

WORLD POLICY ANALYSIS ON GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE: A COMMON CRUX FOR SOUTH KOREA, JAPAN, AND CHINA

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Abstract

Gender inequality is a significant issue in the workplace. The purpose of this study is to analyze how national policies affect practice regarding gender equality in the workplace in Eastern Asia. The primary policy-level datasets used in this study are from the World Policy Analysis Center. We examined five variables regarding pay, promotion/demotion, and parental leave by gender. In comparing policies and practices, we found that women are still unequally treated in pay, promotion, and unpaid childcare responsibilities, even with policies intended to positively affect practices in China, South Korea, and Japan. Practices are far behind in achieving gender equality in the workplace.

Keywords: gender inequality in the workplace, maternal leave, paternal leave, policy

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Gender inequality, mainly discrimination against women, is prevalent in the labor market from the beginning to the end of the employment process. It includes, but is not limited to, unfair recruitment, pay gaps, unequal promotion and work assignments, insufficient maternity leave, and unequal pensions. It is an unsolved problem not only in a few countries but globally.

According to the World Bank (2019) derived to International Labor Organization (ILO) dataset, the ratio of male to female labor force participation rate is only about three to two in 2019. Even after female are hired, they eventually face the unequal consideration for promotion compared to male colleagues because of the invisible barrier which is generally called as glass ceiling. The Global Gender Gap Report completed by World Economic Forum (2018) shows that women take a position of manager only 34% of whole managers in global (p. 9). In terms of gender pay gap, in the Global Wage Report 2018/19, conducted by the ILO (2018), the world average gender pay gap is estimated to be from 15.6% (measured in mean hourly wages) to 21.8% (measured in median monthly wages). India, Pakistan, and Republic of Korea had the widest gaps in the world, which were recorded as 34.5%, 34.0%, and 32.5%, respectively, in terms of the gender pay gap of mean hourly wages.

Many studies have shown that gender inequality in the workplace can be at least partly due to discrimination against women. There are existing meta-analyses that have documented individual discrimination against women by decision-makers, particularly regarding their attitudes toward sexism at the decision-making level (Davison and Burke, 2000; Koch and Sackett, 2015). Masser and Abrams (2004) showed in their experimental study that the participants who scored higher in hostile sexism, which was assessed by a 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske, 1996), were more likely to recommend a male candidate instead of a female for a managerial position.

Even after women enter the labor market and make great progress in the workplace, they face a harsh reality when they give birth to a baby. Unpaid and short durations of parental leave, as well as unequal sharing of childcare responsibilities, contribute further to gender inequality in the workplace (ILO, 2019). Usually, women are expected more than men to engage in childcare responsibilities, so they struggle in dealing with poorly-paid or unpaid childcare, as well as their lower-paying jobs (ILO, 2019).

Despite improvements in gender equality under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the United Nations in 2000, women and girls remain vulnerable and behind men. This disparity led all United Nations member states to agree on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, which include gender inequality issues to achieve female equality, as well as women's and girls' empowerment (UN, 2019). Sen (2000) stated in *Development as Freedom* that the empowerment of women is one of the main issues impeding societal development all over the world (p. 202). Women's independent income and participation in economic activities are not only related to the achievement of women's well-being but also to providing other social benefits such as promoting child survival and reduction of fertility rates (Sen, 2000, p. 201). Expanding the platform for women's voices goes beyond gender discrimination issues (Sen, 2000); it is important to look into the current status of women's abilities in the labor market and how these abilities can be strengthened.

In this paper, we address the following research question: to what extent do government policies of China, South Korea, and Japan increase gender equality and women's empowerment in the workplace? According to ILO (2018), Asia and the Pacific has about 58% labor force around the world which is the biggest portion out of five geographical regions

defined by ILO. Particularly focusing on Eastern Asia countries, we will recognize the gender gaps in the workplaces in these three countries and then come up with policy recommendations to tackle the gaps.

