

수렴인가 발산인가? 유기계약직 근로자와 무기계약직 근로자의 직업 만족도와 삶의 만족도의 5년 동안의 추이

최요한*

기존연구들은 유기계약직 근로자(temporary worker)와 무기계약직 근로자(permanent worker) 간의 객관적인 경제적 웰빙의 뚜렷한 차이에도 불구하고, 그들 간의 직업과 삶의 만족도가 모호함을 보여준다. 이는 유기계약직이 무기계약직에 비하여 유연한 근로형태와 같은 장점을 가지기 때문일 수 있다. 그러나 이는 또한 근로자가 그들의 객관적인 직업의 좋고 나쁜 조건들에 적응하기 때문일 수 있다. 이에 본 연구는 유기계약직 근로자들과 무기계약직 근로자들의 직업과 삶의 만족도가 5년 동안의 연속적인 근로경험 동안 어떻게 발전하는지를 살펴보고, 결론적으로 그들 간의 직업과 삶의 만족도가 수렴하는지 또는 발산하는지를 살펴보았다. 이를 위하여, 본 연구는 한국노동패널을 사용하여 다양한 직업과 삶의 만족도 변수들에 대하여 선형고정효과회귀모형을 추정하였다. 분석결과, 본 연구는 직업과 삶의 만족도가 수렴하는 경향을 보인다는 것을 발견하였다. 그러나 여러 변수들의 경우에는 여전히 큰 격차가 남아있었다. 또한 주목할 만한 결과로서, 남성과 여성 모두에서 유기계약직 근로자들의 삶의 만족도는 분명히 증가하는 경향을 보여주었다.

주요용어 : 직업 만족도, 삶의 만족도, 유기계약직 고용, 적응, 수렴

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Convergence or divergence? Trajectories in job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent workers over a 5-year period: Evidence from South Korean panel data

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Previous studies have shown that job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers is ambiguous despite clear differences in objective economic well-being. This could be due to some of the advantages temporary jobs hold over permanent jobs, such as a flexible work schedule. However, it may also owe to workers adapting to the conditions of their job, regardless of whether it is objectively better or worse. In this study, I investigate how job and life satisfaction among temporary and permanent workers develops during consecutive work experience over a 5-year period and conclude whether the temporary-permanent gap in job and life satisfaction converges or diverges. For this, I estimate a linear fixed-effects regression on various job and life satisfaction variables using panel data from South Korea, where temporary workers constitute a large share of wage workers and the male breadwinner model is predominant. Conclusively, this study finds that job and life satisfaction generally exhibit convergence tendencies, although they remained a considerable difference in some satisfaction variables between temporary and permanent workers. It is worth noting that temporary workers' life satisfaction manifests an increasing tendency among both men and women.

Keywords: Job satisfaction, Life satisfaction, Temporary employment, Adaptation, Convergence, South Korea

1. Introduction

Against the backdrop of expanding temporary employment in many countries over recent decades, researchers have expressed interest in the differences in job and life satisfaction among temporary and permanent workers. Previous studies have shown that differences in job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers are ambiguous, although it has been consistently established that temporary workers experience lower levels of objective economic well-being compared to permanent workers.¹⁾

Although this ambiguity could be due to some of the positive aspects of temporary jobs compared to permanent jobs, such as flexible work schedule, it may also owe to the fact that people adapt to their objective conditions, be them good or poor. If it is effective, subjective well-being (SWB) between two contrasting statuses will converge. It strongly implies that the ambiguity in job and life satisfaction among temporary and permanent workers can arise from a convergence tendency between them.

Conversely, we might also expect that job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers would diverge over time. Specifically, the buffer stock model (Booth et al., 2002a) posits that since firms tend to use temporary workers as the buffer stock, easily dismissed when a firm faces financial difficulties, temporary workers are excluded from engagement with a firm's core. This makes it difficult for temporary workers to accumulate firm-specific skills, causing the gap in objective and subjective well-being between temporary and permanent workers to widen as their careers go on.

Given these uncertainties, this study investigates how job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent employment workers develop over consecutive years of work experience and conclude whether job and life satisfaction between them converges or diverges, using the Korean Labor and Income Study, a panel survey in South Korea. The development and convergence of SWB among temporary and permanent workers are important issues for policymakers who worry about labor market polarization. In South Korea, the share of temporary workers among all wage earners is appreciably large and

1) Previous studies have found that temporary workers tend to receive lower hourly wages and face higher poverty risks than comparable permanent workers in European countries (for hourly wages, Booth et al., 2002b; Hagen, 2002; Mertens et al., 2007; Bosio, 2014; for poverty, Debel, 2008; Amuedo-Dorantes and Serrano-Padial, 2010; Van Lacker, 2012) and South Korea (for hourly wages, Lee and Kim, 2009; Lee, 2011; for poverty, Choi, 2019).

the institutional environment is unfavorable for temporary workers, especially compared to other OECD countries. Despite the importance of this issue, there is a dearth of research on the matter, with one notable exception the study of Hanglberger (2011) in the United Kingdom. He finds no significant adaptation to the effects of temporary employment on job satisfaction during a three-year period (Figure 3, p.11).

I examine how job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent workers develops over five years of consecutive work experience. I consider only cases of continued temporary or permanent employment at one employer, because frequent changes in workplace are inherent characteristics of temporary employment. Analyses were carried out separately for men and women aged 20-64 separately because South Korea has a strong male breadwinner model. For both job and life satisfaction, various questions were posed evaluating both overall satisfaction and detailed factors. All satisfaction variables are measured by a 5-point Likert scale and estimated using a linear fixed-effects regression.

I mainly find that job and life satisfaction among men and job satisfaction among women are significantly lower among temporary workers than permanent workers, and that these differences exhibit a general convergence trend. However, the temporary-permanent differences in some satisfaction variables do not converge at all or show a sizable gap even after some level of convergence occurs.

The remainder of this paper is constituted as follows. In section 2, I briefly review the relevant literature. I describe the analytical methodology in section 3. The regression results are presented in section 4. I conclude in section 5.

2. Literature review

2.1. Job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers

As mentioned in the Introduction, the results of previous studies of the temporary-permanent gap in job and life satisfaction are mixed and inconclusive. For job satisfaction, previous studies have found positive relationships, negative relationships, and negligible or weak relationships between temporary contracts and satisfaction (for a summary, see De Cuyper, 2008, p.31). From a meta-analysis on 72 studies, Wilkin (2012) concluded that compared to permanent employees, contingent workers have a small but significant job satisfaction. As for life satisfaction, some studies have found significant evidence for lower SWB among temporary workers than permanent workers (Carrieri et

al., 2012; Dawson et al., 2017), while others found no or little evidence (Bardasi and Francesconi, 2004; Green and Heywood, 2011).

