

Labor Market Dualism and the Insider-Outsider Politics in South Korea*

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May 27, 2015

Abstract

The insider-outsider politics has become a growing research topic in comparative political economy and comparative social policy. In this paper we explore the trend and patterns of nonstandard employment in South Korea. The proportion of nonstandard employment is quite high, albeit decreasing slightly. Furthermore, the data shows that labor market outsiders are not adequately protected by social insurance scheme. Nearly invisible unionization rate among nonstandard employees make matters much worse. The results of our analysis of the outsiders' political behavior suggest that outsiders tended to abstain from voting. They are found to not having distinctively pro-redistribution and pro-social policy preferences, relative to the insiders. Also, the outsiders tend to support both major parties of the center-right and center-left, if they do not choose to be a non-partisan.

Keywords: insider-outsider politics; labor market dualism; South Korea

*Prepared for delivery at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the French Political Science Association, June 22-24, 2015, Aix-en-Provence, France. We thank Seoeyun Yang for her excellent research assistance.

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1 Introduction

The insider-outsider politics has become a growing research topic in comparative political economy and comparative social policy (Emmeneger et al. 2012; Rueda 2005, 2007). While it is well known that labor market dualism has profound political implications, how precisely labor market dualism influences politics is contested in the literature. The rise of nonstandard employment across countries has drawn much scholarly attention. It is only natural as the labor market dualism speaks to trade-offs in various policy areas between those who have stable and secure employment and those who do not. Accordingly, recent studies have suggested sets of interesting arguments and empirical findings. Theoretical arguments are diverse and empirical findings are mixed.

Instead of engaging in theoretical debates or providing alternative explanations about the politics of insider-outsider conflicts, in this paper we take a different path and examine the case of South Korea (Korea hereafter). We explore the trend and patterns of nonstandard employment in Korea. Moreover, we examine whether and how labor market outsiders form distinctive policy preferences, participate in politics, and shape their party preferences. The Korean case represents a dramatic shift from the age of near-life-time employment to the age of dualization. The structural break of the labor market came in as a consequence of the 1997 financial crisis and subsequent IMF bail-out. The IMF conditionality then suggested that the Korean government deregulate labor market and liberalize financial market. Since then the rise of nonstandard employment has continued. The proportion of the nonstandard employment is quite high in comparative perspective. While some sociologists and economists have examined the labor market changes and dynamics and welfare attitudes of outsiders in Korea (Kim and Ahn 2013; Lee 2012), the political consequences of labor market dualism in Korea has, to the best of our knowledge, yet to be systematically studied. We provide a first preliminary analysis.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows. In the next section we review the related literature on the insider-outsider politics. We then examine the trend and patterns of nonstandard employment in Korea. Next, we introduce empirical set-up for our analysis, followed by the discussions of the results of our preliminary analysis. The last section concludes with some implications.

2 Employment Status and the Politics of Dualism

The rising nonstandard forms of employment in many countries has drawn much attention. The nonstandard forms of employment include fixed-term contracts, involuntary part-time employment, temporary-agency work, and quasi-dependent freelancing. As the rise of nonstandard employment is widely observed, the political implications of the rise of nonstandard employment have been studied in the literature (Burgoon and Dekker 2010; Emmenegger 2009; Emmenegger et al. 2015; Lindvall and Rueda 2014; Marx 2014; Rueda 2005, 2007).

Comparative political economy and social policy literature have suggested theories and explanations about the issue of voter turnout, policy preferences and party support of labor market insiders and outsiders. This line of research raises contested issues because, as Marx (2014, p.9) points out, labor market dualism has been created by reforms with the obvious purpose to increase employment flexibility while maintaining the status quo for permanent workers (Emmenegger et al. 2012; Palier and Thelen 2010).

Voter Turnout

In the political behavior literature, class bias in voting has been well known. The low income group tends to turnout to vote less than their high income counterpart (Leighley and Nagler 2014). We also know that the unemployed turnout to vote much less than those who are employed. Similarly, the experiences of labor market disadvantages or job insecurity are associated with political alienation and hence less political involvement (Rosenstone 1982).

Recently, Emmenegger et al (2015) suggest that labor market disadvantage such as unemployment, job insecurity, nonstandard employment tend to affect individual perception of the responsiveness of the political system to their interests, leading to low levels of political efficacy. This is in turn associated with abstention from voting or protest voting. Low political efficacy of outsiders is related to social democratic party's (or a major center-left party's) unresponsiveness to their economic interests. In this sense, this argument is in line with Rueda (2005, 2007). But, it is interesting to note that Emmenegger et al.'s prediction of party choice is different from Rueda, who argued that outsiders would support conservative parties when social democratic parties do

not pay attention to their interest. By a sharp contrast, Emmenegger et al. (2015) argue that labor market disadvantage may influence pro-redistribution preferences. This counter-argument expects labor market disadvantage to make outsiders support pro-redistribution and pro-social policy parties.

In comparative perspective, party systems matter. The configuration of the electoral competition influences the outsiders' political behavior. It is reasonable to think that outsiders are more likely to abstain in party systems in which there is a limited ideological space (Emmenegger et al. 2015, p.6). If there are no protest parties like radical left-wing or extreme right-wing parties, outsiders may choose to not participate in voting.

Policy Preferences

Do outsiders have distinct policy preferences? Are their preferences more pro-social policy than insiders'? Employment status and social policy preferences are important because policy preferences are a link between employment status and electoral choice. Most studies have suggested that employment status is related to different economic interests, and hence diverse policy preferences. For instance, Burgoon and Dekker (2010) show that atypical workers are more likely than labor market insiders to feel economically insecure and this economic insecurity underlies their strong support for unemployment benefits. Schwander and Hausermann (2013) suggest risk-based measures of outsidersness and show that the outsidersness is significantly related to income, upward job mobility, and labor market policy preferences.