Literature Review

Figure A-1, originally demonstrated in *Women Empowerment and Economic Development* by Esther Duflo (2012), shows that labor force participation in 2011 was one of the biggest gaps between men's and women's welfare. As Berniell and Sánchez-Páramo (2011) state, women spend more time than men in household affairs and childcare, which are unpaid; meanwhile, women generally spend less time on paid work outside the home than men do. Duflo (2012) also argues that women are usually paid less than men in similar work and that women are more likely to fall into poverty even when they have a job. She emphasized that limited openings for women in job markets can contribute to the fact that females are unequally treated in households; parents hold lower expectations for girls than boys, while girls also have the self-perception that they are less valued in a family (Duflo, 2012, p. 1056). These beliefs will lessen the equal opportunity for girls while setting the expectation that women should spend more time for housekeeping and infant care resulting in "lower aspirations" for women in economic society (Duflo, 2012).

In Europe, many studies have been done to examine the policies' effects of gender equality practices regarding economic participation. Through reviewing previous works, we can refer to European countries' policies to make recommendations for the three Eastern Asian countries focused on in this study.

Europe

There are many studies evaluating how family-friendly policies impact gender equality in the workplace in Europe. Generally speaking, non-parental childcare service is considered as "social investment policy" that contributes to gender equality in the labor market (Zollinger & Widmer, 2018). In Sweden, Zollinger and Widmer (2018) found that universal childcare service designed with a gender-equality frame and provided publicly as a day-care center has a positive effect on enhancing female labor force participation for both the user and provider of the services. This means that the service user could remain at their job after childbirth and the provider (employees at day-care centers, mostly women) are paid enough to support a family.

González, Santos, & Santos (2008) pointed out that even though the implementation of European Employment Strategy (ESS) has somehow achieved closing gender gap in terms of employment rate, performance in closing gender pay gap has made an only slight change in the European Union (EU) since the 1990s. They looked into especially two cases showing that Portugal modestly decreased in the pay gap linked to the intense reduction of birth rate while Denmark earned a high part-time employment rate of females as increasing in the pay gap (González, Santos, & Santos, 2008). In similar topic study, Gupta et al. (2006) argued that the policies aiming gender equality in the labor market such as "paid maternity leave [and] family care days and flexible working hours" made employer more likely to hire male than female because these policies led women to use more unintentional day off for family care in

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Denmark. They referred to this phenomenon as “possible boomerang effects” when policies were implemented (Gupta et al, 2006).

Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T (2011) completed a study to evaluate the national policy of paid parental leave in Nordic countries, which brings gender equality in the workplace, especially the policy that incentivizes fathers to share childcare responsibilities. Also, Leira (2002) argued that sharing equal unpaid work, such as household labor and childcare, is important to achieving gender equality in the workplace. The comparison of policies and practices in Nordic countries shows that the “father’s quota,” which is “non-transferable leave,” was the most effective policy in increasing the use of parental leave by fathers (Haas, L., & Rostgaard, T, 2011). Overall, European countries are relatively gender-equal societies compared to other regions (World Economic Forum, 2018), but these countries also still try to make improvements by instituting more effective policies to achieve gender equality and enhance women’s empowerment in economic participation.

Asia

There have been multiple studies on gender equality in the workplace that focus especially on Asian countries. Two large-scale studies have suggested that hostile justifications for women’s unequal treatment are higher in South Korea and Japan than in the US, Australia, and Northern Europe (Glick et al., 2000; Napier et al., 2010). Also, an empirical study conducted by Kato and Kodama (2015) addressing two practices, Work-Life Balance (WLB) and Performance-Related Pay (PRP), found that these policies possibly worsen gender inequality, despite being assumed to improve conditions for females in the workplace. For example, working part-time during women’s transition period could have effects that reduce the women’s management position rate (Kato & Kodama, 2015). PRP makes a more competitive atmosphere which causes longer working hours for promotion, and it makes women give up promotions (Kato & Kodama, 2015). They suggested that policymakers consider the unintended impacts of the two practices in achieving Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s goal (Kato & Kodama, 2015). Abe, Prime Minister of Japan declared at the Global Leaders Meeting, “We have set a goal that about 30% of leadership positions ... be occupied by women by 2020” (UNWOMEN, 2020).

A case study by Kim, Moon, and Chun (2007) found that female labor force participation is also associated with national policies, not only with market characteristics, by comparing the gender equality policies between South Korea and Sweden. Sweden’s equal employment policies pursue the re-organization of gender equality in the labor division, while South Korea focuses more on merely protecting women from discrimination in the labor market through early policies (Kim, Moon, and Chun, 2007). According to this study, child care policy and affirmative actions in South Korea were aimed at eliminating discrimination against women, but the policies were limited to only women in professional jobs, meaning most women were still exposed to discrimination in the labor market (Kim, Moon, and Chun, 2007).