These ambiguous results may arise because compared to permanent employment, temporary employment has both positive and negative effects on job and life satisfaction. First, the negative aspects of temporary jobs are self-evident. Because unemployment is an economically and socially depriving experience, the sense of job insecurity that accompanies temporary employment can be a stressful factor. Job insecurity also can lead to unequal relationships between temporary and permanent workers in the workplace, severely restricting the autonomy of temporary workers and resulting in low SWB. Additionally, the buffer stock model (Booth et al., 2002a) posits that temporary workers are excluded from core tasks of firms and thus receive a wage penalty, resulting in lower job and life satisfaction compared to permanent workers.

Yet temporary jobs can positively contribute to SWB compared to permanent jobs by enhancing work-life balance. Especially for married women under the male breadwinner model, the flexible work schedule characteristic of temporary jobs helps to reconcile work with housework and childcare compared to full-time regular work. In addition, those highly-skilled workers that value freedom and autonomy over wages may prefer temporary jobs to permanent jobs. And since temporary workers tend to perform residual tasks at firms, work burden may be lower comparable to permanent workers, resulting in relatively higher SWB evaluations. It is also possible that the benefits of temporary work are not perceptible through job satisfaction but rather through life satisfaction (Green and Heywood, p.716).²⁾

However, despite the poorer objective condition of temporary jobs compared to permanent jobs, subjective well-being cannot be different between temporary and permanent workers. For this, there are three possible explanations. First, temporary workers might expect a transition to a permanent contract or a better job in the near future and thus may be satisfied despite the objectively condition of their current job. Second, there can be the honeymoon effect of a new job, which may have a positive effect on job satisfaction. As temporary workers frequently change jobs, the honeymoon effect may repeatedly boost job satisfaction levels similar to those of permanent workers (Chadi and Hetschko, 2016). Chadi and Hetschoko (2016) find that the gap in job

2) Green and Heywood (2011, p.716) argue that temporary workers can “trade off lower job satisfaction for higher satisfaction in other aspects of life such as family responsibilities, undertaking education, or arranging leisure activities.”

satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers is insignificant when not controlling for whether or not the job is new, but that that appears to be significant when controlling for that.

Third, the difference in SWB between temporary and permanent workers is ambiguous since workers can adapt to objectively better or worse job conditions. The SWB literature suggests that individuals tend to rapidly adapt to various social or economic events and it thus strongly suggests that the SWB among individuals of two contrasting statuses will converge (for example, marriage vs. divorce). However, previous studies have not demonstrated interest in this issue. This is somewhat surprising since whether or not SWB between temporary and permanent workers converges or diverges is itself an important policy question.

2.2. Adaptation of subjective well-being

Adaptation means that the magnitude of the effect of a constant or repeated stimulus fades over time (Frederick and Loewenstein, 1999). Therefore, any happy or unhappy event can change SWB only temporarily and therefore individual SWB will return to the baseline level or set-point (Lykken and Tellegen, 1996). Related theories (the adaptation theory, the personality theory of SWB, the dynamic equilibrium theory, and the set-point theory; for a brief review, see Headey, 2008) all suggest that since the baseline level or the set-point of SWB is determined biologically or genetically, the difference in SWB between individuals is fixed in long-term equilibrium.

Previous studies have examined whether individuals adapt to various events. In Table 1, I summarize main results of several studies. While prior studies investigate the transition of life satisfaction over periods, Yap et al. (2012) and Anusic et al. (2014a, 2014b) highlight the importance of comparing treatment groups with control groups having counterpart experience. This is because the baseline level of life satisfaction can naturally develop with age or continued experience, implying that an approach that compares two contrasting statuses is appropriate in examining genuine adaptation.

Therefore an examination of whether or not SWB between temporary and permanent workers converges or not can provide evidence of whether workers adapt to their objectively better or worse objective. Of course convergence or divergence tendencies may just reflect a gap in the objective job conditions of temporary and permanent workers over time. Furthermore the dual labor market theory and related explanations

strongly imply that temporary work can reinforce the comparatively worse position of temporary workers, so a convergence tendency could be seen as sufficient evidence of an adaptation process. And since the long-term damage of unemployment on life satisfaction has been observed in several previous studies (as shown in Table 1), deciding whether to include cases in which entrance into the labor market through an insecure position results in positive developments of SWB is itself an important issue.

Table 1. Summarization of previous studies on adaptation in life satisfaction

	Country	Marriage	Divorce	Childbirth	Disability	Unemployment
Lucas et al. (2003)	Germany	Adapt	-	-	-	-
Lucas (2007)	Germany	Adapt	Long-term	-	Long-term	Long-term
Clark et al. (2008)	Germany	Adapt	Adapt	Adapt	-	Long-term
Yap et al. (2012)	UK	Long-term	-	Adapt	-	Adapt
Clark and Georgellis (2013)	UK	Adapt	Adapt	Adapt	-	Long-term
Dyrdal and Lucas (2013)	Germany	-	-	Adapt	-	-
Anusic et al. (2014a)	Australia	Long-term		Adapt		Adapt
Anusic et al. (2014b)	Swiss	Long-term	-	Adapt	Long-term	Long-term

Note: 'Adapt' refers to adaptation, 'long-term' refers to long-term lasting effects.

2.3. The South Korean case

After an age of rapid economic growth from the 1980s to mid 1990s, South Korea suffered a financial crisis in 1997, ultimately receiving bailout loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Following this crisis, the incidence of temporary workers soared. Grubb et al. (2007) estimated that the share of temporary workers among wage workers has rapidly increased from 17 percent in 2001 to 29 percent in 2006. According to official statistics, the share of temporary workers among all wage earners peaked in 2004 at 37 percent, having since dipped to 34.2 percent in 2011 and 33 percent in 2018.

Given the precedence of temporary workers, the job insecurity and high poverty risks associated with temporary employment have been important policy issues in Korea. In 2007, reforms to restrict to the maximum period firms can employ the same worker on a temporary, fixed-term contract to two years were implemented. However Yoo and Kang (2012) and Baek and Park (2018) have found that these reforms reduced total employment levels and actually increased the incidence of temporary workers. Also, in 2008, an in-work benefit for low-income households was introduced. While the level the benefit was initially modest it was sharply raised in 2018. This increase was accompanied by a concomitant increase in the minimum wage.

Despite the recent reforms, the general institutional environment in South Korea is unfavorable for temporary workers, especially compared to other OECD countries. Due to a short history of the welfare state and low unionization rates, active labor market programs are underdeveloped and wages are not regulated. Importantly, existing unions are skewed toward big businesses (Yang, 2005; Yang and Jung, 2015), and there have been no systematic efforts by organized labor to narrow the structural gap in job conditions between temporary and permanent workers. In addition, some empirical studies have argued that the transition from temporary jobs to permanent jobs is restricted in Korea (Ahn, 2016; Choi, 2018). To illustrate without delving into the empirical specifics, the mean age of temporary workers is much higher than that of permanent workers in South Korea, implying that the transition from temporary to permanent jobs is highly restricted at the aggregate level.

