, to release the list of defaulters, and to impose criminal punishment in addition to the already-introduced request for the suspension of a driver's license upon default of child maintenance. However, it is doubted whether newly-introduced sanctions will be

effective as they can be used only as a last resort after all existing litigation procedures fail.

Even now, many cases are reported in which single parent families have financial difficulties due to the default of child maintenance. Therefore, discussions continue to be made about reorganizing the support system for child maintenance enforcement.

III. Analysis of the Current Enforcement of Child Maintenance: Secondary Data Analysis of the Single Parent Family Survey

1. Analysis Data

The Single Parent Family Survey is a sample survey of single-parent families nationwide as its population, using probability sampling. Also, the survey is a mandatory statutory survey as prescribed in the Single-Parent Family Support Act. Since it was first conducted in 2012, the survey has been conducted every three years, currently completing its third wave. By analyzing the secondary data from the survey that has been conducted three times, this section aims to examine how factors influencing the enforcement rate of child maintenance have changed in a time series.

Among the questions of the Single Parent Family Survey, questions on child maintenance have undergone the most change, and thus question items related to the child maintenance enforcement have differed each year. Accordingly, this study conducts an analysis of all questions of the 2018 survey, and examines changes across time series by developing a

model that enables the analysis of the data from the 2012 and 2015 surveys.

2. Analysis Model and Method

This study consists of dependent variables in three categories: i) possession of child support bonds, ii) relationships with non-custodial parents, and iii) relations with child support enforcement. The study aims to look into relations among the three categories and to identify characteristics of single parents, households, and non-custodial parents that influence each category.

First of all, in this study we had an overview of changes in general characteristics of unmarried or divorced single-parent families for the three waves subject to the data analysis. Then, we used the cross-tabulation analysis or chi-square test to analyze the relations between the dependent variables, and the analysis of variance or t-test to analyze the amount of child support payment. Lastly, we used the logistic regression or logit analysis for the decision model for the possession of child support bonds, the regression analysis for the decision model for the relationship with non-custodial parents, the multinomial logistic regression for the decision model for the type of child maintenance enforcement, and the regression analysis for the decision model for the amount of child support enforcement.

3. Analysis Results

1) General Characteristics

Despite a slight increase in 2018 from 2015, there was no big difference in the proportion of people possessing regular child support

payment bonds. A mere 10 percent of minor children and their non-custodial parents had a regular meeting, about 25 percent of them had a meeting on a special occasion only, and half had no meeting. Of the types of child maintenance enforcement, the proportion of regular child support payment increased approximately 10 percentage points in 2018 compared to 2012. The average amount of child support enforcement as well went up from about 20,000 Korean won to about 100,000 Korean won.

With an increase in the proportion of single parents in their 30s or younger, the age of single parents tended to slightly decrease. In the case of educational level, the proportion of university graduation or above tended to rise. In the case of employment status, the proportion of regular workers tended to go up. Also, the proportion of unmarried single parents and that of single mother families increased. In the case of income, the income level improved more or less as there was a rise in the proportion of single parents whose income belonged to 80 to 100% of the median income or below, or whose income exceeded 100% of the median income.

2) Child Support Bonds, Relationships with Non-Custodial Parents, and Relations with Child Maintenance Enforcement

If there was no child support bond, the proportion of ‘regular meeting’ slightly dropped, but that of ‘no meeting’ slightly rose in 2018 compared to 2015. Even if there was the bond, however, the proportion of ‘regular meeting’ increased insignificantly.

If the child and the non-custodial parent had good relationships and contacted each other frequently, the proportion of regular child support

payment greatly increased in 2018 compared to 2012, particularly in the case of ‘regular meeting’ and ‘meeting on a special occasion.’ In 2012, about only 25 % of non-custodial parents who had a regular meeting paid child support on a regular basis, but in 2018, approximately half of them regularly paid child maintenance.

The better the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent and the higher the frequency of contacting each other, the higher the likelihood of paying more child support in 2018 than 2012, particularly in the case of ‘regular meeting’ and ‘meeting on a special occasion.’ In 2012, the gap in the paid amount between ‘regular meeting’ and ‘no meeting’ fell short of KRW 80,000, but in 2018, the gap exceeded KRW 300,000.