In China, despite legal protections against gender discrimination in the workplace, it is prevalent in direct, indirect, and protective forms (Yang and Li, 2009). For example, indirect forms could include the case that employers require a physical qualification that potentially disqualifies more female than male applicants, such as requiring people to carry heavy items and be taller than 165cm, which are not associated with requirements to perform the job itself (Yang and Li, 2009). Protective forms are found in the case of regulation setting women’s

retirement age at age 55 compared to men at age 60. Earlier intentions for this regulation concerned women's health, however, it affects women's income, pensions, and leadership portion (Yang and Li, 2009). These studies also found that policies which intended to prohibit discrimination against women and to achieve gender equality have limitation in practice in Asian countries.

Analysis of Data

Methods

The datasets used for analysis in the study are from the World Policy Analysis Center¹ which provides data on national policies.

To evaluate gender inequality in the workplace, we considered two types of variables in the data analysis: first, variables that suggest policies directly addressing gender equality in the workplace and second, variables on family-friendly policies. These policies may not have a direct impact on gender equality in the workplace, but they usually differ between genders regarding family responsibilities and childcare. Hence, the family-friendly policies will potentially affect gender equality in the workplace.

We chose the variable *pay_gender* that indicates if equal pay is guaranteed for men and women, and another variable *promdemo_gender* that tells if the protection of women in promotion/demotion is guaranteed in the national policy. We also conducted analyses on the variables *maternal leave* and *paternal leave* for investigating the national policy on paid leave for new mothers and new fathers. In addition to these variables, we also looked into the variable *dadstoo*, which is a variable indicating if paid leave is structured to encourage fathers to share the responsibilities to care for the newborns. The data for pay and promotion/demotion analyses are located in the dataset *Gender Discrimination at Work*, released in 2017, while the data on maternal leave, paternal leave, and incentivizing paternal leave are in the dataset *Adult Labor*, published in 2018. Of all the variables, we focused on their measures mainly in the three countries of interest in our study: China, South Korea, and Japan.

Every variable is measured with 1) a scale from 1 to 4 (pay by gender, paternal leave), 2) a scale from 1 to 5 (maternal leave, incentivizing paternal leave), and 3) a binary measure of 0 or 1 (promotion/demotion by gender). In the scale measures, 1 means the worst structured policy and 4 (on a scale from 1 to 4) or 5 (on a scale from 1 to 5) means the best. For the binary measures, 0 indicates there is no protection against discrimination by policy and 1 indicates there is protection against discrimination by policy. The variable descriptions can be found in Appendix B.

We summarized the variables in China, South Korea, and Japan (Appendix C) to contrast the national policy measures by the World Policy Analysis Center. Also, we found specific policies and laws directly related to the variables, thus to find ground for the national policy measures in the World Policy Analysis Center. In the results, we would demonstrate how the national policies related to gender inequalities in the workplace among China, South Korea, and Japan in more details.

¹The World Policy Analysis Center, Data Download: <https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/maps-data/data-download>

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Results

According to the Gender Discrimination at Work Dataset (2017) from the World Analysis Center, the pay by gender policy in China and Japan are at the value of 4, which suggests their policy guarantees equal pay; meanwhile South Korea's policy scores 5, guaranteeing equal pay for work of equal value. In South Korea, the employer shall provide equal pay for equal-value work within identical businesses (Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance, 1987). However, China requires that "equal pay for equal work shall be applied to men and women alike," which is stated in *Laws on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests* (2012). Japan, likewise, also has a policy that "An employer shall not engage in discriminatory treatment of a woman as compared with a man with respect to wages by reason of the worker being a woman" (Labor Standard Act, 1947).

The data on promotion/demotion by gender from the Gender Discrimination at Work Dataset (2017) demonstrate that China, South Korea, and Japan all guarantee the protection of women in promotion/demotion in their national policy. China guarantees the protection of women in promotion/demotion by prescribing that the principle of equality between men and women is upheld, and discrimination against women is not allowed in promotion by *Laws on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests* (2012). South Korea stipulates that "no employer shall discriminate on grounds of gender in education, assignment, and promotion of his/her workers" (Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance, 1987). Japan also has a similar policy stating that employers shall not discriminate against workers on the basis of sex with regard to promotion and demotion (Act on Securing, etc. of Equal Opportunity and Treatment Between Men and Women in Employment, 1972).

