

Job Mobility of Non-Regular Workers in the Segmented Labor Markets: a Cross-national Comparison of South Korea and Japan*

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This study compares the job mobility of non-regular workers in segmented labor markets between South Korea and Japan. Our analysis, drawing upon the comparable survey data sets (KLIPS and SSM) of the two countries, demonstrates that non-regular employment in both countries does not play a role of stepping stones to move toward decent regular jobs, but that of a 'dead-end' trap. The opportunity structure of job mobility has been commonly segmented by the fractured line of non-regular employment in the two countries, while the level of polarization is much more intensified in Japan than in Korea. Such factors as gender and education show contrasting patterns in influencing the job mobility of non-regular workers in the two countries. This finding implies that the Asian Market Economy of Japan and Korea, where the governments commonly implemented neoliberal labor reforms during the past two decade, has approached to the individualist mobility regime having fragmented and unstable employment practices.

Keywords: *job mobility, non-regular labor, mobility regime, labor market segmentation*

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Introduction

Since the late 1990s, South Korea (hereafter Korea) and Japan have witnessed remarkable transformation of labor markets under the context of an economic slump. In Korea, struck by the unprecedented financial crisis at the end of 1997, the liberal government implemented neo-liberal economic reforms to allow employers to carry out massive layoffs and use temporary help agency labor in accordance with IMF restructuring plans, including the promotion of labor market flexibility. In Japan, experiencing a long wave of economic recession following the breakdown of its bubble economy in the early 1990s, the conservative government also initiated neo-liberal reforms of labor markets to allow the use of dispatched labor in manufacturing sectors since the late 1990s (Imai 2011, pp. 57-64). Neo-liberal labor policy in both countries have not only resulted in a notable growth of non-regular workforce, but also led to intensifying labor market segmentation, mainly derived from the widening discrepancies of employment conditions between regular and non-regular workers, during the past 20 years. As a consequence, the proliferation of non-regular workers commonly becomes a crucial social issue in the two countries, in that they have suffered from their unstable and discriminated working life and expressed strong frustration by engaging in intense collective action, or committing serious individualized crimes.

Until this transformation, Japan and Korea had been known for having an egalitarian employment regime, albeit the persistent segmentation of their labor markets fractured by gender, education, and firm size (Amsden 1989; Kanomata 1998; Kim and Topel 1994; Wade 1990). Compared with Western countries, these two economies showed relatively low wage inequity and stable employment practices among workforce until the mid of 1990s. Therefore, a concurrent achievement of sustained economic growth and egalitarian income distribution has been characterized as being a distinct aspect of the East Asian Market Economy, represented by Japan and Korea. Since the late 1990s, however, the two economies have been confronted with a crucial problem of sharply growing inequality, whether characterized as “Gap Society” in Japan (Chiavacci 2008; Sato 2000; Tachibanaki 1998), or “Social Polarization” in Korea (Lee 2008a; Shin 2004). The intensification of economic inequality in these countries is to a large extent associated with the proliferation of non-regular labor, boosted by neoliberal labor reforms.

Given the substantial transformation of labor markets in Japan and Korea, we attempt to compare the situation of non-regular workforce and

their job mobility between these two countries. In particular, this study explores the 'patterned' tendencies of non-regular workers' job mobility in the period of 2000~2005, by using comparable nationwide survey data of the two countries. Our study examines whether non-regular employment in Korea and Japan functions as a stepping stone to a decent regular job, or a trap in the marginal segment of the labor market, and figures out the commonalities and differences in the marginal workers' job mobility in these two countries. This cross-comparative analysis sheds light on how segmented job mobility, fractured by regular and non-regular employment status, has been structuralized in the Korean and Japanese labor markets, thereby characterizing the changing labor market regime of these leading Asian Market Economies after the neoliberal reforms carried out in 1990s.

The paper is constituted as follows: The existing literature concerning job mobility of non-regular labor is reviewed in the next section. In the following sections, the changing trends in non-regular employment and labor market segmentation in Korea and Japan during 2000s are overviewed, and empirical findings of our comparative analysis are reported, drawing on the Korea Labor Income Panel Survey data and the Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) Survey data, collected in 2005. In the final section, we conclude with some research implications drawing from the comparative analysis.

Literature Review on Job Mobility of Non-Regular Workers

A worker's attainment of a specific job position is not only affected by his/her employability (i.e. education, job experience or skills, and licenses) and other personal attributes (i.e. gender, age, and race), but influenced by the structural conditions of labor markets (Shin et al. 2005). In light of workers' mobility in labor markets, a job position is characterized as a dynamic linkage combining individual features of workers and contextual features of the society (Spilerman 1977). The segmented structure of labor markets reflects that the opportunity of job attainment and mobility for individual workers in a society varies by such persistent fracture lines, as gender, class status, and firm size (Shin 2006). From the neo-structuralist perspective, the differentiated opportunity structure of job mobility is representative of the existence of segmented labor markets, in that some workers are excluded in the possibility to enter into a certain job vacancies by discriminating employment practices (Lee, J. 1999).