When we examined the relations between the possession of regular child support bonds and the enforcement of child maintenance, the proportion of regular payment went up by far if there was a regular bond, and that of non-regular payment slightly rose too. On the other hand, if there was no regular child support bond, the proportion of non-payment soared overwhelmingly. If there was a regular child support bond, the average amount of child support payment was close to approximately KRW 400,000, but otherwise, the amount fell to less than about KRW 20,000.

3) Child Support Bonds, Relationships with Non-Custodial Parents, and Determinants of Child Maintenance Enforcement

In the decision model for the possession of regular child support bonds, we analyzed the data from the 2015 and 2018 surveys. According to the analysis, it was more likely to have the child support bond if the period

of becoming a single parent was shorter, if the child was a relatively younger elementary school student, and if the parents divorced by judgment than by mutual agreements. The difference between income brackets was an important variable in possessing child support bonds. In other words, there was a clear difference in the possession of the bonds between different income brackets: if the single parents were in the lowest income bracket or unmarried, they were highly unlikely to have child support bonds. On the other hand, if the single or non-custodial parents were highly educated with university graduation or above, they were highly likely to have child support bonds.

In the decision model for the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent as well, the child and the parent were highly likely to have a close relationship if the period of becoming a single parent was shorter and if the child was a relatively younger elementary school student. However, because divorce by judgment was found to have a negative impact on the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent, it can be interpreted that divorce without smooth agreements has a negative impact on the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent. Also, the difference between income brackets was an important variable in the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent too. In other words, there was a clear difference in the relationships between different income brackets: If the non-custodial parents were in the lowest income bracket or unmarried, the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent were highly likely to have a wider gap. On the other hand, if the single or non-custodial parents were highly educated with university graduation or above, they were highly likely to maintain a close relationship with their child/ren.

In the decision model for child support enforcement as well, child maintenance was highly likely to be paid regularly if the period of becoming a single parent was shorter and if the child was a relatively younger elementary school student. It was also found that there was a clear difference in the possibility of regular child support payment between different income brackets: if the single parents were in the lowest income bracket or unmarried, and if the non-custodial parents were temporary or daily workers, or unemployed, child support was less likely to be paid regularly. On the other hand, if the single or non-custodial parents were highly educated with university graduation or above, child support was highly likely to be paid regularly.

In the decision model for the amount of the child support enforcement, the amount of the child support payment was high if the period of becoming a single parent was shorter. However, divorce by judgment was found to have a negative impact on the amount of the child support enforcement. That is to say, divorce without smooth agreements has a negative impact on receiving a proper amount of child maintenance. Also, the difference between income brackets was an important variable in the amount of the child support enforcement. In other words, there was a clear difference in the amount of the child support enforcement between different income brackets: if the single parents were in the low-income brackets or unmarried, and if the non-custodial parents were temporary or daily workers, the amount of the child support enforcement was low. On the other hand, if the single or non-custodial parents were highly educated with university graduation or above, the amount of the child support enforcement was high.

IV. The Support System for Child Maintenance Enforcement Seen from In-Depth Interview

1. Method of Data Collection and Analysis

1) In-Depth Interview with Persons in Conflict over Child Maintenance

Individual in-depth interview with persons involved in conflict over child maintenance was limited to those who had currently issues over child maintenance. Those who consented to participate in this research were recommended from the Child Support Agency and from the gatherings of the persons involved in child maintenance issues. Individual in-depth interview was conducted of a total of 22 persons, including 21 custodial parents and one non-custodial parent, from June 2020 to July 2020.

Research participants comprised 20 female custodial parents, one male custodial parent, and one female custodial parent. By marital status, three were unmarried and 19 divorced. Three participants had joint parental rights, and the others had parental rights. Regarding the visitation right, three cases of non-custodial parents had a regular meeting with their child/ren, three cases had a non-regular visit, and the rest had no visit between the non-custodial parent and the child.

The duration of the in-depth interview was about one and half hours. The content of the interview included i) conflict over child maintenance interviewees were currently experiencing, ii) their experience of using the support service for child maintenance enforcement, iii) other efforts to resolve issues over child maintenance, iv) relationships with non-custodial parents, and v) overall opinions about improving the support system for child maintenance enforcement.