Party Preferences and Vote Choice

Recent studies on the electoral behavior of outsiders have provided heated debates over the political support of outsiders. Rueda (2005, 2007) argues that labor market outsiders have opposed policy preferences to labor market insiders. Social democratic parties align with insiders, whereas outsiders support market-liberal right parties as these parties are considered to lean towards the reduction of employment protection. Lindvall and Rueda (2014) examine Swedish elections from 1994 to 2010 and find that when Social Democrats did not pay attention to the interests of outsiders, outsiders either abstained from voting or supported a party further to the

left. Their finding suggests that the behavior and strategy of the major left party is crucial for the electoral choice of outsiders.

Emmenegger (2009) and Marx and Picot (2013) analyze party preferences of nonstandard workers. Marx and Picot (2013) suggest that nonstandard workers in Germany tend to support the Green Party as a consequence of the party's expansionary social policy programs. Marx (2014) shows that temporary workers across European countries support more expansion of social policy. These findings are in line with Burgoon and Dekker's study (2010) suggesting that temporary workers in Europe show strong support for unemployment protection.

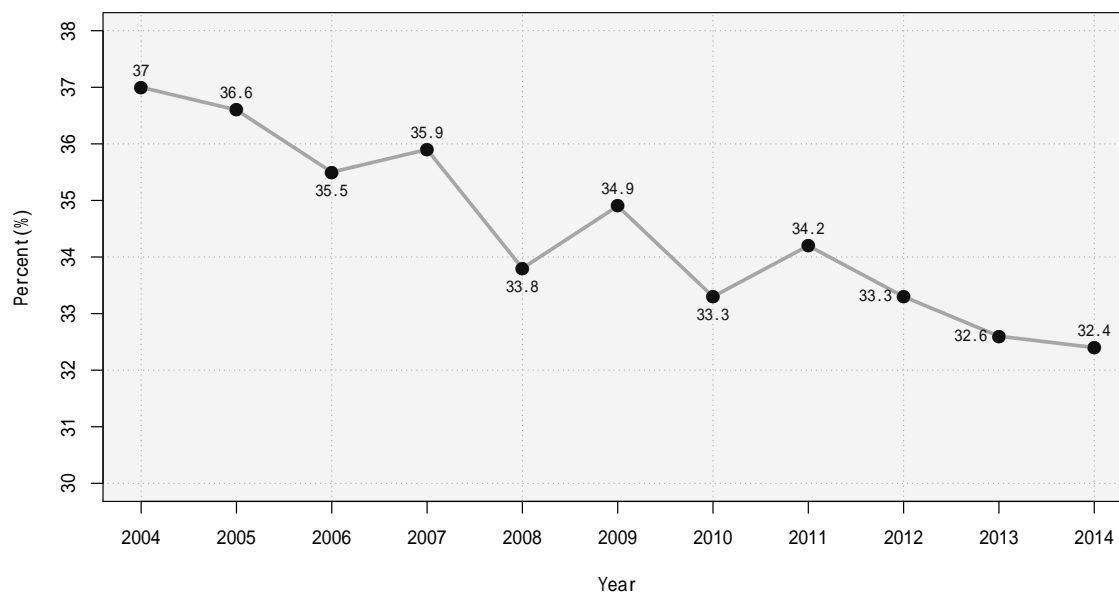
In a different perspective, Marx (2014) suggests that temporary workers tend to hold the government responsible for their personal economic situation. His argument links the insider-outsider divide to retrospective economic voting. His analysis of the 2009 German election survey finds that temporary workers, compared to permanent workers, tend to punish the incumbent party or to abstain from voting. Marx's analysis is in line with Bartels (2014) in that they link employment status or economic crisis with retrospective economic voting, not with partisan voting.

3 Labor Market and Nonstandard Workers in Korea

Since the 1997 financial crisis and IMF bail-out, Korea underwent labor market deregulation and financial liberalization. As a consequence, nonstandard employment has increased. The Korean Statistical Office classifies fixed-term contracts, atypical employment and involuntary part-time employment into the 'nonstandard employment' category.

Figure 1 shows the trend of nonstandard employment in Korea. In 2004, the proportion of nonstandard employment recorded 37% of the total employment. Since then it has slightly decreased. In 2014, the figure recorded 32.4% of the total employment. While it is slightly decreasing in terms of the proportion, the number of nonstandard workers have increased. It is explained by the fact that the number of total employment has increased (the number of full-time jobs as well). The Appendix shows a slight different proportion of nonstandard employment. The figures are different because some institutions and scholars include full-time atypical