The opportunity structure of job mobility differs across countries and can be transformed over time. As DiPrete et al. (1997) indicate, each country has shaped a distinct mobility regime, conditioned by a variety of societal factors, such as the level of economic growth, business cycles, institutional frameworks of education and labor markets, industrial relations practices, composition of industrial sectors, the state's labor policy, corporate governance and organizational structure, and cultural and ideological norms (Carroll and Mayer 1986; Esping-Andersen 1993; Blossfeld 1986; Haller et al. 1985; Althausser 1989; Rosenfeld 1983; Spilerman 1977; Stewman and Knoda 1983; Stier et al. 2001). Moreover, the existing mobility regime tends to be reshaped along with social transformation like industrial reorganization, political power shifts, technological innovations, and demographic changes (Halpin and Chan 1998; Mayer et al. 1999). Therefore, the comparative analysis of mobility regimes, whose distinct patterns are closely associated with varieties of Capitalist Market Economies addressed by Hall and Soskice (2001), can offer a useful lens to look into and identify the commonality and difference of societal and institutional foundations, which are embedded into the opportunity structure of job mobility in labor markets of each country. For instance, liberal market economies (LME) are likely to have a individualist mobility regime where workers tend to show high turnovers and individualized job moves, whereas coordinated market economies (CME) are characterized as having a collectivist mobility regime where workers' turnover is relatively limited and their mobility is made in a collective manner (DiPrete et al. 1997; Shin et al. 2005).

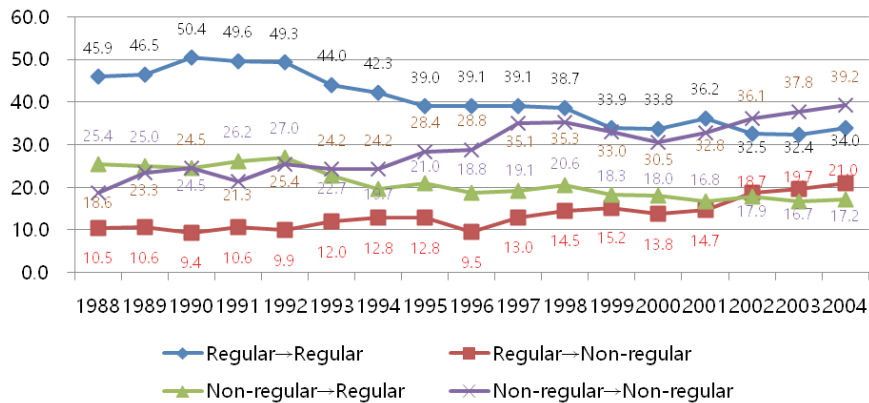
There exists a vast number of research literature diagnosing and theorizing labor market segmentation, and most of them shed light on such fracture lines as gender, class status, corporate market position, and labor union premium, dividing the opportunity structure of job attainment and mobility. The recent decades, however, have witnessed the proliferation of flexible employment patterns, including various types of non-regular labor, under the context of neo-liberal globalization, so that we have seen the growing interest of research in the job mobility of non-regular labor. A polemic research issue which is raised in exploring the job mobility of non-regular workers is whether non-regular employment is a trap or a stepping stone. The one argues that non-regular job is persistent, meaning that once a worker get into that job, s/he is likely to stay in the marginal position. The other insists that workers can build job experiences and skills in non-regular employment and then move up to regular employment. In case that the first is true, non-regular employment becomes a new fracture line segmenting the

opportunity structure of job mobility in labor markets; Otherwise, the non-regular job could play a positive role in promoting upward job mobility with the help of its work experiences and weakening labor market segmentation.

A majority of the existing research literature, which examined the trajectory of job mobility made by non-regular workers, has reached a common finding that non-regular employment is persistent or non-transitional. This finding is observed in the Great Britain (Wright and Hinde 1991), the United States (Blank 1994), Germany (Giannelli 1996), and Spain (Amuedo-Dorantes 2000). In Korea, where non-regular labor has been a crucial social issue due to its sharp growth and differentiated employment conditions, a number of research papers conducting empirical analysis of their job mobility conclude that non-regular workers are entrapped into their vulnerable job positions, with little possibility to move to regular jobs (Nam and Kim 2000; Nam 2002; Lee and Yoon 2007; Ryu 2001; Park 2000; Han and Jang 2000). According to Nam and Kim (2000), who analyzed the longitudinal trends of non-regular workers' job mobility, only one percent of the non-regular workers who left their jobs were able to attain regular employment status, while 80% of them returned to non-regular jobs. Moreover, Lee and Yoon (2007) present a similar research finding that less than 9% of non-regular workers had a chance to get a regular job within four years.¹

A number of research literature has also evidenced that labor markets in Japan are segmented by firm size and gender (Cheng 1995; Sakamoto and Powers 1995; Sato 2016), whereas there is little literature examining job mobility of Japanese non-regular workers. An exception is the longitudinal analysis concerning trends in job mobility of young workers showing that the proportion of young workers (15-34 years old) who stayed in non-regular jobs grew from 18.6% in 1988 to 39.2% in 2004, while those transferring from non-regular jobs to regular ones decreased from 25.4% to 17.2% in the same period, as illustrated in [Figure 1] (Oh 2008b). Moreover, below half (48%) of all firms in Japan adopted programs to transfer non-regular workers to regular jobs in 2005, and the percentage of non-regular workers who were transferred to regular employment declined from 30.8% in 1990 to 22.6% in 2004. In this light, non-regular workers in Japan have a growing propensity to get into a trap of peripheral labor markets.