2) In-Depth Interview with Workers in Support Services for Child Maintenance Enforcement

Individual in-depth interview with workers engaged in support services for child maintenance enforcement was conducted of workers at the Child Support Agency and the support organizations for the litigation services of the Child Support Agency, including the Korea Legal Aid Cooperation, the Korea Legal Aid Foundation, and the Korea Legal Aid Center for Family Relations. The in-depth interview was conducted of a total of 12 workers, including 8 workers for the Child Support Agency and 4 workers at its support organizations, from May 2020 to July 2020.

The duration of the in-depth interview was roughly one hour. The content of the interview included i) experience of performing support services for child maintenance enforcement, ii) strengths of the services of the Child Support Agency and the support organizations, iii) limitations of and improvements for the Child Support Agency and its support organizations, iv) opinions about the Child Support Agency and its support organizations, and v) opinions about improving the support system for child maintenance enforcement.

2. Analysis Results

According to the results of analyzing the support system for child maintenance enforcement through the in-depth interviews, there were largely three difficulties in attaining the goal of enforcing child maintenance: The first was a lack of social awareness of the public nature of child maintenance. The second was a lack of a strong means of enforcing the court's ruling. The third was a lack of power, budget, and personnel of the agency dedicated to child maintenance.

1) Persons in Conflict over Child Maintenance

Most of custodial parents participating in the individual in-depth interview took legal actions to enforce child maintenance so as to provide a better growing environment for their children. When they divorced, conflict over child maintenance was inherent in the decision process of the child maintenance. However, the litigation-centered support system for child maintenance enforcement led to ineffective repetition of lawsuits because the system did not have a strong means of enforcing the child maintenance payment. In the process, conflicts between custodial and non-custodial parents were even more exacerbated.

When persons in conflict over child maintenance met court officials in the lawsuit process, the officials still considered the child support issue simply as a conflict between individuals and took a generous attitude toward non-custodial parents. As such, persons involved in conflict over child maintenance called for introducing a strong means of enforcing the payment to improve awareness of the overall society and the interested parties regarding child maintenance. They also demanded that the Child Support Agency play a more active role in improving the social awareness and the system.

As for the difficulties using the support services, custodial parents in conflict pointed out the preparation of many necessary documents, complicated litigation procedures, and the long time required for receiving the services. They were angry and frustrated with the situation in which child maintenance was not still enforced even when they underwent those difficulties. Accordingly, they demanded that sanctions against non-custodial parents be reinforced, that more simplified litigation procedures or agency-centered support systems for child support

enforcement be adopted, and furthermore that the state introduce a substitute child support payment system.

2) Workers in Support Services for Child Maintenance Enforcement

Workers engaged in support services for child maintenance enforcement contended that despite the opening of the Child Support Agency, the overall society's awareness of child support was still insufficient. In particular, they said that it was essential to improve awareness of the interested parties of child maintenance, including non-custodial parents, the court, and the police.

The workers pointed out that the present support system for child maintenance enforcement had limitations in changing the behavior of a considerable number of non-custodial parents who do not pay child maintenance. As such, they commented that it was necessary to positively review the reduction in the period of litigation procedures together with improvement in awareness of child maintenance. It was also necessary to resolve the problems of re-issuance of the debt instrument, avoidance of delivery, and the bonds subject to prohibition of seizure, considering the special nature of child support bonds.

The workers were preparing various measures for improving their services, such as improving service process to raise users' satisfaction with service, strengthening the management of entrusted cases, and promoting visitation and mediation services. But it was not easy to meet the expectation of users with the current budget and personnel of the Child Support Agency. For this reason, it is necessary to increase the present budget and personnel of the agency.

Users' dissatisfaction with the support services for child maintenance

enforcement was partially caused by their lack of understanding characteristics of the litigation system and distrust in the free services. Therefore, it is necessary for the Child Support Agency to enhance communication with users and build trust by providing them with a detailed guide to the litigation procedures and by promoting active public relations about the agency's significant results of enforcing child maintenance.

