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Master's Thesis of International Studies

**Korea's Gendered Part-Time Regime
in Comparative Perspective**

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the steady growth of female part-timers in Korea for the last 10 years in comparative perspective. In Korea, unlike many western countries that experienced the expansion of part-timers in the 70s and 80s, part-time rate started to grow more rapidly for the last 10 years, now almost reaching the OECD average. Interesting feature of Korea's part-time regime is that even though the governments continuously promoted good quality part-time jobs, the dominant part-time jobs that grew were of low-quality, concentrated in the low-wage service sector.

From a comparative perspective, this thesis examines Korea's gendered part-time regime as a combination of the two institutional pillars, the working time regime and the welfare state regime. After analyzing the government's quality part-time job policy and its labor market outcome, this thesis analyzes the policy outcome by focusing on the path dependency of long and rigid working hours regime and the budgetary restraint welfare state regime. This thesis firstly argues that in Korea where working time regime exhibits status flexibility, the government tried to increase quality part-time jobs through employer-support policies yet failed due to inadequate policy design and the passive response from the capital and labor due to the deskilled growth based long and rigid working time regime. Secondly, this thesis argues that the budgetary restraint social service policy direction that seeks to quickly expand the service accessibility by delegating the service provision to the private sector have resulted in continuous increase of low-quality part-time jobs that are now increasingly taken by middle and old aged married women. This not only reinforces existing occupational segregation but also reinforces existing limited usage of part-time works. To break away from this path, careful designing of policies that pay attention to the linkage between the part-time labor and demand and the working time regime and welfare regime is required. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that improving working conditions and labor rights of the existing part-timers are more urgent and effective in increasing the proportion of good quality part-time jobs, rather than promoting creation of good quality part-time jobs.

Keywords: part-time policy, working time, welfare state, gender equality, regime

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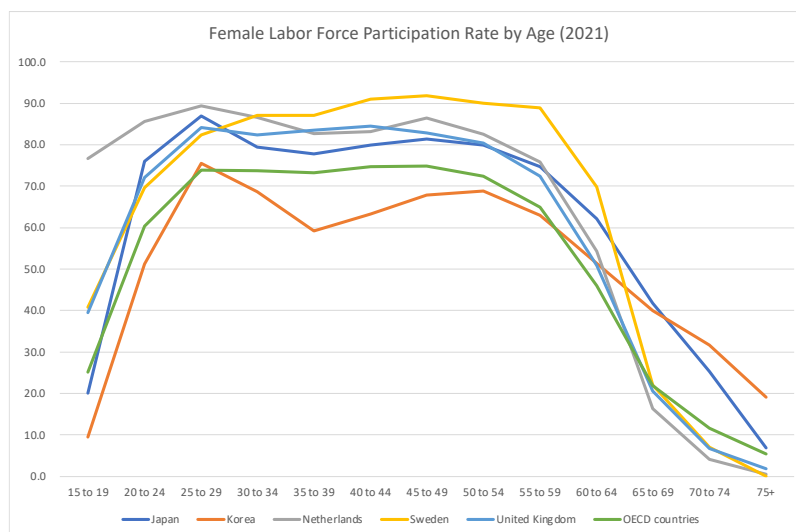
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I. Introduction

1. Research Background

Compared to its level of economic development, Korea is known to be one of the most gender unequal countries. According to the OECD gender wage gap data, Korea has ranked the highest in 2021, which has continued for the last 26 years since it joined the OECD. In 2021, male median wage worker earned 31.1% more than female median wage worker. Although female employment rate has been increasing, it is still low compared to other industrialized countries. Female labor force participation rate demonstrates an M-curved shape that reaches the peak around late 20s and then declines rapidly in the early 30s, slowly recovers afterwards and then again decreases after 50s (Jeong et al, 2012). Although the age when the female employment rate reaches the lowest point has been increasing, the overall M-curved shape has not changed much.

Figure 1. Female Labor Force Participation Rate by Age (2021)



Source: OECD, OECD Labor Force Statistics, “Labor Force by sex and age indicators”, extracted on 24 May 2023

To flatten the M-curve shape and increase the female employment rate, governments have implemented various policies such as childcare policy or the flexible work policy to increase work and life balance. The quality part-time job policy promoted by the Park-Geunhye administration was part of such policy package. Although part-time work has a history of being

utilized as a housewife's job or a reemployment channel for married women since the 1980s in Korea (Shin, 2014), the government actively promoted and created part-time work since 2010s. Lee Myeong-back administration's 'Decent Part Time Job(반듯한 시간제 일자리)' policy, Park Geun-hye administration's '70% Employment Rate Roadmap' policy in 2013 that aimed to reach the 70% employment rate partly by utilizing part-time job as women's job and the Moon Jae-in administration's promotion of part-time jobs as part of public social service job creation have all increased part-time jobs in the labor market.

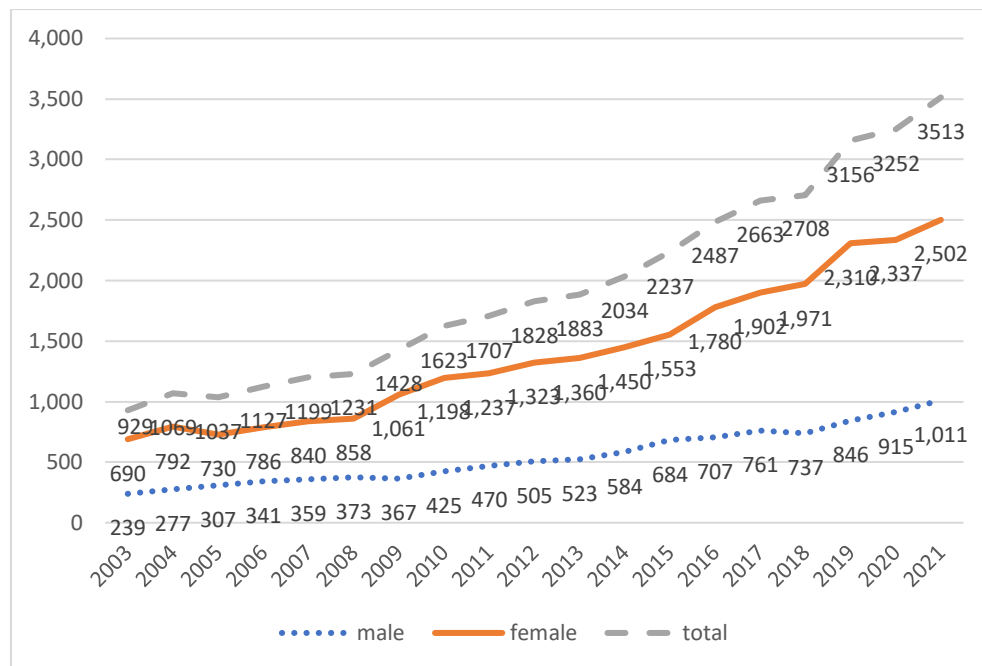
Interestingly, although all these government promoted "good quality" part-time jobs in the labor market, still the dominant characteristic of the growing part-time jobs in the labor market are of low quality in terms of its hourly wage, average tenure or the social insurance coverage rate (Jeong and Kwon, 2018). The reason why the governments highlighted the quality of the part-time jobs was because part-time jobs were dominantly perceived as dead-end jobs or disposable jobs in the labor market. Moreover, when the part-time jobs were promoted in the 2010s, Korea's part-timer rate out of the total employment was comparatively low. Thus, the governments tried to promote the part-time jobs by using its potential in the labor market while expecting that it would dramatically increase female labor force participation rate.

In reality, the government policy could not produce quality part-time jobs to the extent that it promised. Still, although the percentage of part-timers out of the whole employment rate remains below the OECD average, the portion of part-timers continued to grow, almost catching up the OECD average. In 2021, Korea's part-time employment rate reached 16.1%, which is about 0.4% lower than the OECD average. Part-timer grew with high female concentration, of which consequences are shown in figure 1,2, and 3. According to Figure 1 and Figure 2, Korea's part-timers have been continuously increasing, maintaining its high female concentration rate at around 70%¹. This means that the gap between the total number of female part-timers and male part-timers has been growing. In 2010, the number of female part-timers

¹ I used the data from 2003 to 2021 for Figure 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3 because the earliest data I could get from the National Statistics Office website was 2003's.

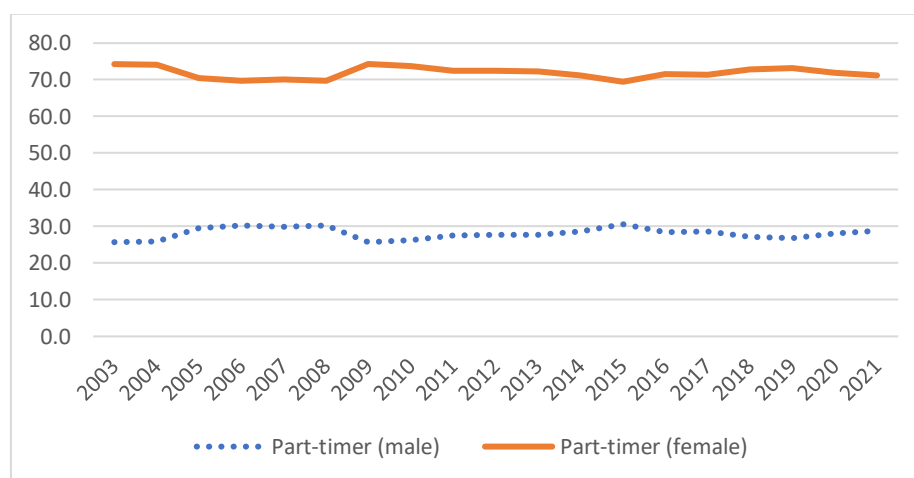
were 425 thousand more than the male counterpart. Ten years later, in 2021, the gap reached 1,011 thousand. According to Figure 3, part-timer rate among the total employed women has surpassed 25% since 2019 while part-timer rate among the total employed men has reached 8.8% in 2021. This shows that the part-timer rate among the employed women is about twice as much as men's part-timer rate among the employed men.

Figure 2. Part-Timer Trend from 2003 to 2021



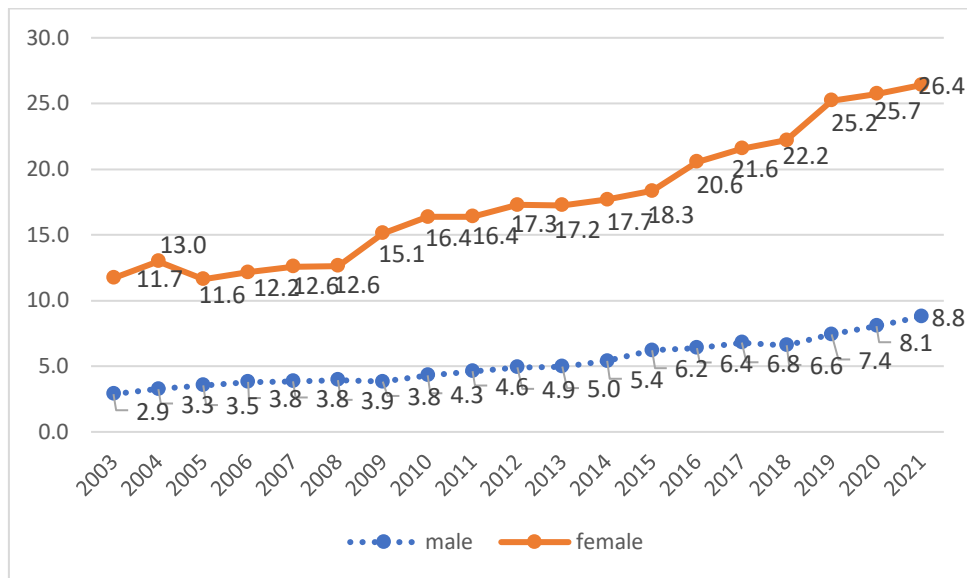
Source: Korean Statistical Information Service(KOSIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Data, “Size and proportion of wage workers by gender/work type”, extracted on 09 September 2022

Figure 3. Gender Ratio of the Part-Timers



Source: MicroData Integrated Service(MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 09 September 2022

Figure 4. Part-Timer Rate Among the Employed



Source: Korean Statistical Information Service(KOSIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Data, “Size and proportion of wage workers by gender/work type”, extracted on 09 September 2022

Since these part-time jobs are mostly low-quality, unstable and marginal jobs created in the social service sector (Nam and Lee, 2020), its high female concentrate rate has raised concern of women being marginalized in the labor market, which may reinforce the already OECD worst gender wage gap. The OECD data shows that usually the portion of low-wage workers and the portion of part-timers among female workers have positive relationship (Shin, 2013: 130-131). Moreover, even if the part-time jobs were of comparatively good quality, of which hourly wage is almost the same as the full-timer, their monthly wage would be lower than the full-timer due to shorter working hours, which still exacerbates the gender wage gap. Thus, although female employment rate could increase along with increase in part-time jobs, the growth of part-timers concentrated among female workers would maintain the current level of gender wage gap at best.

Yet, the fact that the government promoted flexible working time to make work environment friendlier to women with care responsibility including the promotion of quality part-time jobs and also expanded public care service raises a question of why despite all these

efforts, female workers in low-quality part-time jobs are rapidly increasing². This discordance between their policy ideal and reality requires a detailed analysis of the formation process of Korea's gendered part-time regime.

This research aims to analyze the characteristics of Korea's gendered part-time regime in comparative perspective from 2013 to 2019 before Covid-19 struck the labor market. While it is evident that part-time jobs in Korea are mostly marginal and its continuous increase maintaining high female concentrate rate would be contributing to the persistence or deepening of gender gap in Korean labor market, how such phenomena is unfolding requires a detailed analysis. This research will focus on the working time regime and the welfare state regime as the two pillars that form Korea's gendered part-time regime. Moreover, through international comparison I will reveal the distinct characteristics of Korea's part-time regime.

2. Research Questions

The research questions can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Why did government attempt to increase quality-part-time jobs in the labor market fail?
- 2) How can Korea's gendered part-time regime between 2013 and 2019 be classified in comparative perspective? How does this institutional environment work as a constraint to the government's quality part-time job policy?

² Moreover, it is important to note that the number of part-timers estimated by the National Statistical Office is underestimated. This is because, the part-timers are calculated among the wage workers, excluding the number of nonwage part-time workers. According to Jang and Oh (2021) who have explored the alternative ways to estimate part-timers in Korea, if the non-wage special employment (특수 고용) part-timers are included, the number of part-timers would increase by 150 thousand.

3. Research Methods

This is qualitative research that attempts in-depth research on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include regulations and policy reports, government documents, announcements, and official survey data such as Economically Active Population Survey Data provided by the KOSIS(Korean Statistical Information Service) and other international data sources provided by the OECD(Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and ILO(International Labor Organization). Secondary sources such as previous academic literature and journal articles will be examined as well.

4. Structure of Thesis

I will first review the previous theoretical and empirical discussions on the growth of part-time jobs in Chapter II. In Chapter II, I will also present analytical framework of the gendered part-time regime based on the previous literature on working time regime and the welfare state regime. In the first half of Chapter III, I will review and analyze the Park Geunhye administration and the following Moon Jaein administration's part-time job policy in detail. In the second half of Chapter III, I will examine the working time regime and welfare state regime changes in Korea focusing on its path-dependency and in relation with the part-time labor and demand changes. In Chapter IV, I will conclude the thesis with a summary and the signification and limitation of this research.

II. Literature Review and Analytical Frameworks

1. Literature Review

To answer the research question of why still the part-timer usages are concentrated in low-wage and low-skill occupations despite the promotion of quality part-time job policies in Korea, the institutional settings that constitute the part-time labor and demand should be analyzed. This thesis defines the “Gendered Part-Time Regime” as a summation of such institutions. Numerous comparative studies have been carried out to elucidate the differences between countries, including the growth rate of part-time work and the proportion of females employed in such positions. This section will begin by reviewing important comparative research on part-time work and will then provide a brief overview of research on part-time work in Korea. It will be demonstrated that, there has been a lack of research investigating the failure of policies aimed at improving the quality of part-time work within the specific context of Korea's gendered part-time labor system, focusing on the path dependency of the working time and welfare state regime.

1-1. Comparative Studies on Part-Time Labor Market

Part-time work expanded starting from the northern countries in the 60s. In Europe, more than four-fifths of net job creation from 1983 to 1994 was part-time jobs of which accounted for 62 percent of the net employment growth for women and 20 percent for men (Smith et al, 2002). Expansion of part-time work was a respond to the demand for flexibilization that comes from various sources such as changing industrial structure from manufacturing centered industry to service industry, changing technology, increasing global competition and deregulation trend, and also, increasing female labor market participation. Although female concentration of the part-time work and its association with marginal employment is a universal trait, variances exist (Fagan and O'Reily, 1998).

Large volume of comparative studies has been conducted to explain the variances that occur between countries such as the speed of part-time growth or how much it occupies female employment. Formal institutions such as legal regulations, industrial relations system, taxation system and social policies that affect the availability of care services as well as informal institution such as gender culture creates distinct patterns of part-time regimes (Hipp et al, 2015; Pfau-Effinger, 2004).

Although various comparative studies and case studies on part-time labor market in different countries have been conducted, to fulfill the research purpose – which is to delineate the characteristics of Korea’s part-time regime in comparative perspective – this thesis will review previous studies that have focused on larger institutional framework such as the working time regime and welfare state regime. Although there isn’t a typology called ‘Gendered Part-Time Regime’ that aims to cluster distinct part-time regimes, previous studies on working time regime and welfare state regime provides a clue to how part-time work might have grown.

Welfare state regime literature from gender perspective have tried to elucidate the varieties of breadwinner model in association with the direction of welfare state policies. These attempts explain why not all nations converged into a modified breadwinner model³ despite the overall expansion of part-time work, focusing on the distinct characteristics of welfare states. On the other hand, focusing more on the industrial relations, studies on working time regimes have tried to elucidate the political process through which national working time patterns are decided.

³ Modified breadwinner model is a terminology used to describe a household consisted of male full-timer and a female part-timer.

(1) Working Time Regime

In Western European countries, the vast expansion of part-time employment in the 70s and 80s was discussed within the trend of weakening standard work week (Rubery et al 1998). European labor movements in the 1980s requested shorter work weeks as means to create more jobs while the employer organizations tried to extend working hours flexibility to increase its competitiveness. Reorganizations of working hours was also pursued as a policy goal to solve unemployment rate (Mutari and Figart 2001). Within the institutional framework of each country, changes in working time regimes unfolded as a result of the negotiation between the state, capital and labor to reduce and reorganize working time.

Based on earlier research in comparative political economy and industrial relations, Anxo and O'Reiley (2001) classified the ways in which different actors respond to increasing demand for working time flexibility into three types: statis flexibility, negotiated flexibility, and externally constrained voluntarism. France and Spain show the statis flexibility since in both countries, statutory regulation is more powerful than a negotiation initiated by the capital and labor. In France, the state plays a strong role in arbitrating discord between the trade unions and also between the trade unions and the employer organizations. In Spain, the trade unions turned to the government to endorse reduction in working time as a response to unemployment, instead of achieving it through negotiation with the employers. On the other hand, rather than a strong government intervention, working time can be reorganized based on the highly centralized and coordinated negotiations between the social partners. Strong corporatist countries such as Sweden, Germany, and the Netherlands demonstrate this negotiated flexibility, although variations exist. Sweden pursues social democratic agenda while Germany is closer to a conservative welfare regime. The Netherlands exhibits a hybrid of the two, having conservative elements such as part-time jobs concentrated among women while also going through radical welfare reform that departs from traditional allocation of working time. Due to these mixed characteristics, although the percentage of part-timers among female is higher than male, the number of male part-timers is also growing quite fast, largely owing to its progressive tax

system. Lastly, countries like the UK and Ireland exhibit the externally constrained voluntarism, where the tradition of voluntarism values union's right to free collective bargaining over government intervention. Yet, voluntarism is externally constrained since the power of trade unions decreased in the UK during Thatcher's conservative government. In the Ireland, statutory regulations are getting more powerful due to its increasing acceptance of the European regulations and norms since the 1980s.

