

## Worker Militancy at the Margins: Struggles of Non-regular Workers in South Korea

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*This study explores the commonality and variation of non-regular workers' struggles in Korea by drawing upon 30 major dispute cases which have taken place since 2000. The common features of those struggles are characterized as defensive claim-making, employer's determined union-busting, protracted struggle outside workplace, transgressive protest repertoire, reliance on external solidarity, third actors' mediation, dispute recurrence and union's organizational instability, and protest against large firms. At the same time, the non-regular workers' struggle shows a great deal of variation in outcomes (i.e. bargaining gains and union membership) and key attributes (i.e. repertoire, duration, timing) of those struggles. The different outcomes of the struggles are closely correlated with the attitude of regular workers unions as well as the extent of external solidarity toward non-regular workers' struggles, with some contingencies (i.e. public meaning of the struggle, the content and timing of related legal decision by the government or the court, the industry union's involvement, and claimants' self-sacrificing protest) creating outliers from this patterned relationship. The outcome of non-regular workers' struggles is also correlated with their repertoire and duration in a polarizing form like the spirals of moderatization (better outcome – low-risk repertoire – shorter duration) and extremization (worse outcome – high-risk repertoire – longer duration).*

**Keywords:** non-regular workers, labor union, worker militancy, solidarity, South Korea

## Introduction

[Episode 1] On August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2013, two Jaeneung Education Workers Union activists came down from the bell tower of Hyewha Cathedral after their 202-day aerial protest, as the company and the union agreed to conclude the dispute by reinstating dismissed union members and restoring the existing labor contract. The dispute, which started in December 2007 as the union protested against the company's unilateral wage reduction, is recorded as the longest, lasting 2,076 days. Since March 2014, however, the union has re-launched a street sit-down protest since the company has not accepted the union's core demand for the guarantee of living wages and union activities.

[Episode 2] On August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013, two Hyundai Motor Non-regular Workers Union activists stopped their 296-day aerial protest at a transmission tower near the Ulsan auto plants. They demanded that the company follow the Supreme Court's decision and employ all contracted workers as regular workers. In July 2010, the Supreme Court ruled that Hyundai Motor violated the Dispatched Workers Protection Law, requiring the reinstatement of the aggrieved contracted workers to regular status. Their aerial protest, which triggered a number of solidarity campaigns, including the Hope Bus, led by labor-civil society organizations, gained little. In April 2014, tripartite bargaining started, involving HMC management, regular workers and non-regular workers unions, but has not been productive due to inter-union distrust as well as ever-conflicting views between the unions and management.

[Episode 3] On December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013, when the company announced sudden closing of its production plant, the Kiryung Electronics Worker Union lost its workplace. In November 2010, the union won the reinstatement of dismissed members after its 1,895-day struggle (2005-2010), including the union president's 94-day hunger strike and aerial protest at the plant tower. The union's struggle attracted a lot of active support from civil society organizations and netizens, and led politicians to pressure the company into accepting the union's demand. The company's plant closing drove the union to re-launch another painful struggle.

The above three episodes offer a glimpse of how non-regular workers in South Korea (hereafter Korea) have fought desperately in the 21st century. Their struggles, which last for hundreds of days and even longer than two thousand days, are targeted at employers' tyrannical behaviors, such as forced wage cuts, unilateral disconnection of employment contracts, discriminatory

and illegal employment practices, willful disregard of the court decisions and government directives, and union suppression by violence. Those desperate and protracted struggles are closely related to precarious employment status and insufficient protective institutions given to non-regular workers.

In Korea, political democratization in 1987 triggered the subsequent explosion of “Great Labor Struggles” and massive organizing of democratic labor unions. As a consequence, Korean labor unions became internationally known for their militant activism through the late 1980s and mid-1990s. At the time, they were viewed as building a new front in the global labor movement along with other democratizing countries, such as Brazil, South Africa, and the Philippines (Silver 2003). The 1997 economic crisis, however, changed the contour of labor militancy in Korea. In the pre-1997 period, union militancy was characterized as being on the offensive, in that unions, freed from the authoritarian state’s interventionist control, actively resorted to strike action for forging labor citizenship in the workplace and enhancing employment conditions through wage increases. By contrast, the post-1997 period has seen union militancy turn to the defensive in two ways. On one side, the existing unions, comprised of regular workers, have undertaken militant reaction to employers’ downsizing and the government’s neoliberal restructuring. On the other, non-regular workers, who proliferated sharply after the economic crisis and suffered from precarious and discriminatory employment conditions, have organized their own unions and engaged in desperate protest action to defend their well-being and labor rights from employers’ exploitative treatment and oppression, as illustrated by the above episodes. Particularly during the post-1997 period, as many regular workers unions have moved away from labor insurgency and acquired a complacent attitude toward job security and economic gains, non-regular workers’ struggles have become symbolic of new militant activism to resist the neoliberal capitalist regime.