¹ Ryu and Kim (2000) address a contrasting result showing that non-regular workers in Korea have a significant chance to move upward to regular jobs.



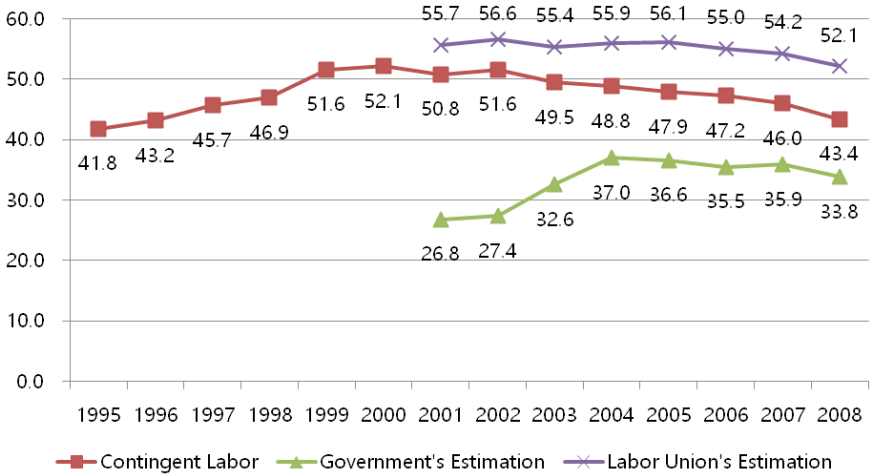
SOURCE.—Oh (2008b)

FIG. 1.—Trends in Job Mobility of Young Workers in Japan

Overview of Non-Regular Workforce in Korea and Japan

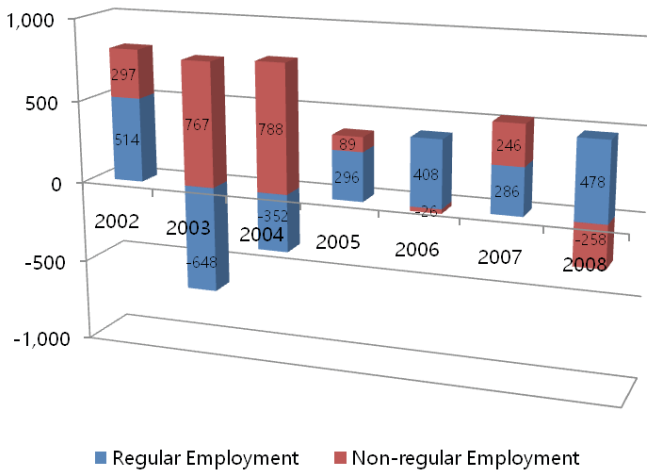
Now, non-regular labor commonly becomes a substantial part of the working population in Korea and Japan, since flexible employment in the two countries has proliferated rapidly during the past 10 years. As exemplified in [Figure 2], non-regular employment, which had been on the increase in the 1990s, soared sharply after the financial crisis of 1997-1998 in Korea. Under the context of the economic crisis, many firms downsized regular employees and re-filled their positions with non-regular workers during the period of economic recovery. [Figure 3] illustrates how Korean firms increased the use of non-regular labor and reduced the payroll of regular employees in the early 2000s. As a consequence, the share of contingent workforce, including temporary and daily labor, in the country increased from 45.7% in 1997 to 52.1% in 2000. The size of non-regular employment has risen from 26.8% in 2001 up to 37.0% in 2004 and down to 33.8% in 2008, according to the official statistics of the Korean government, which started conducting the Economically Active Population- Supplementary Survey in 2001. Note that the labor union circle has presented quite different estimation, insisting that the majority of wage workforce has been under the non-regular employment, ranging from 55.7% in 2001 to 52.1% in 2008.² Given the contrasting

² There has been an intense debate on the size of non-regular workforce, by drawing upon the Economic Active Population-Supplementary Survey conducted by the National Statistics Office



SOURCE.—Economically Active Population – Supplementary Survey in each year

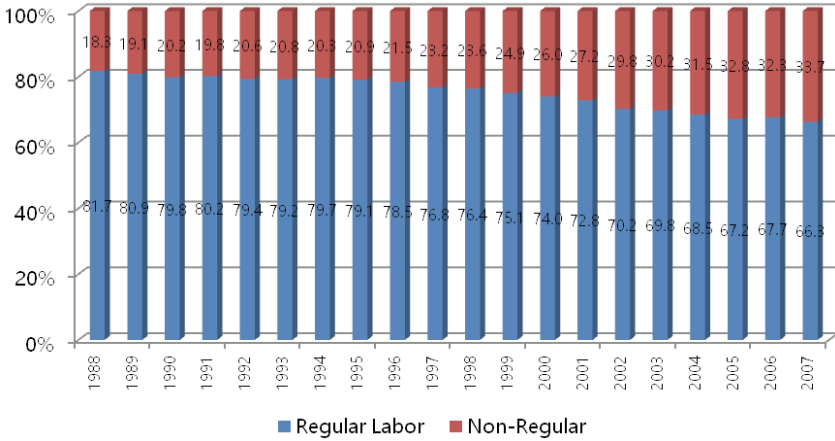
FIG. 2.—Trends of Non-regular Employment in Korea