Different patterns in changes of the working time regimes are grounded in these distinct relationships between the state, capital, and labor. Countries that manage increasing demand for working time flexibility through statist flexibility shows less diversity in working times, which is centered around the statutory regulation of working time. On the other hand, countries that exhibit negotiated flexibility show variations according to the goal of the trade unions if it is reduction of working time or wage increase. Lastly, in countries that value voluntarism, working time patterns are most widely dispersed.

While Anxo and O'Reiley (2001) analyzed working time regimes in terms of working time distribution according to the macro political process between the state, capital and labor, Berg et al (2004) focused more on the micro level tension that occur between employer and the employee over control of working time flexibility⁴. When analyzing how much control employer or the employee have over working time, in addition to the institutional context, which is what Anxo and O'Reiley (2001) have compared, they also considered labor market conditions that are affected by economic cycle and demographic structure as well as management and labor union strategies. Their analysis of the seven countries (the United States, Australia, Japan, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Sweden) demonstrate that although employer has most control over working time, in some countries such as Germany, Sweden and Netherlands, employee's collective control over working time increased due to extensive collective bargaining based on high union labor density or coverage. Instead, in countries such

⁴ Flexible working time arrangements include flextime, job sharing, telecommuting, part-time work and compressed workweeks, annualized hours contracts, and time banks. Prevalence of certain kinds of working time arrangements differs according to countries.

as the United States where collective bargaining is not extensive and labor union remains weak, employees' control over working time depended on their individual position within the labor market.

On the other hand, some scholars took gendered approach on working time regime by analyzing the effect of certain working time arrangements on gender equality. For instance, Mutari and Figart (2001) clustered fifteen member states of the European Union paying attention to the relationship between working time flexibility and gender equality. Flexibility is measured by fewer full-time employees working a standard work week, normalization of overtime or long-hours jobs, and reliance on part-timers. Gender equity is defined as high level of women's labor force participation, narrow wage gap and similar working schedule between men and women, based on Nancy Fraser (1997)'s theoretical work on universal caregiver model⁵. Emphasizing the state role in the formation of working time practices, they classify the member states into four groups: male breadwinner work time regimes, liberal flexibilization work time regimes, solidaristic gender equity work time regimes, and high road flexibilization work time regimes. They emphasize that the gender implication of the working time arrangements reorganization should be considered.

(2) Welfare State Regime from Gender Perspective and the Labor Supply

Part-time jobs that are provided in the market are taken mostly by women. Despite the overall low quality of those part-time jobs, some women take them voluntarily. Previous studies that aim to explain why certain women become part-timer can be divided according to the degree the researcher highlights the individual preference or the structural constraints that constrains individuals' choice (Lee and Chang, 2000). Becker (1985) and Hakim (1991) take a rather individualist approach while scholars such as Fagan and Reilley (1998) highlight structural constraints.

⁵ In universal care model, both men and women participate in paid employment and care labor equally.

Firstly, human capital and rational choice theory assert that people's choice reflect their interests. From this point of view, women invest less in human capital due to her domestic responsibility and the households thus make a rational choice to position man who has more human capital as a primary breadwinner while positioning women as the primary caregiver. According to Becker, even before starting a career, women tend to invest in specific type of human capital that reflects their expectation of future disruption in career due to childcare. On the other hand, men as the main breadwinner invest in human capital that would be used in more continuous and intense labor market (Becker, 1985).

Secondly, Hakim's preference theory highlights the varieties of preferences that women have. She argues that unlike Becker's assumption that women are affected evenly by the childcare responsibilities, women can be classified into three types – the work centered, family centered and the adaptive (Hakim, 2000). The work centered women who Hakim also calls as the "self-made women" puts higher value in career than family while the family centered women or the "grateful slaves" as Hakim also puts prefer pursuing a traditional housewife role (Hakim, 1991). Hakim argues that while the work centered and family centered each takes up 20 percent of the women, the majority are the adaptive type who does not have a clear and consistent preference.

These two representative individualist's approaches are limited in explaining the gendered part-time regime since it does not consider the adaptive process in which women's attitude or strategy is formed socially. It overlooks the opportunities given to women that are designed structurally, concealing the possible involuntariness of women who take part time jobs due to lack of public childcare support or because of the structural discrimination they face in labor market (Fagan & Reiley, 1998).

Along this line of institutionalist approach, comparative study of gender regimes has been conducted among European nations that highlight the opportunity structure provided to female workers by the social policies. These studies came from a feminist critique of the welfare state literature when increasing female labor force participation since the second world war and the

growing need to recognize the value of care labor as a paid labor increased the need to devise a policy for women from the new perspective on family (Lewis, 1992; Orloff, 2002). On Esping-Anderson (1990)'s typology of welfare state regimes based on the degree of decommodification⁶, feminist research criticized the narrow definition of the concept of work that it excluded the unpaid domestic and care work performed mostly by women (León, 2005). They criticize that before discussing the decommodification of labor enabled by the welfare policies, women's status as an already decommodified laborer and their contribution to welfare should be acknowledged. In other words, they point out that male workers' decommodification does not simply mean less dependence on paid labor, but it also includes female member's unpaid care work that contributes to households and the society's welfare. Decommodification for female workers would mean staying at home providing unpaid care work. Thus, they highlight women's right to be commodified and to be independent from the family members.

Scholars such as Lewis (1992) redefined welfare state regimes according to the gender division of labor by proposing a 'breadwinner model'. Variations in breadwinner model occur according to the ways in which women are treated in social security systems and the level of childcare services. According to Lewis (1992), Ireland and the United Kingdom are classified as a strong male breadwinner model, France as a modified male breadwinner model and Sweden as a weak male bread winner model. According to this classification, portion of female part-timers would be large in a modified male breadwinner model where families are consisted of a male full-timer and a female part-timer.

Korpi (2000), accepting the feminist critique on Esping Anderson (1990)'s welfare state regime, re-classified the 18 OECD countries focusing on the gender agency inequality. It was part of an attempt to reclassify the welfare states by paying attention to the gender inequality as well as class inequality. In doing so, Korpi (2000) paid attention to the role of social policies in shaping women's agency in the public era, including the politics and the labor market. Based on whether the social policies support women's labor force participation or whether it encourages

⁶ The more the laborer can sustain his or her life without selling his or her labor force in the market, he or she is more decommodified.

their unpaid work at home, gendered welfare state institutions were classified into the models of general family support, dual-earner support, and market-oriented policies (Korpi, 2000: 144). For measures of general family support model, cash child allowances, family tax benefits and public day care services for somewhat older children were considered. In case of dual-earner support, the degree of public day care services for the youngest children, paid maternity and paternity leave and the public home help to the elderly were taken into account. These typologies are useful in that it can directly address the gender-differentiated outcomes of different models by paying attention to the role of social services (Korpi, 2000: 142). Regarding the gendered part-time regime, it can be inferred that demand for part-time job among women would be higher in the general family support model or in the market-oriented model depending on individual circumstances.

Orloff (2002) tried to link the literature on gender regime and the welfare state regime by regrouping the regime classification that Korpi (2000), Lewis (1992) and Esping-Andersen have provided (see Table 1).

Table 1. Gender Regime and Welfare State Regime Classification

	Other Relevant Regimes	Countries	Characteristics
Dual Earner	Lewis' weak male breadwinner/dual-earner regime Esping-Andersen's social-democratic regime	Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden	Wide range of public services combined with generous financial support for families; extensive reduction of family responsibilities.
General Family Support	Lewis' strong male breadwinner model Esping-Andersen's conservative regime	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain	Moderate to generous financial transfers and tax benefits for housewives; shortage of public services, resulting in limited reduction of family responsibilities.
Market-Oriented	Esping-Andersen's liberal regime	Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States	Few state services and only residual transfers

Source: Orloff (2002): summarized in Kim, 2009: 288

(3) Welfare State Regime and the Part-Time Job Quality

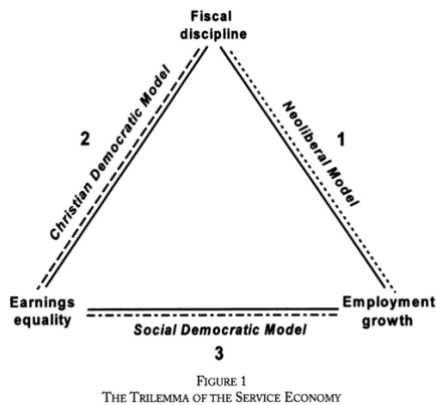
It is important to note that the extent and the delivery of social care not only affects women's choice to work as a part-timer but also the quality of the part-time jobs that they take. Indeed, welfare state is one of the biggest employers of the part-timers. Among twelve EU countries, except for Greece, Spain and Portugal where part-timer rate is low and are concentrated in agricultural sector, half of the female part-timers worked in retail service or health and medical service (Smith et al, 1998). In Korea, the largest portion of the part-time jobs that have been created from 2013 to 2019 are from the social service sector (Jeong and Kwon, 2019).

Welfare states expanded the social service sector to address the common pressure of socio-demographic challenges such as aging population and low fertility rate. The classification of the social service policy direction that each country take largely matches with Esping-Andersen (1990)'s welfare state regime typology or Iversen and Wren (1998)'s country classification regarding the welfare state's policy decision when making transition to service economies in a more macroeconomic context (Kim, 2015; Song, 2015).

Iversen and Wren (1998) argued that welfare states respond to the transition into service economy in different ways by focusing on the political dynamics. When making a transition from economy dominated by manufacturing production to economy dominated by service production, government faces a trilemma of economic policy decision, among "budgetary restraint, income equality, and employment growth" (Iversen and Wren, 1998). At best, the government can accomplish two out of three policy goals, inevitably failing to achieve the remaining goal (see Figure 4). In social democratic model like the Nordic model, the state expands public social service sector by directly hiring social service workers, thereby choosing to reduce income equality and support employment growth while sacrificing budgetary restraint. This ensures comparably quality part-time jobs in the social service sector. On the other hand, liberal model chooses budgetary restraint and employment growth over income equality, leaving the employment of social service to private sector. This contributes to expansion of low

quality of the part-time jobs in the service sector. Lastly, in Christian Democratic model or the corporatist model, states take rather passive stance in expanding the service provision since social service has been provided by the community, religious group or family. By choosing the earnings equality and the fiscal discipline, the growth of the service sector is limited.

Figure 5. The Trilemma of the Service Economy



Source: Iversen and Wren (1998)

Iversen and Wren (1998)'s discussion on the welfare state's policy direction can be applied to a more micro-level social service policy decision process as demonstrated in Figure 5 and Figure 6. When Kim (2015) analyzed Korea's childcare regime, she used the trilemma of the childcare service provision between the budget constraint, service quality and the accessibility of the service as an analytical tool. Heo (2019) also modified Iversen and Wren (1998)'s service economy trilemma when analyzing Korea's eldercare service policy direction. Eldercare service provision decision process could be interpreted as a prioritization of the taxpayers and the recipients of the service over the laborers.

Figure 6. Childcare Regime Trilemma

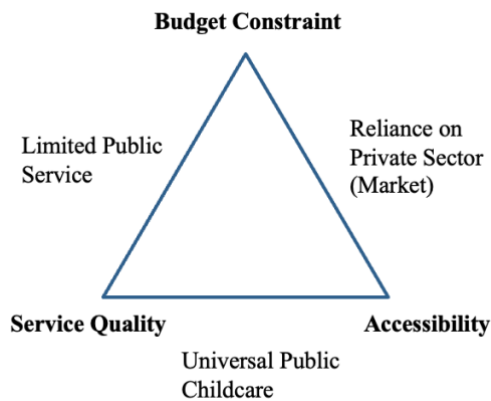
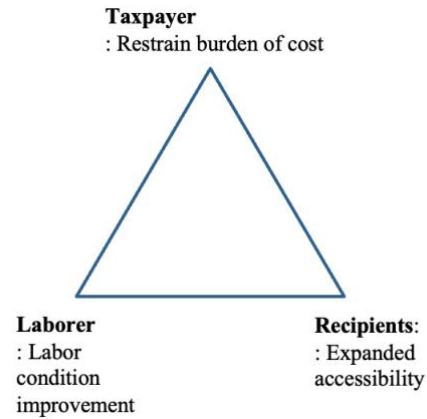


Figure 7. Eldercare Regime Trilemma



Source: Figure 6 translated from Kim (2015: 68), Figure 7 translated from Heo (2019: 214)

In this section, I have reviewed the previous literature on the working time regime and the welfare state regime that form the institutional foundation of the part-time labor demand and supply in different countries. In the following section, I will review the key literature on Korea's part-time work.

1-2. Previous Studies on Korea's Part-Time Work

Since part-time job creation in Korea was initiated by the government as a measure to increase female labor force participation, previous studies on part-time jobs in Korea have focused on the critical examination of the government's part-time job policy (Kim and Lee, 2014; Shin 2014, 2015).

Kim and Lee (2014) examined the Park Geunhye administration's quality part-time job policy by comparing it with the part-time policies and regulations in Germany and the Netherlands. Focusing on the policy contents and the legal regulations, they concluded that compared to the Germany and the Netherlands, the beneficiaries of the Korea's part-time job policy are limited to the workers who wishes to reduce working hours for special reasons such as childcare, family care and health. Moreover, the transitions from the full-time to part-time work and from part-time work to full-time work was comparatively limited. In terms of the regulations, although the law prohibits discrimination against part-timers compared to the full-

timers, it did not prohibit discrimination in terms of training and promotion conditions. There was also room for the employers to write different employment rules for part-timers from that of the full-timers.

Shin (2015) examined the labor experience of the part-timers who took the time-selective job (*Siganseontaekje Iljari*) that the government promoted. When analyzing the interviews with the female part-timers and the human resource managers in seven companies that hire the time-selective workers, Shin (2015) tried to contextualize the work experiences of the part-timers within the labor process and their relationships with co-workers. Part-timers were mainly assigned to peripheral female tasks such as customer service or complaint handling. Because employers had strong authority, workers had to accept the flexibility of working hours, and there were cases where they were forced to work overtime without receiving overtime pay. Interviewees either perceived the time-selective job as an alternative for those who do not have work-centered orientation or regarded it as transitional jobs that would disappear if men participate more in caregiving. It was also revealed that in case of transitional part-timers who asked for working time reduction, due to lack of organizational system, their transition led to workload increase of full-time coworkers, leading to conflicts among colleagues.

This two research both criticized the limitation of the Park Geunhye administration's quality part-time job policy either by pointing out the lack of legal protection or by highlighting the unreadiness of the work organization to create quality part-time jobs. Another strand of studies examines the dominant characteristics of increasing part-timers in the labor market (Moon and Kim, 2017; Jeong, 2019; Song and Lee, 2019; Jeong and Kwon, 2019; Kwon, 2021).

Moon and Kim (2017) particularly focused on the extremely short hour workers who work less than 15 hours per week. They found out that the extremely short hour labor market is growing in the social service sector, with low income and lack of social insurance coverage due to the blind spots in the labor laws. These jobs were increasingly taken by the low-educated elderly women, especially those who have deceased or divorced to make ends meet.

Kwon (2021), on the other hand, interviewed comparatively highly educated part-timers whose labor condition is expected to be better than the average. However, still, although their social insurance coverage rate or the employment stability was higher than the average, hourly wage, promotion opportunity and training opportunity or the availability to turn to full-timer were all low. She concluded that compared to other countries where good quality part-time jobs also exist, in Korea, the comparatively “good” part-time jobs are not good enough to conclude that the part-time jobs are clearly dualized.

Song and Lee (2019) tried to examine whether the part-time policy is decreasing the gender inequality in the labor market or in fact reproducing it by focusing on the married female part-time worker with children. They found out that due to the strong emphasis on labor market flexibility policies, most newly created part-time jobs are temporary positions. Furthermore, the childcare system has not sufficiently defamilized or degendered the families, maintaining male breadwinner model that burdens female members with care responsibilities. As a result, the part-time employment policies have not been effective in achieving their intended outcome.

There are not many studies that examine the failure of the quality part-time job policy in the larger institutional context that forms the gendered part-time regime. The most similar research to the research direction that this paper takes is Nam and Lee (2020)’s research on the possibility of creating good part-time jobs in Korea. Nam and Lee (2020) argue that since other options to flexible working time is easier for the employer in Korea’s institutional context, for instance hiring a new non-standard full-time worker instead of changing internal full-timer into a part-timer, employer has less incentive to create quality part-time job. This research is different from Nam and Lee (2020)’s research in that while they focus on the institutional conditions on which quality part-time jobs can be created from the employer’s perspective, this research also considers employee’s perspective and the role of social policies.

2. Analytical and Conceptual Frameworks

2-1. Definition of Concepts

Before further developing the analysis, the *part-time employment* and the “good” *part-time jobs* should be clearly defined. Firstly, although part-time employment can be roughly defined as an employment of which working hours is shorter than a full-time worker, the specific definition of part-time work differs among countries. The OECD defines part-time employment as “people in employment (whether employees or self-employed who usually works less than 30 hours per week in their main job.” In Korea, the Labor Standards Act defines part-time workers as ‘단시간 노동자’ whose weekly prescribed working hours are less than fellow workers who perform the same work. The National Statistical Office defines part-time worker as those whose prescribed working hours are shorter one hour or more than their fellow workers who perform the same task. If there isn’t fellow worker to compare with, those whose weekly work hours are less than 36 hours are aggregated as part-time worker.

Since this thesis argues that despite government effort or its narrative of expanding “good” quality part-time jobs, most of the part-time jobs that have grown are of low quality, it is important to clarify the characteristics of the “good” quality part-time job when the term is used in this paper. Although most of the part-time jobs are considered to have low quality, many studies have examined the existing comparably “good” part-time jobs and the possibility of creating ideally good part-time jobs.

Tilly (1992) paid attention to dualism in part-time employment in the United States by categorizing part-time jobs into the retention part-time jobs (referred to as “good” part-time jobs) and the secondary part-time jobs (referred to as “bad” part-time jobs). Good part-time jobs are created within the primary labor market as an employer’s strategy to retain skilled employee by offering them flexibility in adjusting their working schedule. On the other hand, bad part-time jobs are found in the secondary labor market, where flexibility is prioritized for employers as a means to achieve numerical or financial flexibility. Tilly identified four main categories to differentiate between good and bad part time jobs: job demands, compensation, turnover and

connection with promotion ladders. In contrast to bad part-time jobs, good part-time jobs demand high levels of skill, training, and responsibility. Turnover rate among good part-timers is comparatively low since employers offer part-time employment as an alternative option to turnover. In terms of compensation, good part-time workers enjoy full fringe benefits and same hourly wage as the full-timer. Although good part-time jobs still offer limited promotion opportunity, they provide higher accessibility to promotion ladder compared to the bad part time jobs that mostly remains at the entry level.