Some recent English literature pays attention to the militant activism that Korean non-regular workers and their unions have demonstrated in the era of neoliberal globalization (Chun 2009, 2013; Lee 2015). This literature commonly provides a contextualized explanation of non-regular workers’ militancy by underscoring not only their precarious employment and discriminatory working conditions, but also the inability of the existing labor laws and labor unions to resolve their problems. It is certain that this analysis offers a valid account of why Korean non-regular workers have become so militant. This is evidenced by the fact that dispute action staged by non-regular workers’ unions tends to be not simply desperate but also fierce,

fueled by their resentment and hostility to employers. At the same time, the literature overlooks the variation in non-regular workers' militancy, for instance, in terms of mobilized forms and outcomes of their militant activism. In fact, some non-regular workers' unions chose a more extreme protest repertoire for their collective action than others. Some succeeded in achieving their demands, whereas others failed. Thus, this study seeks to capture and account for a "patterned" variation of non-regular workers' struggles as well as their commonality, thereby contributing to a broader theoretical understanding of labor movement literature as per the mobilization of precarious workers on the margins.

For this research objective, the event data concerning dispute action taken by non-regular workers unions during the post-1997 period were collected from three Korean labor journals, the Daily Labor News, Non-regular Labor, and Labor and Society, covering a period from 1998 until May 2014. Among labor disputes led by non-regular workers and their unions, 30 major cases are selected for comparative analysis, taking into account the degree of public attention given to the dispute, the extent of the impact that the dispute has had over employment relations and labor policy, and the availability of case information.<sup>1</sup> The profile of the 30 cases is summarized in [Appendix A].

## Literature Review of Union Militancy

According to Dubin (1973), union militancy is conceptualized as the union's aggressive willingness to use economic and physical force in gaining collective bargaining ends.<sup>2</sup> Historically, workers and their unions expressed their militancy in various forms, comprising covert and overt collective actions (such as sick-outs, slow-downs and work-to-rule) to inflict damage on employers. Along with the institutionalization of industrial relations, strike action, which became the most effective means for unions to pressure

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<sup>1</sup> The unit of analysis in this study is the non-regular workers union engaging in a variety of protest actions against employers, rather than a struggle episode produced by the union or individual workers or activists involved in the protest action. It should be noted that some of these cases are not included in the annual report of labor disputes reported by the Minister of Employment and Labor, because of either their illegal dispute actions or their non-worker status.

<sup>2</sup> Reflecting on the Korean industrial relations context, Yoon and Yang (2002) propose a definition of union militancy as the union's uncompromising attitudinal propensity to resort to physical force for achieving its demands and resolving labor-management issues rather than seeking to make a compromise with the employer in a moderate and pragmatic manner.

employers by work stoppage, has been regarded as the typical form of union militancy. In this vein, much industrial relations literature has measured the union's strike-proneness or actual strike action for the empirical analysis of union militancy and attempted to figure out what factors lead unions or workers to become militant.

Of course, not all unions are militant. Kelly (1996) distinguishes the union's attitudinal propensity between militancy and moderatism in five aspects (i.e. ideological vision, goal-setting, de/mobilizing strategy, institutional vehicle, and action repertoire).<sup>3</sup> His dichotomous comparison appears to be too simplistic to capture the diverse character of union activism, presuming that militancy and moderatism are of both a discrete and monolithic nature. As a matter of fact, many unions are located somewhere between the two extremes of militancy and moderatism, and their attitude might change over time. More importantly, when delving into militant activism, we find that there exists a great deal of variation among militant unions in several aspects.