SOURCE.—Economically Active Population – Supplementary Survey in each year

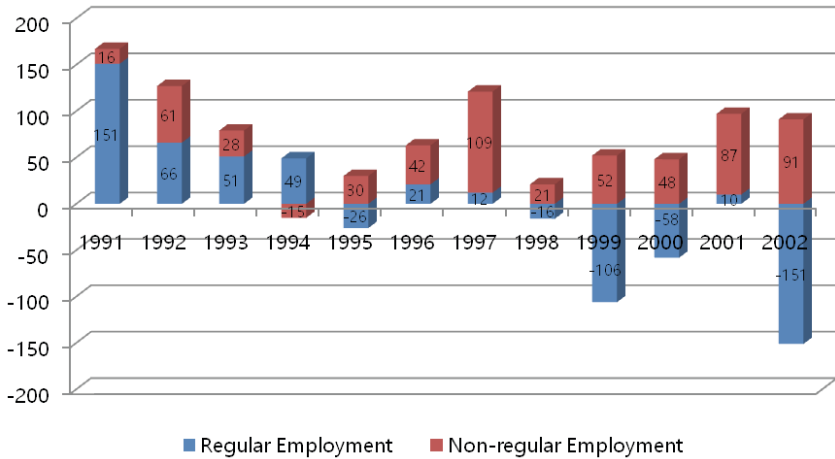
FIG. 3.—Changes in Regular and Non-regular Employment in Korea

yearly since 2001. The labor circle has insisted that the number of non-regular workforce has to include workers under recurrent renewal of temporary employment contracts, who are excluded by the government's statistics.



SOURCE.—Data of National Workforce Survey - Special Supplements, conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in each year (quoted from Oh 2008a)

FIG. 4.—Trends of Regular and Non-regular Employment in Japan



SOURCE.—Data of National Workforce Survey conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in each year (quoted from Oh 2008b)

FIG. 5.—Trends of Regular and Non-regular Employment in Japan

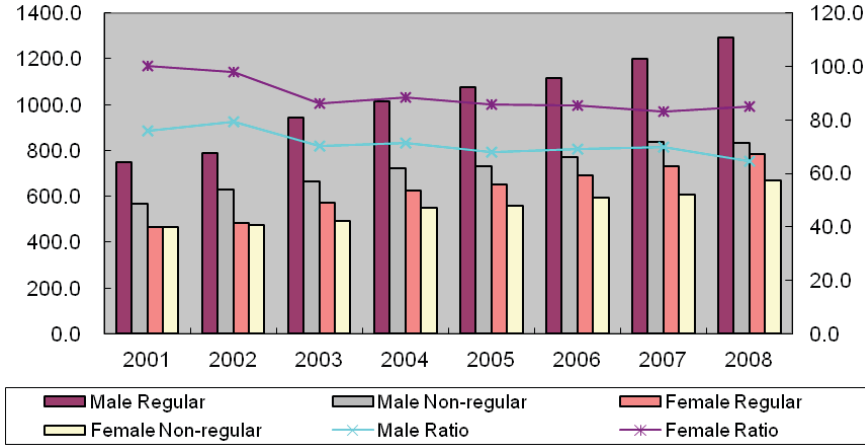
estimation made by the government and the labor circle, the share of non-regular employment has declined since the mid of 2000s, which might be associated with the introduction of labor policy and legislation to protect

those vulnerable workers.

The sustained growth of non-regular employment is similarly observed in Japan. As shown in [Figure 4], the share of non-regular workforce has increased by more than 10%, from 23.6% in 1998 to 33.7% in 2007. The increase of non-regular labor is chiefly explained by the fact that this employment type enables management to reduce labor costs, including social insurance expenditure, and flexibly terminate employment contracts (Lee 2008a). [Figure 5] illustrates that, like Korean counterparts, Japanese firms shed the number of regular employees and expanded the use of non-regular labor between mid 1990s and early 2000s. Between 1995 and 2005, in fact, the number of regular workers decreased from 37.8 million to 33.7 million, while that of non-regular workers increased from 10.0 million to 16.3 million.