Due to these characteristics, there is a high probability that in South Korea there exists differences in job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers. It will help to investigate and see if these differences converge or diverge over time. However South Korea has a strong male breadwinner model and whether the temporary-permanent difference in job and life satisfaction exists or not for women remains ambiguous.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data

I use the 5th to 21st waves (2002 to 2018) of the Korean Labor and Income Study (KLIPS), which is a nationally representative panel survey in South Korea. KLIPS collected data from 5,000 households in the first wave, adding 1,415 households by the 12th wave. The 20th wave succeeded in surveying 67.1 percent of original households surveyed in the 1st wave and 84.4 percent of consolidated households surveyed in the 12th wave. KLIPS is the longest panel survey in South Korea and includes various job and life satisfaction variables. My sample includes wage workers aged 20-64 and I analyze men and women separately. The final sample includes 14,161 observations of men and 14,746 observations of women.

To construct a variable representing years of continued work experience, I first classify the economic status of individuals into the following: permanent employment, temporary employment and other. If individuals surveyed are full-time students, they are classified as

other. Based on these longitudinal histories of individuals' employment status along waves, I calculate the consecutive years of temporary employment and permanent employment, respectively. Consecutive experience years are measured from zero years to five years. Zero years mean that the employment status at a specific wave is different from the employment status in a prior year's wave. Observations of six years or more of consecutive work experience are excluded, since these observations are scarce.

For each individual, only information from new entries into temporary or permanent employment is used, because I would otherwise be unable to calculate the precise number of consecutive years of work experience if the first observation was temporary or permanent employment. Since the mean age of workers appears to be considerably high in this calculation, I exclude observations in which the values subtracting consecutive years of experience from age are over 50. This is also helpful to balance mean ages between temporary and permanent workers. Without this exclusion, the mean age of temporary workers is much higher than that of permanent workers.

Table 2 presents incidence and mean age of temporary and permanent workers in each year of consecutive work experience. Workers with zero consecutive years of experience constitute the largest portion of workers, and the number of observations rapidly decreases as the number of years of consecutive experience increases. The mean ages of permanent and temporary workers are 35.8 and 37.5 for men and 34.5 and 38.1 years for women.

Table 2. Incidence and mean age in each consecutive year of work experience

	Incidence				Mean age			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Perm	Temp	Perm	Temp	Perm	Temp	Perm	Temp
0 year	32.2%	44.3%	36.3%	41.6%	34.0	35.0	33.0	35.5
1	21.8%	22.0%	23.1%	22.5%	35.1	37.1	33.9	37.8
2	16.0%	13.4%	15.4%	14.3%	36.0	39.2	35.0	39.8
3	12.1%	9.1%	11.0%	9.9%	37.2	40.6	35.8	41.4
4	9.8%	6.4%	8.0%	6.8%	38.2	42.2	36.9	43.1
5	8.0%	4.8%	6.2%	5.0%	39.3	43.7	38.4	44.2
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	35.8	37.5	34.5	38.1
Observations	8,904	5,257	7,510	7,236	8,904	5,257	7,510	7,236

KLIPS surveys job and life satisfaction through various questions. For both job and life satisfaction, there are general and detailed questions. Detailed questions about job satisfaction includes questions on pay, job security, content of work, workplace environment, working hours, career prospects and relationships. Questions for life satisfaction comprise inquires on household income, leisure, housing environment, family

relationships and social relationships. All questions are measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = very unsatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = neutral, 4 = satisfied, and 5 = very satisfied). In table 3, I present the mean scores for job and life satisfaction. Among both men and women the mean scores for job and life satisfaction are all higher among permanent workers than temporary workers.

Table 3. The mean scores of job and life satisfaction

	Men				Women			
	Perm		Temp		Perm		Temp	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
(Job satisfaction)								
Overall	3.29	(0.61)	3.00	(0.65)	3.36	(0.60)	3.18	(0.60)
Pay	2.86	(0.75)	2.65	(0.74)	2.95	(0.72)	2.81	(0.73)
Job security	3.38	(0.68)	2.87	(0.76)	3.49	(0.64)	3.08	(0.70)
Content of work	3.42	(0.66)	3.15	(0.71)	3.52	(0.63)	3.33	(0.66)
Workplace environment	3.29	(0.70)	3.01	(0.72)	3.41	(0.66)	3.26	(0.67)
Working hours	3.23	(0.78)	3.02	(0.76)	3.38	(0.73)	3.28	(0.73)
Career prospects	3.24	(0.70)	2.95	(0.74)	3.27	(0.67)	3.07	(0.69)
Relationship	3.39	(0.63)	3.17	(0.67)	3.42	(0.62)	3.28	(0.62)
(Life satisfaction)								
Overall	3.44	(0.57)	3.23	(0.60)	3.42	(0.58)	3.31	(0.59)
Household income	2.98	(0.66)	2.73	(0.70)	2.99	(0.70)	2.81	(0.73)
Leisure life	3.14	(0.68)	2.92	(0.68)	3.14	(0.70)	2.99	(0.70)
Housing environment	3.40	(0.66)	3.21	(0.69)	3.40	(0.67)	3.28	(0.71)
Family relationships	3.70	(0.57)	3.52	(0.63)	3.69	(0.57)	3.60	(0.60)
Social relationships	3.54	(0.56)	3.38	(0.60)	3.51	(0.56)	3.45	(0.57)

Control variables include age and age squared, marital status, educational attainment, number of children in household, residential area, industry, occupation, firm size and year dummies. Summary statistics of these variables are presented in Table 4. For firm sizes, I do not exclude missing values and include those in additional category because firm sizes have many missing values.

Table 4. Summary statistics

	Men	Women
Age	36.4 (8.1)	36.3 (9.2)
Married	54.7%	59.8%
Educational attainment		
High school and under	49.7%	54.1%
College	18.5%	21.6%
University and above	31.9%	24.3%
Children (0-18) in household	0.47 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)
Residential area		

Metropolitan areas	44.8%	45.5%
Major cities	28.9%	28.8%
Other cities	26.3%	25.7%
Industry		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.6%	0.3%
Mining and quarrying	0.3%	0.1%
Manufacturing	27.1%	16.7%
Electricity, gas, steam and water supply	0.5%	0.2%
Sewerage, waste management, materials recovery and remediation activities	1.3%	0.4%
Construction	13.8%	1.6%
Wholesale and retail trade	12.3%	15.2%
Transportation	6.3%	1.6%
Accommodation and food service activities	4.1%	11.0%
Information and communications	5.9%	3.6%
Financial and insurance activities	2.8%	3.4%
Real estate activities and renting and leasing	2.8%	2.6%
Professional, scientific and technical activities	4.0%	3.4%
Business facilities management and business support services	2.3%	2.6%
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	3.0%	2.4%
Education	4.4%	13.3%
Human health and social work activities	2.5%	15.6%
Arts, sports and recreation related services	1.6%	1.5%
Membership organizations, repair and other personal services	4.3%	3.9%
Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods and services producing activities of household for own use	0.0%	0.7%
Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0.1%	0.0%
Occupation		
Manager	1.4%	0.3%
Professionals and related workers	25.0%	30.0%
Clerks	13.7%	20.4%
Service workers	4.7%	11.0%
Sales workers	8.6%	12.1%
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0.4%	0.0%
Craft and related trades workers	17.0%	3.6%
Equipment, machine operating and assembling workers	18.4%	7.5%
Elementary workers	10.6%	15.1%
Armed forces	0.2%	-
Firm size		
1-9	28.2%	35.3%
10-29	17.4%	15.9%
30-69	12.3%	9.3%
70-299	12.7%	10.2%

300-999	6.1%	5.6%
1000+	12.0%	10.7%
Missing	11.3%	13.1%
Observations	14,161	14,746

Note: Percentages are presented for categorical variables, and means (standard deviation) are presented for continuous variables.