Firstly, the goals and motives of union militancy may differ, depending on whether those unions engage in militant action to make gains, or to avoid losses.<sup>4</sup> That is, the militant action for gain could be classified as offensive militancy, whereas that for preventing loss as defensive militancy. We can infer that the intensity of militant action by the defensive militancy groups tends to be stronger than by that of offensive militancy, since the first group is more desperate to defend their labor rights and basic well-being from employers' infringements, compared to the latter group, which tries to make more economic gains. The difference of union militancy between these two groups might be influenced by a variety of factors, such as their positional power in the labor markets (Beale 2003), subjective capacity and conditions of action resource mobilization (Cress and Snow 1996), labor-capital power balance (Beale 2003) and political-economic opportunity structure at the

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<sup>3</sup> According to Kelly (1996), militant unions have a confrontational ideological inclination and uncompromising attitude toward employers, and tend to mobilize members and resort to dispute action against employers to push their demand on a formalized bargaining scheme. By contrast, moderate unions have a cooperative and compromising attitude toward management, mainly using non-bargaining style consultations and hardly mobilizing the rank and file members for dispute action.

<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Dixon et al. (2004) separates workers' motives for taking militant action into union-centered action and solidarity-centered action; the former denotes that "workers engage in direct action based on available organization, resources, and leverage in the employment relationship," while the latter means "workers engage in protest because it resonates with their shared experiences and in some instances with a legacy of collective action."

macro level (Lee forthcoming).

Secondly, the choice of struggle repertoire varies among militant unions. Some militant unions stick to the contained repertoire of collective action, and some others invent more transgressive ones. McAdam and his colleagues (2001, pp. 7–8) make a theoretical distinction between the contained and transgressive forms of protest repertoire: the former refers to collective action in which actors in protest employ well-established means of claim making, whereas the latter denotes protest action to which newly self-identified actors adopt an innovative repertoire.<sup>5</sup> McAdam (1986) also proposes a distinction of union activism by a combination of cost and risk.<sup>6</sup> According to his distinction, some episodes of union militancy are more costly and riskier than others. For instance, the extreme repertoire of protest action (i.e. occupation or blockade demonstrations, aerial protests, and illegal strikes), requires participants' law-breaking, physical sacrifice or confrontation with employers and the state authority, so it can be regarded as assuming a high risk. By contrast, the mild protest repertoire, such as legal strike actions, petitions, and peaceful rallies, which is executed in a contained form and based upon massive support of constituents and/or outside actors, poses a low risk. As Briskin (2007) indicates, the shape of union militancy has substantially changed in the transforming terrain of labor-management relations wrought by neo-liberal globalization and labor market restructuring. A new repertoire of collective actions, going beyond the boundary of the workplace and calling to the public, has become of increasing significance to the unorganized and atypical workforce. For instance, some unions in Anglophone countries (i.e. SEIU and HERE) have made strenuous efforts to organize precarious workers, or the Precariat, which was created by employer-driven externalization and casualization of employment relations, and have employed transgressive protest repertoires, such as bridge blockades, public rallies, sit-down protests, and solidarity campaigns with civil society groups, rather than resorting to the contained repertoire of strike action. As such, the activated forms of union militancy

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<sup>5</sup> McAdam and his colleagues (2001) differentiate the transgressive repertoires of contention from the contained one, as follows: while the latter offers the advantage of being accepted and familiar to claimants without requiring special resources or a willingness to incur costs and take great risks, the former has the advantages of surprise, uncertainty, and novelty.

<sup>6</sup> According to McAdam (1986, p. 67), cost refers to “the expenditure of time, money and energy required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism,” while risk means “the anticipated dangers — whether legal, social, physical, financial, etc. — of engaging in a particular type of movement activity.”

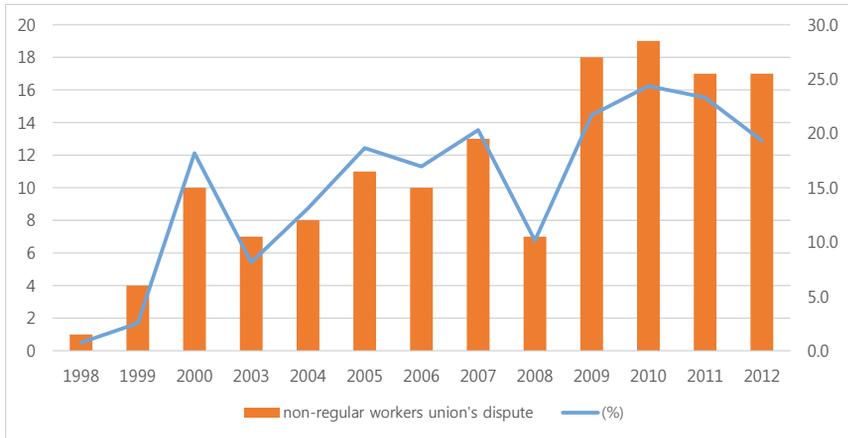
have diversified, ranging from conventional strike action to a variety of non-conventional repertoires, as unions' strategic reaction to their shrinking organizational base and employers' aggressive dominance in the context of neoliberal globalization.