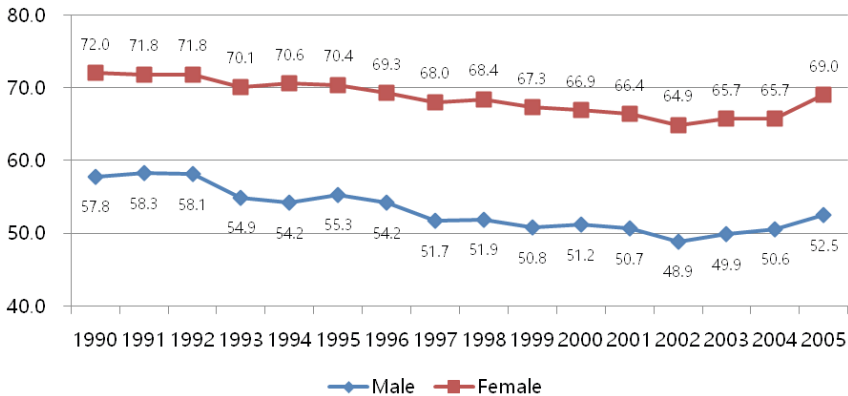
Korea and Japan have some commonalities in the composition of non-regular workforce. In both countries, non-regular workforce is largely comprised of female, youth, aged persons, and workers having low education (Cheng 1995; Keizer 2009). It is noteworthy that non-regular employment of youth, such as freeter (acronym of free arbeiter), is more conspicuous in Japan than in Korea. At the same time, it should be noted that the composition of non-regular employment types is to some extent different between the two countries. In Korea, the majority of non-regular labor force (60.4% as of 2008) is in the contingent employment contract. By contrast, the type of part time employment has the largest share (48.5% as of 2007) of non-regular workforce in Japan. Note that part-time employment is 22.6% (as of 2008) of non-regular workforce in Korea, whereas contingent employment is 16.9% (as of 2007) in Japan. This shows an interesting divergence in the supply-demand mechanism of non-regular labor between Korea and Japan, reflecting that there is the different employment relations practices and labor market institutions in the two countries.

Non-regular workers in both countries have suffered from differentiated compensation and inferior working conditions. In Korea, as illustrated in [Figure 6], the discrepancy of hourly wages between regular and non-regular workers has been widening for both male (from 75.9% in 2001 to 64.4% in 2008) and female (from 100.2% to 85.2% during the same period) over the recent years. In Japan, the wage gap between the two workers groups increased by 2002, and thereafter has been narrowed, as demonstrated in [Figure 7]. It is identical in both countries that the wage differentials between regular and non-regular workers are larger for male than for female. Interestingly, the wage gap of the two workers groups is greater



SOURCE.—Economically Active Population – Supplementary Survey, each year

FIG. 6.—Trends in Wage Gap Between Regular and Non-regular Workers in Korea (Hourly Wages in Korean Won, Regular Employee=100)



SOURCE.—Basic Survey data of Wage Structure, conducted by the Ministry of Labor and Welfare in each year (quoted from Oh 2008a)

FIG. 7.—Trends in Wage Gap Between Regular and Non-regular Workers in Japan (Hourly Wages, Regular Employee=100)

(approximately by 15%) for both male and female in Japan than in Korea. Moreover, as summarized in [Table 1] and [Table 2], a large number of non-regular workers in the two countries have been commonly excluded from statutory social welfare schemes and fringe benefits provided by firms. In

TABLE 1
SOCIAL PROTECTION OF REGULAR AND NON-REGULAR WORKERS IN KOREA
(AS OF 2008)

(unit: %)

	Regular Workers	Non-regular Workers
Employment Insurance	65.8%	39.2%
Medical Insurance	78.0%	41.5%
National Pension	77.3%	39.0%
Severance Payment	74.5%	35.6%
Overtime Work Payment	53.5%	28.0%
Paid Vacations	65.4%	33.6%
Bonuses	71.2%	27.9%
Job Training	30.4%	19.8%

SOURCE.—Economically Active Population-Supplementary Survey

TABLE 2
SOCIAL PROTECTION OF REGULAR AND NON-REGULAR WORKERS IN JAPAN
(AS OF 2003)

(unit: %)

	Regular Workers	Non-regular Workers
Employment Insurance	99.4%	63.0%
Medical Insurance	99.6%	49.1%
National Pension	99.3%	47.1%
Corporate Pension	34.0%	6.9%
Severance Payment	74.7%	11.4%
Bonuses	82.4%	33.6%
Saving Assistance Program	46.1%	7.3%
Use of Welfare Facility	49.2%	18.4%
Worker Development Plan	27.7%	7.1%

SOURCE.—Data of National Workforce Survey - Special Supplements, conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (quoted from Oh 2008a)

Korea, over 60% of non-regular workforce is not given social and legal protection, such as employment insurance, national pension, overtime work payment, and paid vacations. Non-regular workers in Japan are more

benefited from social welfare programs than the counterparts in Korea; however, the vast majority of them are still excluded from corporate fringe benefits, like those in Korea.

As such, non-regular workers in Korea and Japan, which proliferated between late 1990s and mid 2000s, have a differentiated status from regular workers in terms of economic compensation and statutory welfare. Thus, non-regular employment becomes symbolized for the peripheral segment of labor markets in both countries.