According to the Adult Labor Dataset (2018) from the World Analysis Center, the variable of paid maternal leave policy in China is the value of 3, which means 14-25.9 weeks guaranteed, while South Korea and Japan both belong to value 5, indicating 52 weeks or more, where the policy guarantees paid maternal leave in the longest extent. In further examining the policies, China guarantees at least 98 days for mother employees and provides a minimum wage during the maternal leave (Labor Protection of Female Workers, 2012). In South Korea, Article 19 enacts that the employer should provide childcare leave to parents who have children younger than eight years old for one year (Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act, 1987). The cash benefit is provided under the classification (Employment Insurance Act, 1994). Japan guarantees paid childcare leave for one year for both male and female parents (Child Care and Family Leave Law, 1991; Employment Insurance Act, 1974).

An analysis of the variable for paid paternal leave policy in the three countries shows that China is the value of 0 (no paid leave), and South Korea and Japan demonstrate the value of 1 (14 weeks or more). Also, the variable addressing if paid leave incentivizes fathers to take up the leave has same outcome with the former variable of paid paternal leave, value 1 (no paid for fathers) for China and value 5 (leave length or payment bonus for fathers sharing leave) for South Korea and Japan. In China, fathers are not guaranteed paid paternal leave in policy. In the case of South Korea (Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act, 1987) and Japan (Child Care and Family Leave Law, 1991), both countries apply childcare leave to both women and men employees. The period is one year and the same calculation of cash benefits is applied to the mother and father in each country (Employment Insurance Act, 1994; Employment Insurance Act, 1974).

Discussion and Policy Recommendations

At the policy level, all three countries have sound policies in pay and promotion/demotion by gender, contrasting to the national policies worldwide. One thing worth emphasizing is the pay by gender policy. China and Japan scored 3, compared to South Korea which scored 4 in pay by gender. For parental leave, however, China has national policies that fall behind South Korea and Japan. China only grants 14 weeks of paid maternal leave and no guaranteed paid paternal leave in national policy, thus, no incentive to encourage fathers to take on responsibilities for infant care. In contrast, South Korea and Japan allow for 52 weeks for both women and men with incentives to share infant caring responsibilities for new fathers.

Despite that all of the three countries have published policies to promote gender equality in the workplace, gaps persist between genders in the workplace regarding the practices. According to the ILO (2018), pay using hourly wages has a wide gap between men and women in the three countries. South Korea had the worst pay gap in the world, which is 32.5% between men and women. Japan ranked second-worst worldwide, which possessed a 24.5% pay gap by gender (OECD, 2019). China was better off with a narrower gap than the other two countries, which was 17.2% between men and women, but still fell behind the world average, which is a pay gap of 15.6% between genders. Though equal pay is guaranteed in all of the three countries, especially in South Korea where equal pay is guaranteed for the equal value of work, the pay gap between genders is still wide.

Promotion and demotion, likewise, are guaranteed by the national anti-discrimination policies in the three countries. However, the practices are not as sound as the policy would suggest. According to the *Women in Business and Management Global Report* by the ILO (2015), the percentage of board seats held by women is within 5-10% in China and less than 5% in South Korea and Japan. In a company survey conducted and reported by the ILO (2015, p.16), participants suggested that the top barrier preventing women from leadership was the perception that “women have more family responsibilities than men.” This perception also promoted the thinking that differentiation in family support policies by gender would affect gender equality in the workplace. To promote women’s leadership, in 2015 Japan implemented a policy that its central and local governments, as well as businesses with over 300 employees, would be required to set numerical targets for women’s promotion to managerial positions (Nagata, 2018). Japan is making slow progress in promoting women to managerial positions, from 9.3% in 2016 to 13.2% in 2018 (Takami, 2018; Nagata, 2018).