Thirdly, the outcomes of union militancy vary. Militant action is not guaranteed to achieve what the union desires. Some forms of militant action are more effective in obtaining desired outcomes for the aggrieved than other forms. Even the same militant action might provide different results for unions, depending upon contextual contingencies. Reflecting the varying outcomes of militant action, another distinction could be drawn from union militancy, characterized as productive, or potent, militancy versus unproductive, or impotent, militancy. In order to examine how productive union militancy is, two indicators are useful for measuring the outcomes: the extent of demands achieved by the union's action and the change in union membership, as proposed by Cho (2011). For example, some instances of militant action produce the best outcomes by fully achieving the union's demands and increasing the union's membership, whereas the worst instances are opposite – no gain of demands, membership loss or even dissolution of the union. Surely, there exist various combinations of bargaining gains and membership changes between the best and the worst instances.

The existing literature of industrial relations and labor studies offers a great deal of empirical analysis and theoretical inference for explaining union/worker militancy or strike-proneness, but pays little attention to varieties of union militancy. In light of this research vacuum, the next sections shed light on the commonalities and differences in union militancy by focusing on major cases of non-regular workers' struggles, and, in particular, trying to figure out the patterned variation of non-regular workers' militancy by exploring noticeable correlations between the outcomes and key attributes of those struggles.

## Overview of Non-regular Workers Unions' Struggles

The issues of non-regular labor have gained growing visibility in the post-1997 period, as various groups of non-regular workers have engaged in a series of desperate protest actions against employer-imposed discrimination and precariousness, attracting public attention (Chun 2013). The first dispute action that non-regular workers took in the post-1997 crisis was reported to



SOURCE.—Ministry of Employment and Labor, *Labor Dispute Case Report*, each year (2001-2002, unreported)

NOTE.—Joint strike action by regular and non-regular workers is included in the category of non-regular workers union's struggle.

Fig. 1.—Trends in the Number and Share of Non-regular Workers' Disputes

be the contracted workers' protest against the closing of the Sabuk mining station in January 1998. The first union, formed by non-regular workers, was the Daegu Construction Union, formed in February 1998 by around 800 daily workers, who suffered from job loss, unilateral wage cuts and extension of unpaid working hours during the economic crisis. The union organization and protest actions by non-regular workers have since steadily diffused into manufacturing, private service, transportation, and the public sector. As a result, the relative share of non-regular workers' struggles in the total disputes has risen from 0.7% in 1998 to around 20% in the late 2000s, as displayed in [Figure 1].<sup>7</sup> It is noteworthy that the National Council of Non-regular Unions Solidarity, formed in October 2004, launched a variety of joint campaigns for demanding legislative reforms and labor policy to protect the non-regular workforce and provide active assistance to individual non-regular workers' unions in disputes. Although the organization of non-regular workers unions

<sup>7</sup> The data of labor disputes, which are yearly collected and officially published by the Ministry of Employment and Labor, underestimates the frequency of labor disputes to some extent, as this data excludes dispute action launched by some groups of non-workers, who don't have legal employment status like dependent contractors and dismissed employees and often engage in illegal dispute action.

**TABLE 1**  
**CASE OVERVIEW OF 30 NON-REGULAR WORKERS' STRUGGLES**

		No. of Cases
Employment Type	Temporary or fixed-term	5
	Daily	2
	Contracted	15
	Dispatched	2
	Dependent contractor	6
Industry	Manufacturing	13
	Service	8
	Construction	4
	Transportation	2
	Public sector	3
Struggle timing	Under liberal government (-2007)	16
	Protracted from liberal to conservative governments	9
	Under conservative government (2008-)	5
Struggle duration	100 days <	7
	100 ~ 299 days	7
	300 ~ 999 days	5
	1000 days ≤	6
	Sporadic and recurrent	5
Struggle repertoire	Strike action	22
	Blockade/attack/boycott	12
	Hunger protest and hair-shaving	12
	Occupation protest	13
	Aerial protest	15
	Street campaigns <sup>1</sup>	25
	Suicide protest <sup>2</sup>	9
Others <sup>3</sup>	7	
Contentious Issues	Union suppression or denial	24
	Massive dismissal	19
	Outsourcing	7
	Economic and institutional gains	10
	Regularization and job security	11
	Discrimination	2
Total		30

NOTE.—1. including one-man picketing, demonstrations, candlelight rallies, street sit-down protests, signature collection campaigns, and three-step one-bow parades.