Results of Comparative Analysis on Job Mobility of Non-Regular Workers in Korea and Japan

In this comparative analysis, two national survey data are used. The one for the Korean side is The Korea Labor and Income Panel Survey (KLIPS) data, collected by the Korea Labor Institute in 2005. The 8th wave of the KLIPS was selected to match the Japanese Data, the 5th Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) survey data. The SSM survey data is not a panel data but a cross-sectional one. Since the SSM provides work history data for respondents, we can compare job mobility between Korea and Japan in an exploratory manner, by using the two data sets of work history in the KLIPS and the SSM.

[Table 3] presents the descriptive statistics of variables used in the following analysis. One of the big differences between Korea and Japan is the size of self-employment. In 2005, the proportion of the self-employed in Korea is 33.1%, whereas it is only 10.3% in Japan. This is explained by the larger agricultural population and the service sector crowded with small shops in Korea. Another notable point is the ratio of non-regular employment in both countries. It is noteworthy that the non-regular employment in our sample data of the KLIPS and the SSM is different from the national statistics in two aspects. Firstly, while the proportion of non-regular employment (36.6%) in the national working population in Korea is higher than that (32.8%) of Japan in 2005, the proportion on non-regular employment among the employed sample in Korea (20.9%) is smaller than that of Japan (25.6%). Secondly, the ratio of non-regular employment in the sample data of both countries is much lower than those of official statistics, simply because those who are aged above 65 are excluded.

The odds of the transition to regular employment vis-à-vis non-regular employment in [Table 4] present the relative ratio of the number of people experiencing the transition to regular employment vis-à-vis non-regular

TABLE 3
DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

Variables	Korea	Japan
Employment Status in 2000		
Regular Employment	1,834(49.5%)	2,333(66.4%)
Non-regular Employment	476(12.8%)	645(17.4%)
Self-employment	1,084(29.2%)	327(9.3%)
Unpaid Family Workers	313(8.4%)	208(5.9%)
Employment Status in 2005		
Regular Employment	1,734(46.8%)	2,193(66.4%)
Non-regular Employment	458(12.4%)	756(21.5%)
Self-employment	1,226(33.1%)	362(10.3%)
Unpaid Family Workers	289(7.8%)	201(5.7%)
Sex		
Men	2,410(65.0%)	2,109(60%)
Women	1,297(35.0%)	1,404(40%)
Age (years)	44.49(9.68)	44.55(11.47)
Education (Years)	11.59(3.47)	12.74(2.30)
Job Tenure (Years)	9.94(10.85)	10.80(9.71)
<i>N</i>	3,478	3,513

employment from each employment status in 2000. For those who were regular employees in 2000, the odds of being the regular employee instead of the non-regular employee is about 11. If the value of the odd is equal to 1, it means that the probability of being regular employee is equal to the probability of being non-regular employee in 2005. For non-regular employees in 2000, the odds of being regular employee instead of non-regular employee in 2005 is much smaller, showing that it is very rare for non-regular employees in 2000 to be regular employees in 2005. Those who were non-regular employees in 2000 show the lowest odds of being regular employees instead of non-regular employees.

It should be noted that there is a significant gender difference in Korea. Among regular employees in 2000, women are less likely to be regular employees instead of non-regular employees than men (12.911 for men and 8.269 for women). Non-regular employees in 2000 also show a significant

TABLE 4
ODDS OF TRANSITION FROM EMPLOYMENT TYPES OF 2000 TO REGULAR
EMPLOYMENT OF 2005 IN KOREA AND JAPAN

Employment Status in 2000	Total		Men		Women	
	Korea	Japan	Korea	Japan	Korea	Japan
Regular Employment	11.069	10.985	12.911	25.988	8.269	5.490
Non-Regular Employment	0.625	0.132	0.469	0.310	0.910	0.090
Self-Employment	1.789	0.636	1.744	2.333	1.929	0.000
Family Workers	1.316	1.400	1.200	4.000	1.357	0.600

different between men and women in terms of the odd of transition from non-regular employment to regular employment between 2000 and 2005(0.469 for men and 0.910 for women). It means that non-regular female employees are almost twice more likely to change employment status from non-regular employees to regular employees than non-regular male employees.

The Japanese case displays an interesting similarity with and difference from the Korean case. First of all, there is a little difference in case of regular employees for both countries. For regular employees, the possibility of retaining regular employment status vis-à-vis non-regular employment is almost the same for both countries (11.069 vs. 10.985).

Secondly, however, non-regular employees and the self-employed show significant difference. Those who worked as non-regular employees in 2000 in Japan are much less likely to change employment status to regular employment in 2005 than Korean counterparts are. In other words, the Japanese non-regular employees are 5 times more likely to stay in non-regular employment than the Korean non-regular employees. The self-employed in Japan shows significantly three times higher ratio of experiencing transition to non-regular employment rather than to regular employment than those in Korea.

Gender difference in Japan is also much remarkable. Across all employment categories, women are much less likely to move to regular employment in Japan, compared to men in the country as well as the counterparts in Korea. Men who were regular employees in 2000 show almost five times higher possibility of maintaining regular employment status instead of getting non-regular employment status than women (25.988 vs. 5.490). For the non-regular employees, women were almost three times less

likely to move to regular employment instead of non-regular employment than men in Japan.

