**Appendix**: Multiple dimensions of tension in childcare policy change in South Korea

1980s/1990s Welfare state outputs

* Subsidies to low-income households
* Expansion of childcare infrastructure through market mechanisms

Self-undermining policy feedback

Inadequate childcare provision

*Demands for expansion*

Additional data sources used in analysis:

3-Year-Plan for Expansion of Child Care Centers (1995-1997) (*보육시설 확충 3개년 계획(1995～1997년)*), The Second Basic Plan for the Welfare of Working Women (*제2차 근로여성복지 기본계획*), **Baek, S. H.** (1997), ‘An evaluation of the development process of government policy on the provision of childcare facilities’. *Korean Journal of Early Childhood Care and Education*, **10**, 189–210, **Choi, H. M., Kim, A. J., Moon, S. S., and Choi, M. H.** (2007), *Introduction to childcare studies*. Hyungseol Publishing, **Kang, S. H.** (2008), ‘An exploration of unification strategies for early childhood education and childcare systems’. *Educational Culture Research*, **14**, 2, 209–234, **Kim, I. K., Lee, M. S., and Cho, E. J.** (2005), *Childcare policy theory*. Seoul: Gyomunsa, **Kim, I. K., Kim, K. R., Bae, J. S., Yoon, J. R., and Lee, S. B.** (2008), *Introduction to childcare studies*. Seoul: Gyomunsa, **Kim, M. O.** (1999), *A study on the changes in Korean early childhood care and education legislation*. Master’s thesis, Gwangju University, **Sim, S. Y.** (2009), ‘Development and prospects of social service policies for women’s work-family balance’. *Social Welfare Policy*, **36**, 4, 27–54.

Kim Dae-jung administration (centre-left, 1998-2003)

* Expansion of subsidies
* Further deregulation of the childcare market, leading to the growth of private sector providers

Self-undermining policy feedback

Market childcare services

Public childcare services

*Demands for quality improvements*

*Demands for status quo (or expansion)*

*Demands for expansion*

Work-family reconciliation

Additional data sources used in analysis:

The first Basic Plan for Women’s Policies (1998–2002) (*1차여성정책 기본계획(1998~2002년)*), Comprehensive Mid- to Long-Term Development Plan for Childcare Services (*보육사업 중∙장기 종합발전계획*, 2001), Plan for Revitalizing Childcare Services (*보육사업 활성화 방안*, 2002), **Baek, S. H.** (2003), ‘An evaluation of childcare policy in the Kim Dae-jung administration through an ideological model of social welfare’. *Korean Journal of Early Childhood Care and Education*, **33**, 23–47, **Baek, S. H.** (2009), Evaluation of childcare policy during the Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun administrations: Focusing on national plans. *Context and Welfare*, **28**, 95–141, **Baek, S. H., and Kim, K. S.** (2001), ‘Strategies for the social sharing of childcare costs and directions for fiscal policy’. *Korean Journal of Early Childhood Care and Education*, **27**, 210–237, **Baek, S. H., and Seo, M. H.** (2004), ‘A study on the qualification system for childcare facility directors and teachers following the revision of the infant and toddler care act’. *Korean Journal of Early Childhood Care and Education*, **39**, 171–195, **Byun, Y. C., *et al.*** (1998), *A Study on the evaluation of the Three-Year Plan for Expanding Childcare Facilities,* **Childcare Development Committee Planning Group, and Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs** (2001), *Childcare system reform for the advancement of childcare services in the 21st Century,* **Ministry of Health and Welfare, Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs, and Ministry of Health and Welfare** (2002), *We will continue follow-up measures for the announced childcare project promotion plans* (press release, March 14, 2002), **Ministry of Health and Welfare, Ministry of Labor, and Ministry of Gender Equality** (2002), *Plans for the promotion of childcare projects,* **People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy** (2002), *Achievements and limitations of the Childcare development committee*, **Sim, S. Y.** (2009), ‘Development and prospects of social service policies for work-family balance among women’. *Social Welfare Policy*, **36**, 4, 27–54, **Yoo, H. J.** (1999), *An evaluation of childcare policy from the perspective of the consumer.* Korean Women’s Development Institute.