Lyonette et al (2010) defined the ideal type of ‘quality’ part-time job focusing on four key areas. Firstly, the employer should offer same (pro-rata) terms and conditions, growth prospects, and development opportunities comparable to full-time positions. Secondly, the employer should facilitate the part-timer to preserve or improve his or her skills. Thirdly, the jobs should support satisfactory work-life balance. Lastly, the part-timer should be possible to make a transition from part-time to full-time employment, at the same or higher job level, if desired. When applying these criteria to the retention part-time jobs that Tilly (1992) has observed, retention part-time jobs satisfy the second criteria but does not fulfill the first criteria for the part-timer’s promotion opportunity is limited.

Nicolaisen et al (2019) added another category to the working terms and conditions, which is voluntariness. They classified part-time work and part-time workers into six categories based on these two standards (see Table 00). According to this category, even if the quality of the part-time job is ‘good’ in terms of working conditions such as compensation, job security, opportunities for training or promotion, predictability of work and leisure and social protection, if the job is taken involuntarily, the part-time worker would be considered as “under employed”. Regarding involuntariness, Nicolaisen et al (2019) not only includes the workers who had become a part-timer against one’s will due to employer’s decision but also those who chose to become part-timer due to health or family situation. This is because under the gendered division of labor that places primary responsibility for household chores and caregiving on women, many women are compelled to choose part-time work.

The most ideal type of part-time worker would be the equalized part-time workers who voluntarily work as part-timer as well as enjoy similar working conditions and social rights to those of comparable full-timers. These workers are likely to have permanent contracts and possess the power to exert control over the duration and arrangement of their working hours. They also enjoy the right to make a transition into full-timer when they wish to.

Table 2. Typology of part-time work and part-time workers

	Working conditions and Social Protection		
	Good	Mixed	Bad
Voluntary	Equalized	Semi-secured	Transitional
Involuntary	Under Employed	Precarious	Marginalized

Source: Nicolaisen et al (2019: 11)

Kwon (2021) used Nicolaisen et al (2019)’s categorization to examine the comparably “good” part-timers in Korea and concluded that even they are sorted as the precarious part-timers who enjoy middle level of working condition and social protection while working involuntarily. Although the female part-timers who have participated in the survey had comparably high educational attainment, showed high unionization rate and enjoyed unlimited contract(무기계약), still their working conditions such as hourly wage, promotion and skill development opportunity, or possibility to turn into full-timer were all low. According to the standard used in this study to measure involuntariness, which included not only those who became part-timer since she could not find a full-time job but also those who wished to increase her working hours, portion of involuntary part-time worker was quite high⁷.

In each preceding study, the conditions emphasized or focused on may vary slightly, but the characteristics of the good quality part-time jobs identified in each study are interconnected. For instance, Nicolaisen et al (2019) provided Tilly (1992)’s retention part-timer as an example of the equalized part-timer. Based on the previous research, good part-time jobs can be

⁷ Several OECD countries such as Australia, Japan, Sweden and the United States also include those who want to increase working hours as involuntary part-time work (Jeong, 2019: 106).

summarized as possessing the following features: (1) working terms and conditions as well as social protection that are comparable to full-time standard employment, (2) opportunities for training and promotion that allow for long-term career prospects, (3) workers' power to decide the duration and arrangement of working hours which includes availability to become a full-timer and the (4) voluntariness of their choice. Usually, jobs that are closer to this definition of good part-time jobs would be high-skilled jobs with good compensation that are offered to those from high educational background for employer's retention purpose.

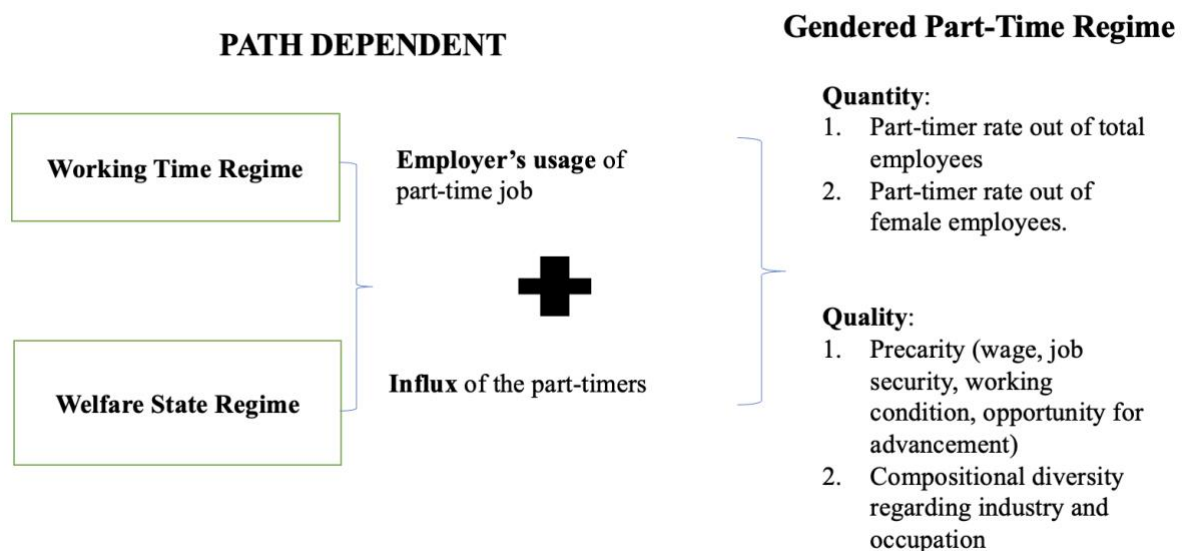
Table 3. Summary of the Previous Literature that highlighted good part-time jobs

Previous Literature	Characteristics of Good Part-Time Job
Tilly (1992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High Job demands (skill and training) and compensation, low turnover, strong connection with promotion ladders - Good part-time work is offered to core workers by the employers for retain purpose while bad part-time work is offered to disposable workers to increase numerical and financial flexibility - Created within internal labor market
Lyonette et al (2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Equivalent terms and conditions, growth prospects, and development opportunities comparable to full-time positions - Facilitates part-timer to preserve or improve his or her skills - Supports satisfactory work-life balance - Possible to make a transition from part-time to full-time employment, at the same or higher job level, if desired
Nicolaisen et al (2019:6-11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Divided part-time jobs into six categories based on two criteria: the level of working condition and social protection and the voluntariness - Working condition: "hourly earnings, job security, health risks, opportunities for training or promotion, scheduling patterns, and the predictability of work and leisure" (9) - Focuses on institutional settings (labor market regulation, social protection policy) that either exacerbates the division between insider and outsider
Kwon (2021)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Used Nicolaisen et al(2019)'s classification - Measured involuntariness based on two survey questions: if the worker involuntarily chose the work or wants to increase one's working hours

2-2. Gendered Part-Time Regime as an Analytical Framework

This study has developed a framework for analyzing the failure of quality part-time work policies in Korea, building upon previous research on the working time regime and welfare state regime (see Figure 8). The framework allows for an examination of how Korea's gendered part-time regime, which has been shaped by historical path-dependency, contributes to the failure of such policies. The government attempt to create more quality part-time jobs in the labor market can be interpreted as an attempt to change the existing gendered part-time regime. The failure of the policy can be read as a failure to change the regime due to its path dependency.


Figure 8. Analytical Framework of Gendered Part-Time Regime



Working time regime and the welfare state regime works as a nexus that constitutes the employer's demand for part-time job and the supply of the part-timers in the labor market. This nexus forms a particular form of gendered part-time regime, of which quantity and quality differs by country. Quantity is measured as the overall portion of the part-time jobs and its female concentration rate. Quality of the part-time jobs is a more complicated concept, which encompasses its wage, job security, working condition, opportunity for advancement. The quality of the part-time jobs is highly related to the composition of the part time jobs, such as the industry sector and the occupation.

Using this framework, precedent OECD countries including Korea can be roughly classified in the following table. In order to analyze the current position of South Korea in the spread of part-time jobs, among the countries with a longer history of part-job expansion, I selected countries where high-quality part-time jobs have spread and countries where low-quality part-time jobs have spread. I examined the Netherlands and Sweden as examples of countries where high-quality temporal jobs have spread, and the United Kingdom and the United States as examples of countries where precarious part-time jobs have spread.

Table 4. Gendered Part-Time Regime Classification of the OECD countries



	Dutch Model	Nordic Model	Liberal Model	Korea
Working Time Regime	Transition into Part-Time Economy through collective agreement	Shortening Work Week through collective agreement	Weak statutory regulation; left to the worker's negotiation power	Statutory Attempt to Shorten Work Week but remains Long-Time Working Regime
Welfare State Regime	<u>Familistic</u>	Strong State Care, Strong Public Employment	Care Market	<u>Familistic</u>
Part-Timer Volume (OECD)	High	Low	High	Middle (OECD average)
Composition of Part-Time Jobs	Varieties of Part-Time Jobs	Portion of comparably good PT jobs exist since part-time jobs are used by the full-timers for certain period (transitional)	Mostly Bad. But Good Part-Time Jobs also growing. (few good <u>part time</u> jobs that are even better compensating than fulltime job)	Bad Part Time Jobs

Firstly, the volume and the composition of part-time jobs are decided within a particular working time regime. In Dutch model where part-timer volume is high and the part-time jobs can be found in various industries and occupations, this was possible through a strong collective bargaining between the state, capital and labor. Through a tripartite agreement between the three agents, Dutch economy could make a transition into a part-time economy. Worker's right to control working hours is protected strongly in Netherlands through a tripartite agreement. Its strong tripartite system has prevented a spread of marginalized part-time jobs by holding back the low-wage competition in wholesale and retail industry (de Groot, 2021). However, although part-timer rate is growing among male workers, still female workers consist most of the part-

timers. This is due to a familistic welfare state regime where care is provided mostly within family.⁸

In Nordic countries such as Sweden, the part-timer volume remains low, although variations exist between Nordic countries. In case of Sweden, it is below OECD average, which is a result of a continuous decline of the part-timer rate. In Sweden, unlike the Netherlands, the households are mostly consisted of a dual earner - two full timers instead of male full timer and a female part timer (Nyberg, 2004; Pfau-Effinger, 2001). In Nordic countries such as Sweden, government regulation that controls standard working hours or maximum working hours is strong, while the large coverage of collective bargaining weakens the influence of labor market condition, thereby strengthening the collective control of the workers (Berg et al, 2004). Because of this, there are few cases of overtime work. The government implemented policies that would encourage full-timers to use part-timers for temporal period, instead of creating new part-time jobs while full-time female workers were supported by generous public social service provision. Moreover, strong public employment guarantees the quality of the jobs created in the social service sector, which is one of the main sectors where part-time jobs are usually created.

In the liberal model, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, they show high part-timer volume, which are mostly bad part-time jobs. This is due to weak statutory regulation and weak worker's negotiating status. Due to the institutional context that minimizes government intervention in the labor market, it shows a gendered working hours pattern. While the percentage of British men who works more than 50 hours per week is higher than other European countries, British women are concentrated in marginalized part-time jobs, working less than 10 hours per week (Woo, 2011). Also, since there isn't enough public care provisions but are left to market, most of the part-time jobs created in social service sectors remain as low paying low quality jobs. Yet, at the same time, few good part time jobs exist that are even better

⁸ According to Korpi's classification, who have paid attention to the relationship between social policies and female agency, Netherlands that is classified as the conservative or corporatist welfare state (Esping-Anderson, 1990) were reclassified as the general family support model.

compensating than full-time job, depending on the worker's individual negotiating power in the market (Tilly, 1991). Some part-timers in the managerial and professional occupations were paid higher hourly wages and offered with more health benefits than the full-timers (Tilly, 1992: 331).

In the following section, I will separately examine Korea's working time regime and welfare state regime in relation to part-time labor market in comparative perspective.

2-3. Korea's Working Time Regime

Regarding part-time job policy, it is quite clear that the Park Geunhye administration tried to achieve something similar to what the Netherlands have achieved. The Dutch case is explicitly presented as an example in the government paper regarding the legal protection of the part-timers and the promotion of part-timers through the negotiation between the labor, capital and the government (Joint Ministries, 2013: 25, 28). In the Netherlands a grand bargain between the state, capital and the labor, the Vassenaar Convention, allowed the creation of part-time jobs in a wide spectrum of industries, thereby entering into the "Part-Time Economy". Since part-time jobs were created across broad industries and occupations, they could also be utilized as a useful method for the female workers to stay in the labor market, thereby increasing female employment rate. Although women take part-time jobs more than men like in other countries, men are also getting involved in part-time jobs.

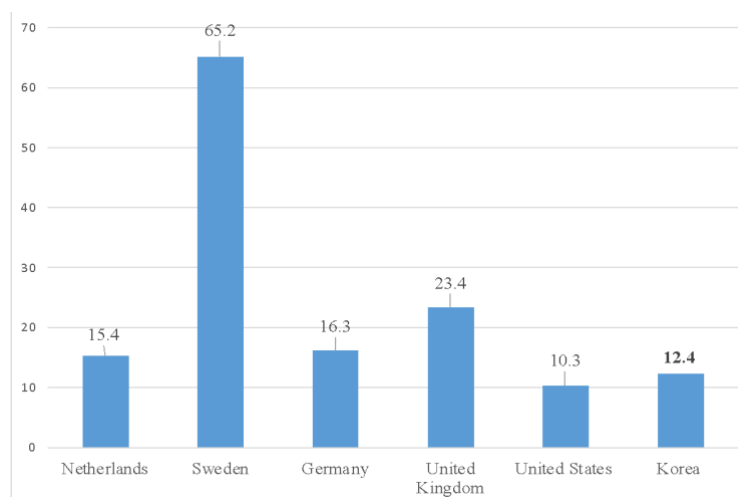
Although not explicitly stated in the government paper, Sweden, which is part of the Nordic countries, is another exemplar country where part-time jobs are used freely by the employee according to one's life cycle needs. This enabled part-time jobs to be used as a channel to increase female employment rate (Sundstrom, 1991). Swedish workers broadly exercise their right to reduce working hours and later increase by necessity, which in other countries may only be available to a privileged group of highly skilled employees (Berg et al, 2004:8). This is because the right to reduce working hours around the birth or adoption of a child and then later increase hours is granted by the government. Moreover, this right is

protected and complemented by the consultation rights that the labor unions have. Yet, the volume of part-time jobs isn't as huge as the Netherlands, since Sweden's labor market policy agenda was focused more on the wage increase than the working time reduction during the bargaining process (Anxo and O'Reily, 2000: 8). As a result, Sweden's working time distribution is centered around the statutory norm as in France where statis flexibility operates.

According to Anxo and O'Reiley(2000)'s classification, it is clear that Korea's working time regime cannot be classified as negotiated flexibility, which is the case for the Dutch model and the Nordic model (authors also included Germany under negotiated flexibility). This is because Korea does not have a strong tradition of collective bargaining.

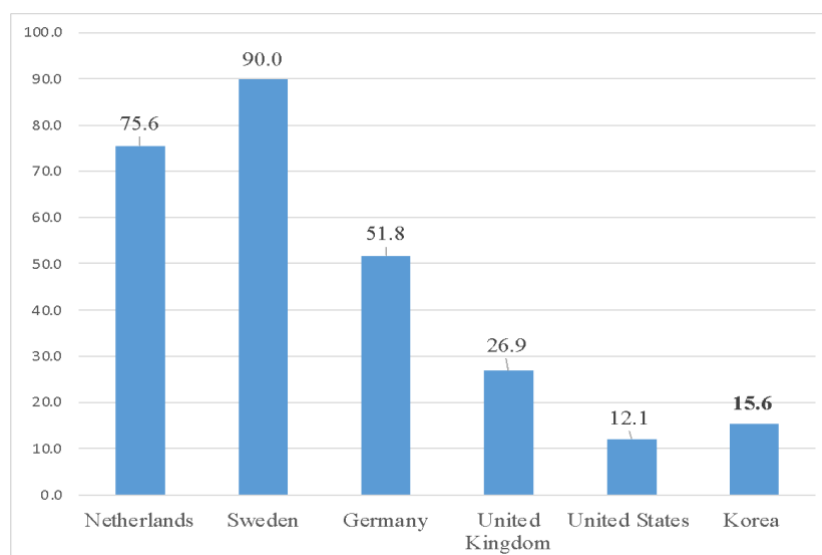
Compared to the countries that have corporatist systems such as the Nordic countries or the Dutch, the level of union density, collective bargaining cover rate, and the employer organization density rate in Korea are all much lower as shown in Figure 9 to 11. Within these institutional settings, it is difficult for the social partners to autonomously make a highly centralized and coordinated decision to create quality part-time jobs. Sweden shows high trade union density rate, collective bargaining coverage rate and the employer organization rate. Although the Netherlands have comparatively low trade union density rate, its collective bargaining coverage rate and employer organization rate almost reach that of Sweden.

Figure 9. Trade Union Density Rate (Unit:%)



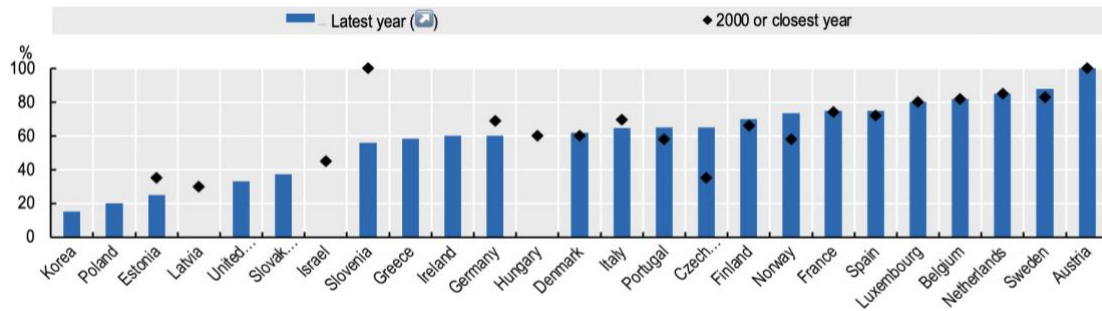
Source: ILOstat Latest Data Available, extracted on 13 April 2023. Used 2020 data for Korea and the United States and 2019 data for the rest.

Figure 10. Collective Bargaining Coverage Rate (Unit:%)



Source: ILO Stat latest data available, extracted on 13 April 2023. Except for the United States (2020) all the other countries' data are from 2019.