This result reveals that the Japanese labor market is much more polarized than the Korean labor market in that employment status and gender strongly affect the possibility of change between regular employment and non-regular employment. Japanese female non-regular employees are most likely to maintain their non-regular employment among various employment status groups in Korea and Japan. By contrary, Japanese male regular employees are most likely to maintain their regular employment among eight workers groups in the two countries.

In order to identify determinants of the employment status change, we analyze multi-nominal logistic regression models. [Table 5] presents the result of the analysis concerning the Korean case. Three pairs of binary choices are used as response variables: regular employment versus non-regular employment, self-employment versus non-regular employment, and family workers versus non-regular employment. The first column of [Table 5] shows that individual characteristics such as age and education significantly affect the odds of attaining regular employment vis-à-vis non-regular employment. As men get older, they are less likely to work as regular workers. Higher education increases the odds of getting regular employment to non-regular employment. As we expected, the job tenure also positively affect the chance of getting regular employment instead of non-regular employment. However, there is no significant gender difference when we control the effects of other factors such as industry, occupation and firm size.

As expected, employees in the public sector in 2000 have much higher chance to get regular employment in 2005 than employees in small and medium size firms. There is no significant difference between big firms and small and medium size firms in terms of getting regular employment in 2005, when we control other factors. Professional and managerial employees also show higher probability of getting regular employment than production workers. White-collar workers such as clerks and sale workers do not show any significant difference from production workers in getting regular employment.

Since we are interested in the impact of previous non-regular employment on the subsequent employment status in individual labor market career, we included employment status in 2000 in the models. The effect of employment status in 2000 on the employment status in 2005 can be found in coefficient of Employment Status 2000 in [Table 5]. It shows that those who were non-regular employees in 2000 are much less likely to get regular work in 2005.

TABLE 5
RESULTS OF MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR KOREA

	Regular vs. Non-Regular	Self-employment vs. Non-Regular	Family Workers vs. Non-Regular
Intercept	2.758(.635)***	-1.537(.698)	-3.040(1.264)**
Age	-.053(.009)***	.021(.010)*	.026(.018)
Education	.113(.030)***	.122(.033)***	.179(.056)***
Sex (1 = female)	-.050(.178)	.512(.203)*	-3.141(.427)***
Tenure	.094(.014)***	.056(.015)***	.114(.022)***
Employment Status 2000 (reference = Others)			
Non-Regular	-2.278(.172)***	-2.307(.223)***	-2.216(.399)***
Firm Size 2000 (reference = SME ≤ 299)			
Public Sector	.992(.317)**	-1.156(.387)**	-21.112(.000)***
Big Firm (300+)	.523(.240)	-.422(.274)	-.824(.530)
Industry 2000 (reference = Tertiary sector)			
Primary	-2.016(.725)**	-.645(.629)	.533(.935)
Secondary	-.439(.193)*	-.931(.210)***	-.460(.400)
Occupation 2000 (reference = Production workers)			
Professional-Managerial	.237(.281)*	.804(.299)**	-1.240(.717)
Clerical-Sales	-.222(.226)	.281(.246)	.277(.434)
-2 Log-likelihood Ratio	3581.881		
Cox and Snell R ²	.350		

NOTE.—* <.05, ** <.01, *** <.001

The chance for non-regular employees in 2000 to gain regular employment status in 2005 is only about 10%. This implies that those who were non-regular employees in 2000 have difficulty in exiting from non-regular employment in the period of 2000-2005. We might conclude that those who had once non-regular employment are given significant penalty in the labor market.

The result of multinomial logistic regression of the Japanese data is reported in [Table 6]. In general, the Japanese labor market shows similar patterns except three aspects. Firstly, while there is no gender difference in the odds of regular employment to non-regular employment in Korea, there is a substantial gender difference in Japan (-.050 in Korea versus -1.593 in

TABLE 6
RESULTS OF MULTINOMIAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR JAPAN

	Regular vs. Non-Regular	Self-employment vs. Non-Regular	Family Workers vs. Non-Regular
Intercept	2.469(.389)**	.239(.522)	1.458(.587)*
Age	-.068(.007)***	-.014(.009)	-.089(.011)***
Education	.107(.063)	.092(.080)	.233(.096)
Sex (1=female)	-1.593(.164)***	-2.310(.225)*	.171(.253)***
Tenure	.150(.013)***	.179(.014)***	.203(.016)***
Employment Status 2000 (reference= Others)			
Non-Regular	-4.162(.189)***	-4.334(.433)***	-4.801(.465)***
Firm Size 2000 (reference= = SME ≤ 299)			
Public Sector	1.111(.296)**	-1.843(.555)**	-1.945(.919)*
Big Firm (300+)	.145(.173)	-3.209(.473)***	-2.927(.566)***
Industry 2000 (reference= Tertiary sector)			
Primary	-.302(.669)**	1.951(.647)	2.548(.669)***
Secondary	.207(.181)	-.452(.236)	-.079(.274)
Occupation 2000 (reference= Production workers)			
Professional-Managerial	.817(.238)**	.706(.303)*	-1.240(.717)
Clerical-Sales	.325(.202)	.510(.265)	.277(.434)
-2 Log-likelihood Ratio	356.900		
Cox and Snell R ²	.599		

NOTE.—* <.05, ** <.01, *** <.001

Japan). It shows that Japanese women are much less likely to have regular employment instead of non-regular employment than Japanese men. The probability of women to have regular employment instead of non-regular employment is almost one fifth of that of men in Japan.