V. Implications from Overseas Case Analysis

In the United States and Australia, organizations dedicated to supporting the child maintenance enforcement have an integrated system that is established based on inter-departmental cooperation. They also have a wide range of authority and power over administrative sanctions. Based on this, they play a central role in building the support system for child maintenance enforcement and securing the enforcement of child support in each country. On the other hand, in Korea, the agency in charge of managing the child maintenance enforcement plays a mere role of supporting the creditor's legal actions repeatedly. Even if it has a means of sanction against the failure to pay child support, the agency does not have authority to implement the sanction. As such, the Korean agency cannot perform its role properly as a support organization dedicated to the management of child maintenance enforcement. In this regard, it is necessary to expand the practical authority and role of the current enforcement management agency.

France and Germany operate a substitute payment system for child maintenance. Like these overseas cases, it is necessary to shift awareness

of child maintenance enforcement from seeing it as a private bond between individuals to perceiving it as a public issue related to the child's welfare and the parent's responsibility for supporting the child. For the discussion about introducing a substitute payment system, it is indispensable to address how to reimburse and manage the child maintenance paid in advance by the state. In addition, to introduce a practical substitute payment system for child support, it is necessary to have a comprehensive discussion about the design of the substitute payment system and the establishment of an operation system.

We examined cases of overseas countries regarding administrative measures for imposing sanctions against the default of child maintenance. These countries had strong administrative sanctions against defaulters of child maintenance, and granted a corresponding power to support agencies for child maintenance. Also, based on inter-departmental connection, they automatically brought into force administrative sanctions against the debtor who may reach a specific standard for overdue payment. In this way, overseas countries imposed more disadvantages and stronger sanctions against child support defaulters, thereby strongly urging the debtors to pay child maintenance. Korea as well recently prepared various means of administrative sanctions, including request for suspension of driver's license, request for prohibition of departure, and disclosure of the list of defaulters. However, because these means can be used only after the court's ruling on detention order, they cannot guarantee the effectiveness of the sanctions. Therefore, it is necessary to shift towards the method of overseas countries: These countries automatically take into effect administrative sanctions against child support debtors when they reach a specific standard for default based on inter-departmental connection.

Overseas countries also impose criminal punishments on debtors when they fail to pay child support. As there was an issue continuously raised over the lack of a strong means of sanctions against the default of child support, Korea too established new penal provisions through a recent amendment of the Child Support Enforcement Act. Compared to major OECD member states, however, the level of punishment is low, and the default of child support is dealt with the principle of ‘no punishment against will.’ Even these provisions can be used only when a year has passed since the decision on detention is made. As such, it is necessary to wait and see how effective the penal provisions will be in securing the enforcement of child maintenance.

With its recent introduction of various administrative sanctions and penal provisions, Korea will see changes in the child maintenance policy. But it is proved from overseas cases that merely strengthening administrative sanctions and penal provisions has limitations in raising the enforcement rate of child support payment. Therefore, there should be changes in individual and social awareness of child maintenance in the long term: from the ethical perspective, it is the duty and responsibility of the parent to support the child. Also, to guarantee the child’s basic rights to grow healthy, the issue of child maintenance should also be perceived from the perspective of a public issue and social norm.

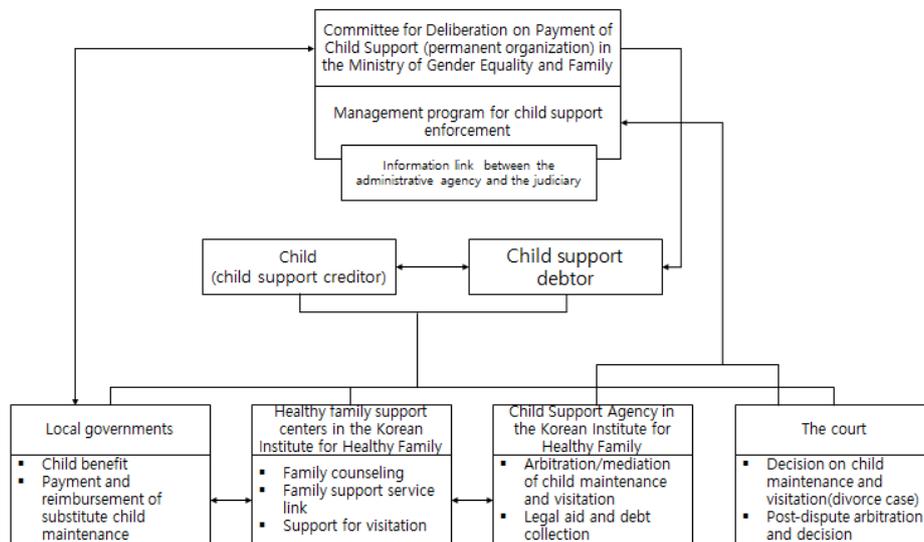
VI. Measures for Improving the Support System for Child Maintenance Enforcement: Paradigm Shift in the Support System