Roh Moo-hyun administration (centre-left, 2003-2008)

* Introduction of a basic subsidy scheme
* Implementation of an accreditation system, though weakened by self-reinforcing feedback from private providers
* Incremental increases in public childcare provision, influenced by self-reinforcing feedback from private providers

Self-undermining policy feedback

Market childcare services

Public childcare services

*Demands for quality improvements*

*Demands for quality improvements*

*Demands for expansion*

Social investment

Additional data sources used in analysis:

Announcement of Plans for Promoting Childcare (March 2002), The First Childcare Support Policy (2004, *제1차 육아지원정책*), The Second Childcare Support Policy (2005, *제2차 육아지원정책*), Participatory Welfare Planning Group, Ministry of Health and Welfare, & Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (2004). *Participatory Welfare Five-Year Plan: 2004–2008* (*참여복지 5개년계획: 2004~2008년*)*,* Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, *Announcement of the First Mid- to Long-Term Childcare Plan (2006–2010)*, **Government-Private Joint Task Force** (2006), *Hopeful Korea Together: Vision 2030,* **Presidential Advisory Policy Planning Committee** (2008), *Participatory Government Policy Report: Response to Low Birth Rates and Aging Society – Preparing for the Future of This Land,* **Ministry of Health and Welfare** (2011), *Reference Materials on Major Policies for 2011*, 411–430, **Song, D. Y.** (2010), ‘Class and gender issues within the policy design of ‘free choice’: Focusing on the formation and reorganization of Korean childcare policy’. *Journal of Korean Family Welfare*, **30**, 347–378,**Yoo, H. J., Kim, E. S., and Choi, H. S.** (2007), *Study on the outcomes of childcare support policy.* Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.

Lee Myung-bak administration (centre-right, 2008-2013) – Year 2008

* Introduction of a voucher system replacing direct subsidies
* Introduction of a cash-for-care allowance, resulting from self-undermining policy feedback
* Maintenance of a low level of public childcare provision

Self-undermining policy feedback

Market childcare services

Public childcare services

*Demands for quality improvements*

*Demands for quality improvements*

*Demands for status quo (or retrenchment)*

Neoliberalism (free choice)

Additional data sources used in analysis:

The Child Love Plan 2009-2012 (*아이사랑플랜*), The First Basic Plan for Family Policy 2006-2010 (*제1차 가족정책기본계획*), **Baek, S. H.** (2008). *A critical examination of the childcare policies of the Lee Myung-bak administration. Is the childcare policy of the Lee Myung-bak administration truly consumer-centered?* Discussion Forum Proceedings, 1–30. KYC, Co-Parenting and Community Education, Social Welfare Committee of the People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, and the Korean Women’s Association United, **Hong, S. A., Kim, E. J., and Sun, B. Y.** (2013), *Policies for in-home childcare and development strategy: Focused on the home care allowance and public in-home childcare services*, Korea Women’s Development Institute, **Kim, J. H.** (2008), What is the marketization of social services for?. *Proceedings of the Spring Conference of the Korean Academy of Social Welfare*, 105–122, **Kim, S. Y.** (2010, February 22), 95% of Childcare Facilities Are Private… Low-Income Parents Suffer. *The Hankyoreh*, Politics Section, **Kim, W.-S., and Nam, Y.-C.** (2011). ‘The development of social policy under Lee Myung-bak government: Is Korean welfare expansion at end?’. *The Journal of Asiatic Studies*, **54**, 1, 119–152, **Kim, Y.-M.,** **and Kim, S.-Y.** (2009), ‘The introduction of child care voucher and the dilemmas of child care policy in Korea’. *The Korea Association of Child Care and Education*, **59**, 1–27, **Lee, J-S.** (2017), ‘The dynamics of the policy advocacy coalition on child support allowance: A comparison of Korea and Germany through policy discourse’. *Korean-German Journal of Social Sciences*, **27**, 2, 3–26, **Lee, O.** (2010), *Outcomes and challenges of Korean childcare policy*. Proceedings of the Women's Agenda Forum, Incheon Development Institute, 41–65, **Seo, M.-h., Choi, J.-w., and Choi, H.-s.** (2007), *Comprehensive measures for infant childcare support*. Childcare policy development center, **Shin, Y., Lee, H., Kim, T., Choi, S., Choi, S., Kwon, J.e., and Lee, S.** (2009), *Proposal for the introduction of the childcare allowance*, Ministry of Health and Welfare, **Song, D. Y.** (2010), ‘Class and gender issues within the policy design of ‘free choice’: Focusing on the formation and reorganization of Korean childcare policy’. *Journal of Korean Family Welfare*, **30**, 347–378, **Yoo, H.-m., Seo, M.-h., Han, Y.-m., and Kim, M.-j.** (2011), *Effects and Improvement Measures of Infant Child-Rearing Cost Support Policies - Focusing on Child-Rearing Allowances***,** Korea Institute for Childcare and Education.