3.2. Empirical model

I estimate job and life satisfaction measured via a 5-point scale using a linear fixed-effects regression, which is a typical approach in the SWB literature. To examine how job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent employment develop over consecutive years of experience and to find whether the difference in job and life satisfaction between them converges or diverges, I estimate following three linear models.

$$(a) y_{it} = c_i + \alpha_1 temp_{it} + \alpha_2' X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}.$$

$$(b) y_{it} = e_i + \beta_1 perm_{it} + \beta_2 conexp_{it} + \beta_3 perm_{it} * conexp_{it} + \beta_2' X_{it} + \pi_{it}.$$

$$(c) y_{it} = e_i - \beta_1 temp_{it} + \beta_5 conexp_{it} - \beta_3 temp_{it} * conexp_{it} + \beta_4' X_{it} + \pi_{it}.$$

In three equations, i stands for individuals, t is time, y is job and life satisfaction on a 5-point scale, c and e represent individual time-individual unobserved heterogeneity, X stands for the control variables and ε and π are error terms which are assumed to be independent of explanatory variables.

$temp$ is an indicator function, with a value of 1 for temporary workers and 0 for permanent workers. $perm$ is the converse. $conexp$ represents the number of consecutive years of experience of temporary employment or permanent employment at the time of survey.

Equation (1) estimates the difference in job and life satisfaction between temporary and permanent employment without considering the development over years of consecutive work experience. Equation (2) and (3) considers years of consecutive work experience and are actually in the same models. In both models, β_3 represents the linear gradient of the difference in SWB between temporary and permanent workers over years of consecutive experience. However β_2 and β_5 have different meanings. β_2 refers to the linear gradient of job and life satisfaction of temporary employment across time and β_5 refers to that of permanent employment. Therefore it is necessary to estimate both

equation (2) and (3).

The above models can identify the existence of a linear gradient of the temporary-permanent difference in SWB and the SWB for each incidence of temporary or permanent employment. We can reach a conclusion regarding the development and convergence of SWB between temporary and permanent employment using the coefficients of linear gradients. However, since the development of SWB in each year of consecutive employment may produce valuable information regardless of the linear gradient, I additionally estimate equation (2) and (3) by using *conexp* as a dummy variable and present these results as figures.

4. Regression results

4.1. Summarization of regression results

In this section, I investigate regression results in detail. First I present a composite summary of all regression results in Tables 5 and 6, since this study examines many satisfaction variables at the same time. In these tables, I present four summary results for the satisfaction variables and for gender. The four summary results include (a) the satisfaction gap between temporary and permanent employment that does not take into consideration the development of SWB over consecutive years of work experience years, (b) the linear gradient of SWB in permanent employment, (c) the linear gradient of SWB in temporary employment, and (d) the linear gradient of the difference in SWB between temporary and permanent employment. Concretely, (a) corresponds to α_1 in equation (1) in section 3, (b) corresponds to β_5 in equation (3), (c) corresponds to β_2 in equation (2), and (d) corresponds to β_3 in equations (2) and (3).

First, when not considering the linear development of job and life satisfaction, temporary employment generates lower SWB than permanent employment across all satisfaction variables among men. For women, while temporary workers have exhibit lower job satisfaction than permanent workers across seven variables (out of eight total), life satisfaction among temporary workers is lower than that of permanent workers in only one out of six life satisfaction variables. The clear difference between men and women may evince the male breadwinner model in South Korea.

Regarding convergence or divergence in SWB between temporary and permanent workers, whereas the linear gradient of overall job satisfaction is not significant among

men and implies convergence among women, the linear gradient of life satisfaction shows convergence among men and is insignificant among women. Of course, since the temporary-permanent gap in life satisfaction is insignificant among women, whether the gap between temporary and permanent workers converges or diverges may be a meaningless question. Concerning job and life satisfaction about detailed factors, the temporary-permanent difference in SWB among men converges in four out of seven job satisfaction variables and in two out of five job satisfaction variables. For women it converges in six out of seven job satisfaction variables but in none of the five life satisfaction variables. In all satisfaction variables for both men and women, I cannot find a divergence tendency. Therefore, the results of this study imply that workers adapt to objectively better or worse job conditions.

Also, the linear gradient of development of SWB provides additional data. For men, job satisfaction decreases in four variables among permanent workers and increases in two variables among temporary workers, while life satisfaction increases in one variable among permanent workers and in five variables among temporary workers. Thus, it seems that job satisfaction converges mainly due to decrease in SWB among permanent workers and life satisfaction converges mainly due to increases in SWB among temporary workers for men. Although the former may represent an undesirable result for policymakers, we can conclusively determine that overall SWB of temporary workers develops positively since life satisfaction is a more inconclusive evaluation of an individual's life than job satisfaction. On the other hand, women exhibit increasing job satisfaction among temporary workers and life satisfaction among both temporary and permanent workers. In contrast with men, for women job satisfaction among permanent workers does not decrease and life satisfaction among permanent workers shows a more evident increasing tendency. Therefore, in South Korea, permanent work may constitute an overall more positive experience for women than for men over time.

Table 5. Summarization of regression results for men

	Satisfaction gap	Increase or decrease		Convergence or divergence
		Permanent	Temporary	
(Job satisfaction)				
Overall	Temp < Perm	Decrease	N.S.	N.S.
Pay	Temp < Perm	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Job security	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	Convergence
Content of work	Temp < Perm	Decrease	N.S.	Convergence (+)
Workplace environment	Temp < Perm	Decrease	N.S.	Convergence
Working hour	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase (+)	N.S.
Career prospect	Temp < Perm	Decrease	N.S.	Convergence
Relationship	Temp < Perm	Decrease	N.S.	N.S.
(Life satisfaction)				
Overall	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	Convergence
Household income	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	Convergence (+)
Leisure life	Temp < Perm	Increase (+)	Increase	N.S.
Housing environment	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	N.S.
Family relationship	Temp < Perm	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Social relationship	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase (+)	Convergence

Note: Results from linear fixed-effects regression. N.S.=Not significant. (+) indicates significance at the 0.10 level.

Table 6. Summarization of regression results for women

	Satisfaction gap	Increase or decrease		Convergence or divergence
		Permanent	Temporary	
(Job satisfaction)				
Overall	Temp < Perm	N.S.	N.S.	Convergence
Pay	Temp < Perm	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Job security	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	Convergence
Content of work	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase	Convergence
Workplace environment	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase (+)	Convergence
Working hour	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	Convergence (+)
Career prospect	Temp < Perm	Decrease (+)	N.S.	Convergence (+)
Relationship	Temp < Perm	N.S.	Increase (+)	Convergence
(Life satisfaction)				
Overall	N.S.	Increase	Increase	N.S.
Household income	Temp < Perm	Increase	Increase	N.S.
Leisure life	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.
Housing environment	N.S.	Increase (+)	Increase (+)	N.S.
Family relationship	N.S.	N.S.	Increase	N.S.
Social relationship	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.

