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Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies

A Review on Decline of Son Preference in South Korea

Young Taek Kim

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A Review on Decline of Son Preference in South Korea

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A Review on Decline of Son Preference in South Korea

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Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) is a government-affiliated think-tank under the Prime Minister's Office of South Korea. It has contributed to realizing gender equality, improving women's social participation and welfare and advancing family life and state through comprehensive researches on women's policies.

Foreword

Upon achieving an unprecedented economic growth in the last five decades, South Korea has transformed itself from being an aid recipient to an aid donor. Such growth was not confined to economic spheres only, but also apparent in social arena. Women's advancement was one of the areas which witnessed a dramatic transformation.

While there have been efforts to share Korea's development experience through means of Knowledge Sharing Program (KSP) spearheaded by South Korea's Ministry of Strategy and Finance (MOSF) and Development Experience Exchange Partnership (DEEP) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there has not yet been an initiative with a comprehensive approach to share women's advancement experiences. The current study is the first of its kind to compile case analyses of women's development in various areas of the South Korean society.

"A Review on Decline of Son Preference in South Korea" is an essential part of KWDI's multi-year ODA project entitled "Strengthening Gender Equality Policy Infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Region". This is a project aimed at establishing political and social infrastructure for gender-equal policy in the Asia-Pacific region. By disseminating these research findings through means of policy consultation, workshops and international conferences, KWDI hopes Korea's development experience in relation to gender equality will be beneficial to its partner countries. Moreover, KWDI hopes that this knowledge-sharing will foster potential gender-related ODA projects that the South Korean government can collaborate and cooperate with its partner countries to promote gender equality in the region.

I hope the concerted efforts made by KWDI and partner countries will bring substantive and positive changes in the lives of women in Asia.

Insook Kwon, Ph.D.

President

Korean Women's Development Institute



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I. Definition and Trend of Sex Ratio at Birth(SRB) in South Korea



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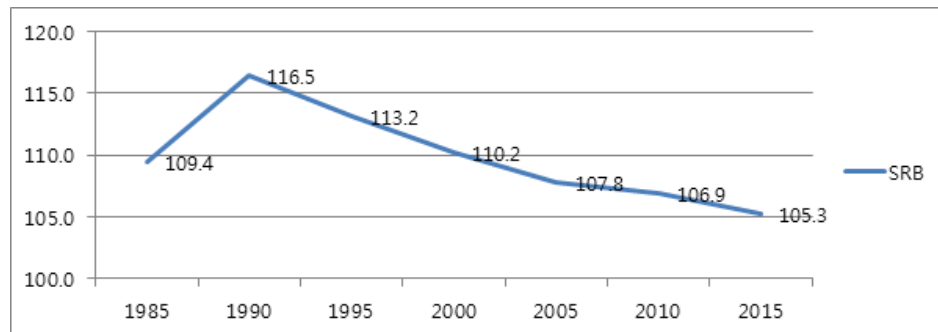
I . Definition and Trend of Sex Ratio at Birth(SRB) in South Korea ••• 3

The sex ratio at birth (SRB), the ratio of newborn boys per newborn girls, is a manifestation of reproductive behaviors and has profound implications for changes in population structure. Son preference, skewed SRB in favor of boys, not only has a significant impact on the health and well-being of female infants through severe excess infant and child mortality among females (Song & Burgard, 2008), but also is closely associated with marriage market imbalance due to shortage of marriageable brides over the long term. In most human populations, the SRB is close to 105 male births per 100 female births (Preston, Heuveline, & Guillot, 2001). Nonetheless, a SRB that exceeds the biological limit have been often observed in a number of countries in Asia, such as India (Gupta, 2005), China (Lipatov, Li, & Feldman, 2008), and South Korea (Park & Cho, 1995). The underlying causes of parental preferences for sex and behaviors children are still subject to much debate. Son preferences that were observed during the past several decades in East Asian countries are reported in Western, Southern, and South Eastern part of the region.

A number of studies (e.g., Yoo, Hayford, & Agadjanian, 2017) found that South Korea is one of the first Asian countries that experienced a substantial increase in SRB and a return to normal level [Figure I -1]. Until the mid-1990s, the SRB increasingly became more skewed toward favoring boys, while fertility declined rapidly. The total fertility rate (TFR) declined from 6.0 in 1960 to 1.6 in 1990 (Basten, Sobotka, & Zeman, 2013), and the SRB reached the level of 113 in 1990 (Larsen, Chung, & Gupta, 1998). Since then, the SRB gradually declined, though there was considerable variations across years and regions (Lee & Paik, 2006), and it reached normal levels in the late 2000s. In examining the fundamental causes of the decline in SRB in South Korea, Chung & Gupta (2007) argued that the principal trigger for the decrease was the changes in social norms rather than mere socioeconomic developments although both factors are closely related. Korean's experiences imply that government's proper intervention, such as vigorous media campaigns to change ideas about gender

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role and legislation to enhance gender equity, would be effective to normalize SRB even before high level of economic development is achieved (Chung & Gupta, 2007).



Source: National Statistical Office 1985-2015

[Figure I -1] Sex ratio at birth for South Korea, 1985–2015

Ⅱ. History of Population Policy and SRB in South Korea

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1. Development of Population Policy in Korea

The South Korean Government recognized that a high rate of population increase since 1960 would be a barrier to economic development. Thus, the Government used family planning service as a tool for birth control policy and included it as a part of Five-year Economic Development Plan which started in 1962. The family planning project of South Korea started with a system in which local public institutes and private organization co-participated under the leadership of the central government (Hong, 1998: 182).