Figure 1: The proportion of nonstandard employment in Korea

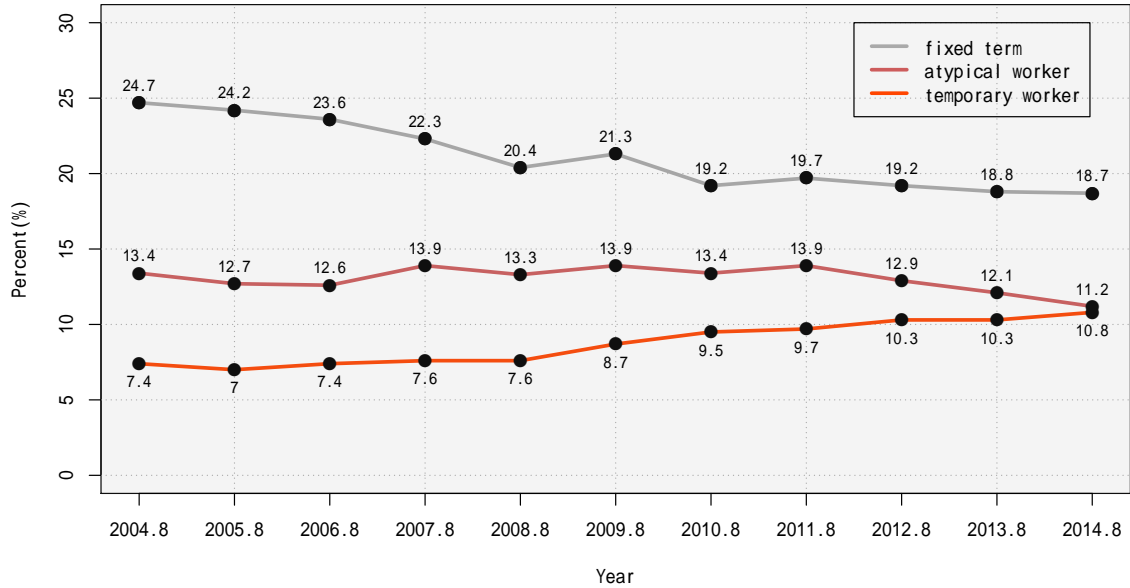


Note: The figures are the proportion of nonstandard employment out of the total employment. The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, each year.

workers into the category of nonstandard employment in addition to fixed-term, part-time workers, and part-time atypical workers (e.g., Kim 2014). By this classification, the proportion of nonstandard employment in 2014 recorded 45.4% of the total employment. Nearly a half of the total employment is nonstandard employment. But, a slightly decreasing trend is the same as the figures using the Korean Statistical Office classification.

Figure 2 shows the proportion of each nonstandard work type: fixed-term, atypical workers, temporary workers. Note that the figures at a particular time point do not add up to the total proportion of nonstandard employment because each work type in Figure 2 may overlap for an individual. For instance, one individual may have been counted as fixed-term as well as atypical work. Figure 2 suggests that the proportion of temporary workers has increased since 2004. It counts about 10.8% of the total employment in 2014, which corresponds to about 2 million workers. Further, temporary workers face a higher level of job insecurity as they do not expect to have a secure and stable full-time job.

Figure 2: Nonstandard employment in Korea: disaggregated by work type

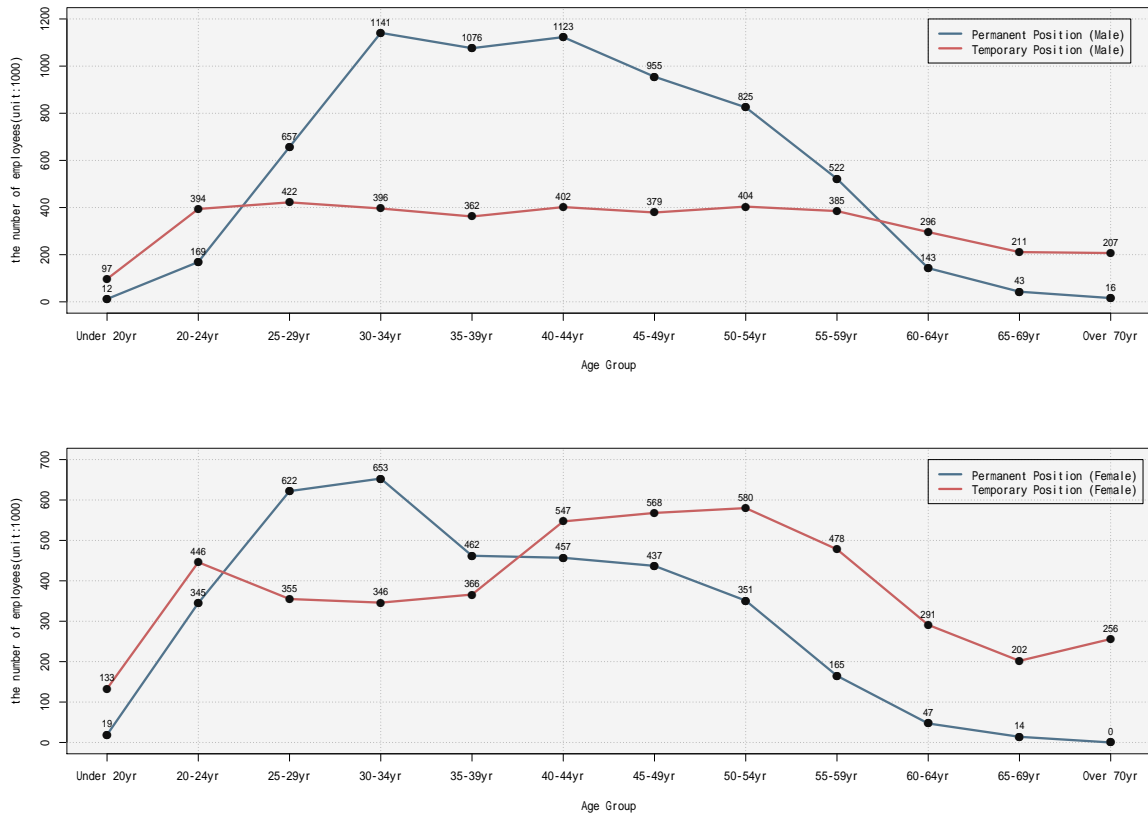


Note: The figures are the proportion of each work type (nonstandard employment) out of the total employment. The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, each year.