Note: Results from linear fixed-effects regression. N.S.=Not significant. (+) indicates significance at the 0.10 level.

4.2. Overall job and life satisfaction

In Section 4.2 and 4.3, I look into detailed regression results. In these sections, I describe only some results that did not in previous summaries. First, I present the regression results for overall job and life satisfaction in Section 4.2. Table 7 shows that the temporary-permanent difference in job satisfaction appears to be higher among men (0.136 points) than among women (0.068 points). Also, the temporary-permanent gap in life satisfaction is 0.065 points among men and not significant among women. As mentioned previously, this difference between men and women may reflect the male breadwinner model in South Korea.

In figure 1, I present the development of job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent employment over consecutive years of work experience. The most notable finding is that for men, the temporary-permanent difference in job satisfaction remains considerably large over time. Conversely, the temporary-permanent gap in life satisfaction among men converges and eventually intersects at five years of experience. Also for men, life satisfaction among temporary workers exhibits a consistent increasing tendency. The finding that a wide temporary-permanent job satisfaction gap does not directly translate into a wide temporary-permanent life satisfaction gap may be a fortunate result for South Korean policymakers.

For women, Figure 1 implies that the significant results for the temporary-permanent difference and the convergence tendency in job satisfaction between temporary and permanent workers seems mainly due to the high job satisfaction with permanent employment in the initial year of work experience. This constitutes evidence of a strong honeymoon effect that increases women's satisfaction with temporary jobs (Chadi and Hetschko, 2016). Notably, life satisfaction for women rapidly increases over as work experience accumulates among both temporary and permanent workers.

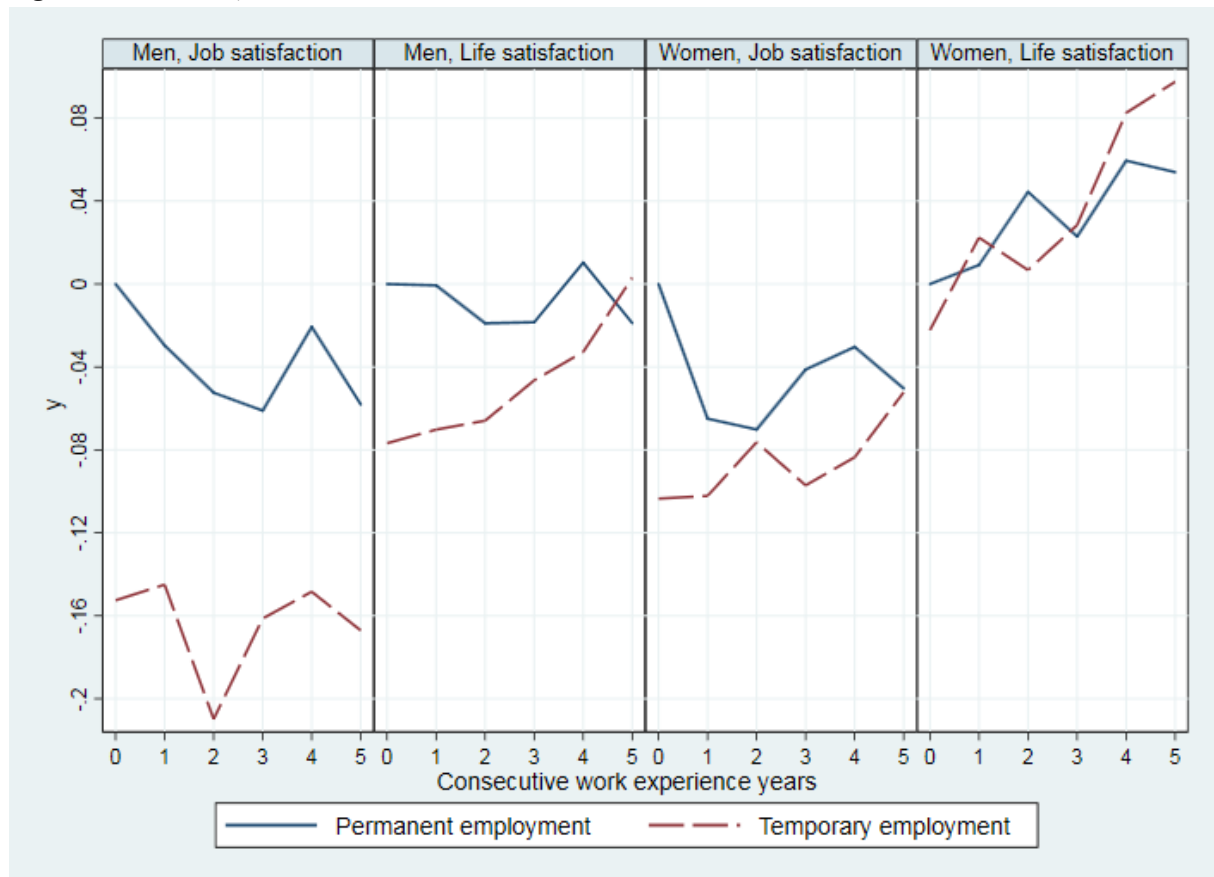
Although policymakers have voiced general concerns over the SWB of temporary workers exposed to job insecurity, this study finds that in Korea there is a positive development in life satisfaction among temporary workers over years of consecutive work experience for both men and women. Because this study also does not consider job changes in calculating consecutive years of experience — which is more frequent among temporary workers compared to permanent workers — this study highlights the inclusion of the unemployed and the inactive into the labor market even through insecure temporary work.

Table 7. Overall job and life satisfaction

	Men		Women	
	Job satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Job satisfaction	Life satisfaction
(Model 1)				
Temporary	-0.136***	-0.065***	-0.068***	-0.012
(Model 2)				
Permanent	0.144***	0.078***	0.083***	0.020
Experience	-0.004	0.013*	0.008	0.022***
Permanent*Experience	-0.006	-0.015*	-0.016*	-0.009
(Model 3)				
Temporary	-0.144***	-0.078***	-0.083***	-0.020
Experience	-0.010*	-0.002	-0.008	0.012*
Temporary*Experience	0.006	0.015*	0.016*	0.009
Observations	14,161	14,161	14,746	14,746

Note: Estimates from linear fixed-effects regression. Robust standard errors are used. Control variables include age, educational attainment, marital status, children in household, residential area, industry, occupation, firm sizes and year dummies. +p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Figure 1. Overall job and life satisfaction



4.3. Job and life satisfaction for detailed factors

Next, I present the regression results of job and life satisfaction for detailed factors in Tables 8 and 9.