The Health and Welfare Department of South Korea executed family planning project, budget support, family planning business administration and management functions. In order to support this project, the Korea Institute of Health and Social Affairs was responsible for research and evaluation. The Korean Family Planning Association (KFPA) was responsible for education enlightenment and management after infertile surgery. In addition, the frontline executive function was developed by the local autonomous organization in order to promote its own family planning project through the Public Health Center working in each county. Family Planning Deliberation Committee, Population Policy Review Committee, and Maternal and Child Health Deliberation Committee were installed and operated as needed. Central and municipal government organizations and related private organizations were also adjusted according to organizational functioning conditions (Hong, 1998: 182).

In the beginning years of the family planning service, the South Korean Government actively disseminated contraception-related information and knowledge, supported the use of intrauterine device by designated medical doctors, and provided free service of sterilization surgery. It should be noticed that different target rates by various contraceptive measures as well as social system of compensatory and regulatory measures had been executed persistently until 1980s. For example, the regulatory law did not give personal allowance to

the family with more than three children in 1974, which was the first time in the social system to prevent high birth rate. In 1977, the regulatory law was reinforced by limiting the personal allowance to families with one or two children. Moreover, public housing lotting-out or priority of moving into public housing was given to families who received sterilization surgery in 1970s. This brought criticism that the social system was targeted at middle income families. In 1980s, the social support was reinforced by giving more compensatory money to families with one child and poor income family. Yet, the regulatory and compensatory law were completely abolished since a new population policy was set to prevent low birth rate in 1994 (Hong, 1998: 188).

It should be noteworthy that educating people to reduce fertility and campaigning for population reduction played a big and important role as much as improving accessibility of contraceptive measures did. Korea Family Planning Association provided family planning service well through the use of its agents to contact people and educate them in local communities. Also, Mothers Association related to family planning in the smallest administrative unit campaigned to reduce birth and educated multiparous women to reduce birth. Using mass media, our government actively campaigned to reduce birth. Slide, film, and video contents on the importance of family planning and contraceptive measures had been made (Hong, 1998: 193-194).

The South Korean Government had different slogans for birth control movement with observed changes in fertility level. In 1960, the government introduced a slogan, "Have an adequate number of children and then, raise them well". It did not indicate the number of children, but in 1965 the number appeared clearly in the slogan, "3335 which had the meaning of three children, three-year interval of successive birth, not having children after 35 years old." The slogan related to sex ratio was, "Raise two children well regardless of son or girl" (Hong, 1998: 195).

2. Relationship between Population Policy and SRB

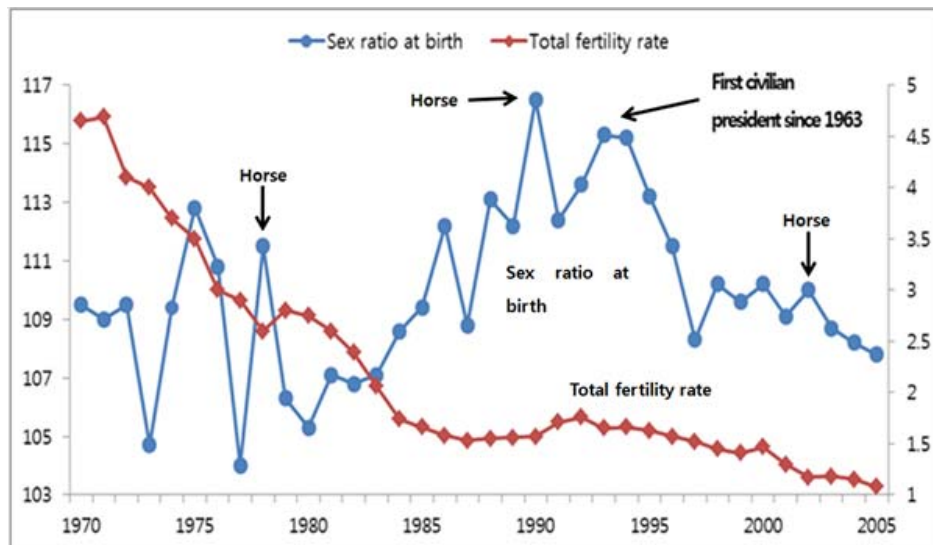
The government pressured the baby boom generation, which had high fertile female population, to control birth for 20 years from 1980. If the fertility rate was not drastically lowered, the population growth would not stop, thus, the government introduced a strong birth control policy. This led to a change in the value of an individual, resulting in a decrease in the birth rate. In 1984, the total fertility rate started to fall below the replacement level (2.1) and fell to 1.5 in the late 1980s. As fertility declines faster than expected, the government has been slowing its aggressive birth control policy since 1990 (for example, stopping contraception or artificial abortion). However, in the late 1990s the fertility rate rose only for a while, and then fell again to less than 1.5 in 2000.

One of the peculiar phenomena of the population change in the mid-1980s was an increase in the sex ratio of infants (the number of survivors per 100 girls). By 1981, the sex ratio at birth in Korea was 107.2, maintaining the world average level (103-108), but then rapidly increased to 116.5 in 1990. It then declined gradually and recently it has dropped to the world average level again. The phenomenon of such a surge in sex ratio is generally seen in the society where the number of children that one wishes to have reduced, but the child sex preference had been still strong in South Korea. Especially, it was possible to avoid unwanted pregnancy that affects the birth rate, and was possible to distinguish the sex of the fetus in early pregnancy through an ultrasonographic examination. As a result, son preference and sex-selective abortion resulted in an imbalance in the sex ratio at birth. Yet, fetal sex screening and abortion of fetuses were prohibited by law due to the amendment of population policy to promote more birth. Recently, the sex ratio at birth has reached a normal level since 2005, as the value of boys has changed rapidly in recent years (Hong, 1998: 182).