Figure 11. Employer Organization Density by Country

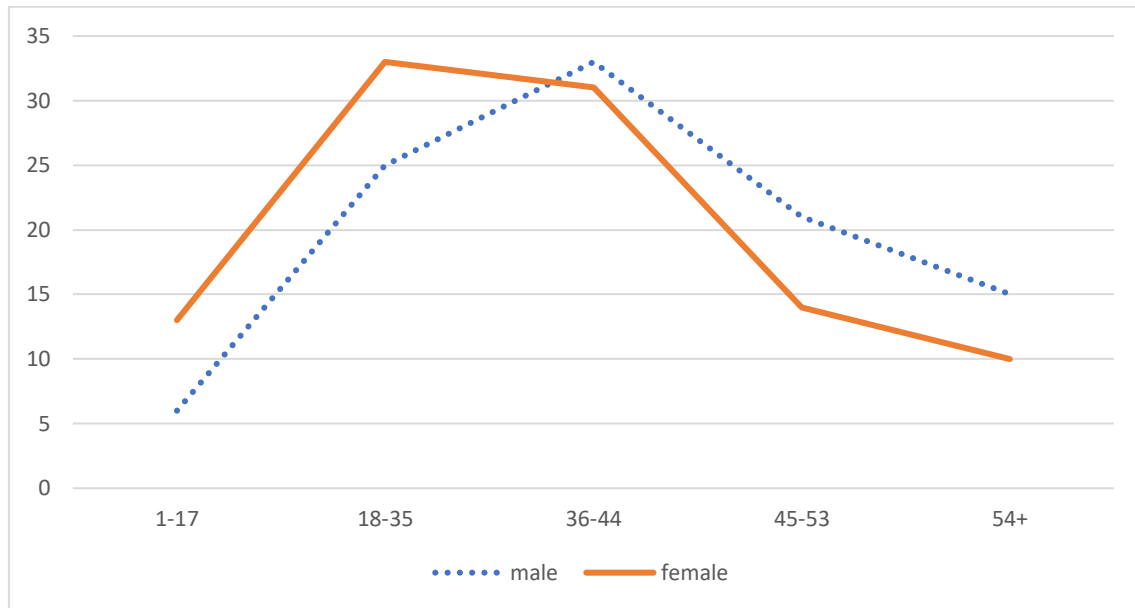


Source: OECD Database (2019), "Employer organization density", in *Negotiating Our Way Up: Collective Bargaining in a Changing World of Work*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/1d001f0e-en>. Extracted on 13 April 2023

This institutional setting makes it difficult for the employers and the labor force to autonomously compromise on the adoption of part-time work across industries and occupations in Korea as it did in the Netherlands or to effectively reinforce the workers' right to reduce working hours which the workers enjoy in Sweden. In fact, Korea's working time regime seems closer to status flexibility where the government initiates and actively mediates the changes in working hours distribution. Within institutional settings that displays status flexibility, government would have to strongly drive the creation of quality part-time jobs in the labor market while the labor and the capital would have to follow the government initiative. In Korea, although the government did take the initiative to create part-time jobs, due to the legacy of the long and rigid working time regime, it was not successful. The failure of the government initiative will be investigated in detail in Chapter 3.

According to Anxo and O'Reiley (2000), countries that have status flexibility show lesser diversification in working time distribution whereas liberal regime shows the highest diversity. Countries that show status flexibility have working time distribution that is centered around statutory working hours. This is reflected in Korea's working time distribution landscape as shown in Figure 12

Figure 12. Distributions of working hours by gender (2019)



Source: MicroData Integrated Service(MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 13 October 2022

To sum up, the biggest difference between the development of Korea's part-time regime and the Dutch model is that while in the Netherlands, a grand bargain between the state, capital and the labor took place, in Korea, the part-time job policy was promoted primarily by the government initiative through employer-focused support policies. Yet, the part-time policy agenda was not welcomed by the capital and the labor (see Table 5).

Although the government attempt to increase quality part-time jobs in the labor market could not achieve its goal, still, low-quality part-time jobs continued to increase among female workers. This current expansion of part-time jobs by the market mechanism questions whether Korea's working time re-regulation should be categorized as the externally constrained voluntarism like the United Kingdom. However, compared to other liberal regimes such as the United Kingdom or the United States, Korea's usage of part-timers still fall behind in its volume compared to the size of the service industry. This could be because, although still weaker than the Netherlands (Kim and Lee, 2014), Korean government has attempted to protect the part-timers' right and improve their working conditions through various legislations.

Table 5. Application of Anxo and O'Reily's Working Time Regime Framework to Part-Time Regime

	Netherlands	Sweden	United Kingdom	Korea
Part-Time Regulatory System (Working Time Regime)	Negotiated Flexibility	Negotiated Flexibility	Externally Constrained Voluntarism	Between Stasis Flexibility and Constrained Voluntarism
Part-Time/Working Time Policy Agenda	Creation of Part-Time job in exchange for a wage increase	Wage Increase, Social Care	-	Working Time Reduction (Less discussion on Working time flexibility), Less preference for part-time expansion
Part-Time Labor Market	Part-Time Economy	Temporal usage of part-time status	Polarization of working hours by gender	Continued growth of marginalized part-time jobs taken mostly by women

Previous studies on working time regimes explain how different political actors might be involved in deciding the working time patterns in the labor market. Explaining part-time work expansion using working time regime approach can be understood as more of labor demand side approach that shed light on the institutional setting that limits employer's choice to use part-timers. In the next section, I will review literature on Korea's welfare state regime classification and the social policies' implication on the part-time labor supply and demand.

2-4. Korea's Welfare State Regime

As a legacy of the developmental state, welfare expansion in Korea has long been neglected as a secondary to economic growth. Social policies development was subordinated to the rhetoric of growth (Lee, 2012). Under the influence of strong development rhetoric, state welfare expansion was perceived as an obstacle to economic progress. Economic development was the first and foremost agenda that could eventually elevate individual welfare. Due to such prioritization, welfare has been left to families, especially female member's care labor within the male breadwinner economic structure (Chang, 2011). Such system relies on the full employment in the labor market and the full support of the housewife through unpaid care labor.

In the 1980s before the 2000s, although the female labor force participation increased due to social change, childcare policies did not change much. State's lack of intervention in childcare policy eventually led to market-led socialization of childcare (Song, 2012). The situation was even worse in case of the elder care policy development. State's policy intervention barely existed for general elder population except for several welfare support for the extremely poor (Song, 2014: 132).

However, emerging new social risks such as changing labor market and employment structure, low fertility rate and aging population started to challenge the sustainability of the male breadwinner system. By the 2000s, such new social risks could no longer be neglected. As a response to those risks, the government started to expand the government expenditure on childcare and eldercare vastly. Since the 2000s, childcare policies expanded and the government introduced the Long-Term Care in 2008, claiming serious state intervention in elder care provision as well. Yet, the process through which such plans or policies are implemented reveals the persistence of the state's passive stance in care intervention, leaving the care provision mainly to the market and family (Song, 2014: 121).

Regarding the childcare service, from the Roh Administration (2003~2008) to the Lee Administration (2008~2013), huge changes have been made to childcare service provisions but the government remained passive stance by delegating the childcare responsibility to families

and the market. During this period, not only the child care act eligibility expanded from low-income to all infants and toddlers, but also child care budget increased by 28 fold from \$149.5 billion in 2000 to \$4.131 trillion in 2013 (Song, 2014: 134). Yet, in both administrations, despite the growth in care budget, the portion of public facilities did not increase much. Due to budget issue, the Roh administration could not increase the portion of public facilities to 30% of childcare facilities as planned while the number of private childcare facilities increased rapidly. Instead of expanding the public childcare facilities, the following Lee administration changed the way the childcare is paid for, from supporting the facilities to providing vouchers to the families directly and giving the families the option to choose which facilities to use. If the family did not choose to use the facility, childcare allowances were provided directly to the parents (Nam, 2008). These trends meant making parents, not the state, responsible for the quality of childcare service, which would be decided by the market mechanism (Song, 2011).

Similarly, regarding the eldercare service provision, the government remained similar stance. Although when the Long-Term Care Insurance(LTCI) was introduced in 2008, the dominant public opinion that the public eldercare service should be provided directly instead of providing cash allowance was reflected in the policy, still there were limitations. The eligibility for the LTCI was limited to severe patients and the patients had to pay certain portion for the insurance. Most importantly, the government relaxed the regulations on service providers significantly, leading to bleeding competition between institutions as the number of service providers increased dramatically compared to the demand for the service. During the period from 2008 to 2010, the portion of elderly care facilities operated by the local governments decreased from 2.2% to 1.4%, while the proportion of privately owned and operated facilities increased rapidly from 58.4% to 74.5% (Ministry of Health and Welfare, 2013: recited from Song, 2014). Although the government established regulations for evaluating the supervising the quality of care services in the facilities, it is limited in continuously ensuring the quality of services. Moreover, the volume of family eldercare worker (yoyangbohosa) comprises over one third of the total service, implying that still the family members take caring responsibility.

The dominance of the childcare allowance that leave the families with choice to take care of their children at home or at facilities and the limited access to eldercare services can serve as a barrier for the female workers to work as a full-timer when caring responsibility arises. Regarding caring and domestic work, female member usually spends much more time than men. The time gap that male and female member spend in domestic chores and care labor has not changed much between 1980s and the 2000s (Kim, 2009: 295).

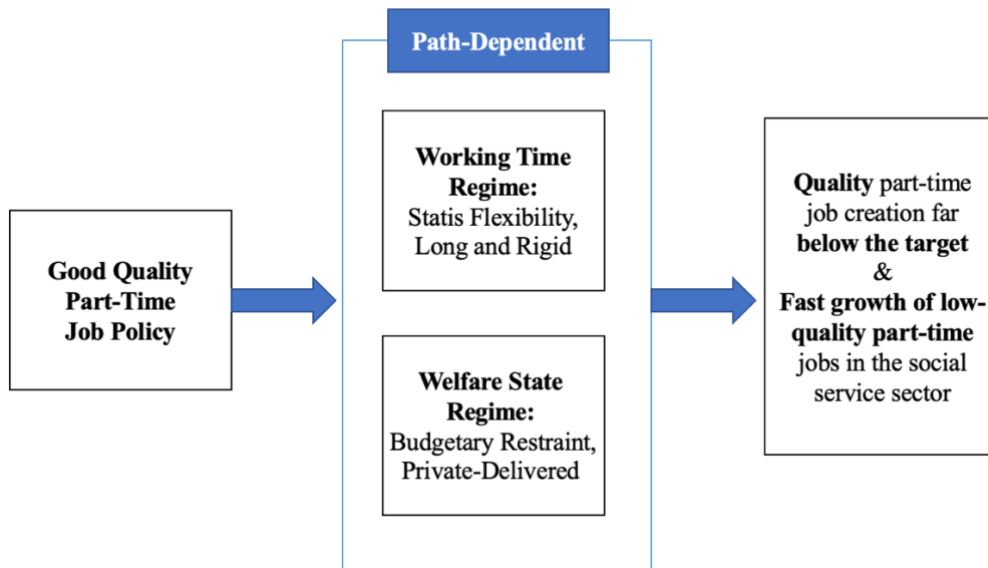
This incomplete welfare state expansion led to segmented dismantling in male breadwinner model according to class. While since the Asian Financial Crisis, men's ability to provide for their families has been shaken starting from the low-educated groups, women are entering the workforce. Scholars agree that although the portion of dual income households are increasing in Korea, it does not necessarily mean that the male breadwinner model is dismantling (Kim, 2012; Lee, 2014; Kim, 2015). In particular, the researchers emphasize in common that Korea's breadwinner model shows a diverging path according to class. Although dual breadwinner families increased since the mid 1950s, its segmented characteristic remains strong (Kim, 2015; Kim, 2012). While among the low-educated, the dual breadwinner households are becoming more common, male-breadwinner households remain dominant among the middle and upper class households (Kim, 2012). Amidst this, since care services are not sufficiently provided, women are entering labor market as a part-timer, mostly in the growing social service sector.

Having examined the working time regime and welfare state regime that shape Korea's gendered part-time labor system, the following chapter will explore how the path-dependency of these two regimes has contributed to the failure of quality part-time job policies.

Chapter III: Korea's Gendered Part-Time Regime

In this chapter, the failure of quality part-time job policies in Korea will be explained by the path-dependency of the working time regime and welfare state regime, which together form Korea's gendered part-time regime (see Figure 13). Firstly, quality part-time job policies and its labor market outcome between 2013 and 2019 will be analyzed in detail. Then, how the path dependent traits of Korea's working time regime and welfare state regime have contributed to such failure will be examined in the following section.

Figure 13. Korea's Gendered Part-Time Regime Framework



As examined earlier, Korea, as a country that has stasis flexibility, the government attempted to expand the quality part-time jobs in the market through employer support policies. Between 2013 and 2019, the conservative Park administration and the following progressive Moon government both acknowledged the need for more part-time jobs in the market to increase female employment. In particular, considering that most of the part-time jobs in the labor market offer much lower hourly wage or less job security compared to the full-timers in the Korean labor market, both governments aimed to create and expand the portion of more quality part-time jobs in the labor market. However, in reality, most of the part-time jobs that

increased in the labor market were still dominantly low-quality jobs concentrated in the small social service firms. These jobs were taken mostly by the middle and old aged women.

This thesis argues that the path-dependency of Korea's long and inflexible working time regime has led to a low level of employer participation in the government's quality part-time job policies. Moreover, the expansion of the welfare state, while maintaining a budget-cutting approach, has resulted in increase in low-quality part-time jobs in the social services sector. Long and rigid working time regime and the incomplete socialization of care operates as an institutional constraint that creates female part-time labor supply.

1. Part-Time Policy and the Part-Time Labor Market Outcome

From 2013 until 2019, the two governments that emerged in this period both visioned to change the long and rigid working time regime by shortening and regulating working time more strictly while promoting more flexible forms of working time practices, including part-time jobs. These policies were introduced in order to develop work and family balance and to create new jobs at the same time (Joint Ministries, 2013: 22; Joint Ministries b, 2017). Yet, core policies of these two governments differed; while Park administration put forward the creation of quality part-time jobs as a way to accomplish the 70% employment rate, Moon administration put forward the overall working time reduction. Regarding part-time job policy, the Moon government largely followed the part-time job policy that the previous Park government launched. The two government's policies on part-time jobs are summarized in Table 6.

1-1. Quality Part-Time Job Policies between 2013 and 2019

Table 6. Summary of the Quality Part-Time Job Policies

Administration	Year	Title	Objective	Core Plans
Park Geunhye	2013~2016	2013 Good Quality Part-Time Job Policy (‘양질의 시간제 일자리 확대 정책’)	As a core strategy of the “70% Employment Rate Roadmap” aimed to create 2,380,000 jobs of which 40% would be part-time or the ‘Time Selective Job’ (Shin, 2014).	① Increase quality part-time jobs starting from public sector and expand to private sector ② Redress discrimination against part-timers and strengthen part-timer’s right
Moon Jaein	2017~2022	2017 Measures for Women’s Jobs (Joint Ministries b, 2017)	As a strategy to increase job opportunities for the career disrupted women, aimed to improve and increase support for Time Selective Jobs (Joint Ministries b, 2017)	Expand the range of support for the business to create part-time jobs and reinforce workers’ right to ask for shorter working hours

(1) Park Administration

Although part-time work has been promoted by the government to increase jobs in the labor market, it was since 2013 when the Park administration proposed part-time work creation as part of the 70% Employment Rate Roadmap plan that the part-time employment started to grow more rapidly and widely. Before the 2000s, part-time work was often used as a term to describe the work which pay is offered hourly without much emphasis on shorter working time. In this context, part-time labor was utilized to save labor cost rather than to coordinate working time flexibly (Shin 2014). It was after the 2000s that the part-time policies were promoted as a measure to increase employment rate by shortening individual working hours. Since 2010, the Lee Myungbak administration launched decent part-time policies supporting private companies to create part-time jobs as well as encouraging public institutions to create part-time positions but did not achieve much outcome. The following Park administration put part time job policy in the forefront, emphasizing creating a good quality part-time job like the Lee administration.

The budget for the part-time jobs program grew dramatically from 4.1 billion won in 2010 to about 10.6 billion won in 2013 (Kim, 2014: 98).

Park administration's good quality part-time job policy was proposed as one of the three pillars of working time and style reform along with reducing working hours and expanding flexible working practices. In particular, the Park administration tried to rebrand the negative connotations attached to part-time jobs by using the new term, "Time Selective Job" (시간선택제 일자리). Before, 시간제 일자리 reminded a job paid on hourly basis. In the 'Time Selective Job Activation Plan'(시간선택제 일자리 활성화 추진 계획) presented in 2013, the term "Time-Selective Job" was introduced to describe a good quality part-time job that matches individual's voluntary needs such as childcare, study, and gradual retirement, non-discriminatory compared to full-time job, and guarantees basic working conditions such as minimum wage and four major insurances (Kim, 2014: 4-5).

Two key policies were introduced to increase the number of high-quality part-time jobs in the labor market (see Table 7). Firstly, the Park administration created time selective jobs in the public sector by hiring part-time public officials while promoting part-time jobs in the private sector by supporting labor costs, consulting fees and providing social insurance premiums (Ministry of Employment and Labor, 2014). Two types of part-time jobs were encouraged; one was the creation of new part-time jobs through reorganizing the work system or developing new roles suitable to a part-timer. The other was to support a full-timer's temporal transition into a part-timer for a certain period when he or she wants to shorten work time due to childcare, pregnancy, health issue, or for study purpose. Regarding the creation of new part-time jobs, the government announced to hire new part-timers in various public sectors from 2014 until 2017. It promised to hire 4,000 time-selective civil servants and announced that public institutions would hire 9,000 people especially among the career-interrupted women. In addition, the government planned to revise the appointment decree to hire 3,500 part-time teachers in public schools (Joint Ministries, 2013).

Secondly, other than creating new part-time jobs, the Park administration tried to improve the working conditions of the existing part-timers by redressing discrimination against part-timers and strengthening their rights. The government promised intensified labor supervision in case of unreasonable discrimination between full-time and part-time workers, not covering four major insurances, and not complying with the minimum wage. The government also promoted the enactment of the Law on Protection of Part-time Work and Promotion of Employment through public consensus but was not implemented. During the Park administration, the Act on the Protection of Fixed-term and Part-time Employees was revised to specify the discriminatory treatments against part-timer and the Labor Standards Act was revised to grant pregnant women the right to reduce working hours and to ban wage reduction when doing so.

Table 7. Park Administration's Quality Part-Time Job Policy and Regulation Changes

Policies/ Regulations Improvement	Type	Target	Contents
Expanding quality part- time jobs ("time-selective jobs")	New	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women who had career breaks ● Retirees ● Who wish to work and study at the same time 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Support labor costs for hiring part-timers ● For those who wish to work while studying, support work/study dual system
	Transitional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Who wishes to work and care at the same time ● Who are about to retire, Retirees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Align with parental working hours reduction system ● Align with salary peak-working time reduction(근로시간 단축 임금피크제) support
Improving working conditions of the existing part-timers through legal amendment	Both New and Transitional	Workers in business with 5 or more employees, except for business with only relatives and domestic workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Revised the Act On The Protection Of Fixed-term and Part-time Employees to specify the discriminatory treatments against part-timer regarding wage and working conditions
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Revised the Labor Standards Act to grant workers the right to reduce working hours during pregnancy and ban wage reduction when reducing working hours

Source: Kim and Lee (2014:113) and the Korean Law Information Center

(2) The Outcome of Part-Time Job Policy

The main target of the time selective job promotion policy were women who exit the labor market in their 30s mainly due to marriage and childcaring. Low female employment rate and youth employment in Korea compared to other OECD countries were blamed for stagnant employment rate. As part of the 70% Employment Rate Roadmap, the time-selective job promotion policy was presented as a strategy to encourage in particular, the highly educated women whose career was interrupted to return to the labor market (Joint Ministries, 2013: 2~6). In Korea, while the employment rate between male and female are similar until 20s, the gap widens since 30s. After female employment hits the low point in their 30s in the M curve, it does not recover the rate of the men's.

According to the National Assembly Research Service report published on December 2014, these Time Selective Jobs created and promoted by the government were taken more by the those in age 30s and 40s, which is the opposite composition of the total part-timer age composition. This is shown in Table 6. About 80% of these part-timers were women, which is higher than the 70% female concentration rate of the total part-timer. These indicators imply that if time-selective jobs had been generated more extensively, it could have driven the stagnant female employment rate among the core labor force. However, the overall quantity of the time-selective jobs created in the labor market were rather disappointing. Moreover, although the quality of the time-selective jobs such as the level of hourly wage or average working hours were better compared to the average part-timer, still its hourly wage level was about 82% of that of a full-timer (Kim, 2014: 104).