1. Necessity for the Paradigm Shift

First, time-consuming litigation procedures cause a gap in the immediate need of child maintenance, and bring difficulties of preparing complicated documents for the lawsuit to custodial parents as they have to undertake responsibilities for making a living and raising children at the same time. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a child support enforcement system centered on administrative agencies in order to guarantee an easy access to the system and a prompt decision on child support and its payment.

Second, despite the recent stronger sanctions against the default of child support, the means of the strengthened sanctions are structured in the form of adding to the existing judicial means available. However, considering the characteristic of child support paid periodically as a small sum of money, it is necessary to build an integrated system that can grasp the child support enforcement situation at a glance. Then, it can be easily proved that imposing a stronger means of sanctions against the child support debtor is inevitable. It is also necessary to change the child support enforcement system so as to enforce administrative sanctions using the integrated information. Because a judicial means is a means of securing procedural justice for the child maintenance debtor, it is necessary to have the debtor use the judicial means in the form of objection or appeal to the administrative sanctions. It is also necessary to shift the burden of proof about injustice to the child support debtor.

Third, simply strengthening the sanctions against the default of child support alone cannot fill all the gaps in child maintenance. There still exists the necessity for the state to preemptively respond to bridge the gaps in child rearing. In this respect, it is necessary to introduce a substitute child support allowance to prevent a shortage of the child's minimum living expenses in connection with the situation of non-custodial parents' child support payment. For timely response to the child's needs and the effective reimbursement of the substitute allowance, it is necessary to have a close link with local governments. Considering all of this, it is necessary to shift the paradigm of the child support enforcement system. After the paradigm shift, the child support enforcement system can be schematized as the figure below.



[Figure VI-1] The Child Support Enforcement System after the Paradigm Shift

2. Changes Needed for the Child Maintenance Enforcement System According to the Paradigm Shift

If the paradigm is shifted to placing the child in the center of the child support enforcement system and have administrative agencies perform the central role, it is necessary to change the system in many ways, including upgrading the program for the organization, function, and information link.

- 1) Expand the staff and organization in charge of child support enforcement services

Because the Child Support Agency in the Korean Institute for Healthy Family is not an administrative organization, it has limitations in playing an expected role. Therefore, it is necessary to shift the Committee for Deliberation on Payment of Child Support to a permanent organization as its role is expected to expand according to the reinforcement of administrative sanctions. It is also necessary to establish a secretariat in the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family equipped with a regular response system for child support enforcement services. To do so, it is advisable to refer to overseas cases: The United States and Australia established an integrated system based on inter-departmental cooperation and have an organization that plays a central role in securing the child support enforcement based on a wide range of authority over administrative sanctions.

If an administrative body takes charge of child support enforcement services, it has strong points of efficiently carrying out many services, such as enhancing social awareness of the public nature of child maintenance, providing prompt services through information link between

administrative agencies with litigation procedures, simplifying the procedure of administrative sanctions, and connecting the enforcement services with welfare services of local governments.

2) Establish a management program for child support enforcement

Not only in the case of requesting support to the Child Support Agency but also in the case of divorce of parents with a minor child, it is necessary to establish an organization that can continually monitor the situation of raising the child after the parents' divorce. Furthermore, to confirm at the national level whether the child is properly raised after the divorce, it is necessary to take over the information related to the divorced parents from the family court in charge of the divorce procedure. If the parents failed to pay the decided child support debt, it is advisable to prepare an organization that can immediately intervene at the request from the party concerned alone.