[Figure II-1] shows the relationship between total fertility rate affected by

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the population policy and sex ratio at birth during 1970-2000. As the total fertility rate was getting closer to 1, the sex ratio at birth was falling since 1990. Reduction of population affected by the population policy appeared to put less pressure on people from having a son. The sex ratio at birth in 1970s was higher than the normal sex ratio at birth (105-107). This may be caused by strong son preference, deeply influenced by neo-Confucianism. Sex-selective medical technology accompanied by the population policy to reduce population could have affected the rise of sex ratio at birth since 1980s, where the number of sex ratio at birth reached its highest (116) in 1990. Also, Koreans tend to believe that those who are born in horse years would not become a good wife. As a result, sharp annual fluctuation of sex ratio at birth could affect the number of females born in the horse year (Chung & Gupta, 2007: 768).



Source: Chung, W., & Gupta, M. D. (2007). The decline of son preference in South Korea: The roles of development and public policy. *Population and Development Review*, 33(4), 768 page: National Statistical Office 2007

[Figure II -1] Trends in the sex ratio at birth and the total fertility rate, South Korea, 1970-2000

Ⅲ. Causes of Decline of Son Preference in South Korea

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1. Factors Affecting SRB in Korea

The decline in sex ratio at birth in Korean society could be explained well by four factors. First, there was a strong suppression policy by the Korean Government on childbirth. The amendment of the Medical Law (1987) prohibited doctors to reveal sex of fetus in advance, and punished physicians for performing fetal sex screening. Punishment for imprisonment of less than three years or fines of less than 10 million won was enforced in 1993 for physicians who know the sex of the fetus in advance and enforce abortion. From 1996, legal action was taken to deprive medical licenses of such physicians. Second, since 1981, extensive campaigns through the mass media have contributed to changing attitudes toward screening sex of fetuses. Third, various social support policies have been introduced to reduce discrimination against women and to change the norms, attitudes and values of gender roles, along with the improvement of women's status in education and employment. For example, in 1985, the medical insurance benefits extended to father-in-law and mother-in-law. In 1989, the Family Law was amended to ensure sons and daughters have the same rights of inheritance. The Gender Equality Employment Act (1987) has also contributed to the improvement of women's status. In 2002 and 2004, the party law was revised to increase women's right to vote. Fourth, it can be pointed out that the tendency of young couples to have fewer children is stronger than their preference because of a heavy burden of their child's private education expenses (Kim, 2011: 165).

Yet, some view that the amendments to the Medicine Act in 1987 and substantial campaigns on banning fetal sex screening to change attitudes since 1981 were not effective in reducing sex ratio at birth. That is to say, the government policies did not influence the rate of sex ratio at birth because it kept rising since 1981 and peaked in 1990, which can be referenced from the [Figure II-1] above. Based on the [Figure II-1], there is another view on

fertility declines, where some believed that there should be at least one son due to social barracks or insecure environment during military governments. More reliable hypothesis seems like a decline in son preference due to the civilian government rule rather than the government policies.

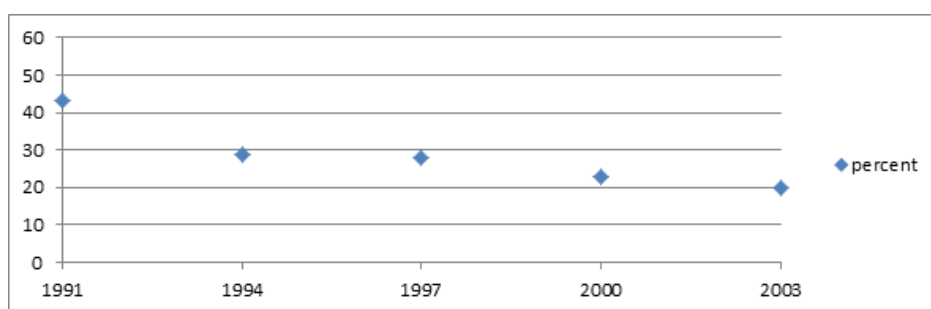
Patriarchal societies have preferred sons and this became a legacy and tradition. According to Chung and Gupta (2007), a decline of sex ratio at birth (SRB) in South Korea has been emphasized, compared to Asian countries such as China and India where son preference has been historically rooted with highly imbalanced SRB. As South Korea went through industrialization and urbanization, the country experienced a decline in SRB since the mid-1990s and finally reaching the normal level. To understand this social phenomenon better, they cited and proved through sociological theory on diffusion of a trend at a population level rather than individual level.

Development in developing societies allows a new trend of society to take place and make the new trend widespread at a population level. Chung and Gupta (2007) used the secondary data including the dependent variable of reporting of 'must have son' in South Korea. They conceptualized and measured socioeconomic development by capitalizing education and urbanization. Proportions and degree of being educated and living in urban, small city, or metropolis, religion and other development indicators such as female labor force participation rate and percentage of GDP in agriculture, fishery, and forest were used for the dependent variable. In addition, change in social norms affecting the dependent variable was measured at different time period (1991-2003).

With the purpose of proving diffusion theory related to SRB and the use of statistical techniques such as regression and decomposition at the population level, Chung and Gupta (2007) found that higher educational achievement of women and living in metropolis in South Korea were found to be associated with less degree of reporting 'must have son'. Moreover, they found far less degree of reporting 'must have son' in 2003, compared to 1991 in South Korea

Ⅲ. Causes of Decline of Son Preference in South Korea ••• 15

[Figure Ⅲ-1]. They mainly concluded that women having higher educational achievement and living in metropolis could be more likely to be influenced by the new societal wave of decline in son preference than their counterparts, to begin with. And then, their counterparts would be steadily affected by the new trend.