2. Including a suicide protest attempt and two deaths resulting from riot police and company-hired gangster's violence.

3. Others include overseas expedition protests, river raft demonstrations, nationwide tour protests, CEO interview protests.

has continued to proliferate, the union density of non-regular workers is only 3.0% (as of August 2013), which is much lower than that of regular workers (17.0%).<sup>8</sup>

Now, we turn to the 30 major cases for examining commonality and variation of non-regular workers' struggles. [Table 1] provides an overview of the 30 cases to be analyzed. The cases are diverse in terms of employment types and industrial sectors, although the contracted employment and manufacturing sectors have respectively the largest share of each category. In addition, 16 cases took place during the liberal governments period (2000-2007) led by President Kim Dae-jung and Rho Moo-hyun, whereas five cases happened during the conservative governments period (2008-), led by President Lee Myung-bak and Park Geun-hye. The remaining nine cases are carried over from the liberal governments to the conservative governments. The duration of the struggle ranges from 41 days (KWCWS) to 2,076 days (Jaeneung Education), with five sporadic-recurrent cases. There are 11 cases of protracted struggles, lasting over 300 days, and seven cases of relatively shorter struggles, lasting fewer than 100 days. The unions involved in the 30 cases harness not only a conventional repertoire (strike action), but also a variety of unconventional struggle tactics, such as workplace blockades (including entrance attacks and sales boycotts), hunger and hair-shaving protests, occupation protests, aerial protests, street campaigns (including one-man picketing, demonstrations, candlelight rallies, street sit-down protests, signature collections, and three-step one-bow parades), and even suicide protests. The reasons for union's actions vary from union suppression or denial to massive dismissal, outsourcing, economic and institutional gains, guarantee of regular employment status, and discrimination.

## Commonalities of Non-regular Workers Unions' Struggles

Drawing upon these 30 cases, a common pattern of contentious dynamics is identified: claim-making and union organizing by non-regular workers → employer's oppression → union's struggle/protest action → union-

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<sup>8</sup> Note that the union density of the entire workforce was 10.3% in 2012. The official data of labor disputes and union density is released by the Ministry of Employment and Labor every year. However, the Ministry's industrial relations data does not include that of non-regular workers. Instead, the Bureau of National Statistics has conducted bi-annual (March & August) surveys on employment conditions (including union membership) of the non-regular workforce, from which the union density of non-regular and regular workers is estimated.

management compromise → recurrent confrontation (because of employer's union suppression). This overall process appears to bear some similarity to that of regular workers unions. But, substantial differences are observed at each stage (Kim 2010). Firstly, non-regular workers unions make primarily defensive claims, in contrast with regular workers unions' offensive claims, which demand economic gains and enhancement of working conditions (particularly during the period of 1987-1997). Non-regular workers' claims are chiefly to protest against employers' arbitrary dismissal, outsourcing and illegal treatment, including union suppression.<sup>9</sup> In other words, the essence of the non-regular workers' struggle is a desperate campaign to defend their basic wellbeing and labor rights from employers' inhumane infringement and the lack of institutional protection (Kim and Kim 2006).

Secondly, when non-regular workers organize a union and make their claims, employers tend to ignore or destroy the union, thereby escalating union-management relations into an intense dispute. Employers have harnessed a variety of means (i.e. dismissal and blacklisting of union of leaders and activists, mobilization of private [scabs] or public [riot police] force, and legal claims for damages and criminal charge against the union's dispute actions) to oppress the organizing and protest action of unions. The employers' determined stance to bust non-regular workers unions is closely associated with their primary motivation to use non-regular labor in order to avoid unionization altogether.