Table 8. Comparison between the age composition of the Time Selective Part-Timers and the Total Part Timers. (Unit: people, % of)

	Total	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s
Good Part-Time	100	-	19.3	32.0	30.5	14.0	4.2
Total Part-Time	100	6.9	19.4	13.0	17.7	16.5	26.5

Source: National Assembly Research Service (2014: 105)

In the public sector, quantity-wise, the government hired a certain portion of the public officials as a part-timer every year from 2014 until 2017, thereby hiring 4,108 part-timer public officials in total (Lee J., 2018: 30). Yet, this number falls far short of the original goal (National Assembly Research Service, 2014: 94-96). Compared to the public officials hired by the central government or the local government, public institutions barely hired new part-timers. Moreover, in case of the transition scheme, full-time officials barely used the scheme to work as a part-timer (Kim, 2014: 94). Public institution's poor performance seems to come from its insufficient human resource management reform catered to active usage of part-time job (Kim, 2014: 95-96).

In the private sector, although the government increased the budget for the part-time job business from 4.1 billion won in 2010 to 10.6 billion in 2013 and again increased to 22.7 billion won in 2014, the enforcement rate stayed below 50% ever year. This is because the number of eligible businesses and the number of people who actually benefitted from the support program were very small compared to the number of businesses whose applications were approved. According to the Department of Employment and Labor, many businesses failed to employ a part-timer or could not meet the requirements to receive subsidies such as promising to hire for open-term contracts, equal treatment with full-time workers, not laying off employees for certain period, and employment retention (Kim, 2014: 99).

(3) Moon Administration

During the 2017 presidential election when Moon Jae-In was elected, gender issues were spotlighted. Being aware of such attention, the Moon candidate at that time pledged to become a "Feminist President". After the election, the joint ministries presented the "Measures for Women's Jobs" in December 2017. This measure aimed to form a non-discriminatory working environment for women, prevent career disruption of the working women, and to promote reemployment of those whose career was already disrupted. More specifically, first, the government aimed to expand the range of application of the Equal Employment Opportunity

and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act⁹ to business with fewer than five employees. Second, the government promised to prevent career disruption by expanding public childcare services and pregnancy leave or spousal paid maternity leave. Third, the government aimed to increase quality job opportunities for women who want to return to the labor market. This last plan to increase employment opportunities for the career-disrupted women included strategies for improving and supporting the “Time Selective Jobs” that have been promoted since the Park Government.

Based on the judgement that large business should participate more in time-selective job businesses due to existing demand for quality part-time jobs, the government tried to elevate the support level for time selective job business¹⁰. This included increasing the monthly support fee from 300 thousand won to 500 thousand won for middle-sized enterprises. Also, for requirements, the workers’ wage eligible for support was eased from 120% to 110% of the minimum wage. Moreover, the government promised to include study, training and family caring as the grounds for applying the workers right to shorten working hours. Before, workers could ask for working hours cut only for pregnancy or childcaring. Following the policy, the article 19 that stipulates the workers right to shorten working hours in the Equal Employment Opportunity Act was revised and implemented in 2019 to give expand the right to those who want to shorten working hours for family caring.

⁹ This act was implemented in 1995 in the name of “Sexual Equality Employment Act” and went through several revisions. Support for work-family balance was included in its name since 2008.

¹⁰ Many of the career disrupted women prefers to work as a part-timer while only 12.4% of the business with 300 or more people where good quality part time job can be produced participate in time selective job business (Joint Ministries, 2017).

1-2. Examination of the Quality Part-Time Job Policies

The Park Geun-hye administration and the Moon Jae-in administration both aimed to promote the expansion of "good quality" part-time jobs. Although the policy documents do not clearly define what constitutes a good part-time job, based on the policy objectives and plans, it can be inferred that the good part-time jobs they intended to create are closely aligned with those indicated in previous studies on high-quality part-time jobs. The only difference lies in the strict criteria for voluntariness. Nicolaisen et al (2019) did not consider part-time work chosen for childcare reasons as ideal part-time work, but both the Park Geun-hye and Moon Jae-in administrations aimed to provide good part-time options when choosing part-time work for childcare purposes. Still, they sought to indirectly reduce the need for choosing part-time work for childcare purpose by expanding social services.

However, it is necessary to review whether the policy design for creating "good quality" part-time jobs, as promoted by the government, was sufficient enough to create good quality part-time jobs in the labor market. The Park administration initially provided monthly support of 600,000 KRW for big companies and 800,000 KRW for small and medium enterprises to companies that create relatively good quality part-time jobs that meet the criteria of wages at 130% (120% for small and medium-sized enterprises) of the minimum wage or higher, non-fixed-term contracts(무기계약직), and working hours of 15 to 30 hours per week (Hankyeore, 2016). Although only 12 businesses received this monthly support between 2014 and 2015 and were mostly outsourcing agencies, still the working conditions of the quality part-time jobs roughly meet the criteria of good part-time jobs.

On the other hand, although the government promised to ban the discrimination between the full-timer and the part-timer and improve the working conditions of the existing part-timers, it had several severe limitations (see Table 9 for an overview). Firstly, regarding working terms, conditions and social protection, regulations that ban discriminatory treatment between the part-time and full-time workers performing same job had weak legal binding effect. Moreover, it does not sufficiently protect workers in poor working conditions since the Act on

the Protection of Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees and the Labor Standards Act only apply to workers in business with 5 or more employees and also exempt short hours part-time workers who work under 15 hours per week from the fringe benefits such as holiday pay, paid annual leave, and severance pay. The employers do not pay for their health insurances and workers are not eligible for the “conversion to regular employment after two years” guaranteed by the Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees Act. Also, the policies barely cover other aspects of the good part-time jobs such as the opportunities for training and promotion, workers power to decide the duration and arrangement of the working hours or the voluntariness of the choice. Empirical studies that examined the “time-selective jobs” that were newly created during this period by the government subsidy or the relatively good quality part-time jobs in the market have shown that training and promotion system for part-timers do not exist in most organizations (Shin, 2015; Kwon, 2021).

Table 9. Critical Examination of the “Good” Part-Time Job Policies

Good Part-Time Job	Policy Approach	Limitation of the Policy
Working terms and conditions (compensation, job security etc.), Social Protection	Bans discriminatory treatment between part-time and full-time workers, when discriminatory treatment occurs, can file a request for corrective action with the Labor Commission and the Labor Commission takes subsequent measures ¹¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Weak legal binding effect -Possible to write different employment regulations corresponding to part-time work separately from those for full-time employment positions with the consent of the employees (Kim and Lee, 2014: 116) -Applies to workers in business with 5 or more employees, except for business with only relatives and domestic workers -Exempts short hours part-time workers who work under 15 hours per week from labor protection
Opportunities for training and promotion	Does not explicitly ban discrimination in terms of education or promotion	

¹¹ Act on the Protection of Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees, Labor Standards Act

Workers' power to decide the duration and arrangement of working hours	-Reducing working hours possible only for specific reasons such as childcare, family caregiving and health ¹²	-Does not legally grant workers the right to freely change between full-time work and part-time work
Voluntariness of the choice	Although the good quality part-time jobs government promoted were made to ensure working hours of more than 15 hours, which is the same for working hours reduction during pregnancy, no time-related prohibitions regarding the use of other types of part-time jobs	

To sum up, the government had the intention to increase the number of good quality part-time jobs through subsidy support, but the companies did not participate much. Furthermore, even those good part-time jobs, so called the “time-selective jobs” did not sufficiently guarantee the free transition of workers from full-time to part-time or part-time to full-time or prohibit discrimination in education and training opportunities, thereby overlooking the long-term labor market integration of part-time workers. In addition, existing part-time workers or those created by the market have weak legal foundations for guaranteeing working conditions. Particularly, short hours part-time jobs are positioned within the blind spots of labor laws and have the potential to be exploited by employers for cost-cutting purposes. In summary, rather than strengthening minimal protective measures for part-time workers, the focus has been on creating new quality part-time jobs, which falls short of the criteria of good part-time jobs from the perspective of long-term labor market integration. The direction of such policies eventually leads to the expansion of low-quality part-time jobs, the opposite of the policy narrative, which will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

¹² Equal Employment Opportunity Act Article 19

1-3. Labor Market Changes

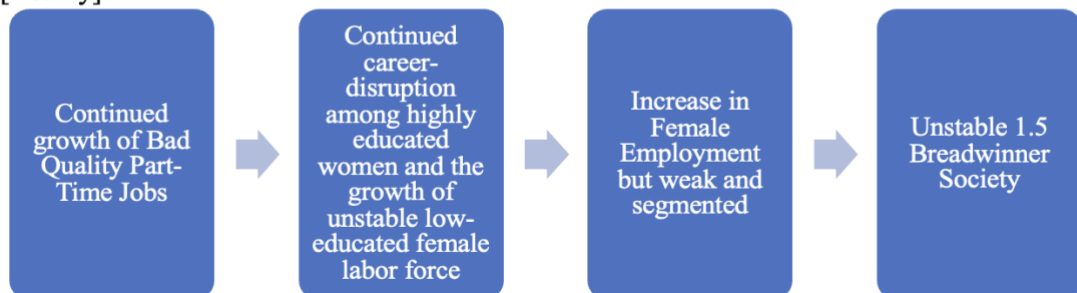
While the quality part-time jobs did not grow as much as the government wanted, the poor-quality part-time jobs continued grow with high female concentration. Korea's gendered part-time regime shows an unstable integration of women into the labor market through the expansion of low-quality part-time job. Such phenomena make it even more difficult to imagine a transition into a stable dual breadwinner society. The gap between the ideal and reality of part-time jobs can be described as a significant challenge that needs to be addressed in order to improve the quality of employment and form a more stable labor market.

Figure 14. Government Goal and Reality

[Government Goal]



[Reality]



In the following sections, I will present the statistical data that shows the overall working conditions of the part-timers such as wage and social insurance coverage. Later on, I will present how the continued growth of (bad quality) part-time jobs have affected the (female) labor market from gender perspective.

(1) Quality of Part-Time Jobs

According to Jeong and Kwon (2018), part-time workers in South Korea earn 62.2% of the hourly wage of regular workers, which is only a slight improvement from the 53.5% in 2012. This is still at the level of relative hourly wage from the early 2000s. When classified into low, middle and low, and high wage categories based on their earnings compared to the median hourly wage¹³, most part-timers fall into the low or middle and low wage categories, as indicated in Table 7. The drastic decrease in low wage composition of part-timers between 2017 and 2018 is due to drastic increase in minimum wage in 2018.

Table 10. Wage composition of the Part-Timers (Unit: %)

	Total Part-Timer	Low Wage	Middle and Low Wage	Upper Middle	High Wage
2012	100.0	62.5	21.1	8.5	8.0
2013	100.0	62.0	19.5	10.2	8.3
2014	100.0	62.3	21.7	9.4	6.7
2015	100.0	57.9	24.7	10.3	7.1
2016	100.0	57.7	23.3	11.2	7.8
2017	100.0	60.8	22.6	8.8	7.7
2018	100.0	49.6	31.5	9.9	9.0

Source: Economically Active Population Survey analyzed by Jeong and Kwon (2019:43)

In terms of social insurance coverage, the national pension and employment insurance coverage rates for part-timers have increased by 5% and 7.4%, respectively, since 2013. However, these rates are still significantly lower than those of regular workers and even lower than non-regular workers. Only 36.6% of non-regular workers are covered by national pension, while 43.1% of them are covered by employment insurance. The insurance coverage rate for part-timers remains about half that of non-regular workers, as shown in Table 8.

Table 11. Part-Timers' Social Insurance Coverage Rate Change (Unit: %)¹⁴

	Part-Timer		Regular Worker		Non-Regular Worker	
	National Pension	Employment Insurance	National Pension	Employment Insurance	National Pension	Employment Insurance

¹³ Part-timers who earned less than two-thirds of the median hourly wage were classified as low wage earners. Those who earned more than the median wage but less than one and a half times the median wage were categorized as middle and low wage earners. Finally, part-timers who earned more than one and a half times the median hourly wage were considered high wage earners.

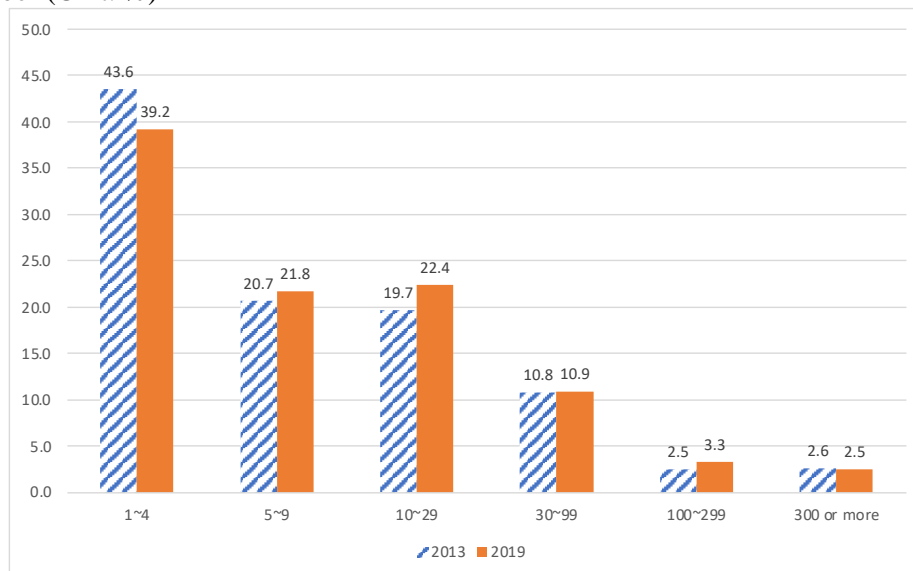
¹⁴ Jeong and Kwon (2019) excluded health insurance from the analysis because elderlies, women, and students who are predominantly part-time workers are more likely to be enrolled as dependents rather than paying for their own insurance.

2012	12.4	15.0	80.4	70.5	39.2	42.9
2013	13.6	17.3	81.3	71.8	39.4	43.1
2014	14.8	19.7	82.2	73.5	38.5	43.5
2015	13.4	18.9	82.1	74.0	37.0	42.1
2016	15.4	21.0	83.0	75.0	36.4	42.4
2017	17.3	23.0	85.0	76.5	36.6	43.6
2018	18.6	24.7	86.2	77.4	36.6	43.1

Source: Economically Active Population Survey analyzed by Jeong and Kwon (2019:45)

Considering that the working condition including wage gap occurs by business size (Sun and Kim, 2013), the composition of businesses that hire part-timer by the size implies the quality of the part-time jobs. Figure 19 shows that most of the business that hire part-timer are small business comprised of employees under five. While the portion of business comprised of under five employees have decreased by 4.4%p, most of the part-timer portion increase happened in business under 30 employees. The part-time portion in big size businesses barely changed during this period. Recalling that the Act on the Protection of Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees and the Labor Standards Act apply to the businesses over five employees, these statistics imply that should the government aimed to increase the quality of the part-time employment, it had to expand the subject of the laws to business under five employees.

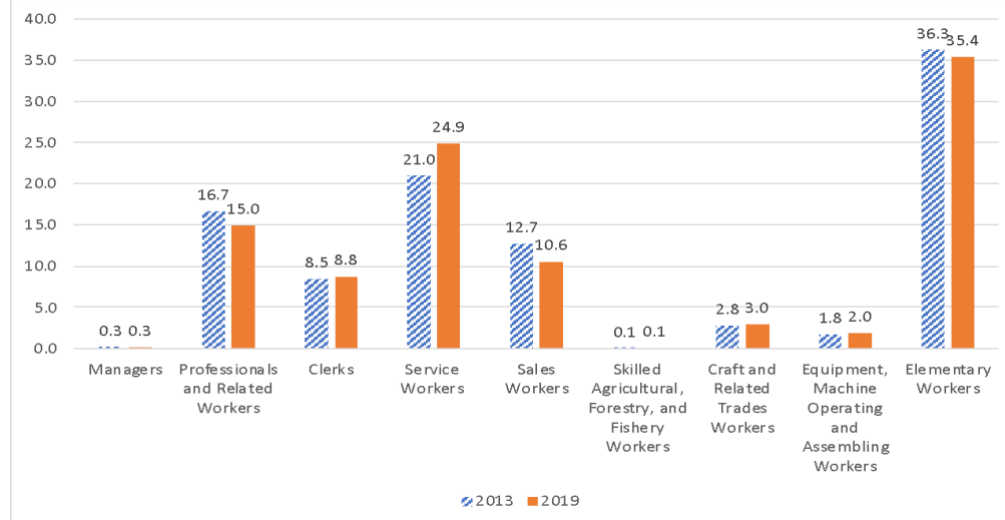
Figure 15. Composition of businesses that hire part-timer in 2013 and 2019 by employee number (Unit: %)



Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 13 October 2022

When the composition changes of the part-timer are broken down by the occupational composition, the biggest portion of part-timers remain as elementary workers¹⁵ as shown in Figure 20. The second largest portion of part-timers work is service work, which grew the most by 3.9%p. On the other hand, the portion of relatively high paying jobs such as managers or professional and related workers rather decreased or stayed the same.

Figure 16. Occupation Composition of Part-Timers in 2013 and 2019 (Unit: %)



Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 13 October 2022

To sum up, the dominant part-time job in the labor market is far from the quality part-time jobs. They earn almost half of the hourly wage of the regular workers, and their insurance coverage rate falls much below the regular workers and even the nonregular workers. Their jobs are mostly created as low-skilled jobs in small enterprises. These dominantly bad part-time jobs spread in the female labor market will be examined in detail in the following section.

¹⁵ I have used the English version of the Korea Standard Occupation Classification 7th Revision provided by the national statistical office. 단순노무자 was translated as elementary workers.

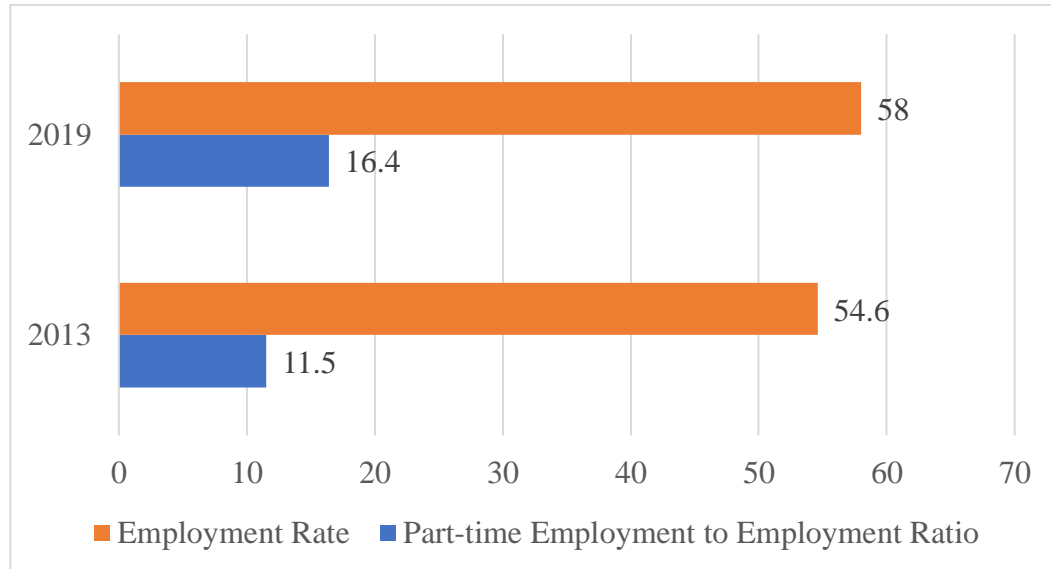
(2) Part-Time Job Expansion and its Implication on Female Labor Market

Both the Park and Moon administration aimed to increase the quality part-time jobs in the market that women who experience career interruption can take to stay in or return to the labor market. In particular, Park administration had an ambitious plan to use part-time job policy as a core strategy to increase the stagnant employment rate to 70%. If their plans were successful, the number of part-time jobs, in particular the good quality part-time jobs, would have increased drastically. As a result, women who had been previously counted either as unemployed or the economically inactive population (see Appendix 1 for detailed classification) would decrease, and the number of the part-timers would have increased instead.