Figure 3 shows a trend of employment status disaggregated by age and sex. In 2014 the ratio of women among the nonstandard workers was 53.5%. Among men, the number of nonstandard employment is higher than standard employment in early 20s and the older (late 50s and thereafter). Among women, standard employment reaches its peak at early 30s and then outnumbered by nonstandard employment. This is mostly because nonstandard jobs are offered to those women who reentered the labor market after a birth and bearing of a child. In terms of the ratio between standard and nonstandard jobs, male workers show a U-shaped curve in which the proportion of nonstandard employment is the lowest at 30s and 40s. Female workers show a rather different curve in that the proportion of nonstandard employment is the lowest at early 30s and then increase steeply.

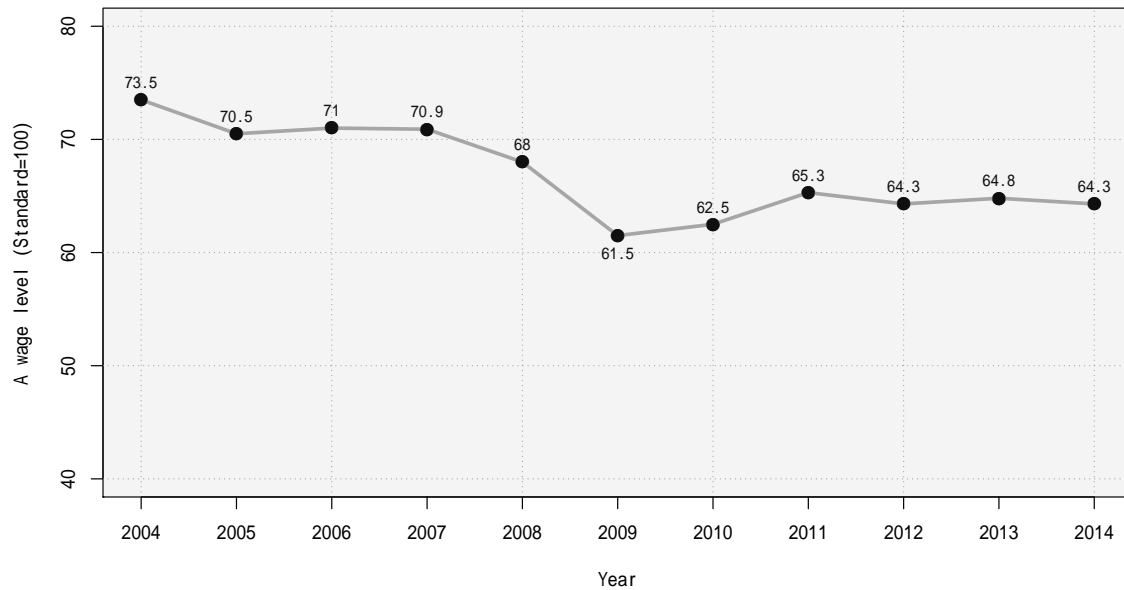
Figure 4 shows wage ratio between standard employment and nonstandard employment. While nonstandard employment reached its peak at 73.5% of hourly wage of standard employ-

Figure 3: Employment type, Age, and Sex (2014)



Note: The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economic Activity Population Survey*, 2014.

Figure 4: Wage ratio of nonstandard employment (standard employment=100)

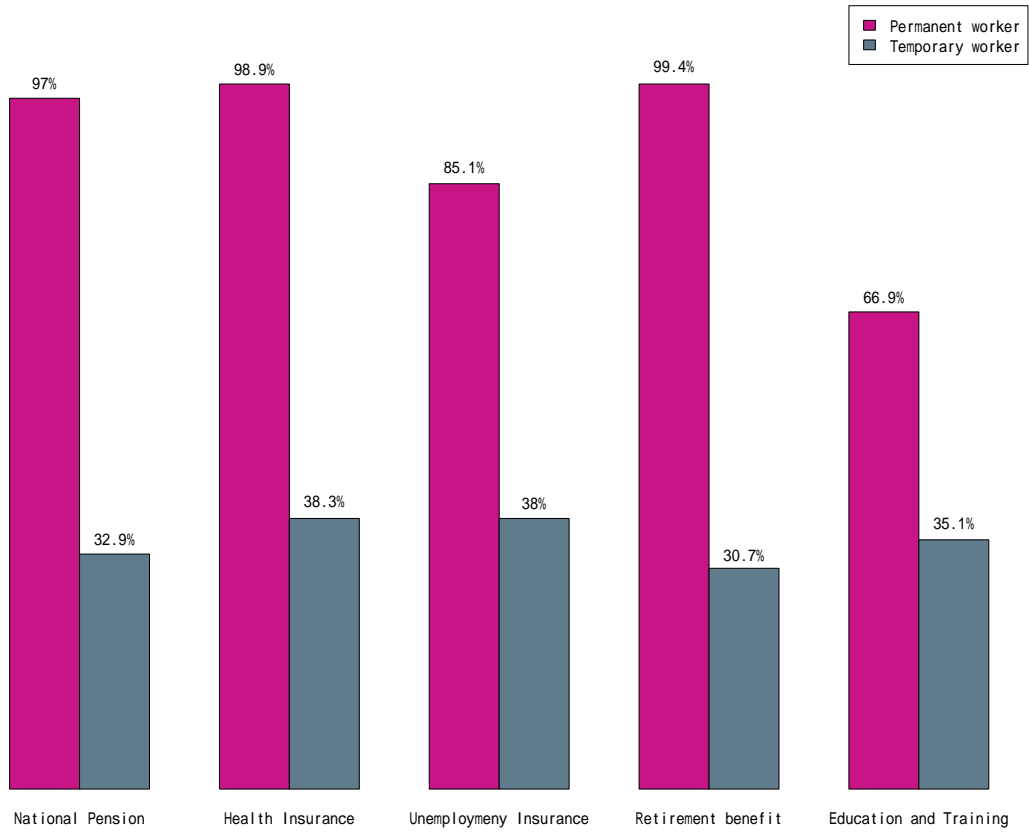


Note: The wage of standard full-time employment is set at 100. The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, each year.

ment in 2004, the ratio dropped after the Great Recession in 2008 and has not recovered yet. In 2014, the ratio was 64.3%. This has to do with the fact that an increase in temporary works (shown in Figure 2) depresses average hourly wage of nonstandard employment. Also, that early 20s and the older group (60s and more) take a huge proportion of nonstandard employment works as a depressing factor of wage ratio. Or, it may be the case that some high-skilled or professional standard employees' wage increased so that the wage gap between standard employment and nonstandard employment has also increased (Jung 2015).