Source: Chung, W., & Gupta, M. D. (2007). The decline of son preference in South Korea: The roles of development and public policy. *Population and Development Review*, 33(4), 769 page: National Statistical Office 2007

[Figure Ⅲ-1] Trends in the intensity of son preference (percent of women reporting “must have son” in 1985–2003)

A culture of son preference during the period of development in South Korea has been changed. A striking change from a high rate of son preference to a moderate rate during the social development in South Korea could be mainly caused by particular social changes including improvement of women’s social status as well as a policy on gender-based equal society. Development in South Korea made women to be more educated and employed more in a formal job market along with government’s effort to achieve gender-equal society. That could be crucial key factors contributing to the breakdown of patriarchal society and son’s lineage rules in a family, more valuing women’s role and extending capabilities of women in the society. This social phenomenon allowed to see a normal rate of SRB in South Korea.

Chung and Gupta (2007) argued that China and India that are experiencing

development have not reached the normal sex ratio at birth yet. They speculated that speed of the diffusion could be quicker in relatively smaller country like South Korea, compared to China and India. However, another important reason on South Korea's experience of a normal SRB is low total fertility rate (TFR). Women's organizations and women's policies have been developed for gender equality. This could also affect the decline of sex ratio at birth.

2. Gender-equality Policy and SRB

First, I would like to briefly introduce women's policies. The social necessities of improving women's social status in our society and utilizing female workforce have emerged. In 1995, gender mainstreaming was recognized as a women's policy at the Beijing Conference on Women and the importance of gender-sensitive policies were emphasized. This led to the need for a government organization to implement women's policies to promote substantial women's rights and quality of life. On March 20, 1982 (the time of the 5th Republic of Korea), in South Korea, planning, coordination, and policies related to women initiated. Monitoring of legislation affecting the rights and position of women was conducted by the prime minister of the ruling government at that period. However, there has been a continuing criticism that the power was not viable and that government action alone was ineffective; thus, the necessity of the Ministry of Gender Equality was raised. When the Kim Dae-jung administration was established in 1998, a women's committee became a special committee for the president. Although the system prohibits gender discrimination and relieves victims rights, it reached the limit of manpower and budget. In 2001, the Ministry of Gender Equality was created as a government organization. The Ministry of Gender Equality set the policy objectives as "the construction of a democratic human rights welfare state for gender equality", "development of

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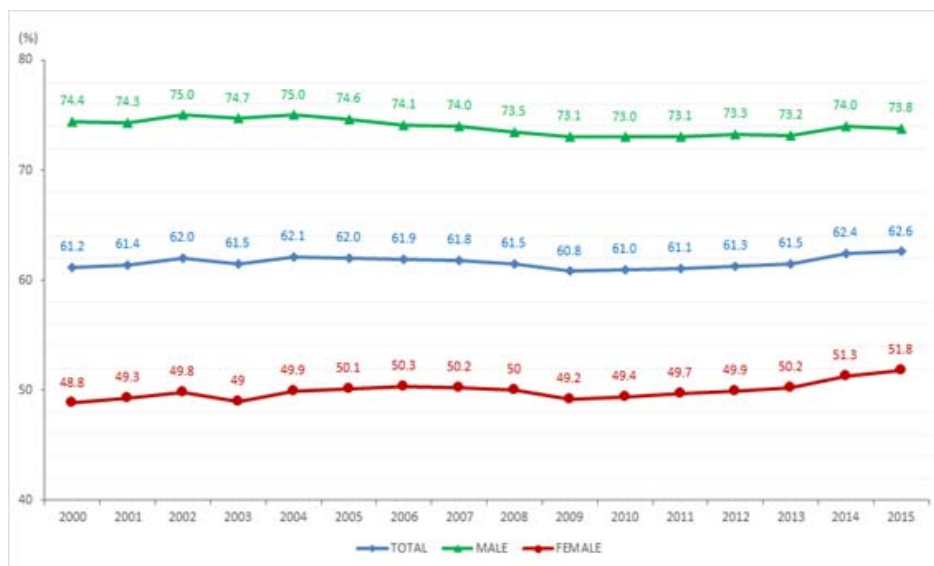
female human resources”, and “guarantee of women's rights” in 2005. As the phenomenon of female workers' dismissal appeared during the economic crisis of 2008, the Ministry of Gender Equality enacted the Economic Activity Promotion Act for women career discontinuity. Through this, the Ministry of Gender Equality established and operated a new job center and enforced policies to secure a related budget and became a stepping stone to women returning to their careers (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015).

In 2010, the Ministry of Gender Equality was renamed to the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family to implement policies related to the promotion of women's rights, as well as family and multicultural policies and youth protection and upbringing. As of 2016, the main policies of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family are as follows: First, it is necessary to establish a “social and cultural environment for reconciliation of work and family”, “support women returning to work and employment”, “gender equal society” for women and men, and the “Global Partnership for Expanding the Horizon of International Social Cooperation.”; Second, under the policy objectives of a society in which youth are growing in a balanced manner, and activities of “strengthening creative capacities of youth and supporting safe working conditions”, “strengthening the safety network and independence support for youth” and “strengthening the foundation of youth policy promotion” are carried out; Third, the policy of a happy society for all family members, the objectives are “providing integrated services to various families”, “creating a friendly social environment to support family member's birthday and childcare” and adopting “Multicultural Family Capacity Enhancement and Multicultural Awareness Enhancement.” Fourth, under the policy goal of safe society for children and women, the objectives are “creating a social environment of preventing violence against women”, “strengthening the support for women victims, and spreading awareness of history” (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2015).