The temporary-permanent difference appears to be largest in job security satisfaction among the seven detailed factors of job satisfaction for both men (0.294 points) and women (0.247 points). The second-widest gap is visible in career prospects for both men (0.143 points) and women (0.072 points). Among the detailed factors, the finding that the temporary-permanent job satisfaction gap is largest vis a vis job security satisfaction is consistent with the findings of previous studies. As for life satisfaction, the largest temporary-permanent gap is observable in household income satisfaction among both men (0.081 points) and women (0.060 points).

Also, the development of SWB in each consecutive year is presented in Figures 2 and 3. In each figure, a score of zero corresponds with the SWB of permanent workers at the initial level, that is, zero consecutive years of work. For job satisfaction it is notable that we see a large temporary-permanent gap in job security satisfaction remains considerable even after five consecutive years of work experience, despite some significant convergence. It also seems that the temporary-permanent gap regarding satisfaction with the content of work and work relationships persists among men, while that of earnings persists among women. For life satisfaction, the temporary-permanent difference in household income satisfaction among women seems to remain over consecutive years of work experience, while among men it exhibits a convergence tendency.

As investigation of the reason for different development tendencies in SWB across satisfaction variables and gender is beyond the scope of this study, I leave a more detailed interpretation of the results of this study to readers and future research.

Table 8. Men's job and life satisfaction: detailed factors

Job satisfaction	Pay	Job security	Content of work	Workplace environment	Working hour	Career prospect	Relationship
(Model 1)							
Temporary	-0.074***	-0.294***	-0.106***	-0.116***	-0.076***	-0.143***	-0.111***
(Model 2)							
Permanent	0.087***	0.322***	0.123***	0.139***	0.086***	0.174***	0.124***
Experience	0.004	0.021*	0.004	0.009	0.014+	0.011	-0.002
Permanent*Experience	-0.012	-0.030***	-0.016+	-0.023**	-0.012	-0.030***	-0.011
(Model 3)							
Temporary	-0.087***	-0.322***	-0.123***	-0.139***	-0.086***	-0.174***	-0.124***
Experience	-0.008	-0.009	-0.012*	-0.014*	0.002	-0.019***	-0.013*
Temporary*Experience	0.012	0.030***	0.016+	0.023**	0.012	0.030***	0.011
Observations	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161
Life satisfaction	Household income	Leisure life	Housing environment	Family relationship	Social relationship		
(Model 1)							
Temporary	-0.081***	-0.055**	-0.049**	-0.046**	-0.046**		
(Model 2)							
Permanent	0.093***	0.054**	0.059**	0.055**	0.062***		
Experience	0.019**	0.019**	0.019**	0.009	0.011+		
Permanent*Experience	-0.015+	-0.003	-0.013	-0.010	-0.017*		
(Model 3)							
Temporary	-0.093***	-0.054**	-0.059**	-0.055**	-0.062***		
Experience	0.004	0.015**	0.006	-0.001	-0.006		
Temporary*Experience	0.015+	0.003	0.013	0.010	0.017*		
Observations	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161	14,161		

Note: Estimates from linear fixed-effects regression. Robust standard errors are used. Control variables include age, educational attainment, marital status, children in household, residential area, industry, occupation, firm sizes and year dummies. +p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Table 9. Women's job and life satisfaction: detailed factors

Job satisfaction	Pay	Job security	Content of work	Workplace environment	Working hour	Career prospect	Relationship
(Model 1)							
Temporary	-0.068***	-0.247***	-0.065***	-0.040*	-0.000	-0.072***	-0.039*
(Model 2)							
Permanent	0.063**	0.270***	0.090***	0.059**	0.014	0.086***	0.059**
Experience	-0.007	0.017*	0.021***	0.010+	0.004	0.004	0.012+
Permanent*Experience	0.005	-0.024**	-0.026***	-0.020*	-0.014+	-0.014+	-0.020**
(Model 3)							
Temporary	-0.063**	-0.270***	-0.090***	-0.059**	-0.014	-0.086***	-0.059**
Experience	-0.002	-0.007	-0.005	-0.010	-0.009	-0.010+	-0.009
Temporary*Experience	-0.005	0.024**	0.026***	0.020*	0.014+	0.014+	0.020**
Observations	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746
Life satisfaction	Household income	Leisure life	Housing environment	Family relationship	Social relationship		
(Model 1)							
Temporary	-0.060**	-0.028	-0.011	-0.023	-0.003		
(Model 2)							
Permanent	0.060**	0.029	0.012	0.030+	0.003		
Experience	0.014*	0.009	0.012+	0.013*	0.008		
Permanent*Experience	-0.002	-0.001	-0.002	-0.008	-0.001		
(Model 3)							
Temporary	-0.060**	-0.029	-0.012	-0.030+	-0.003		
Experience	0.012*	0.008	0.010+	0.005	0.007		
Temporary*Experience	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.008	0.001		
Observations	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746	14,746		

Note: Estimates from linear fixed-effects regression. Robust standard errors are used. Control variables include age, educational attainment, marital status, children in household, residential area, industry, occupation, firm sizes and year dummies. +p<0.1, *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001.