In reality, although the number of quality part-time jobs which were named as the ‘Time Selective Jobs’ did not grow to the level of government’s objective, still the portion of female part-timers among female wage workers grew a lot as was shown in Figure 3 for the last 10 years. However, the growth of part-time was not accompanied by a drastic increase in employment rate as shown in Figure 17. Moreover, the overall quality of the part-time jobs that were created were of low quality and were concentrated in the social service sector. Between 2013 and 2019, as shown in the Figure 17, while the employment rate increased by 3.4%, part-time employment to employment ratio increased by 5%. This implies that the growing part-time employment had bigger effect of attracting either full-time wage workers or non-wage workers into part-time wage workers¹⁶ than the effect of attracting the economically inactive population or the unemployed to the labor market. This altogether implies an unstable transition into a 1.5 breadwinner model as women’s integration into the labor market coincides with increasing labor market flexibility as service industry grows (Woo, 2019).

¹⁶ Part-time employment is calculated only among the wage workers.

Figure 17. Employment Rate and the Part-Time to Employment Ratio Change between 2013 and 2019 (Unit: %)



Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 06 February 2023

Now more specifically, I will compare these two indicators by age to examine if, whether it be the quality part-time jobs that the two governments tried to promote or a low-quality part-time job, female's employment rate increased along with part-time job increase especially among women over the age of 30s who experience career interruption. In Korea, female employment rate by age shows an M-curved shape that hits the bottom in the 30s after hitting the highest in the 20s and then slowly recovers from 40s (See Appendix 2 for Korea's female employment rate by age compared to OECD average. The following table 12, 13, 14, and 15 examines the change in employment rate and part-time to employment ratio of women over the age of 30s.

Table 12 Women in 30s' Employment rate and Part-Time Employment to Employment Ratio
(Unit: people, % of)

	2009	2013	2017	2019
Employment Rate	52.9 3459/6536	55.2 3107/5625	58.8 2693/4578	61.5 2439/3963
Part-Time To Total Population Ratio	5 329/6536	5.3 300/5625	6.8 310/4578	8.4 333/3963
Part-Time to Employment Ratio	9.5 329/3459	9.7 300/3107	11.5 310/2693	13.7 333/2439
Part-Time's Employment Growth Impact		1.4	4	4.7

Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey
August Microdata, extracted on 14 March 2023

Among women in 30s, in Table 00, it is quite clear that the part-timer to total population ratio and the employment rate increased faster during the Park administration compared to the previous Lee administration. Between 2009 and 2013, the employment rate increased by 2.3%p while it increased by 3.5%p between 2013 and 2017. Part-Time to total employment ratio increased by 0.3%p between 2009 and 2013 whereas it increased by 1.5%p between 2013 and 2017. Moreover, considering that this research limited the subject year of the study to 2019 to avoid the effect of Covid-19 in the labor market, the 2.7%p growth in employment rate and 1.6%p in part-time to total population ratio during the first two years of the Moon administration is quite dramatic compared to previous administrations.

Also, according to the part-time's employment growth index¹⁷, the dependence of employment rate growth on part-timer growth was particularly high during the Park and Moon administration compared to the previous administration. This implies that among women in their 30s, the portion of part-timers grew faster during the Park and Moon administration and

¹⁷ For detailed analysis of the impact of the part-timer growth in driving an increase in employment rate, I have used the part-time's employment growth impact index using a heuristic equation that calculates the ratio of part-time to total population rate percentage point difference to employment rate percentage point difference divided by the average of part-time to employment ratio between two time points. The bigger the impact index gets, the bigger the dependence of employment rate growth on part-timer growth.

this has played a bigger role driving the employment rate growth compared to the previous Lee administration.

Table 13 Women in 40's Employment Rate and Part-timer Rate among total respondents
(Unit: people, % of)

	2009	2013	2017	2019
Employment /Total Population	64.7 4922/7602	65.7	66.6 3854/5791	66.4 3603/5426
Part-Time/Total Population	6.4 493/7602	7 475/6714	8.4 488/5791	9.2 500/5426
Part-Time to Employment Ratio	10 493/4922	10.8 475/4408	12.7 488/3854	13.9 500/3603
Part-Time's Employment Growth Impact		5.8	13.2	-

Source: MicroData Integrated Service(MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 14 March 2023

Among women in their 40s, Table 00 shows an interesting result. Considering that the Park and Moon administration would have expected to see part-time growth driving the employment growth, it is interesting to see that the employment growth did not occur to the level of part-timer growth. Compared to women in other ages, except for those over 60s, the employment rate did not grow much and even decreased during the Moon administration between 2017 and 2019. Yet, the portion of part-timers among the total population continued to grow, faster than the previous Lee administration.

Between 2017 and 2019, the fact that the part-timer portion grew while employment rate decreased can be interpreted that rather than part-time job functioning as an entry through which the economically inactive population or the unemployed flow into the labor market, part-timers expanded among the employed population. This could mean that either full-time wage employees or non-wage employees such as the self-employed and the unpaid family worker are increasingly becoming part-time wage employees. During the Park administration, the part-time's employment growth impact was 13.2, which means that although it isn't quite clear if the volume of part-time expansion among the already employed was bigger than the newly entering

part-timers, the growth of the employed population relied a lot on the growth of part-timers in the labor market.

Table 14 Women in 50s' Employment rate and Part-Time Employment to Employment Ratio

	2009	2013	2017	2019
Employment Rate	57.5 3469/6028	60.7 3923/6459	63.7 3913/6139	65.9 4061/6165
Part-time/Total Population	4.6 276/6028	7.3 401/5459	8.4 513/6139	9.7 596/6165
Part-Time To Employment Ratio	8 276/3469	10.2 401/3923	13.1 513/3913	14.7 596/4061
Part-Time's Employment Growth Impact		9.3	0.8	4.3

Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey August Microdata, extracted on 14 March 2023

Among women in their 50s, the Park administration's part-time job policy seems to have smaller effect considering that both the employment rate growth and the part-time rate growth was smaller than the previous Lee administration. Still, both the employment rate and the part-time rate continued to grow during the Park administration and the Moon administration. The employment growth's dependence on part-time employment was much bigger during the Moon administration, implying that the part-time job expansion played a bigger role in driving the employment rate during the Moon administration than the previous Park administration.

Table 15 Women over the age of 60s' Employment rate and Part-Time Employment to Employment Ratio

	2009	2013	2017	2019
Employment Rate	32.2 2850/8831	32.6 3048/9361	34.4 3577/10428	36.6 4163/11382
Part-Time/Total Population	4.2 372/8831	6.7 627/9361	9.5 991/10428	12.4 1413/11382
Part-Time To Employment Ratio	13 372/2850	20.6 627/3048	27.7 991/3577	34 1413/4163
Part-Time's Employment Growth Impact		37.2	6.4	4.3

Among women over the age of 60s, the growth of part-timer rate was bigger than the employment rate growth. Especially during the Lee administration, part-time jobs played a huge role in driving the employment rate growth. During the Park and Moon administration, the part-time rate continued to grow along with the employment rate growth at a moderate speed compared to the previous Lee administration.

To summarize, despite efforts by the government to promote quality part-time jobs in the labor market, the number of such jobs did not increase as expected due to low participation by companies. In the labor market, regardless of the government's quality-part time job policy, low-quality part-time jobs with high concentrations of female workers continued to grow at a much faster speed. The next section will analyze why the companies did not participate much in the government's part-time policy and why instead low-quality part-time jobs grew fast in the labor market by analyzing the changes in working time regime and the welfare state regime.

2. Working Time Regime Changes

The failure of the quality part-time job policy will be explained by the failure of the government's initiative to create more quality part-time jobs, so called the "time-selective jobs", mainly through the employer support measures by analyzing how the legacy of the quantitative input-driven growth affected the response of the capital and the labor to the government policy. The governments' attempt to create quality part-time jobs can be interpreted as an attempt to change the long and rigid working time regime where employment practices are geared towards quantitative input-driven practices while its usage of flexibility is focused on external flexibility more than the internal flexibility measures. The government's policy incentive to the employer was not big enough for the businesses to use part-time jobs to increase its internal quantitative flexibility.

From the employer's perspective, labor flexibility is chosen for various reasons such as achieving organizational performance through innovation, cost reduction, flexible response to market liquidity, and employee retention. For their purpose, employers can choose among external-quantitative flexibility, external-functional flexibility, internal-quantitative flexibility, and internal-functional flexibility (Goudswaard A., Nanteuil-Miribel (de) M. 2000: cited in de Nanteuil-Miribel, M.2004). According to this classification, part-time work is one form of internal quantitative flexibility (see Table 16).

Table 16. Forms of labor flexibility classified by de Nanteuil-Miribel (2000)

Forms of Flexibility	Quantitative (Numerical)	Qualitative (Functional)
External	<p>Employment Status:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Permanent contracts ● Fixed-term contracts ● Temporary agency contracts ● Seasonal work ● Work on demand/call <p><i>Numerical flexibility and/or contract flexibility</i></p>	<p>Production system:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Subcontracting ● Outsourcing ● Self employed <p><i>Productive and/or geographical flexibility</i></p>
Internal	<p>Working Time and Compensation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reduction of working hours ● Overtime/part-time work ● Night and shiftwork ● Weekend work ● Compressed working week ● Varying working hours ● Irregular/unpredictable working times ● Wage change <p><i>Temporal flexibility</i></p>	<p>Work organization:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Job enrichment/job rotation ● Teamwork/autonomous work ● Multitasking, multiskilling ● Project groups ● Responsibility of workers over: planning, budget, innovation, technology <p><i>Functional flexibility</i></p>

This section will examine the governments' failure to create a huge volume of quality part-time jobs to increase female employment rate by analyzing how the capital and labor have not cooperated with the government's part-time job policy due to the institutional inertia of

Korea's long and rigid working hours regime. Anxo and O'Reiley (2000) have pointed out that although the industrial relations may be categorized into the same one, the working time distribution can differ according to the policy preference of the state, capital and the labor. Although both the Netherlands and Sweden were classified as cases of the negotiated flexibility, the portion of part-time workers differed due to different policy agenda the capital and labor promoted. In Korea, as a country that demonstrates status flexibility, the Korean government tried to expand quality part-time jobs mainly through employer support policies. Although discussion on working time has long been centered around the standard working hours reduction, part-time work as one form of employment started to gather attention as working time reduction during child-rearing period was stipulated in the 2007 Equal Employment Opportunity and Work-Family Balance Assistance Act (Nam and Lee, 2020: 197). The Lee Myungbak administration promoted part-time jobs as a part of the working time flexibilization process, but it was since the Park government that the part-time jobs were actively promoted both in terms of their quantity and quality.

However, the part-time job policy that aimed to create more quality part-time jobs in the labor market was not welcomed by the capital and labor due to the persistence of the long and rigid working hours regime, which are the symptoms of the quantitative input-oriented economic growth. The core stakeholders of this policy, the capital, labor and the women's association were all either against this policy or showed lukewarm response (Kim, 2014: 107-114). In particular, considering that the policy was centered around the employer support measures, the employer's will to create quality part-time jobs was crucial in order for the policy to succeed. Yet, the legacy of the deskilling input-driven production system provided less incentive for the employers to create quality part-time jobs to retain skilled workers. Moreover, it also discouraged employers to use part-timers as a measure to utilize internal flexibility but rather to use part-time jobs for cost-saving purpose by using part-timer along with other external flexibility measures.

On the other hand, due to the legacy of the long and rigid working hours regime, the labor force ordered for a creation of more regular jobs or a transition into regular workers who are by definition full-timers, instead of increasing part-timers. Women's association also criticized part-timer growth due to the expected intensifying gender segregation and the deterioration of women's jobs' quality. These reactions from the stakeholders reflect the path-dependency of the long and rigid working time regime in Korea.

2-1. Employer's Response

In both the manufacturing sector where growth was based on the quantitative input-driven measures and the service sector where low value-added and low-skilled service sector is leading its growth, employers have less incentive to create good quality part-time jobs to retain skilled employees. During the rapid industrialization period, major companies have pursued a trend of deskilled development relying more on advanced machinery than the labor force's skill development in the production process. To maximize the capital utilization rate, employers utilized long hours and low wages labor. This also affected employment practices in the service sector since the manufacturing sector outsourced low skilled services. Moreover, firms in service industry have less incentive to provide long-term employment due to less demand for firm-specific skills. Overall, the deskilled employment practices in both the manufacturing and the service sector in Korea serves an institutional environment where employers have less incentive to create good quality part-time jobs for retain purpose (Nam and Lee, 2020: 203-205).

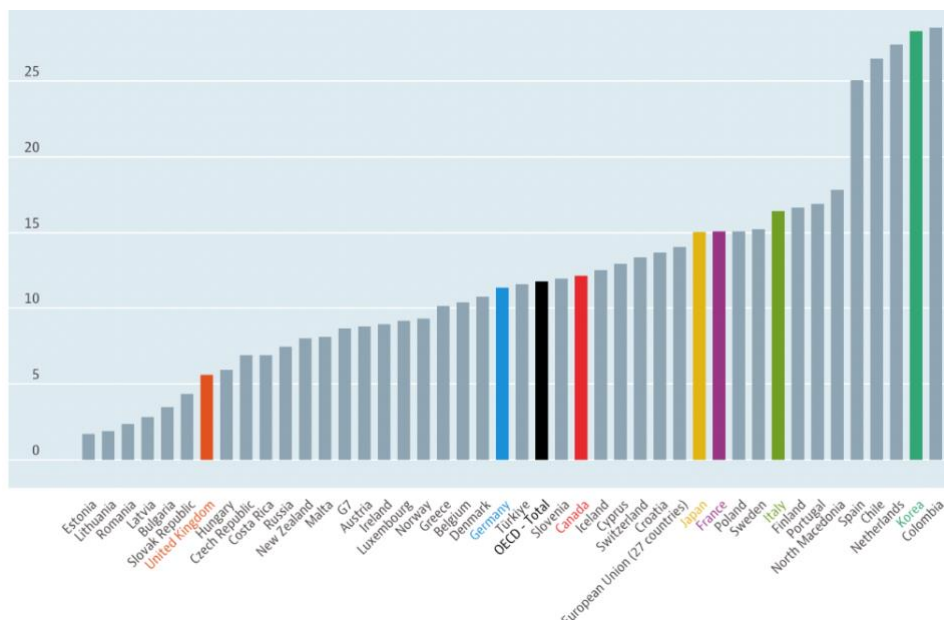
This employment practice not only contracts usage of good quality part-time job for a retention purpose but also affects the ways in which part-time jobs are used. Due to de-skilling development based on maximum labor input using minimum labor force, to increase internal quantitative flexibility, among such measures, employers tend to increase working hours instead of hiring new part-timers (Bae et al, 2011: 75). This is because under the Korean production system that has history of excluding labor skills by replacing them with capital investment, it is

more reasonable for the employers to maximize investment return through minimal staffing and long working hours than to use other internal flexible measures such as part-time work, shiftwork, or flexible working hours by securing more employees (Nam and Lee, 2020: 206).

Moreover, employers' choice to use particular form of flexibility is affected by the institutional environment and Korea provides an institutional environment that makes employers prefer external quantitative measures of flexibility over internal quantitative flexibility measures. According to Jeong (2020)¹⁸ who has analyzed the characteristics of Korea' labor market regime in comparative perspective, Korean labor market showed a strong liberal character in terms of weak employment stability and high wage inequality, but it had stronger employment regulations than the Anglo-Saxon model. Interestingly, although its labor market policy was closer to the Continental European model, it had strong liberal character in terms of labor market performance, indicating a significant discrepancy between labor market institutions and its actual operation. Within this institutional environment that has a gap between the policy and the actual implementation, among measures of quantitative flexibility, employers prefer to use external flexibility such as fixed-term contracts or temp agencies. In Korea, non-regular employees which includes long-term temporary workers(장시간 임시근로), limited-term work(기간제), part-time work, on-call work, independent worker(특수고용), temp agency worker(파견근로), contract worker(용역근로), took 43% of the labor market in 2021 which was an increase from 41.6% in the previous year(Kim, 2021). In particular, Korea's share of temporary employment out of dependent employment ranked second among the OECD countries in 2021, of which ranking also ranked the second place in 2013.

¹⁸Jeong used variables such as regular employment dismissal regulations, temporary employment regulations, unionization rates, collective bargaining coverage, wage bargaining levels and types, the proportion of active labor market policy expenditure to GDP, and the proportion of passive labor market policy expenditure.

Figure 18. Total, % of dependent employment, 2021 or latest available



Source: OECD Labor Market Statistics, “Employment by permanency of the job”, extracted on 11 May, 2022

Within this institutional environment, when the part-time jobs are used, they are used along with external flexibility measures such as fixed-term contracts and temporary agency contracts for cost-saving purposes instead of being used as a measure to increase internal flexibility. In fact, large portion of the part-timers that grew between 2013 and 2019 were part-timer as well as temporary or irregular worker. About half of the part-timers were also temporary worker or irregular worker in 2017 (Nam and Lee, 2020: 199). Instead of using part-timers for retaining skilled employees, part-timers are perceived as disposable workers (Bae et al, 2011). Although part-time work has increased, it remains at an average level compared to other OECD countries, and most of the part-time employment is still casual or temporary, occupying low labor market status and receiving poorer treatment even among irregular workers. Furthermore, while there has been some growth of part-time employment among those in their 30s and 40s, the majority of part-time jobs are taken by those under 19 or over 60 years old and are often seen as so called *Arbeit* or dead-end jobs on the fringes of the labor market (Bae et al, 2011: 276).

To summarize, the legacy of the input driven production system discourages employers to create good quality part-time jobs to retain skilled employees. When the employers try to

increase internal quantitative flexibility, due to Korea's de-skilling development based on maximum labor input using minimum labor force, employers tend to use internal quantitative flexibility by increasing working hours with minimal personnel instead of utilizing flexibility with part-time work, flexible work arrangements or shortened work hours after securing sufficient personnel (Nam and Lee, 2020: 206). Moreover, since external quantitative flexibility measures such as temporary work have been used widely, part-time jobs are often used along with other external quantitative flexibility measures as a cost-saving purpose rather than to increase internal flexibility.

As of July 2016, big conglomerates such as Samsung, Hanhwa, and GS did not keep their promise they made in 2013 to create 10,000 quality part-time jobs. According to the 2014-2016 subsidy details submitted by the Ministry of Employment and Labor, only two companies, Shinhan Bank (190 in 2014 and 303 in 2015) and Air Korea (156 in 2014 and 184 in 2015), an affiliate of Hanjin Group, received subsidies for hiring part-time workers as planned. To receive the subsidies, the firms need to create part-time jobs that meets the following qualities: 130% of the minimum wage (120% in case of middle and small enterprises), indefinite working term, working hours that span from 15 to 30 hours. Big conglomerates either did not hire time-selective part-timers or could not receive subsidies for hiring two years contract workers (Hankyoreh Daily, 2016/09/08).