3. Development of Women's Social Status and SRB

Next, using the 2015 report on gender equality in Korea (Joo, et al, 2015), this paper presents social status of women in recent years. This paper could not include information prior to 1990 due to data limitation. In general, women's social status has been steadily increased due to our government's effort of monitoring and managing policies for women since 1982.

Economic participation rate of male was higher than that of female in 2000-2015. Yet, the rate of increase in female labor force and participation is higher than that of men.



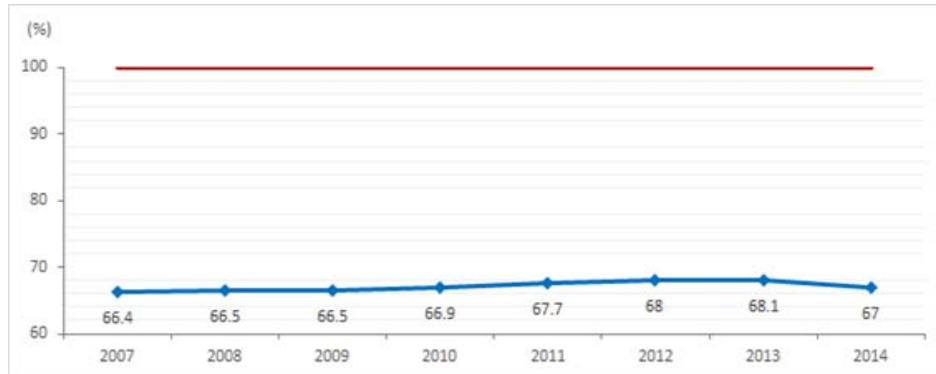
Source: National Statistical Office. Economically Active Population Survey 2000-2015

[Figure III-2] Participation rate of economic activity by gender

Another indicator of economic activity, gender wage gap index, shows that the monthly salary of female workers rose from 1,772,000 won in 2010 to 2,092,000 won in 2014. On the other hand, the total monthly salary for men increased from 2,640,000 won in 2010 to 312,000,000 won in 2014. When the

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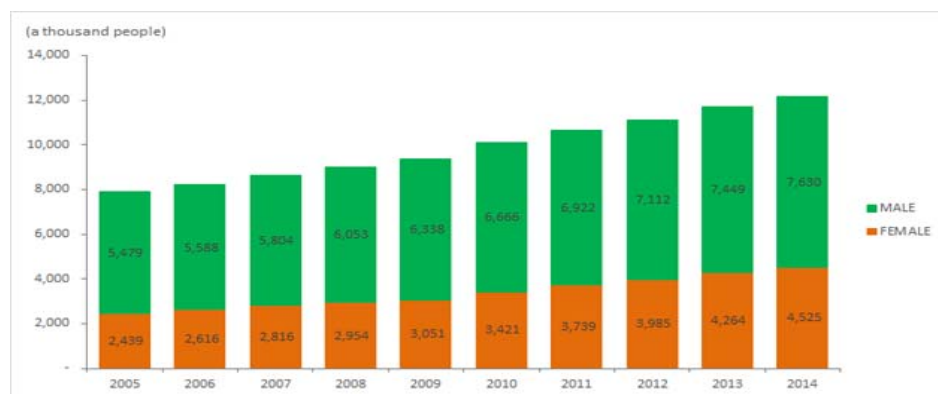
total monthly salary for men is taken as 100%, the total monthly salary for women is as low as 67% of men in 2014.



Source: Ministry of Employment and Labor. Survey on Employment Status by Employment Type 2007-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-3] Gender wage gap indicator (based on 100% of male monthly salary)

Looking at the regular workers indicator for employment stability, the number of female regular workers increased gradually from 2,816,000 in 2007 to 4,525,000 in 2014. Also, the rate of female regular workers has steadily increased since 2009 from 32.5% to 35.1% in 2011 to 37.2% in 2014.

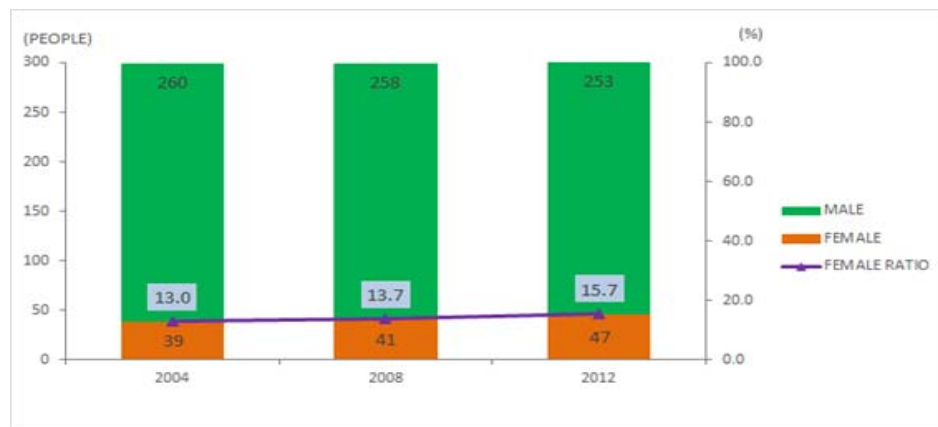


Source: National Statistical Office. Economically Active Population Survey 2005-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-4] Number of regular workers by gender

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Decision making is one of the areas that shows lowest gender equality. First, in 2004, only 29 percent of 299 lawmakers in the National Assembly was elected to the National Assembly, a key indicator of decision-making. Since then, the percentage of female parliamentarians has increased from 13.7% in 2008 to 15.7% in 2012. However, the number of female parliamentarians is still far lower than that of men.