Secondly, the penalty of non-regular employment status in 2000 is much more severe in Japan than in Korea. Those who were in non-regular employment in 2000 are significantly less likely to get regular employment in 2005 than those who got regular employment in 2000 by one sixty fourth in Japan and one tenth in Korea (-4.162 in Japan versus -2.278 in Korea). It implies that non-regular employment status in 2000 exerts very significant and even stronger impact on the retention or change of employment status in

2005 in Japan than in Korea. In other words, the boundary between regular employment and non-regular employment is much more rigid in Japan than in Korea. It also might reflect the fact that non-regular employees in Japan have a relatively stable employment (Kezuka 2001), while those in Korea have an unstable employment.

Thirdly, there is no significant difference between the tertiary sector and the secondary sector in determining employment status in 2005 in Japan, whereas there is a significant difference in Korea. Those who work in the secondary sector are more likely to have non-regular employment than those who work in the tertiary sector in Korea. Those who work in the primary sector are much more likely to be self-employed and work as family workers than those who work in the tertiary sector in Japan.

Conclusion: Summary and Implications

We can address key findings and implications of comparative analysis concerning the job mobility of non-regular labor in Korea and Japan, as follows. First, during the recent years both countries have witnessed the remarkable proliferation of non-regular employment intensifying labor market segmentation. The increase of discriminated non-regular employment has further deteriorated the existing dual structure of the labor market regimes of the two countries. This is clearly evidenced by the job mobility of regular and non-regular workers. Our analysis of 2000-2005 job mobility demonstrates that regular and non-regular workers in Korea and Japan have different career paths in labor markets. In particular, non-regular employment in the two countries does not play a role of a stepping stone to move toward better jobs like regular employment, but that of a 'dead-end' trap. When comparing the two countries, Japan has more salient segmentation between regular and non-regular labor markets, even for both male and female workforce, than Korea.

Secondly, our comparison of causal mechanism concerning the transition of employment status reveals that Korea and Japan have a common composition of significant factors influencing the job mobility of non-regular workers. In both countries, the previous experience of non-regular employment is the most crucial factor leading to the current non-regular job, which indicates the "trap effect" of non-regular employment. In addition, age and the primary sector have a positive effect on the attainment of non-regular jobs, while tenure, the public sector, and professional and managerial

occupations show the effect of reverse direction. Interestingly, those common causal factors have much stronger effect in Japan than in Korea, reaffirming the former's more severe segmentation between regular and non-regular labor markets. At the same time, it is noteworthy that education is a significant factor in Korea, but not in Japan, while the effect of gender is opposite. The results address that non-regular employment is concentrated to workers having low education without gender difference in Korea, whereas non-regular employment is massed in female workers regardless of education in Japan.³ This implies that the causal factors, such as gender and education, influencing non-regular workers' job mobility differ between the two countries. As such, the opportunity structure of job mobility between regular and non-regular workers has been commonly and increasingly segmented by the fractured line of employment type in both countries, although the level of polarization is much more intensified in Japan and such factors as gender and education have a different effect over the job mobility of non-regular workers. This implies that Korea and Japan have been experiencing the common transformation of their labor market regimes under the context of neo-liberal globalization, while having some remarkable variations, derived from different societal-institutional settings of the two countries.

Thirdly, from the theoretical perspective of VoC (varieties of capitalism) this study posits a meaningful implication that the egalitarian labor market regime has been dismantled in Japan and Korea, forerunners of the East Asian Market Economy model. As a matter of fact, both countries, having achieved sustained economic growth and built an egalitarian labor regime, have been confronted from labor polarization and the crisis of social justice along with the proliferation of "dead-end" non-regular employment. This has to do with neo-liberal labor reforms undertaken by the governments of the two countries during the past two decade. This finding implies that the Asian Market Economy of Japan and Korea is approaching to the individualist mobility regime having fragmented and unstable employment practices in accordance with the typology addressed by DiPrete et al. (1997), yet somehow different from the Anglo-Saxon Liberal Market Economy Model, in that labor market flexibility is achieved by the extensive use of non-regular labor, rather than by employers' free will to terminate regular employment.

³ This is associated with the differing composition of non-regular employment in the two countries: In Korea, temporary or contingent employment is dominant among non-regular employment, and whether to get a permanent or temporary job depends on the level of education and the prestige of schools; in contrast, the dominant type of non-regular employment in Japan is part-time labor, which is largely recruited from female workers.

Of course, since this comparative study focuses on the period of 2000-2005, it should be noted that the finding of our analysis needs to be verified with a comparison of recent data of the following years (after 2005), when remarkable changes in economic situations and labor markets institutions took place and have exerted a substantive impact over the working conditions and employment status of non-regular workforce in the two countries.

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