Do labor market outsiders benefit from social insurance? Figure 5 suggests that an outright answer is no. While 97% of full-time workers receive public pension, only 33% of nonstandard workers get public pension. The employers contributes to the national health insurance scheme for 99% of full-time workers, whereas only 38% of nonstandard employees are provided health insurance through their workplace. Those who are not provided health insurance through their workplace get health care coverage via their residential district at a slightly higher rate. Only 38% of nonstandard workers are eligible to receive unemployment insurance, while 85% of full-

Figure 5: Employment status and Social insurance coverage rate (2014)

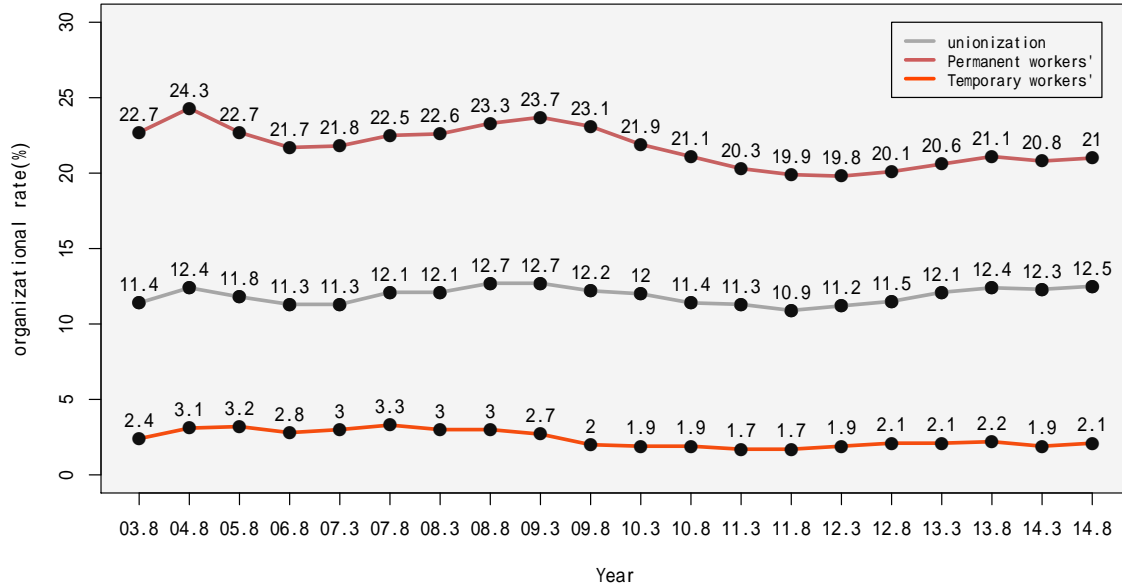


Note: The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, 2014.

time workers receive it. Retirement benefits (severance pay) and education and training show a similar gap between standard and nonstandard employment. This gap in social insurance and work conditions is quite persistent and we do not observe a trend of decreasing gap in social insurance provision between insiders and outsiders in Korea.

Figure 6 shows unionization rates among standard workers and nonstandard workers. Unionization rate in Korea has decreased since 2008 but it shows an increasing trend for the last three years. In 2014 unionization rate was 12.5%. More importantly for our purpose, 21% of standard employees join a union, while only 2.1% of nonstandard employees is unionized in 2014. We can conjecture that collective action by nonstandard workers is hardly likely given such a low rate of

Figure 6: Unionization rate, by employment status (2014)



Note: The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, 2014.

unionization. On the other hand, a much higher unionization among standard workers may push for insiders' interests at the expense of outsiders'. This conjecture is related to potential insider-outsider conflicts in Korea. To examine whether outsiders show distinctive policy preferences and political behavior, we now turn to empirical analysis.

4 Empirical Strategy

This section describes empirical set-up. To examine how employment status affects political behavior, we make use of the *2009 Korean General Social Survey* (KGSS). The survey was conducted using face-to-face interviews with respondents. The respondents were selected randomly from across the country using the multi-stage area probability sampling method. In particular, the KGSS includes the questionnaires of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) on social inequality. Thus, it includes questions suitable for an empirical analysis of political behavior of labor market outsiders.

The dependent variables for this analysis are three-folds. First, to investigate political participation of outsiders, we use a question asking respondents whether they have voted in the 2008 general election. We coded 1 if the respondent has voted, 0 otherwise. Second, we examine whether labor market outsiders have distinct social policy preferences. For redistributive preferences, we use the following question: “To what extent do you agree or disagree to the following statement?: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.” Respondents selected an answer on a five-point scale, ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree.’ A score of 5 indicates strong agreement to the statement, which represents a strong support for redistributive policy. To examine social policy preferences, we use the following question: “The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed.” Respondents chose an answer on a five-point scale, where a score of 5 indicates a strong support for unemployment benefits.