Thirdly, confronted with employer's repressive reactions, the struggle actions of non-regular workers unions differ sharply in some aspects from those of regular workers unions. A noticeable difference is that the struggles staged by non-regular workers unions tend to be much more protracted than those of regular workers unions. The fact that the average length of labor disputes taking place during 2000s is 34.3 days evidences how lengthy the struggle of non-regular workers unions, lasting hundreds or thousands days, has been.<sup>10</sup> Another difference is that non-regular workers unions have

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<sup>9</sup> As shown in [Table 1], claims raised in ten cases are about economic and institutional gains. However, the nature of these claims are essentially defensive, since they demand that employers and the state guarantee their minimum living standards threatened by low wages and the lack of institutional protection. Moreover, according to Cho (2011), the non-regular workers unions, whose members are in precarious employment conditions, are structurally disadvantaged in organizational sustainability and resources, so that they are to a certain extent defensive in the entire process of these contentious dynamics, including claim-making.

<sup>10</sup> The averaged length of labor dispute during 1990s is only 21.6 days. This implies that the length of labor dispute in 2000s has extended by 58.8% (12.7 days), largely owing to the protracted struggles by non-regular workers unions as well as and laid-off regular workers. According to the

devised and harnessed an unconventional repertoire of various struggle tactics to pressure employers, and sometimes the state, in addition to conventional strike action. According to the classification of McAdam et al. (2001), the repertoire of struggle action by non-regular workers is transgressive rather than contained. As shown in Table 1, most of their protest action is extra-legal and beyond institutional regulation. It is also noteworthy that the transgressive repertoire of struggle action by non-regular workers unions is largely carried out outside their workplaces, unlike the conventional form of strike action, which typically takes place within workplaces. Moreover, the struggle of non-regular workers unions is often characterized as a public and dramatic protest (Chun 2009), attracting and relying upon broad solidarity support from labor and civil society organizations, and even netizens in some instances.<sup>11</sup> These distinct features of non-regular workers' struggles—lengthiness, transgressiveness, exteriority (going outside of the workplace), and external reliance—are mutually related, and all reflect the weakness of structural and associational power<sup>12</sup> that those precarious workers have under the neoliberal regime (Lee forthcoming). The precarious employment conditions of non-regular workers make vulnerable their structural and associational power vis-à-vis employers. In particular, non-regular workers unions have great difficulty in recruiting members among unorganized workers, who are scared of job loss resulting from union participation. As a result, the unions' associational power and action resources, mainly drawn from their membership, are very weak. Those unions' dispute actions within the workplace are not strong enough to stop production or business, so that they fail to force employers to accept their claims. Instead, their protest action is very vulnerable to employers' repression. Therefore, the non-regular workers unions tend to go outside the workplace to undertake their struggle for a protracted period beyond the

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Ministry of Employment & Labor's Labor Dispute Case Report as per the period of 1998-2012 (excluding 2001-2002), the averaged length of non-regular workers' disputes is 61.2 days, longer by 33.3% than that of regular workers' disputes (46.0 days).

<sup>11</sup> Among the 30 cases, 20 non-regular workers unions won strong solidarity support from labor and civil society organizations, while six unions received only weak support from outside. The exemplar cases of nationwide solidarity support given to non-regular workers' struggle are the "Hope Buses" for the contracted activists of Hyundai Motor in the aerial protest, "Punky Outsiders" for female janitors in the occupation struggle of Hongik University, and "Together in Rains" for contracted workers' protest at Kiryung Electronics.

<sup>12</sup> According to Wright (2000), the structural power derives from the location of workers within the economic system, while the associational power comes from the formation of collective organizations of workers.