Lee Myung-bak administration (centre-right, 2008-2013) and Park Geun-hye administration (centre-right, 2013-2017) – since 2009

* Free childcare reform
* Cash-for-care expansion
* Customized childcare reform

Cash-for-care allowance

*Demands for quality improvement*

Self-undermining policy feedback

Market childcare services

Public childcare services

Neoliberalism & Universalism

Additional data sources used in analysis:

The 2nd Basic Plan for Low Fertility and an Aging Society (*제2차 저출산 고령사회 기본계획*), The 3rd Basic Plan for Low Fertility and an Aging Society (*제3차 저출산고령사회기본계획*), The Second Mid-to Long Childcare Plan 2013-2017 (*제2차 중장기보육 기본계획***),** Announcement of full childcare cost support for the bottom 80% of income earners by 2012 (*2012년까지 소득하위 80% 보육비 전액지원 발표*), Report on the first local government facing a crisis of suspending free childcare (2011, *지방정부 최초로 무상보육 중단위기 보도*), **Ahn, C. H.** (2011, January 24), Despite Only 30% Support for Universal Welfare, 61% Show Interest in Free Welfare Services. *The Hankyoreh*, Politics Section, **Chosun Ilbo** (2012, July 26)**,** *Ministry of Health and Welfare: Childcare allowance (money given when not sending to childcare facilities) to be fully provided; necessary for ages 0-2 but opposed for ages 3-5*, **Hankyoreh** (2012, November 26), *If you don*’*t send your 0-5 year old to childcare facilities, will you receive 200,000 won a month? Women's groups respond, 'It will further dampen women*’*s economic activity.'*, **Hong, S. A., Kim, E. J., and Sun, B. Y.** (2013), *Policies for in-home childcare and development strategy: Focused on the home care allowance and public in-home childcare services*, Korea Women’s Development Institute, **Jang, S. J.** (2013), ‘Analysis of discourse on the free childcare policy for infants and toddlers: Focusing on a work-family balance perspective’. *Korean Journal of Social Welfare*, **65**, 4, 33–59, **JoongAng Ilbo** (2012, November 22), *To obtain 'mom*’*s approval,' the budget for free childcare increased by 1 trillion won without any measures*, **Kim, S. H., Joo, E. S., and Hong, K. J.** (2013), ‘Analysis of core stakeholder preferences regarding free childcare and related policy issues: Focusing on directors, teachers, and parents in Seoul’s daycare centers’. *Social Welfare Policy*, **40**, 2, 205–235, **Kim, K.-S.,** **and Kim, S.-W.** (2012), ‘Quantitative welfare expansion and systemic retrenchment: An evaluation of welfare policy in the MB administration’. *Social Welfare Policy,* **39**, 3, 117–149, **Kim, S. Y.,** **and Lee, H. S.** (2014), *Study on changes in the demand for childcare centers after the home care allowance, and the need for diversified childcare services*. Seoul Foundation of Women & Family, **Korea Economic Daily** (2012, June 21). *The 'dilemma' of childcare allowance for children aged 0-2...Lost in the 'trap of welfare'*, **Korea Herald** (2012, January 10). *Establishing priorities for free childcare is the first step to prevent 'policy stagnation'*, **Korea Herald** (2012, September 20). *'The government must support free childcare for infants and toddlers,' urge Seoul city councilors*, **Korea Institute of Child Care and Education** (2014), *Enhancement measures for childcare support for improved birth rates and work-family balance (IV): Current conditions and improvement plans for childcare support in dual-income families with infants and toddlers*, Research Report 2014-25, **Lee, M. H.** (2013), *What Childcare Service do Parents Really Want?*, KICCE policy brief, **19**, 1–4, **Lee, S. H.** (2022), ‘Why the initiative of free childcare failed to be an effective policy implementation of universal childcare in South Korea’. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, **15**, 3, 558–574, **Lim, S. R., Kim, Y. M., and Lee, E. J.** (2013), ‘A study of media coverage and reporting attitudes on childcare-related articles: Focusing on the Lee Myung-bak administration’. *Children*’*s Media Research*, **12**, 1, 119–144, **Ministry of Health and Welfare** (2011), *Guide to the 2011 work plan*, **Ministry of Health and Welfare** (2013), *2012 national childcare status survey: Household survey report*, **Song, D. Y.** (2011), ‘A debate on the reform of childcare policy in Korea: A critique of free choice about caring and its alternative’. *Korean Journal of Social Welfare,* **63**, 3, 285–307, **The Kyunghyang Newspaper** (2016. June 14), *The customized childcare program alienating stay-at-home moms from working moms*, **Yoon, H.** (2014), ‘Family policy in Park Geun-Hye administration: The expansion of inequality in gender and classes’. *Economy and Society,* **101**, 87–116.