Third, we investigate party preferences of outsiders. To do this, we use the question “Currently which political party do you support most?” In reflecting the Korean party politics, we grouped the answer as follows: ‘Conservative bloc’ (Liberal Forward Party and Grand National Party (incumbent)), ‘Democratic Party’ (a major opposition party), ‘Progressive bloc’ (Democratic Labor Party and New Progressive Party), ‘Center party’ (Renewal of Korea Party), and ‘Non-partisan’ (respondents with no supporting party). In terms of ideological spectrum, from right to left, parties are located from Conservative bloc - Center party - Democratic Party - Progressive bloc. Although the party system is quite unstable in that political parties merge and disappear quite often in Korea, the experts survey of party system in 2004 located in ideological spectrum as follows (Dalton et al. 2011): Democratic Labor Party (3.2) - Uri Party (3.7) - Democratic Party (6.3) - United Liberal Democrats (7.2) - Grand National Party (7.3).

The explanatory variable for this analysis is *Outsiders*. In this category we include ‘temporary employee’ and ‘daily employee’ from the question “What is your employment status?,” which provides only three categories (the other category is ‘regular employee’). We also include respondents who are unemployed, currently inactive, and students. This classification approximates Rueda’s classification of outsiders (Rueda 2005). It should be noted that this classification falls short of a precise classification based on more detailed information of different employment

status and work type. As the proportion of self-employed is increasingly high in Korea compared to other OECD countries, we include a separate category *Self-employed* in our analyses.

Our empirical analysis includes a battery of control variables considered to affect political behavior. *Income* refers to disposable household income and respondents could select from 21 categories. *Ideology* is a five-point scale of ideological self-placement ranging from ‘very liberal’ to ‘very conservative,’ where a score of 5 refers to ‘very conservative.’ Demographic variables such as *Female*, *Age* and *Educational level* were also included in the model.

5 Results

This section presents preliminary results of our analysis. We begin by presenting and discussing employment status and vote participation, followed by discussions of the results of analysis of policy preferences and party preferences.

5.1 Outsiders and Vote Participation

Are labor market outsiders more likely than insiders to abstain from voting? Table 1 shows whether outsiders abstained in the 2008 general election more than insiders. We simply distinguish between outsiders and those who are either upscale groups or who have secure full-time jobs. Table 1 shows that 45% of outsiders abstained, while 31% of insiders did not vote. Conversely, voter turnout is in a stark contrast between insiders and outsiders (69% vs 55%). This descriptive analysis suggests that outsiders tended to abstain at a much higher rate than insiders.

To examine the association between employment status and vote participation more systematically, we estimate a logit model. Covariates include indicator variables for outsider and self-employed, ideological self-report, age, female, income and education level. We also include indicator variables representing two regions, *Honam* and *Youngnam*, that have been strong support regions of Democratic Party and Grand National Party.

Table 2 presents the results of analysis. We find that outsiders, compared to insiders, tend to abstain from voting. Consistent with the existing theories about the employment status and

Table 1: Outsiders and Voter Turnout

	Insiders	Outsiders	Total
Not voted	221 (30.7)	273 (44.8)	494 (37.1)
Voted	500 (69.3)	337 (55.2)	837 (62.9)
Total	721 (54.2)	610 (45.8)	1331 (100)

Note: Pearson $\chi^2=28.16$ ($p=0.000$). Column percentage points are in parentheses. Data are from *Korean General Social Survey (2009)*. ‘Outsiders’ include nonstandard workers and unemployed.

Table 2: Employment Status and Vote Participation

	Estimates	SE
Outsider	-0.297**	0.151
Self-employed	-0.354*	0.187
Ideology	-0.135**	0.066
Age	0.072***	0.007
Female	-0.402***	0.136
Income	0.031**	0.015
Education	0.135**	0.062
<i>Honam</i>	0.120	0.207
<i>Youngnam</i>	0.343***	0.149
Constant	-2.297***	0.482
N	1255	
Log-likelihood	-734.3	

Notes: Entries are maximum likelihood estimates and robust standard errors. The dependent variable is vote participation. * $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (two-tailed test).

political participation (Leighley and Nagler 2014; Rosenstone 1982), those individuals who have unstable and insecure jobs shun away from engaging in vote participation. The Korean data reveal the same pattern. This finding with the Korean case is quite similar to what Mayer (2014) found from her analysis of the French case. As opposed to the insiders, self-employed tend to abstain. The results suggest that liberals, the old, male, higher education levels, and coming from Youngnam province are associated with the likelihood of vote participation. Consistent with recent findings on the employment status and vote participation (Marx 2014), we find that those with precarious and insecure jobs are less likely to vote. Our post-estimation simulation finds that outsiders are 7% point less likely to vote than insiders.

Table 3: Outsiders and Social Policy Preferences

	Insiders	Outsiders
Redistribution	3.887 [3.814, 3.961]	3.980 [3.911, 4.049]
Unemployment Benefits	4.008 [3.939, 4.078]	4.135 [4.068, 4.202]

Notes: Redistributive preferences and preferences for unemployment benefits has 1-5 scale, where 5 refers to ‘strongly agree’ and 1 ‘strongly disagree.’

5.2 Do Outsiders Support Social Policy?

Do Korean labor market outsiders have distinct redistribution and social policy preferences? Compared to labor market insiders, do outsiders support more redistribution and unemployment benefits? To examine Korean outsiders’ policy preferences, we first conduct a simple test of differences of the means between insiders and outsiders, followed by an ordered probit analysis.

Table 3 reports the results of a simple differences of the means test. On 1-5 scale for both redistribution preferences and unemployment benefits preferences, outsiders show higher levels of support for redistribution and unemployment benefits. As for redistribution preferences, outsiders on average show 3.98 (with 95% confidence interval (3.91, 4.05)) while insiders show 3.89 (with 95% confidence interval (3.81, 3.96)). This difference between the two groups is statistically significant at 90% confidence level (p -value 0.07). The results of the support for unemployment benefits show similar pattern. Outsiders on average support unemployment benefits on the order of 4.14 (with 95% confidence interval (4.07, 4.20)). But insiders support level is slightly lower with 4.0 (with 95% confidence interval (3.94, 4.08)). This difference is statistically significant at 99% confidence level (p -value 0.01). The results reported in Table 3 suggest that Korean labor market outsiders have stronger support for social policy preferences compared to insiders. This finding is in line with numerous studies on policy preferences of labor market outsiders (Burgoon and Dekker 2011; Rueda 2005, 2007).