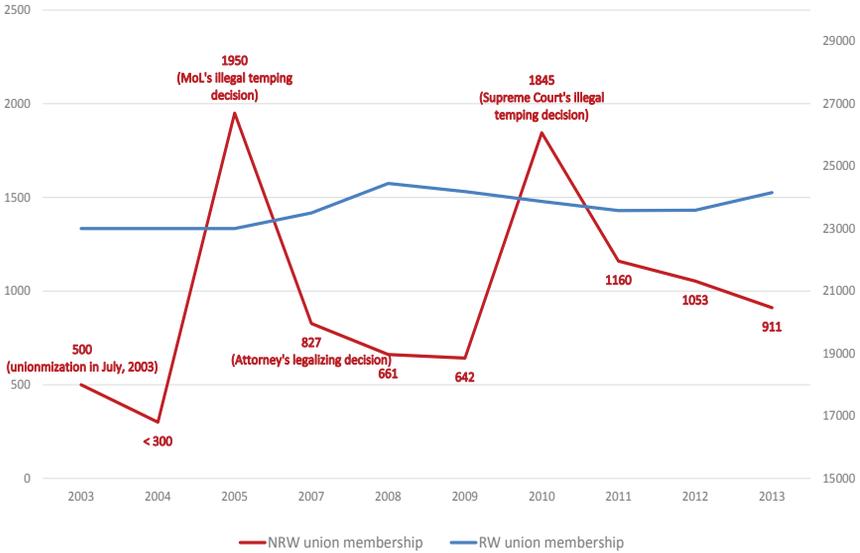


FIG. 2.— Trends of Membership in Hyundai Motor Non-regular Workers Union

reach of employers’ control. They also seek to force employers to surrender by organizing solidarity protests involving external labor and civil society organizations as well as pressure of sympathetic public opinion, as alternative means to supplement their weak associational power.

Fourth, given the protracted and intense confrontation between non-regular workers unions and employers, third actors (i.e. Ministry of Labor, the head of local government, representatives of civil and religious organizations, and politicians) play a significant role<sup>13</sup> in the mediation and resolution of such disputes in many cases (Kim 2010). However, the agreements, made after the protracted struggle and through third-party mediation, are often broken or ignored by employers, having adamant intent to oppress non-regular workers unions. Employers’ anti-union behavior drives the unions to re-engage in protest action. Regular workers unions typically obtain organizational stability in membership and institutionalized relationships with employers after the initial confrontation. By contrast, a majority of non-regular workers unions have over time exposed organizational instability and even been dissolved due to employers’ intolerance and oppression, despite the fact that their legal status was

<sup>13</sup> In half of the 30 cases, third actors got involved in mediation to resolve the disputes.

recognized in the first labor contract, following the strenuous process of union organizing and protest action (Cho 2011). [Figure 2] displays the extent to which the membership of Hyundai Motor Non-regular Workers Union has fluctuated since its birth, clearly illustrating the organizational instability that non-regular workers unions are commonly experiencing.

Another notable commonality of the case struggles is that all but Kiryung Electronics, which is the only case of a small firm (employing less than 300 workers), are against large firms.<sup>14</sup> Unions of temporary and contracted/dispatched workers fought against large and extra-large firms, such as Hyundai Motor, Samsung Electronics, Korail, and Korea Telecom, while those of dependent contractors and daily laborers engaged in strike action against large client firms in the sectors of construction and transportation. This implies that non-regular workers' union organizing and labor disputes do, to a large extent, take place at large firms, or in connection with large firms, and this also implies that protest action is far beyond the reach of non-regular workers in small firms, who form the vast majority of the precarious workforce (84.8% as of August 2013).

## Variations of Non-regular Workers Unions' Struggles

Non-regular workers' struggles not only have common features, but also embrace a good deal of variation in their outcomes and styles. Thus, we move on to an analysis of the varieties of non-regular workers' struggles, focusing on outcomes and key attributes.<sup>15</sup>

Figure 3 demonstrates how the outcomes of the 30 non-regular workers' struggles disperse, in terms of bargaining gains and union membership. The outcomes are widely distributed in an upward diagonal direction, ranging from no gain and union dissolved (0-0) to full gains and union enlarged (3-3). A noticeable factor affecting the differing outcomes of non-regular workers' struggles is the attitude that regular worker unions in the same

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<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the case struggles, selected for this study, took place at large firms, thereby drawing more public attention, than unselected cases which mainly did at small firms in such segments as manufacturing, building maintenance/cleaning, general services, and construction.

<sup>15</sup> At the risk of simplifying the complicated stories of the struggle cases, the outcomes and concerned attributes of those struggles are codified into a form of categorical variables, in order to find out and explain the patterned variation among the 30 cases. [Appendix B] offers a codified summary of the outcomes and some attributes of the struggle cases.