Family-friendly policies in China, South Korea, and Japan, are at different levels of constructs. Overall, China has less welfare and support in both paid maternal leave and paternal leave. In contrast, South Korea and Japan are good models in the world for paid parental leave policy. Both countries guarantee a relatively long duration of paid parental leave regardless of gender. However, if we look into the practice, there is no favorable atmosphere in reality for childcare leave. The Korea Ministry of Employment and Labor conducted a national survey of 5,000 companies’ (size: five or more employees) HR managers in 2017, which revealed a harsh reality: according to the survey responses, 57.1% of companies are aware of childcare leave, but the take-up rate is limited to 3.9% (Korea Ministry of Employment and Labor, 2019). Over 33% of companies feel the burden to provide childcare leave; however, 18.7% of companies responded that employees could not request the leave due to the atmosphere (Korea Ministry of Employment and Labor, 2019). Conditions are even worse for

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fathers to take advantage of paid parental leave. In 2017, 13.4% of fathers used paternal leave in South Korea and about 5% of fathers took a leave for childcare in Japan, according to Statistics Korea (2019) and Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office (2018) of Japan, respectively. The reasons for the low rate take-up of paternal leave in Japan include that the company does not accept the leave, unfavorable atmosphere, and worries about the adverse effect on their careers (UNICEF, 2019). Dating back to 2005, the fact that only 208 men in South Korea took paternal leave (Korea Ministry of Labor, 2008) indicates that efforts at the policy level to increase the use of paternal leave have made some progress through the encouragement of male employees to share the childcare responsibilities. Despite this improvement, the poor practice of parental leave has negative impacts on female employees, who spend more time and effort in childcare, leading working mothers to be more likely to be unemployed than working fathers (ILO, 2019).

Combining the policies with the practices mentioned above, we propose the following policy recommendations. First, China and Japan may need to elaborate their policies on equal pay and make a more specific definition over what is “equal value of work” to guarantee equal pay between genders for an equal value of work. Second, the primary goal for China should be to first establish and implement better family-friendly policies on parental leave by granting a longer duration of leave and better welfare during the leave for both new mothers and fathers. There are two areas of improvement for China to carry out through national policies: 1) guarantee paid maternal leave for longer duration and 2) guarantee paid parental leave for new fathers to incentivize new fathers to share more family responsibilities by giving care to newborns. Third, in order to encourage fathers to take parental leave in South Korea and Japan, there are two possible policy recommendations inspired by the policies in Sweden and Portugal. Tax deductions can be applied to parents who used the equal duration of leave, especially for companies where the ratio of female employees that take parental leave is much more the males. Another possible policy is that parents will get increased pay during the leave period if both parents use the leave. In Portugal, for example, if males share the responsibilities and use the leave, females’ wages would increase from 80% of the salary to 83% and males also receive 83% of their wage (Idealista, 2019). These policies are aimed to incentivize both mothers and fathers to take parental leave and share the responsibilities for infant caregiving. With a more balanced use of parental leave for both males and females, bias or discrimination in employment between genders will be diminished and eventually eliminated.

Comparing policies with practices, it is noticeable that even with sound policies to combat gender inequality in the workplace, there are still wide gaps between genders in many aspects. To promote gender equality in the workplace, policies should be addressed not only about the workplace, but also about everything that empowers women in national policies. Policies to promote gender equality in education attainment, health and survival, economic participation and opportunity, and political empowerment should be made, improved, and implemented.

Limitations

There are some likely limitations of our study due to the following aspects. First, the laws and policies in China, South Korea, and Japan are written in their official languages

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respectively, which are Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. While South Korea has its official translation of laws and policies in English, China and Japan do not provide official references to their national and local laws in English. Moreover, we found policies of the three countries in English from ILO database, but it was last updated in 2011 – this is problematic, because the documents could likely have been amended several times since then, so we could only verify how each policy guarantees the variables we obtained through the World Policy Analysis Center’ Datasets from 2017 and 2018. Due to the sensitivity and nuances in language translation that might affect the force of the law, there might be underlying inaccuracies in interpreting the articles from China and Japan with their original versions in Chinese and Japanese. Second, due to the nature of the World Policy Analysis data analyzed in the study, it is impossible to see the status of policies, such as how long they have been implemented and how they have been amended or changed over time. This might be confounding our efforts to explain the gaps between policies and current practices. Also, the policies analyzed were at the national level. However, local policies and regulations in different provinces in China also play an important role. The differentiation of the local policies on the same issue contributes to the complexity and complications in interpreting how policies would influence the country as a whole. Third, the current studies on gender equality in the workplace in Asian countries are limited. Thus, we based our policy recommendations mainly on the experience in European countries, such as Sweden and Portugal, which have richer records of research and literature. The three countries may run into unanticipated issues in adapting the policies that are originally from European countries, considering Asian countries share different cultural beliefs on genders (Glick et al., 2000). It also suggests that beyond policies alone, there are other factors that may result in the gaps between genders, such as cultures. Further studies can be done to determine the cultural influence on gender gaps by contrasting countries holding similar policies but different cultural beliefs on gender equality.