In fact, the largest recipients of the government subsidies were temp agencies or outsourcing agencies. In 2014, the largest recipients were AirKorea, Ubase, and Service Ace. In 2015, it was Shinhan Bank, AirKorea and Kyungwon Services. In 2016, it was Air Korea and Ubase. Ubase, Service Ace and Kyungwon Services, which were all temp agencies that offer call center services (Hankyoreh Daily, 2016/09/08). This employer behavior suggests that employers in the big business where quality part-time jobs can be created do not have enough incentive to create quality part-time jobs to retain skilled employees, while subcontracting small businesses use part-time job along with other non-regular labor measures for cost-cutting purpose.

Having examined the employer's response to the good quality part-time job policy, the following section will examine the response from the labor and women's organizations.

2-2. Response from the Labor and Women's organizations

The deskilled input-oriented production system is one of the crucial institutions of the long and rigid working hours regime. The long and rigid working hours regime is consisted of an interlocking institutions such as the production system that developed based on the increase in labor and capital inputs rather than technological innovation, employment system based on full-time employment and male breadwinning, vulnerability of legal restrictions on working hours, corporate strategy that tends to maximize flexibility with minimal workforce, the worker choice to cover low wages through overtime work, and the family system centered around the male breadwinner model. These factors internalize the long working hours practice, which reinforces the gender norm that men work long hours and women take care of the family at home. At home, women spend relatively more time on care labor and unpaid labor, while women's peripheral position in the labor market is strengthened (Shin, 2015). This tightly intertwined system creates a lock-in effect that influences the labor organization and the women's organization attitude toward the government initiative to create the "good quality" part-time jobs in the labor market.

A. Labor Organization

Under the long working hours regime, the labor prefers a full-time regular job over a part-time job since it is difficult to support one's living by working as a part-timer due to a particular wage structure in which laborer needs to work long hours in order to support one's living. Korea's long working hours practice is rooted in a particular wage structure that consists of low base pay and high percentage of extra benefits. This kind of wage structure was formed during the rapid industrialization period as the government suppressed wage increases to achieve competitiveness of its input-oriented production system. Industrialization process unfolded based on low income and long working hours. During this period, employers could use

labor at a cheap price while the employees made up for insufficient wage by acquiring additional allowances through overwork. Seniority system which raises pay according to one's tenure also worked as another mechanism that retained workers as they would endure low base pay and long working hours, aspiring for a later promotion and the following wage increase. Within this wage structure, employees become reluctant to ask for working hours reduction to support one's living.¹⁹

Moreover, the labor organization finds it difficult to trust the government initiative to create a good quality part-time job due to the discriminatory employment conditions that most irregular employees experience (Lee, 2011). As explicated earlier, the employers have use part-time jobs mostly for cost-saving purposes along with external quantitative flexibility measures such as contract work. Due to such experiences, labor organizations' agenda has been centered around the expansion of the regular employees, who are by definition full-timers.

B. Women's organizations

On November 18, 2013, women's organizations, including the Korea Federation of Women's Organizations, the Korea Women's Civic Federation, the National Women's Solidarity, the Korea Women's Workers' Association, and the National Women's Union, held a press conference with a number of female lawmakers and the two major labor unions to express their opposition to the government's part-time job policy. In the press, women's organizations concerned that the expansion of part-time jobs would intensify gender segregation and deteriorate women's labor condition. In the press release, they expressed concern over the spread of part-time jobs due to its instability. Even when the "good quality" part-time jobs are created, they concerned that it is difficult to have sustainability and cannot earn stable income. They also expected that the expansion of part-time jobs in the market would only further

¹⁹ This is different from the Dutch case where the labor union actively asked for expansion of part-time jobs as an alternative to the reduction of the working hours. The expansion of part-time jobs was decided within the negotiating process between the labor and the capital to overcome the economic crisis (Fagan et al, 2013; recited from Nam and Lee, 2020).

entrench the discriminatory hierarchy between the regular employees, non-regular contract workers, fixed-term workers and part-time workers.

In addition, long and rigid working hours regime not only affects the capital and labor's policy preference but also constitutes the working culture that makes it difficult for the workers to ask for working time reduction even if the workers' right to shorten one's working hours is granted. The current lack of uptake of shorter work week during parenting period is likely a reflection of such cultural constraints (Kwon, 2016). The government, other than employer-focused support policy, also did consider and enacted legislation that would grant workers the right to choose working hours. Yet, the worker's right to ask for shorter working hours is not as strongly guaranteed as in other countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden or in Germany where part-time work has been expanded in a wider range of occupations (Kim and Lee, 2014; Kwon, 2016). Even if it were, it is doubtful whether workers would be able to use it freely due to Korea's long hours and rigid working time culture.

In this section, I have reviewed the characteristics of Korea's working time regime – long working hours and its rigidity – and how it has affected the capital and labor's passive response toward the government's quality part-time job policy. Employers had less incentive to hire part-timers or grant the full-timers to freely make a transition into part-timer due to their tendency to utilize overtime work with minimal number of staff instead of hiring part-timers. On the other hand, the labor organization and women's organization did not welcome the policy due to discriminatory treatment against the irregular workers.

Yet, working time regime can only indirectly explain why the low-quality part-time jobs have increased much quicker than the good quality part-time jobs in the labor market. While the path dependency of the long and rigid working time regime explains why capital and labor did not prefer the expansion of quality part-time jobs in the labor market, this approach has limitation in explaining the recent rapid growth of low-quality part-time jobs taken by the female part-timers in Korea. To explain this growth, how the path-dependent welfare state regime has reinforced the

usage of part-timers in small service firms and who have taken such jobs will be examined in the following section.

3. Welfare State Regime Changes

Despite government efforts to create more quality part-time jobs in the labor market, still, the dominant usage of part-timers is occurring mostly as low-skill jobs at small businesses in the social-retail-personal service industry. While the sectors where quality part-time jobs could be created did not participate in government programs actively, part-time jobs continued to grow fast in the social service industries and small businesses which are known to be one of the most marginalized sectors of the Korean labor market where low-quality jobs are dominant.

Between 2013 and 2019, among the four industries – the retail sector(G), accommodation and food service sector(I), education service sector(P), and health and social service sector(Q) – where part-timers are mostly distributed, the share of part-timers in the health and social service sector (Q) grew most rapidly from 12.4% in 2013 to 19.7% in 2019, becoming the sector where the part-timers are distributed the most. The part-timer shares in the accommodation and food service sector (I) remained about the same and the share of the retail sector (G) and the education service sector (P) decreased. Recalling that the part-timer rate grew more rapidly from 2015 to 2016 and from 2018 to 2019, it can be observed in Table 18 that during those periods, the growth of part-timers occurred mostly in the health and social service sector.

Table 17. Korean Standard Industrial Classification 10th Version²⁰

A	Agriculture, forestry & fishing	L	Real estate activities
B	Mining	M	Professional, scientific and technical activities
C	Manufacturing	N	Business facilities management and business support services; rental and leasing activities
D	Electricity, transport, communication & finance	O	Public administration and defense; compulsory social security
E	Water Supply; sewage, waste management, materials recovery	P	Education
F	Construction	Q	Human health and social work activities
G	Wholesale and retail trade	R	Arts, sports and recreation related activities
H	Transportation and storage	S	Membership organizations, repair and other personal services
I	Accommodation and food service activities	T	Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods-and services-producing activities of households for own use
J	Information and insurance activities	U	Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies

Source: KOSIS website, http://kssc.kostat.go.kr/ksscNew_web/ekssc/main/main.do#

²⁰ Korean Standard Industrial Classification (10th Version). Unfortunately, the Survey on Labor Conditions by Employment Type does not collect responses from the workers in sector O (public administration and defense; compulsory social security, T (activities of households as employers and undifferentiated) and U (activities of extrametrical organizations and bodies).

Table 18. Trend in Part-Timer Volume and Distribution by Industries (Unit: thousand, %)

	Part-Timer Volume							Part-Timer Distribution						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
A	19	20	32	24	28	24	17	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.5
B	NA	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
C	84	88	117	121	125	130	175	4.4	4.3	5.2	4.9	4.7	4.8	5.5
D	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
E	6	2	4	4	7	9	6	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2
F	79	76	108	117	124	117	129	4.2	3.7	4.8	4.7	4.7	4.3	4.0
G	284	290	312	321	363	320	329	15.1	14.2	13.5	12.9	13.6	11.8	10.4
H	27	24	32	34	41	34	52	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.6
I	331	379	401	468	473	469	563	17.6	18.6	17.9	18.8	17.8	17.3	17.8
J	28	22	27	20	29	32	25	1.5	1.1	1.2	0.8	1.1	1.2	0.8
K	324	20	23	27	23	39	40	1.3	10	1.0	1.1	0.9	1.4	1.3
L	32	28	30	46	45	55	54	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.7	2.0	1.7
M	21	19	28	34	44	42	53	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.7
N	82	95	129	150	141	144	165	4.4	4.7	5.7	6.0	5.3	5.3	5.2
O	171	169	169	166	185	207	249	9.1	8.3	7.6	6.7	6.9	7.6	7.9
P	260	299	284	309	329	312	379	13.8	14.7	12.7	12.4	12.4	11.5	10.1
Q	234	299	325	395	447	518	621	12.4	14.7	14.5	15.9	16.8	19.1	19.7
R	55	53	79	78	89	96	117	2.9	2.6	3.5	3.1	3.3	3.5	3.7
S	81	123	121	151	144	142	131	4.3	6.0	5.4	6.1	5.4	5.2	4.2
T	63	28	23	23	23	19	50	3.3	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.7	1.6
U	NA													
Total	1,883	2,035	2,336	2,488	2,663	2,709	3,156	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey
August Microdata, extracted on 14 March 2023

This section argues that the path dependency of Korea's welfare state regime that continues to maintain its budgetary restraint, entrusting services to the private sector contributed to the concentrated growth of part-timers in the small business in the social service sector. Moreover, despite development in childcare policies, welfare state that largely remains familistic have contributed to the concentration of part-time jobs on middle and old age female workers. Firstly, how the development of social service policy progressed from 2013 until 2019 will be examined. While examining the previous literature and data, how social care service policy is involved in creating low-quality part-time jobs in social service sector will be highlighted. Then, change made to the public care service provisions from 2013 to 2019 will be examined, focusing on how this is related to the labor demand for part-time jobs. Lastly, its implication in Korea's part-time regime will be explored.

3-1. Social Service Policy Direction and the Part-Time Labor

Demand

As examined earlier, since the 2000s, childcare and eldercare budget expanded rapidly but the delivery of the care service was largely delegated to the private sector. Between 2013 and 2019, during the Park Geun-hye and Moon Jae-in administration, the policy direction to minimize the budget while quickly increasing the amount of service provision has not changed significantly. Kim (2015) and Heo (2019) who have both used the Iversen and Wren (1998)'s framework of the welfare state's service economy trilemma to examine Korea's social service policy direction agreed that regarding childcare and eldercare provision, Korea's social service policy chose the budgetary restraint and the service accessibility by sacrificing the quality of the service (Kim 2015: 68). In other words, the government chose the interest of the taxpayers and the service recipients by sacrificing the labor conditions of the service providers as Heo puts (2019: 214).

During the Park administration, the childcare service budgets were allocated to providing childcare subsidies instead of expanding the public childcare facilities, continuing the policy stance that prioritizes service expansion and budgetary restraint. The Park administration expanded childcare subsidies, which increased by more than eight times between 2012 and 2013 but the portion of national childcare facilities remained stagnant (see table 14). The expansion of the childcare subsidy beneficiaries to all children aged five or below accompanied such rapid increase in childcare subsidies. Childcare policies were divided between support for private facilities and the childcare subsidies, which are all more cost-effective choice than expanding quality childcare services (Song, 2014).

Regarding the eldercare service, the interest of the taxpayers and service recipients continued to be prioritized over the service providers. In the Long-Term Care Commission (Jang-gi Yoyang Wiwonhoe), which operated for three years from January 10, 2014 to January 9, 2017, among the healthcare professions, only doctors, Korean medicine practitioners, dentists, and nurses were included. These four occupational groups only comprise 1.3% of the

Long Term Care workers, while the care worker (yoyangbohosa) comprises 90.3% of the LTC service workers (Heo, 2019: 220). The eldercare service workers' average monthly wage comprises about 40% of the average monthly wage of all industries. Even social service jobs that are paid less than other industries, LTC workers' pay is relatively low (Heo, 2019: 199-200).

On the other hand, the Moon government specifically promised to expand the public service sector jobs. In particular, the government promised to expand public social service jobs by 810,000 which includes creating 340,000 social service jobs in areas such as childcare, nursing and caregiving. This was presented as part of the "Five-Year Roadmap for Job Creation" jointly created by the Job Creation Committee and relevant ministries on October, 2017. Taking a phased approach, the government would first invest 10.2 trillion won in field with high demand such as childcare, nursing and health care from 2017 and 2018. Then, in the second phase from 2019, the government would expand 170,000 jobs in social service corporation (Sahoe Seobisuwon) and various sectors such as culture-sports-environment (Ahn et al, 2019: 89-90). However, still, Moon administration's social service job policy is criticized for focusing on the quantitative expansion rather than improving the labor conditions of the social service workers (Lee, 2019; cited in Ahn et al, 2019).

As can be observed in Table 19, while the total number of care institutions including private, family, legal institutions, workplace, etc. continuously increased, the percentage of public care institutions continuously decreased until 2012. Then, between 2013 and 2019, during the Park administration and the Moon administration, the proportion of the national/public childcare institutions did increase. Yet, it did not accompany drastic growth in the number of national/public institutions, since the total number of childcare institutions rather decreased during this period. Although the 3.7%p increase in the percentage of national·Public Childcare Institutions during the Moon administration between 2017 and 2019 is noticeable, it did not reach the 40% usage rate of the public kindergarten as targeted (Newstof, 2022.07.04).

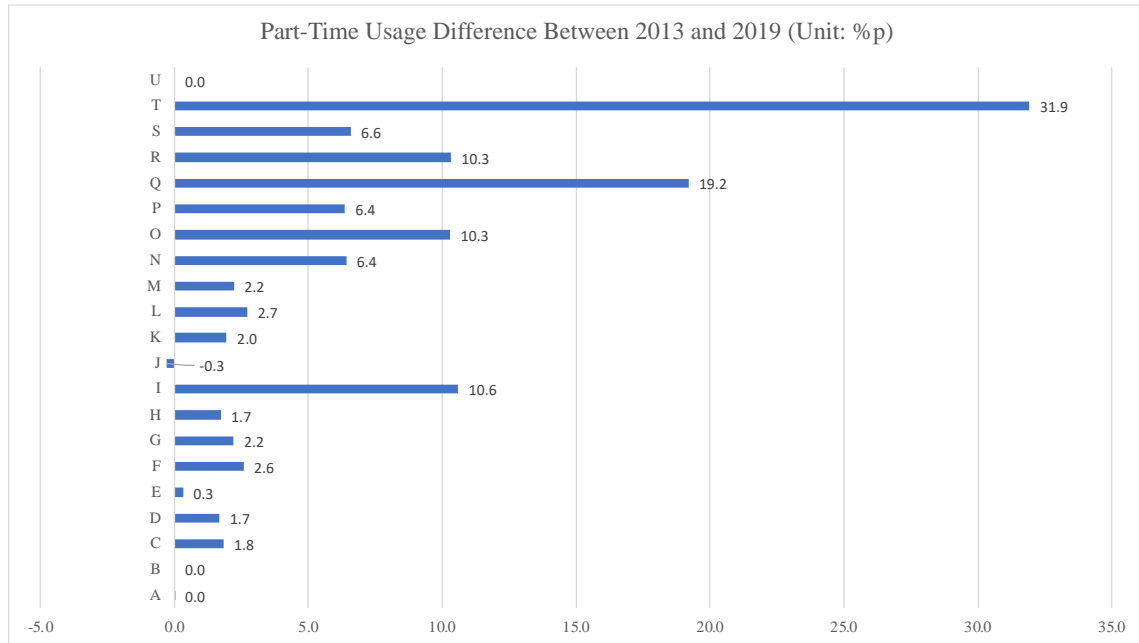
Table 19. Changes in the Number of Childcare Facilities and the Proportion of Public Institutions

	Percentage of National-Public Childcare Institutions	Total Number of Childcare institutions including private, family, workplace etc.
1990	18.8%	1,919
1992	16.0%	4,513
1997	7.5%	15,375
2002	6.0%	22,147
2008	5.5%	33,499
2012	5.2%	42,527
2013	5.3%	43,770
2017	7.8%	40,238
2019	11.5%	37,371

Source: Kim (2015: 75) and Childcare Statistics provided by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (2019.12)

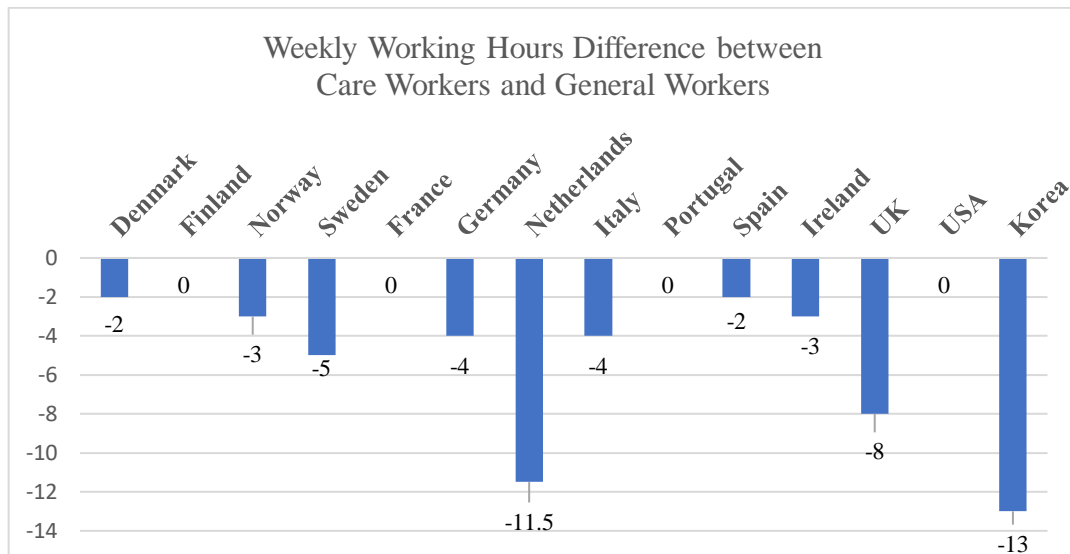
The ramification of social service marketization is intensified competition in the local service supply due to the lowered entry for the service provider. As a result, small private for-profit providers rapidly increase and the competition among them decreases user per service provider, thereby shortening working hours (Ahn, 2019:8). This can be observed in the figure data below. Figure 19 shows that the part-timer usage has increased by 19.2% p between 2013 and 2019 in the health and social service sector (Q). Moreover, Figure 20 shows that not only is part-time growing in social service sector, which is common to observe in other countries as well, the working hours difference between care workers and the worker in general is particularly big in Korea compared to other countries. This shows that the increasing concentration of part-time jobs in the health and social service sector is not due to the characteristic of care work itself, but rather due to the institutional settings.

Figure 19. Part-Time Usage Difference Between 2013 and 2019 (Unit: %p)



Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey 2013 and 2019 August Microdata, extracted on 10 May 2023

Figure 20. Weekly Working Hours Difference between Care Workers and General Workers



Source: Hahm and Suh (2022)'s presentation <How much is care labor underrated in Korea?> in the policy forum <Super Aging Society, For Everyone's Decent Care: From 'Half-paying job' to 'Decent job'>.