Figure 2. Job satisfaction: detailed factors

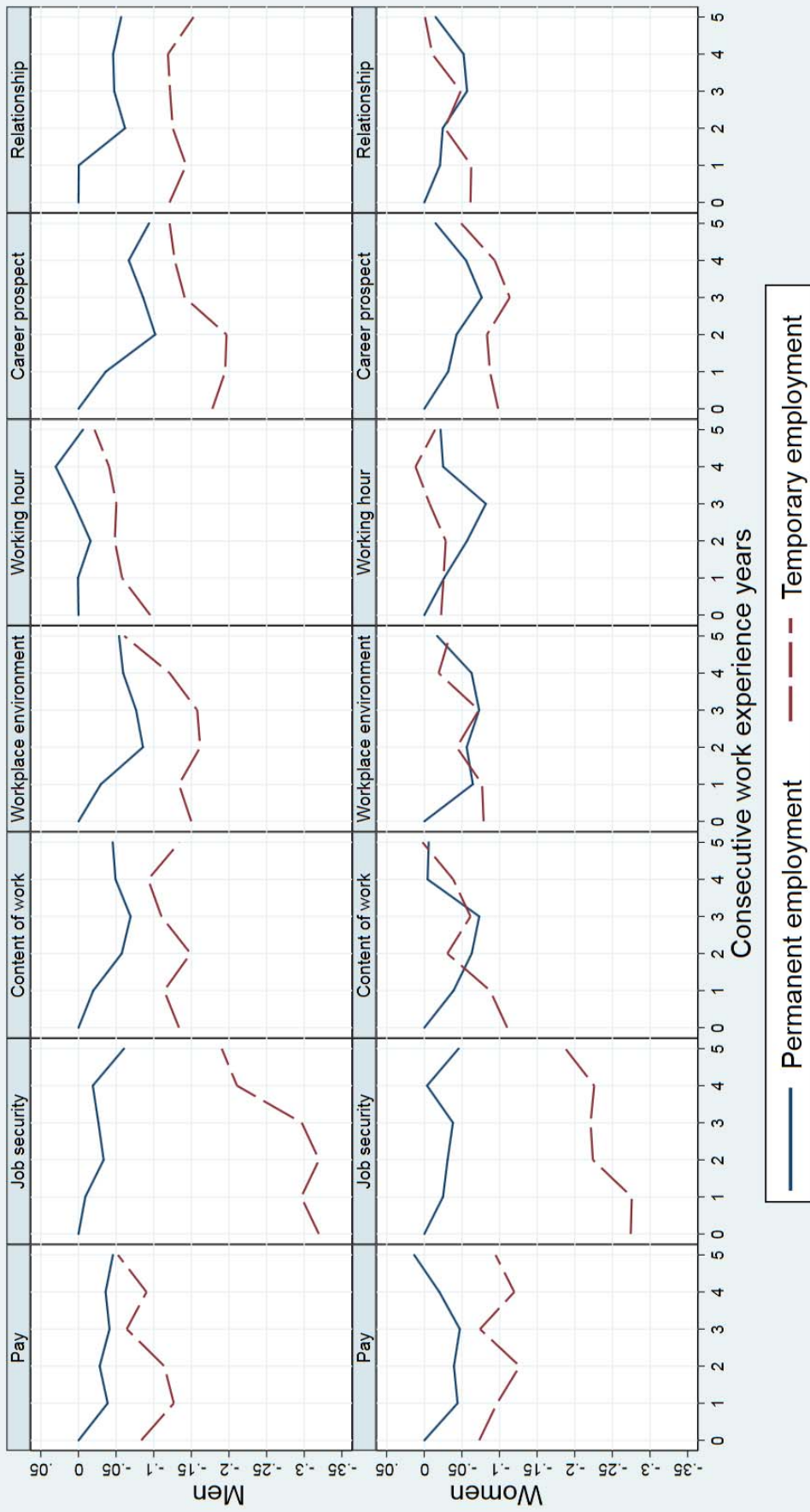
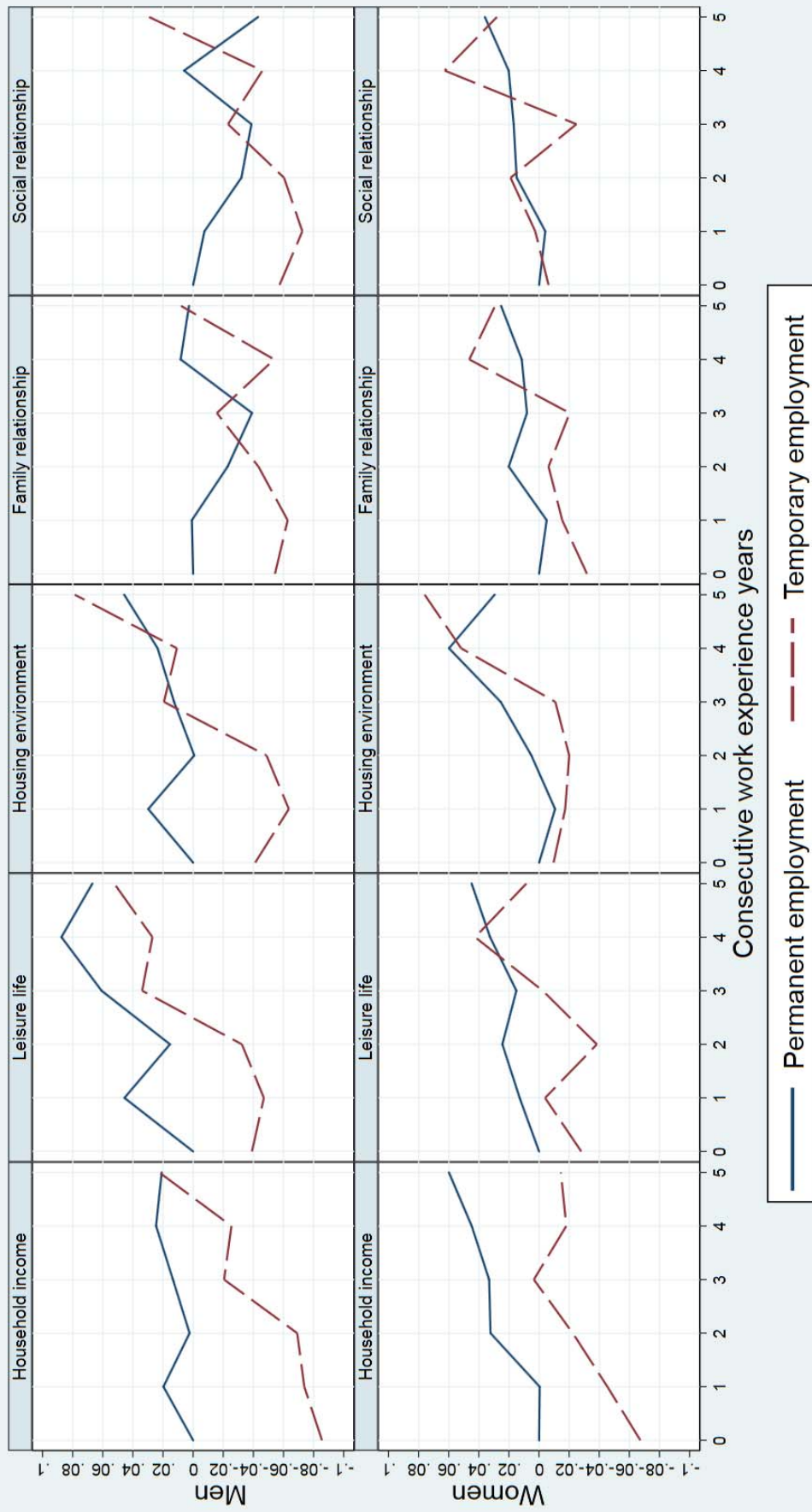


Figure 3. Life satisfaction: detailed factors



5. Conclusion

This study began by asking whether the ambiguity of the temporary-permanent difference in SWB in the face of clear evidence on a temporary-permanent difference in objective economic well-being exists because workers adapt to their objectively better or worse job conditions. Assuming that they adapt, a temporary-permanent difference in SWB will disappear over time. This issue has important implications for policymakers concerned over the dualization of the labor market.

With these questions in mind I sought to examine in this study how job and life satisfaction of temporary and permanent workers develops over a five-year period of consecutive work experience, hoping to determine whether the temporary-permanent difference in job and life satisfaction converges or not. Concerning overall evaluations of job and life satisfaction, this study finds that job and life satisfaction for men and job satisfaction for women is significantly lower among temporary workers than permanent workers, and that the temporary-permanent differences in life satisfaction among men and job satisfaction among women show a linear tendency of convergence. Regarding the detailed factors of job and life satisfaction, I find a general tendency of convergence although the temporary-permanent difference in some satisfaction variables does not converge or remain far apart even given some level of convergence. I cannot find a divergence tendency in any of the satisfaction variables.

In addition, life satisfaction variables among temporary workers show increasing tendencies over consecutive years of work experience for both men and women. In consideration of the facts that this study does not consider job changes in calculating consecutive years of work experience, and that temporary workers undergo more frequent job changes than permanent workers, these results highlight the importance of the inclusion of the unemployed into the labor market even through insecure jobs.