Next, we engage in a more systematic analysis by taking into account other factors that might affect individual social policy preferences. As policy preferences variables are categorical, measured on a five-point scale, we estimate the following form of ordered probit model.

Table 4: Employment Status and Social Policy Preferences

	Redistribution		Unemployment benefits	
	Estimates	SE	Estimates	SE
Outsider	-0.035	0.074	0.039	0.075
Self-employed	-0.029	0.093	-0.081	0.091
Ideology	-0.083**	0.035	-0.075**	0.033
Age	-0.002	0.003	-0.001	0.003
Female	0.092	0.064	-0.037	0.066
Income	-0.009	0.007	-0.020***	0.007
Education	-0.078***	0.029	-0.067**	0.030
N	1253		1254	
Log-likelihood	-1571.5		-1505.1	

Notes: Entries are ordered probit estimates and robust standard errors. The dependent variable is policy preferences. Cutpoint estimates are not reported here. *p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (two-tailed test).

$$Probit[Pr(y_i > s)] = X_i\gamma - k_s$$

where X_i is a vector of independent variables for individual i , γ is a vector of coefficients to be estimated, and s refers to cut points.

Table 4 shows the results of analysis. Unlike the results reported in Table 3, we do not find any distinctiveness of outsiders' social policy preferences relative to labor market insiders. The estimates for outsiders are not statistically significant, suggesting that outsiders' preferences are not distinguishable from insiders'. Individuals' ideology affects policy preferences. Conservative individuals tend to support redistribution and unemployment benefits less than liberals. Also, higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of support for social policy. Once we take into account ideology, education and other variables, the results suggest that outsiders' social policy preferences are not distinctive relative to labor market insiders.

5.3 Outsiders and Party Preferences

In the literature on the electoral politics of outsiders, there are competing hypotheses. First, it has been suggested that outsiders are likely to support a conservative party, provided that a major

center-left party like social democratic party does not heed to labor market outsiders' interests (Rueda 2005, 2007). It is because outsiders would expect labor market deregulations that a conservative party promote may increase the likelihood of their entry into regular employment. Second, recent studies have suggested that outsiders' support would turn towards radical left-wing parties (Emmenegger et al 2015; Lindvall and Rueda 2014). The reason behind this expectation is that outsiders are likely to support more pro-redistribution parties. Third, some studies have argued that outsiders might support extreme right-wing parties (Emmenegger et al 2015). Outsiders with higher levels of job insecurity would engage in protest voting and their support would turn towards anti-system extreme right-wing parties.

The ideological spectrum of the party competition in Korea is quite narrow. Although left-wing parties exist, their electoral leverage is limited. It is due in large part to the electoral system in Korea. The mixed system with predominantly single-member district system and very marginal proportion of proportional representation system put small parties in disadvantages. On the other hand, there is no extreme right-wing parties in Korea. Accordingly, the major center-right party, Grand National Party, is located at the most right position in ideological spectrum. In this respect, an analysis of outsiders and party support in Korea can be thought of as an application of the existing explanations into a context in which party ideological spectrum is quite limited.

With this context in mind, Table 5 presents a descriptive analysis of the employment status and party preferences. 25% of outsiders support conservative bloc, while 21% of insiders support the bloc. Support for a major center-left party, Democratic Party, is similar across the insiders and outsiders. 16% of insiders support Democratic Party and 15.7% of outsiders support the party. There is a interesting difference in the support for progressive bloc. Labor market insiders support progressive bloc more than outsiders do (13.6% vs. 11.3%). Two left-wing parties, Democratic Labor Party and New Progressive Party, have had a close tie with labor unions. And union members are predominantly standard workers, i.e., insiders. The proportion of non-partisans, e.g., those who do not support any party, is virtually the same between insiders and outsiders. Nearly a half of insiders and outsiders (47.9% vs, 47.7%), respectively, do not have any political party they support.

Table 5: Outsiders and Party Preferences

	Insiders	Outsiders	Total
Conservative bloc	147 (20.8)	148 (25.3)	295 (22.8)
Center bloc	12 (1.7)	2 (0.3)	14 (1.1)
Democratic Party	113 (16.0)	92 (15.7)	205 (15.9)
Progressive bloc	96 (13.6)	66 (11.3)	162 (12.5)
Non-partisan	339 (47.9)	277 (47.4)	616 (47.7)

Note: Conservative bloc includes Liberal Forward Party and Grand National Party, Center bloc includes Renewal of Korea Party, and Progressive bloc includes Democratic Labor Party and New Progressive Party.

Table 6 presents the results of multinomial logit analysis. We set center bloc as the comparison category. The results suggest that outsiders tend to support conservative bloc relative to centre bloc, to support Democratic Party relative to center bloc, and to be a non-partisan instead of supporting center bloc. Outsiders are no more likely to support progressive bloc relative to center bloc. Labor market outsiders in Korea tend to support a major conservative party as well as major center-left party. Also they tend to choose to be non-partisan. But they are not likely to support left-wing parties.