In this case, together with the basic personal information of the divorced parents, the family court needs to link the information on the child to the management program for child support enforcement in the Committee for Deliberation on Payment of Child Support. By doing so, it is necessary to start the procedure of securing the child support enforcement immediately at the request of the child support creditor when the child support debtor defaults the payment of the decided child maintenance. In addition, the management program for child support enforcement in the Committee for Deliberation on Payment of Child Support should be able to identify the situation of the child support debtor's child support payment in real time, and link this information to the payment of substitute child support allowance and sanctions against the child support debtor.

3) Reinforce the arbitration/mediation function for child maintenance

The role of the Child Support Agency has been so far concentrated on supporting the child support creditor of single-parent families in proceedings to enforce child maintenance. However, equipped with independence and expertise from now on, the Child Support Agency should also take charge of directly arbitrating and mediating function in the disputes over child maintenance where diverse and complicated parties are involved. Through the arbitration/mediation of the Child Support Agency, it is necessary to coordinate relations of rights and duties between the custodial parent and the child support debtor. The agency needs to have power to make the result of arbitration/mediation into a protocol of arbitration/mediation in the following way: by establishing an organization like the arbitration center of the regional courts in major cities or by dispatching a standing arbitration committee member to the Child Support Agency, the agency can seek to resolve disputes over child maintenance through arbitration. As the disputes over child maintenance are closely related to visitation between the child and the non-custodial parent, it is necessary to review ways to introduce administrative-style alternative dispute resolution (ADR). Diverse experts and officials can participate in the ADR: not only legal experts but also experts in various fields, including majors of pedology, psychology, and counseling, plus officials in charge from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.

4) Enhance the connection of the support system with family support services

To promote the voluntary child support payment of non-custodial

parents and to enhance participation in parental role together with support for child support litigations, it is important to expand the roles of the support system, including consultation and mediation between parents, arbitration of conflict, support for visitation service, post-divorce education of parents and counseling. Also, rather than simply providing counseling on child support issues, it is necessary to connect the support system with family support services needed for single-parent families through an active inspection of needs as an initial support channel.

Moreover, it is necessary to distinguish high conflict cases from ordinary cases, including cases of urgently supporting temporary child maintenance, cases of failing to receive the child support payment despite repeated child support lawsuits, cases of intensifying conflict in the divorce process that has a negative impact on minor children, and cases involved in domestic violence. Then, it is necessary to introduce the method of case management by forming a meeting group in the form of cooperative solution in which experts in various fields participate.

5) Prepare diverse programs to facilitate voluntary child support payment

Divorce without smooth mutual agreements did not have a positive impact on the relationships between the child and the non-custodial parent as well as on the stable supply and demand of child maintenance. This shows that divorce by means of legal procedures does not necessarily bring a positive result for the child's wellbeing. Therefore, it is necessary to provide support from the aspect of relationship at the same time, lest legal procedures result in hindering the non-custodial parent's awareness of becoming a parent.

More active monitoring and intervention are needed to guarantee the parental rights of non-custodial parents and to enforce their duties. Also, it is necessary to consider devising an intervention policy, so that non-custodial parents can play their role as parents by providing support for them to search jobs in a stable manner.

Along with strengthening of the means of enforcing child support payment, incentives are needed to facilitate the child support debtor's payment. Like the income tax deduction for credit card and cash, it is necessary to discuss measures for giving benefits by granting income tax deduction at the year-end tax settlement when child support is paid. Also, it can be an incentive to employ a method of facilitating the child support enforcement by offering vocational training for child support debtors so that they can get a job with priority.

As mentioned in the above, this study presented measures for improving the support system for child maintenance enforcement from various aspects. Child maintenance is the child's right that cannot be given up by one side of the parents nor negotiated in the parents' dispute over property. As such, it is necessary to make formal systems effective and to re-establish the system to guarantee not merely the enforcement rate of child support but also its continuous and proper enforcement until the opportune, necessary time. These efforts to guarantee the feasibility of the support system for child maintenance enforcement are expected to enhance the social awareness of child maintenance, ultimately leading to social changes.