Also, the temporary-permanent difference in overall job satisfaction among men appears to be large, does not significantly reduce over time; and this gap seems to be largely due to satisfaction with job security. Among women, however, the temporary-permanent gap in overall job satisfaction appears to converge despite the fact that job security satisfaction do not converge. These results imply that the assumption that overall job satisfaction variables can be decomposed into detailed job satisfaction variables may be inappropriate.

Finally, this paper found that for men, the temporary-permanent difference in overall job satisfaction did not converge even as the variables for overall life satisfaction did so.

Can we interpret this as being desirable? Green and Heywood (2011) argued that such result can occur when workers exchange lower job satisfaction for satisfaction in other aspects of life. But South Korea has a strong male breadwinner model, so Green and Heywood's explanation is difficult to apply to the findings of this study. The implication of this is that overall life satisfaction variables cannot be linearly decomposed into satisfaction variables representing detailed factors of life, as with the above finding on the relationship between overall job satisfaction and job security satisfaction among women. This further implies that the difference in overall life satisfaction variables can conceal not only differences in objective life conditions but also differences in genuine SWB which is inherently multidimensional. All this serves to highlight the importance of investigating individuals' SWB using various detailed factors.

One major limitation of this study is that it depends on the 5-point Likert scale of satisfaction, through which it is difficult to capture large variation in individual SWB. In my data, most responses were either 3 (neutral) or 4 (satisfied), despite the scale spanning from 1 (very unsatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied). Since increasing the SWB of people can be said to be the ultimate goal of social policy, it is required that SWB be measured in more detail.

Appendix. Essential limitation of this study and the results of an additional analysis

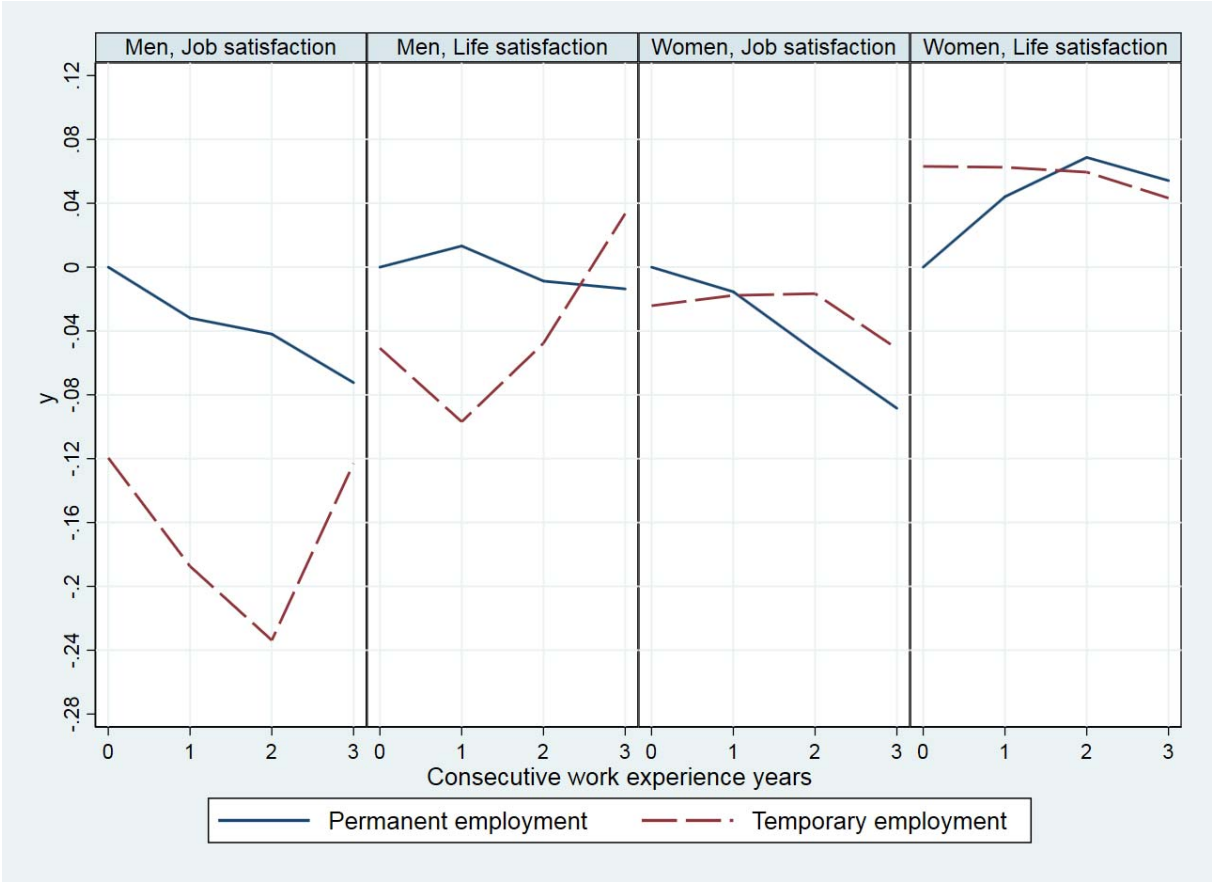
This study has a major and essential limitation which was not dealt with. It is that in dynamic aspects, job satisfaction might be correlated with a hazard rate of changing the employment status and this correlation also can be different between fixed-term and open-ended contracts. Not considering this possibility may bias estimates of the temporal development of SWB. Although I cannot consider these problems in this study, I tried to carry out additional analyses.

To resolve these problems, I restrict population to temporary or permanent workers having least three consecutive years of work experience. It insures the comparability of SWB in each contract type across a three-year period of consecutive work experience. Workers those experience their employment status over at least three years constitute a considerably large portion of wage earners and seems to give significant policy implications. Additionally, I balance covariates between temporary and permanent to reduce extrapolation bias. One empirical problem of this analysis is that observations are considerably reduced. Final sample includes 7,444 observations among men aged 20-64 (4,676 permanent workers and 2,768 temporary workers) and 7,280 observations among women aged 20-64 (3,492 permanent workers and 3,788 temporary workers). Due to reduced sample, I summed all satisfaction variables to make one job satisfaction variable and one life satisfaction variable. Concrete results are as follows.

Table A1. Job and life satisfaction

	Men		Women	
	Job satisfaction	Life satisfaction	Job satisfaction	Life satisfaction
(Model 1)				
Temporary	-0.204***	-0.050	-0.030	-0.052
(Model 2)				
Permanent	0.235***	0.077+	0.063+	0.042
Experience	0.001	0.025**	0.001	-0.003
Permanent*Experience	-0.021*	-0.018*	-0.022*	0.007
(Model 3)				
Temporary	-0.235***	-0.077+	-0.063+	-0.042
Experience	-0.020*	0.007	-0.022**	0.004
Temporary*Experience	0.021*	0.018*	0.022*	-0.007
Observations	7,444	7,444	7,280	7,280

Figure A1. Job and life satisfaction



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