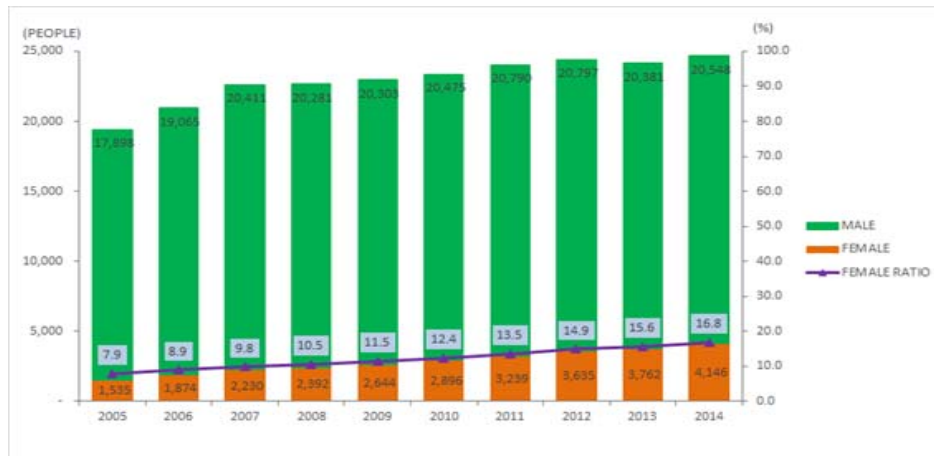


Source: Ministry of Employment and Labor. Survey on Employment Status by Employment Type 2004-2012

[Figure III-5] Percentage of Parliamentarians by gender

When looking at the status of government officials above grade 5, which is a decision-making indicator in the public sector, the number of women has steadily increased since 2005. First of all, the civil servants of grade 5 or above are working in the administrative department, public administration, technical management, administration and management, research, leadership, professional career, etc. In 2005, the number of female civil servants grade 5 or above rose from 1,355 to 4,146 in 2014. The number of male civil servants above grade 5 also increased from 17,898 in 2005 to 25,548 in 2014. The proportion of women in the civil servant grade 5 or higher has steadily increased from 2005 to 2014, accounting for 16.8%.

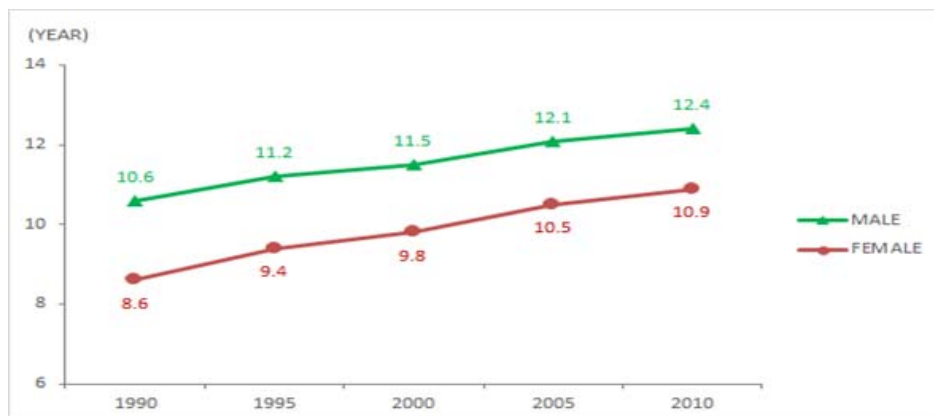
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Source: National Statistical Office. Economically Active Population Survey 2005-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-6] Status of public officials above grade 5 by gender

Education is one of the areas of high gender equality. The average number of years of education has increased since 1990. Specifically, the number of women has increased from 9.8 in 2000 to 10.5 in 2005 to 10.9 in 2010, and males were 11.5, 12.1, 12.4 respectively. A gender increase from 1990 to 2010 indicates that the average number of years of education increased to 2.3 years for women and 1.8 years for men.

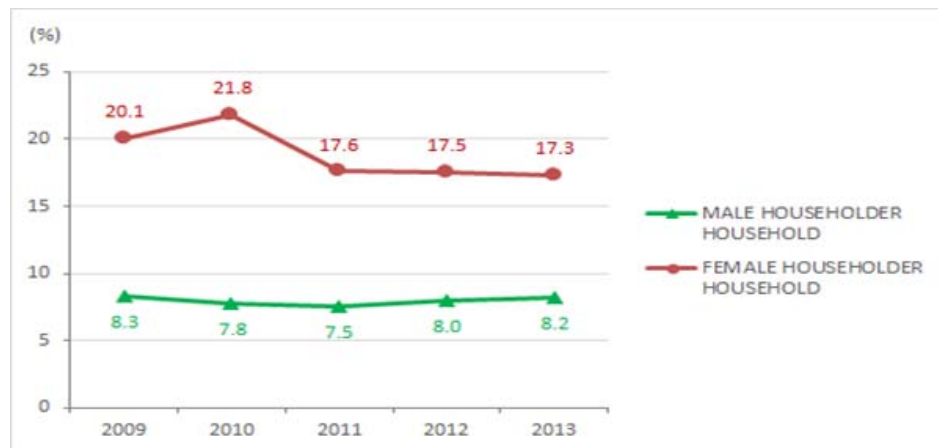


Source: National Statistical Office. Population census statistical table reanalysis 1990-2010

[Figure Ⅲ-7] Average years of education by gender

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The poverty rate of male and female households, which are the main indicators of the welfare sector, will be examined by market income. The poverty rate of female householder increased from 20.1% in 2009 to 21.8% in 2010, and then decreased to 17.3% by 2013, showing a slight improvement. Meanwhile, the poverty rate of male householder declined from 8.3% in 2009 to 7.5% in 2011, and 8.0% and 8.2% in 2012 and 2013 respectively. In other words, the poverty rate of male householder has slightly increased recently, and the poverty rate of female householder is decreasing.