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Appendix A

TABLE 1
SOME INDICATORS OF THE WELFARE OF MEN AND WOMEN

	1990		2009 or 2010	
	Boys/men	Girls/women	Boys/men	Girls/women
Primary enrollment rate (gross) (1) [low income countries]	81(1991)	67(1991)	107	100
Secondary enrollment rate (gross) (2) [low income countries]	30 (1991)	22 (1991)	41	34
Labor force participation (3)	82% (1980)	50% (1980)	78%	52%
Gender ratio at birth, China (4)	1.11	1	1.18	1
Gender ration at birth, India (5)	1.06	1	1.09	1
Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births) (6) [low income countries]	X	850	X	580
Life expectancy (7) [low income countries]	51	54	56	59
[high income countries]	72	79	77	83

Sources:

- (1) World Bank (2011).
- (2) World Bank (2011).
- (3) World Bank (2011).
- (4) People's Republic of China Population Census Office (1990).
- (5) Indian Registrar General and Census Commissioner (1990).
- (6) World Bank (2011).
- (7) World Bank (2011).

Figure 1. Indicators of the welfare of men and women (Duflo, 2012)

Appendix B

Variable Descriptions²

1. Pay by Gender (pay_gender)

Is equal pay guaranteed for men and women?

- 1: No guarantee
- 2: Broad protection against gender discrimination at work
- 3: Guarantees equal pay
- 4: guarantees equal pay for work of equal value

2. Promotion/Demotion by Gender (promodemo_gender)

Are women protected from discrimination in promotions and/or demotions?

- 0 : No protection
- 1 : Yes, protection

3. Paid Maternal Leave(maternal_leave)

Is paid leave available for mothers of infants?

- 1: No paid leave
- 2: Less than 14 weeks
- 3: 14 – 25.9 weeks
- 4: 26 – 51.9 weeks
- 5: 52 weeks or more

4. Paid Paternal Leave(paternal_leave)

Is paid leave available for fathers of infants?

- 1: No paid leave
- 2: Less than 3 weeks
- 3: 3 - 13 weeks
- 4: 14 weeks or more

5. Infant Caregiving Responsibilities(dadstoo)

Is paid leave structured to incentivize working fathers to share infant caregiving responsibilities?

- 1: No paid for fathers
- 2: Parental leave but no incentives
- 3: 2 weeks or fewer reserved for fathers
- 4: More than 2 weeks reserved for fathers
- 5: Leave length or payment bonus for fathers sharing leave

² We edited the number of the measures from the World Policy Analysis Center so they are continuous and logical.

Pay by Gender, we used respectively 2, 3, 4 to replace 3, 4, 5

Promotion/Demotion by Gender, we used 0, 1 to replace 1, 5

Paid Paternal Leave, we used 4 to replace 5.

Appendix C

Table 1. Summary of National Policy Measures by the World Policy Analysis Center

Country	Discrimination at Work		Adult Labor		
	Pay	Promotion	Paid Maternal Leave	Paid Paternal Leave	Incentivizing Paternal Leave
China	Guarantees equal pay (4)	Women are protected from discrimination in promotions or demotions (1)	Guaranteed 14-25.9 weeks (3)	No paid leave (1)	No paid for father (1)
Korea	Guarantees equal pay for work of equal value (5)	Women are protected from discrimination in promotions or demotions (1)	Guaranteed 52weeks or more (5)	Guaranteed 14weeks or more (4)	Leave length or payment bonus for fathers sharing leave (5)
Japan	Guarantees equal pay (4)	Women are protected from discrimination in promotions or demotions (1)	Guaranteed 52weeks or more (5)	Guaranteed 14weeks or more (4)	Leave length or payment bonus for fathers sharing leave (5)

The numbers in parentheses are measures from the World Policy Analysis Center.