6 Conclusion

This paper has shown that labor market dualism has clearly set in Korea. The proportion of nonstandard employment is quite high, albeit decreasing slightly. The age composition of nonstandard employment suggests that early 20s and older male workers (after retirement) and female workers who reentered the labor market after the marriage and child bearing occupy heavily unstable, nonstandard jobs. Furthermore, the data shows that labor market outsiders are not adequately protected by social insurance scheme. Nearly invisible unionization rate

Table 6: Employment Status and Party Preferences

	Conservative bloc	Democratic Party	Progressive bloc	Non-partisan
Outsider	1.972** (0.854)	1.740** (0.863)	1.289 (0.866)	1.678** (0.850)
Self-employed	0.420 (0.676)	0.589 (0.687)	0.244 (0.697)	0.765 (0.665)
Ideology	0.435 (0.284)	-0.202 (0.288)	-0.135 (0.290)	0.134 (0.280)
Age	-0.002 (0.031)	-0.034 (0.032)	-0.063 (0.032)	-0.045 (0.031)
Female	0.359 (0.605)	0.408 (0.614)	0.354 (0.617)	0.504 (0.599)
Income	-0.005 (0.065)	-0.014 (0.065)	-0.007 (0.066)	-0.016 (0.064)
Education	0.330 (0.263)	0.278 (0.267)	0.242 (0.269)	0.340 (0.260)
<i>Honam</i>	-1.150 (1.147)	1.139 (1.099)	0.262 (1.117)	0.020 (1.096)
<i>Younghnam</i>	-0.424 (0.581)	-1.555** (0.608)	-1.061* (0.600)	-1.023* (0.576)
Constant	0.049 (2.214)	3.239 (2.233)	4.376* (2.244)	3.611* (2.186)
N	1224			
Log-likelihood	-1480.6			

Notes: Entries are multinomial logit estimates and robust standard errors. Vote for Renewal of Korea Party (center party) is the comparison group. * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (two-tailed test).

among nonstandard employees make matters much worse.

The results of our analysis of the outsiders' political behavior suggest that outsiders tended to abstain from voting. They are found to not having distinctively pro-redistribution and pro-social policy preferences, relative to the insiders. Also, the outsiders tend to support both major parties of the center-right and center-left, if they do not choose to be a non-partisan.

These findings from the Korean context may suggest that in a system where the party system is not as diverse as European countries, the electoral behavior of the outsiders would be bound to be different from what recent studies have found. As Emmenegger et al (2015, p.22) point out, several factors are likely to be of importance in comparative perspective: party systems, party strategies, and labor market and welfare state context. Instead of supporting left-wing pro-redistribution parties, Korean outsiders either support major parties of the center-left or center-right, or abstain. It would be interesting to examine in what way different electoral systems affect party systems and party strategies, leading to different electoral behavior of the outsiders. A comparative study on this topic might be a good research venue.

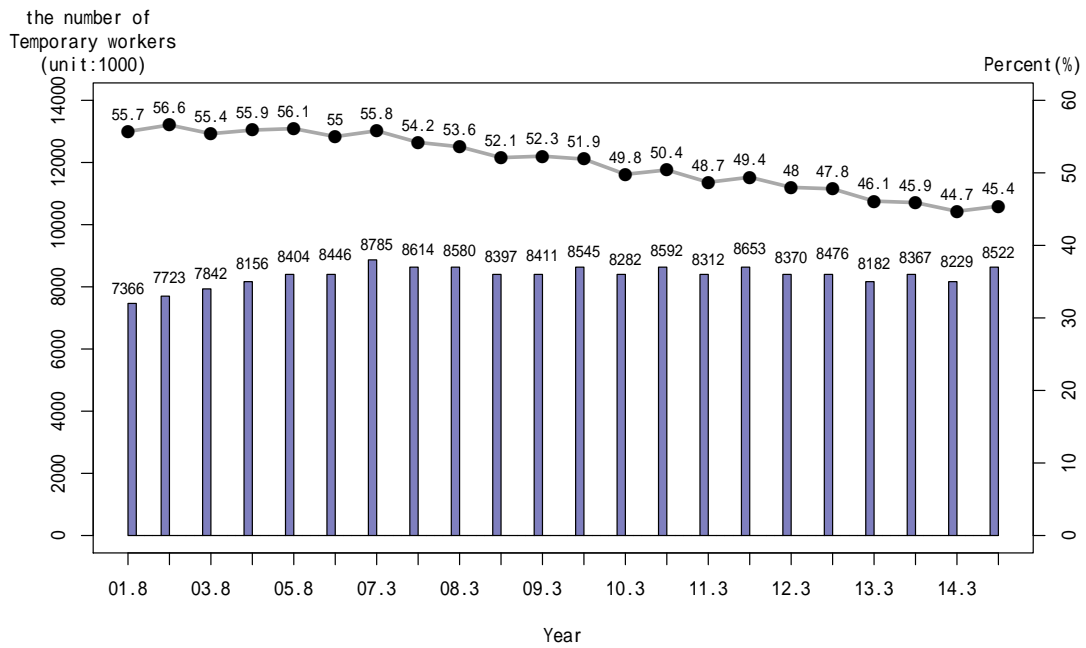
That Korean outsiders did not form a distinctive pro-redistribution as well as pro-social policy preferences may be explained by linking numerous studies on the determinants of social policy and redistribution preferences. Whether it is because of strong tradition of nationalism, or a long-standing emphasis on economic growth as opposed to redistribution and welfare state, or lower levels of citizens' confidence in political institutions, a further study on the outsiders' policy preferences might be an interesting research venue. On that note, a comparative study on the electoral behavior of labor market outsiders within East Asia as well as between Europe and East Asia might be an important research topic.

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Figure 7: Appendix: The proportion of nonstandard employment in Korea



Note: The figures are the proportion of nonstandard employment out of the total employment. The classification is from Kim (2014). The data are from the Korean Statistical Office, *Economically Active Population Survey*, each year.