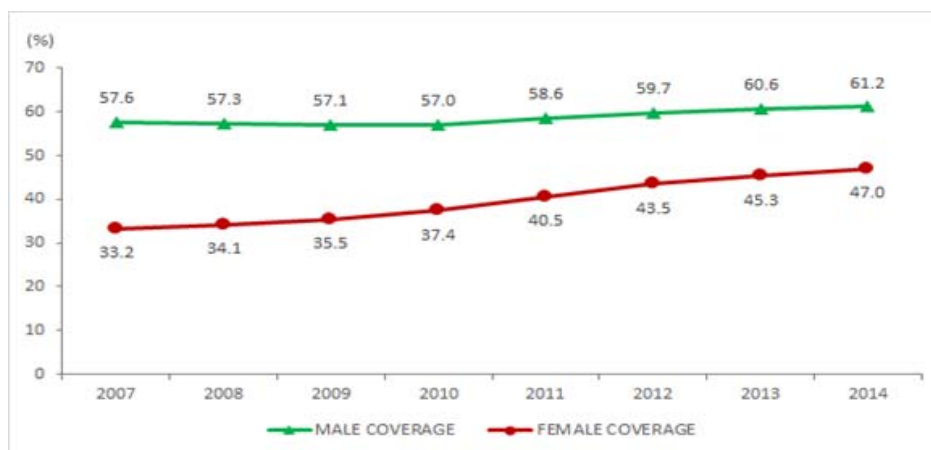


Source: National Statistical Office. Household trend survey 2009-2013

[Figure III-8] Poverty rate of householder (market income basis by gender)

As a second indicator of the welfare sector, we will look at the rate of joining the public pension schemes, such as national pension, private pension, and public employee pension by gender. The female participation rate continued to rise from 33.2% in 2007 to 47% in 2014. In terms of growth rate, men increased by 3.6 percentage points in 2014 compared to 2007, while women increased by 13.8 percentage points. As a result, the growth rate of female subscribers is rapidly increasing.

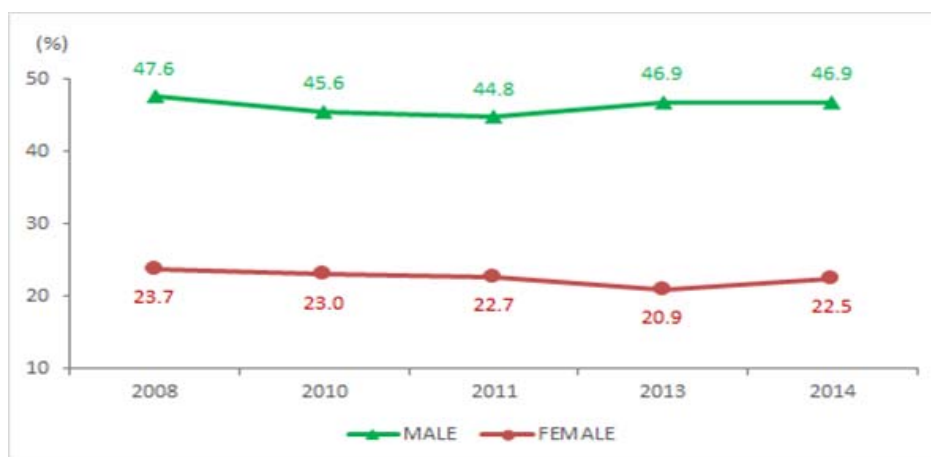
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Source: Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Korea Gender Equality Report 2007-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-9] Public pension rate by gender

When looking at the employment rate of women with disabilities, the lowest rate since 2008 was 20.9% in 2013, but the rate slightly increased to 22.5% in 2014. The employment rate for men with disabilities was 40%, which was higher than women.

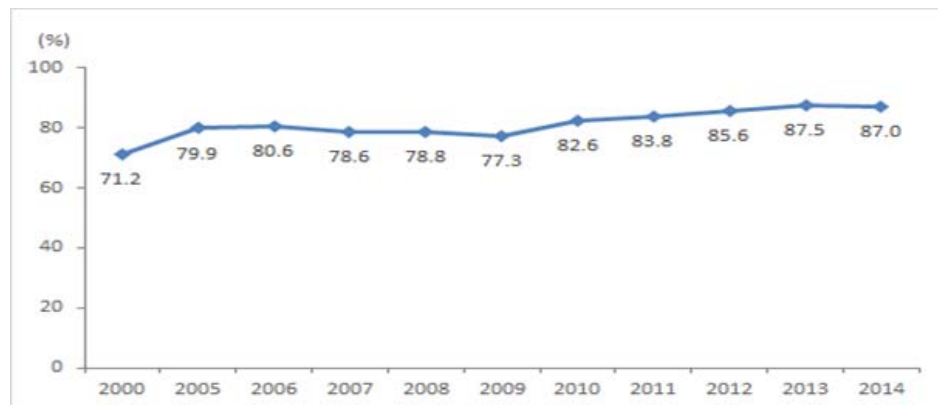


Source: Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs. Survey of the disabled 2008-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-10] Employment rate of the disabled by gender

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The statistic of victims of violent crime, a key indicator of safety, shows that the proportion of female victims of all kinds of violent crimes is on an increasing trend. In 2000, the proportion of female victims was 71.2% and increased to 87.5% in 2013. In 2014, the rate slightly decreased to 87%.