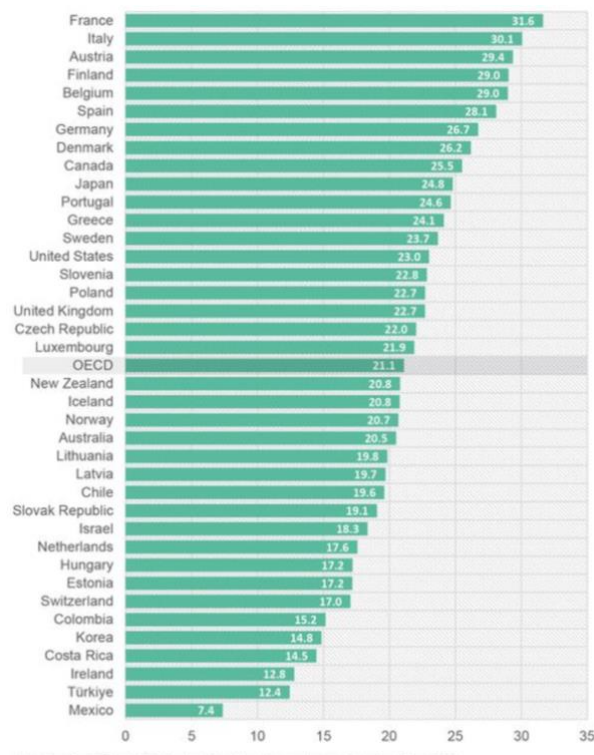
To sum up, the budgetary restraint social service policy that tends to expand the social service accessibility while sacrificing the quality of the social service have negatively affected the employment condition of the service workers. Intensified competition among the private

social service providers led to increase in low-quality part-time jobs in the social service sector. In the next section, I will briefly review Korea's gender regime in relation to the part-time labor supply that is highly female concentrated.

3-2. Welfare State Regime and the Part-Time Labor Supply

Many scholars agree that Korea's welfare state regime is largely dependent on families considering that its public social spending budget as the portion of GDP still ranks the bottom among OECD countries. In 2022, it ranked 34th out of the 38 OECD member countries (see Figure 21). The comparatively low female employment rate, low labor market status of the female workers which is represented by the gender pay gap, and the excessive burden of household chores and caregiving labor on female member of the family all point to the persistence of the male breadwinner model.

Figure 21. OECD Public Social Spending out of GDP (Unit: %)



Source: OECD Social Expenditure Database (2022), extracted on 12 May 2023

Yet, as examined earlier in chapter 2, the gender regime tends to be segregated by socio economic class. When the female labor force participation rate is divided by class, those from

higher socio-economic status show comparatively higher labor force participation than those from lower socio-economic status before marriage and childbirth. However, this is overturned after the marriage and childbirth as the latter more actively participate in the labor market (Kye and Kim, 2014). Those in middle and upper class show conservative – strong male breadwinner model while women from the low-income households seek jobs in the labor market due to unstable male breadwinner status (Kim, 2009). Since it is difficult for married women to re-enter the labor market after the career-interruption, part-time jobs were often used as a means of reemployment (Policy seminar for identifying issues and policy solutions to problems in part-time labor, 2019).

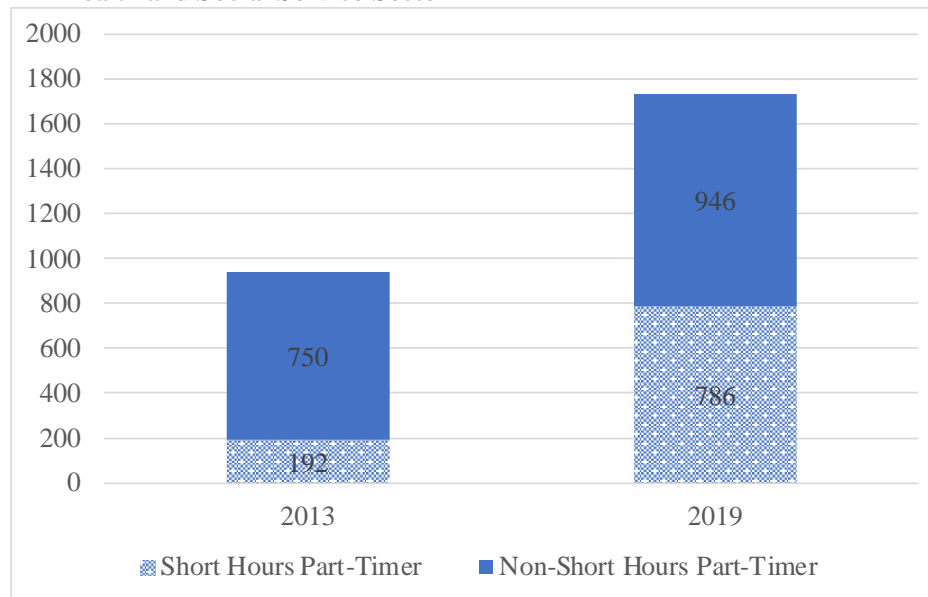
4. Intersection between Working Time Regime Changes and the Welfare State Regime Changes: Increasing Short-Hours Part-Time Jobs

Previous sections have explained how the government attempt to change the long and rigid working time regime partly by creating the quality part-time jobs in the labor market was not welcomed by the capital and labor due to the legacy of the quantitative input-oriented growth. Then, the following section explained how instead low-quality part-time jobs continued to grow focused on the social service sector due to the government's social service policy direction that tries to expand the social service sector fast with comparatively low cost by delegating the service to the private sector. This section focuses on the intersection between the working time regime changes and the welfare state regime changes and how they have affected the part-time labor market altogether. Although the Park administration's quality part-time job policy could not change the long and rigid working time regime, Moon administration's policy to change the long working hours and low wages structure by drastically increasing the minimum wage did affect the quality of the part-time jobs, though it was not part of the administration's quality part-time job policy.

Compared to the Park administration, the Moon administration more directly tried to change the working time regime by implementing the 52-Hour work week and drastically increasing the minimum wage. The Park Geun-hye administration attempted to promote quality part-time jobs mainly through employer support policies, but it did not directly aim to change the employment practice of long working hours and low wages. On the other hand, the Moon Jae-in administration did not allocate as much budget as the Park Geun-hye administration did for time-selective job, but made direct attempts to change not only part-time employment but the overall employment practices. Among them, the policy of increasing the minimum wage had a significant impact on time-based workers who mostly work for minimum wage. Recalling Table 7 on the wage composition change of the part-timers, the increase in the minimum wage between 2017 and 2018 reduced the proportion of low wages for part-time workers by 11.2%p, thereby improving the overall quality of part-time jobs.

However, on the other hand, the Moon Jae-in government's policy of increasing the minimum wage indirectly influenced the expansion of short hours part-time workers in the social services sector. As examined earlier, the social services sector experienced the largest increase in the number of part-time workers between 2013 and 2019. In particular, it appears that the increase in part-time work in this sector was significantly driven by the expansion of short hours part-time workers (see Figure 22). While the number of the short hours part-timer increased by 309%, the non-short hours part-timer increased by 26%, meaning that the rapid increase of part-timers in the health and social service sector was driven by the growth of the short hours part-timers.

Figure 22 Number of the Short Hours Part-Timer and the Non-Short Hours Part-Timer in the Health and Social Service Sector



Source: MicroData Integrated Service (MDIS), Economically Active Population Survey 2013 and 2019 August Microdata, extracted on 25 July 2023

Although the minimum wage increase cannot be the sole reason why the short hours part-time workers have increased in this sector. In addition to the increase caused by the overheating competition among the private outsourcing companies in the social service sector, the elderly job creation policy also created lots of short-hours part-time jobs in this sector. Yet, it is reasonable enough to infer that the raise in minimum wage would have become a burden to small businesses in the health and social services sector, leading to a growth in the usage of short-hours part-timers. Since short-hours part-time workers are in the blind spot of labor rights, employers are not entitled to pay for their employment benefits such as holiday pay and other benefits. This phenomenon not only highlights the importance of government efforts to create high-quality part-time jobs but also underscores the urgent need to guarantee the fundamental rights of the non-regular job at the minimum threshold.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

1. Summary

This thesis tried to answer the research question that asked why despite continuous government efforts to increase quality part-time jobs in the labor market, the growth of the quality part-time jobs remained stagnant while the fast growth of low-quality part-time jobs continued between 2013 and 2019. To answer the question, this thesis paid attention to the path-dependent trait of Korea's working time regime and the welfare state regime. After reviewing the previous literature on the working time regime and the welfare state regime, by comparing Korea's situation with other countries, Korea's working time regime was characterized as possessing the stasis flexibility, wherein the government actively intervenes to regulate adjustments in the distribution of working hours. Its welfare state regime was classified as familistic wherein care services are mostly provided by the market and family than the state. Although there have been government attempts to change the existing long and rigid working time regime and the familistic welfare state regime, their path dependency refracted the implementation of the good quality part-time job policy.

As a country that has stasis flexibility, both the Park administration and the Moon administration initiated the creation of the "good" quality part-time jobs. However, the policy design of the "good" quality part-time jobs was not sufficient enough to create a part-time job that could integrate the part-time workers in the labor market in the long term in the first place. Although the "time-selective jobs" promoted by each government has the characteristics of the good part-time jobs, its policy subsidies were not enough to motivate the employers to create such jobs. Besides, there were limitations in terms of the legal enforceability and scope of application to alleviate discriminatory treatment between part-time workers and other full-time workers in areas such as compensation, job stability, and social insurance. In particular, there was no legal basis to guarantee equal opportunities for training or promotion as those provided to full-time workers. The rights of workers to freely transition between full-time and part-time

employment were also rarely protected. Except for the particular “time-selective jobs” that the government promoted, there was no legal basis to guarantee a minimum working time for most of the part-time jobs that were created by the market.

The reason why the usage of part-time jobs in the labor market mainly remains as a disposable job can be attributed firstly to the legacy of the long and rigid working hours regime where the quantitative input-driven growth limited the employer’s usage of labor flexibility to external flexibility measures. This restrained the usage of part-time jobs for a cost-saving purpose rather than for retention purpose. Due to such employment practices, the labor and the women’s organization also did not welcome the government’s promotion of good part-time jobs. Secondly, since the government’s quality part-time job policy was weak in the aspect of improving the working conditions or the right of the part-time workers, low-quality part-time jobs continued to grow. In particular, the low-quality part-time jobs continued to grow in the social service sector as a low skill job taken by the middle and old aged women. This was due to the government’s continued social policy direction to expand the social service sector through private outsourcing. Compared to the Park administration, the Moon administration’s attempt to change the overall working conditions of the workers, in this case the minimum wage increase, did improve the quality of the part-time jobs in terms of wage proportion. Yet the policy had two sides in that it also indirectly increased employers’ practice to use the short hours part-time workers who are exempt from labor protection for cost reduction.

2. Significance of the Research and Policy Implications

The significance of this research lies in spotlighting the interrelated institutions – the working time regime and the welfare state regime – that forms a certain momentum that drives the part-time labor market to continuously expand the portion of the low-quality part-time jobs, especially in the social service sector. The failure of the good part-time job policy was interpreted as the failure to change such momentum. Moreover, it attempted to bridge Korea’s

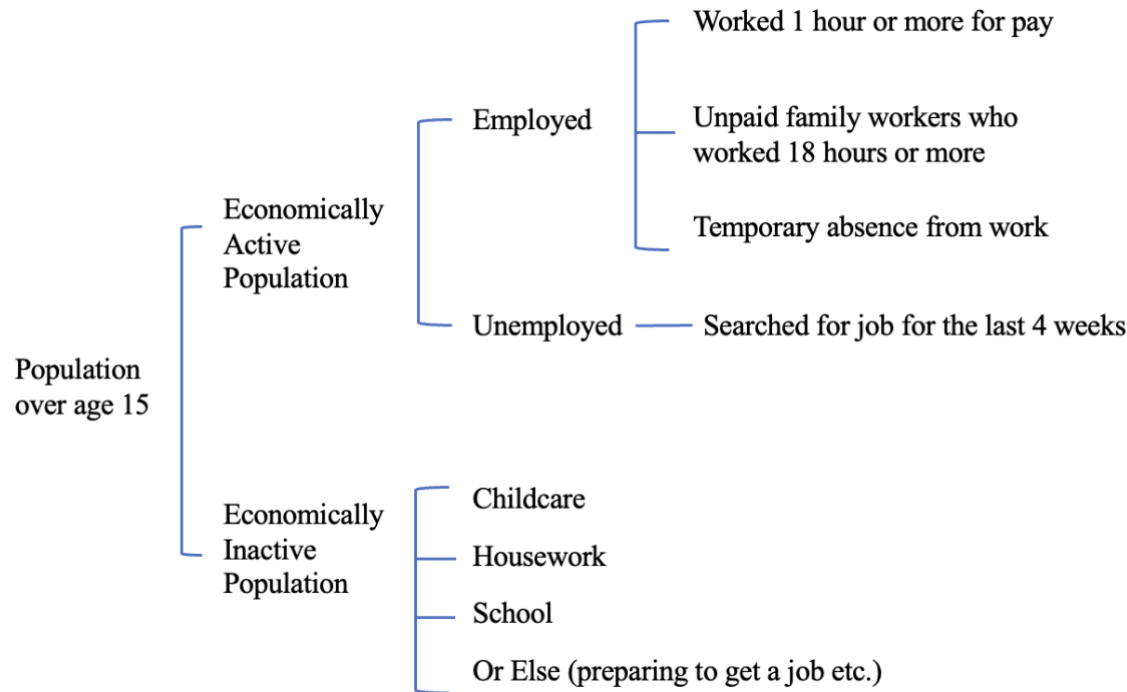
working time regime literature and the welfare state regime literature by focusing on their implications on part-time labor and demand.

This thesis has demonstrated that in the current institutional environment constituted of the long and rigid working time regime and the continued privately delivered and cost saving welfare state regime makes it difficult for the good quality part-time jobs to be created through government's promotion of the "time-selective jobs". Since the majority of the part-time jobs are being created out of the market mechanism, it would be more effective for the government to improve the working conditions of the existing part-timers instead of promoting the "quality" part-time job policy that shows low participation rate among the employers. For instance, the government could expand the application of the Act on the Protection of Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees and the Labor Standards Act to the businesses with less than five employees since the small businesses are where majority of the part-time jobs are created. Moreover, the coverage of laws that ban the discrimination between the part-timer and the full-timer could be extended to guaranteeing the opportunities for training and promotion to part-timers or workers' right to make a transition between full-timer and part-timer. These measures would weaken the boundaries between the part-time jobs and the full-time jobs, eventually allowing the workers to use the working time flexibility in accordance with one's life cycle. It is important that the workers are allowed to freely switch between the part-time job and the full-time job should the part-time jobs be used as an option for female workers who wish to work and care at the same time, which was the original goal of the government's quality part-time job policy.

In particular, considering that the current part-time job growth has been driven by the rapid growth of the short hours part-time jobs that are in the blind spot of the labor protection law, it is more urgent to raise the minimum threshold for worker protection to improve the overall treatments of the non-regular workers. For instance, the government could expand the application of the Act on the Protection of Fixed-Term and Part-Time Employees and the Labor Standards Act also to the short-hours part-time workers.

Appendix 1.

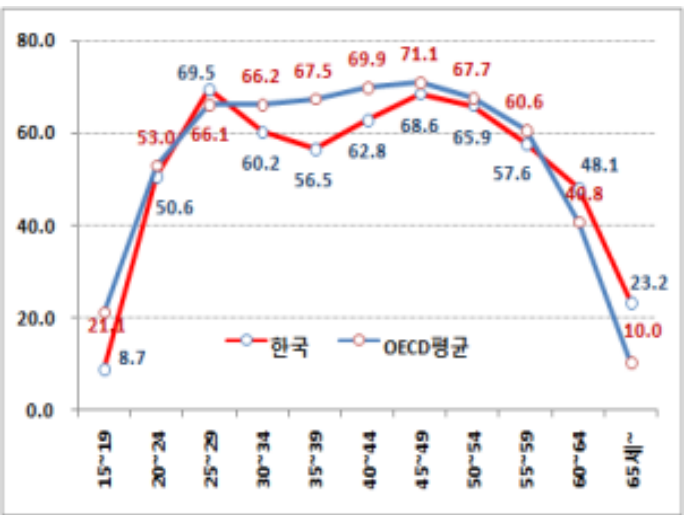
Classification used in the Economically Active Population Survey



Source: Economically Active Population Survey Manual

Appendix 2.

Korea's Female Employment Rate by Age compared to OECD average



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국문 초록

본 논문은 한국에서 지난 10 년 동안 여성 시간제 근로자의 꾸준한 증가 현상을 비교적 시각에서 분석한다. 많은 서구 국가들이 70 년대와 80 년대에 시간제 근로자의 증가 현상을 경험한 것과 달리, 한국은 최근 10 년 동안 시간제 근로자가 전체 근로자 중에서 차지하는 비율이 더욱 빠르게 증가하여 최근에는 OECD 평균에 거의 도달하였다. 한국의 시간제 노동 레짐의 흥미로운 특징은 여러 정부가 지속적으로 양질의 시간제 일자리 창출을 추진해왔음에도 불구하고, 증가한 시간제 일자리는 주로 저임금 서비스 부문에 집중되어 있는 저질의 일자리였다는 점이다.

본 논문은 비교적인 시각을 견지하며 한국의 시간제 노동 젠더 레짐을 노동시간 레짐과 복지국가 레짐 두 제도의 결합으로서 분석한다. 우선 정부의 양질의 시간제 일자리(시간선택제 일자리) 정책 내용과 노동시장 결과를 분석한 이후, 장시간 및 경직적인 노동시간 레짐과 재정 건전성을 중시하는 복지국가 레짐의 경로 의존성에 초점을 맞추어 정책 실패를 해석한다. 본 논문은 첫째로, 노동시간 레짐이 국가가 주도하는 유연성(statis flexibility)을 갖고 있는 국가로서 정부가 주로 고용주 지원 정책을 통해 양질의 시간제 일자리를 창출하고자 하였으나, 정책의 부실한 설계와 탈숙련적 유연성 활용 기반의 노동시간 체제의 지속으로 인해 노사의 반응을 충분히 이끌어내지 못했다고 주장한다. 둘째로, 본 논문은 사회서비스 정책이 재정 건전성을 중시하면서도 서비스의 빠른 확장을 위해 민간 전달체계를 확대하면서 사회서비스 산업을 중심으로 주로 중고령의 기혼 여성들이 유입되는 저질의 시간제 일자리의 지속적 창출로 이어졌다고 분석한다. 이는 기존의 성별 분리를 강화할 뿐 아니라 시간제 일자리의 제한된 활용을 더욱 강화한다. 이러한 경로로부터 이탈하기 위해서, 시간제 노동의 수요와 공급이 노동시간 레짐과 복지국가 레짐과 여하히 연결되어 있는지에 대해 주의를 기울이는 정책 설계가 필요하다고 주장한다. 또한, 양질의 시간제 일자리 비율을 효과적으로 높이기 위해서 새로운 양질의 시간제 일자리를 창출하는 정책보다는 기존의 시간제 노동자들의 근무 환경과 권리를 개선하는 것이 시급함을 제언한다.

주제어: 시간선택제 일자리 정책, 노동시간, 복지국가, 젠더 레짐, 시간제 노동자, 경로 의존성

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