Moon Jae-in administration (centre-left, 2017-2022)

* Implementation of a mandatory accreditation system
* Expansion of public childcare provision
* Further expansion of cash-for-care

Cash-for-care allowance

*Demands for quality improvement*

Self-undermining policy feedback

Market childcare services

Public childcare services

Inclusive welfare

Additional data sources used in analysis:

The Third Basic Plan for Low Fertility and an Aging Society (Feb 2019 revision, *제3차(2016~2020) 저출산․고령사회기본계획(수정*), The Fourth Basic Plan for Low Fertility and an Aging Society (*제4차 저출산‧고령사회 기본계획*), The Second Basic Plan for Child Policy (2020–2024) **(***제2차 아동정책기본계획20~24년*), Report on the Activities of the 6th Committee on Low Birthrate and Aging Society 2017–2019 (*저출산·고령사회위원회 제6기 활동보고서 2017~2019*), **Kim, G. J.** (2021), *Achievements and Future Challenges of Childcare Policy under the Moon Jae-in Administration: Focusing on the Results of the 2021 Survey of Parents, Experts, and Institutions.* Childcare Policy Forum, **Korea Institute of Child Care and Education**. (2014), *Measures to Enhance Childcare Support for Improved Birth Rates and Work-Family Balance (IV): Current Conditions and Improvement Plans for Childcare Support in Dual-Income Families with Infants and Toddlers*, Research Report 2014-25, **Korea Institute of Child Care and Education**. (2018), *A paradigm shift in childcare policies and policy tasks for a ultra-low birthrate society and an inclusive welfare state*, **Oh, S. H., and Kang, H. A.** (2021), ‘A semantic network analysis of news comments on child abuse: Focusing on major changes in child abuse policy’. *Journal of Child Studies*, **42**, 4, 457–471.