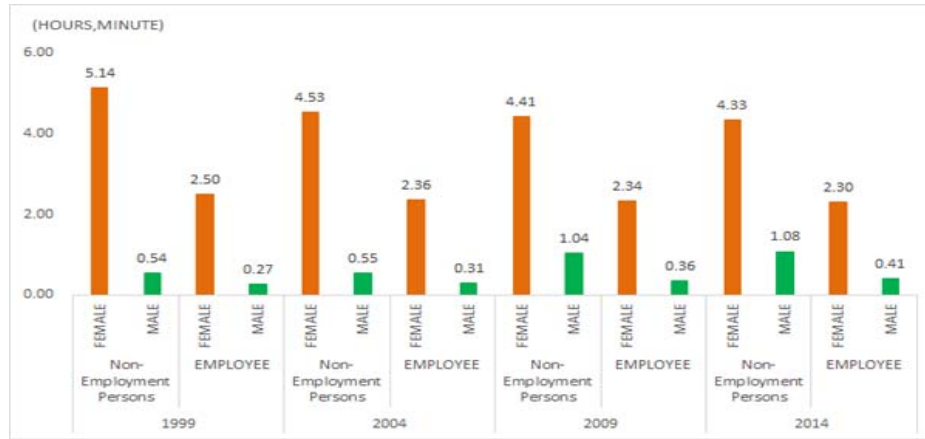


Source: Supreme Prosecutors Office. Crime Analysis 2000-2014

[Figure III-11] Percentage of female victims of violent crime

When we look at the household labor time by gender, which is the main index showing an equality conditions in a family, the housework hours of males are noticeably less than those of females. Certainly, domestic working hours of male have increased, while domestic hours of women have decreased when compared to the 2014 rate to 1999. However, the absolute participation time is much higher for women. In particular, when we look at the employment status, we can see that the housework hours of unemployed male are much lower than female workers' housework hours.

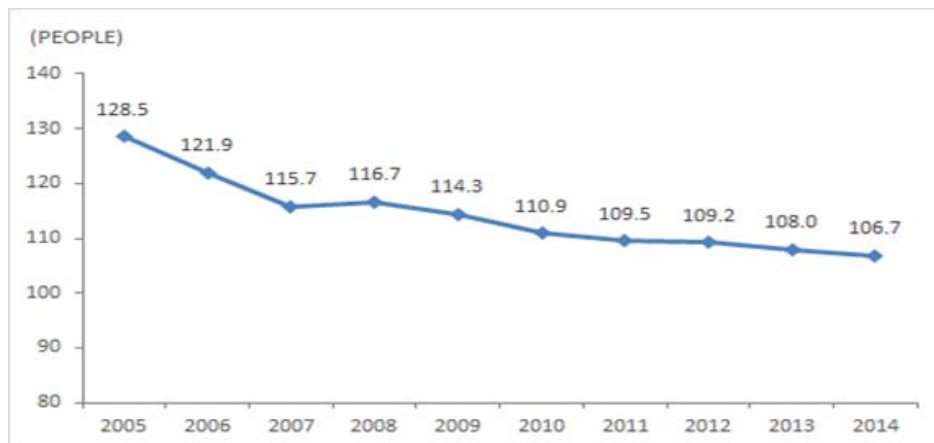
Ⅲ. Causes of Decline of Son Preference in South Korea ●● 25



Source: National Statistical Office. Life Time Survey 1999-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-12] Working hours for households by gender

When looking at the sex ratio at birth in the third child, the number of boys per 100 girls, decreased to 106.7 in 2014 from 128.5 in 2005. This suggests that the gender selection birth phenomenon is decreasing due to a lower preference of boys over the third child. More importantly, value of boys could have lowered since women's social status has risen.



Source: National Statistical Office. Population Trend Survey 2005-2014

[Figure Ⅲ-13] Sex ratio at birth over third child and above (based on 100 women)



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Finally, the significance of these statistical results shows positive impact of women's policies, and such policies have improved the level of gender equality. Improved level of gender equality could be linked to the change of values and norms on son preference.



IV. Conclusion



This study reviewed the definition and problems of sex ratio at birth, history of population policy and its relation to SRB, and causes of decline of SRB in South Korea. Family planning means adjusting the number of children and the interval (birth interval) appropriately considering the socioeconomic condition and the physical health condition of woman so that the entire family members can live a healthy and happy life. It is ideal to allow the wife to decide on the desired number of children within a healthy age by adjusting the time and the age gap between children, and considering the age, occupation and economic situation of the couple. Yet, our government appeared to force people to reduce their family size in order to achieve economic success. In Korea, the family planning project was created from the social movement of enhancing the efficiency of the economic development. Since 1962, the family planning project had been promoted as part of the five-year economic development plan. Family planning of controlling childbirth had continued until 1996. About 30 years of family planning project by our government might have changed Koreans' thoughts on the value of son which was highly valued by neo-Confucianism. In order to curb population growth, it was necessary to dissolve traditional son preference attitude. However, the family planning projects, mainly promoted contraceptive use, alone could not easily bring changes in the gender values. In the 1970s, the social support measures had been adopted by giving the right of inheritance to women (1977), and granting priority to public housing to a family with two children or infertile couples (1978). Also, our society has made a lot of efforts to promote women's right and their social status by creating gender equality department. This could be one of important factors causing SRB to meet the natural level. Various reasons for meeting the natural sex ratio at birth could be suggested. Moreover, the reasons could be interconnected under different social conditions and different time period. When applying our experience to reduce SRB of other countries, we have to take a careful approach to SRB phenomenon by understanding culture and custom related to SRB in other countries.



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