workplace show toward the struggle of non-regular co-workers.<sup>16</sup> As illustrated in the box plots of [Figure 4], the regular workers unions' active support for non-regular workers' struggles plays a significant role in producing positive results for both labor contract and union membership. On the contrary, the regular workers union's indifference, and particularly, interference, has a negative impact on the outcomes of the latter group's struggle. This finding reaffirms that status division among regular and non-regular workers does preclude their joint/solidarity protest action, as indicated by Dixon (2004). At the same time, since non-regular workers unions lack their own resources to mobilize for protest action against employers' oppression, their struggle is heavily influenced by the regular workers unions' attitudes.<sup>17</sup> In [Figure 4], there are several outliers that deviate from this patterned correlation between the struggle outcome and the regular workers union's attitude. For instance, New Core and E-Land produced disappointing outcomes in bargaining and union membership despite lengthy joint strike action launched by regular and non-regular workers. This negative result might be explained by the fact that these two cases were regarded as sort of proxy labor-business confrontations taking place after the legislation of the Fixed-term and Part-time Workers Protection Law in late 2006. In this context, considering the overall interest of the business circle, employers, who were inherently tough anti-unionists, more firmly than ever opposed the unions' demand for regular jobs, even in the face of strong solidarity support from outside as well as regular and non-regular workers' joint strike action. By contrast, three cases show opposite results; they made positive bargaining gains, in spite of the regular workers union's destructive interference. In the three cases, there existed positive contingencies such as a union member's suicide protest (Korea Workers' Compensation and Welfare Service), the government's decision against the client firm's illegal use of contracted labor (Carrier Kwangju plant), and the industry union's active involvement (Coscom), helping the concerned non-regular workers unions overcome the regular workers union's interference. It

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<sup>16</sup> It is also noteworthy that non-regular workers' struggles under the settings where regular workers are not unionized produced relatively better outcomes than those under the conditions that regular workers' unions showed either negative interference or indifference toward these struggles, as demonstrated in [Figure 4].

<sup>17</sup> At the same time, in that regular workers union's indifference produced a wide dispersion of outcomes, it should be considered that other factors, such as external solidarity and third-party moderation, might have different effects on what non-regular workers' struggles gain, even in the common context that marginal workers are given little support from the regular workers union.

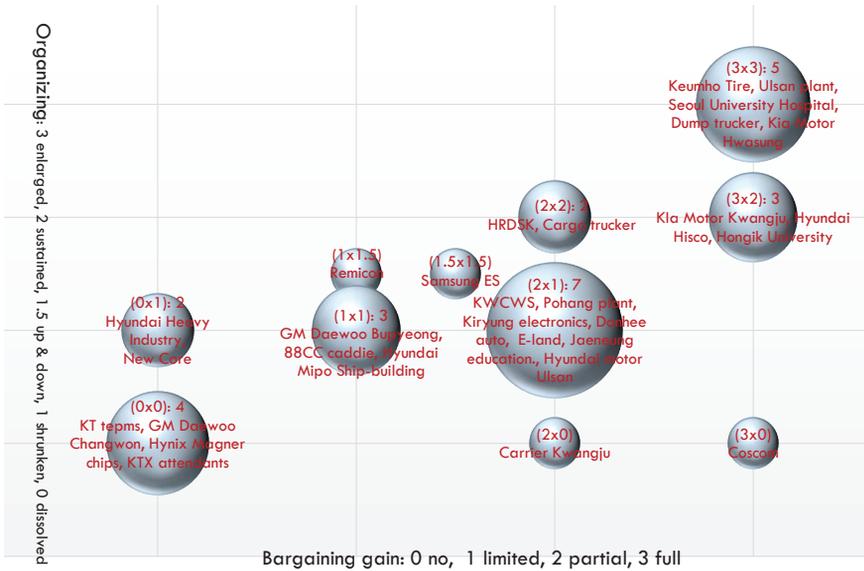


FIG. 3.—Outcomes of Non-regular Workers Unions’ Struggles in Terms of Bargaining Gains and Organizational Membership

should be noted that while unions in those three cases experienced substantial membership loss (KWCWS), or union dissolution (Carrier and Coscom), they had some bargaining gains. This implies that the effect of regular workers unions’ (negative) attitudes toward non-regular workers’ struggles somehow differs in bargaining gains and membership. The regular workers union’s interference or indifference has an absolutely damaging impact on the non-regular workers union’s membership or organizational sustainability, whereas other contingencies nullify its negative effect over bargaining gains.

External solidarity, which denotes support that non-regular workers obtained from outside, is another key factor impacting the struggle outcome. Like the regular workers union’s attitude, external solidarity, coming from the national center, industrial unions or federations, civil society organizations, progressive political parties, and in some cases students and netizens, is a significant supplement to those non-regular workers unions suffering from their poor struggle action resource. As displayed in [Figure 5], both bargaining gains and union membership increase, as the external solidarity given to non-regular workers’ struggles goes from “no support” to “strong

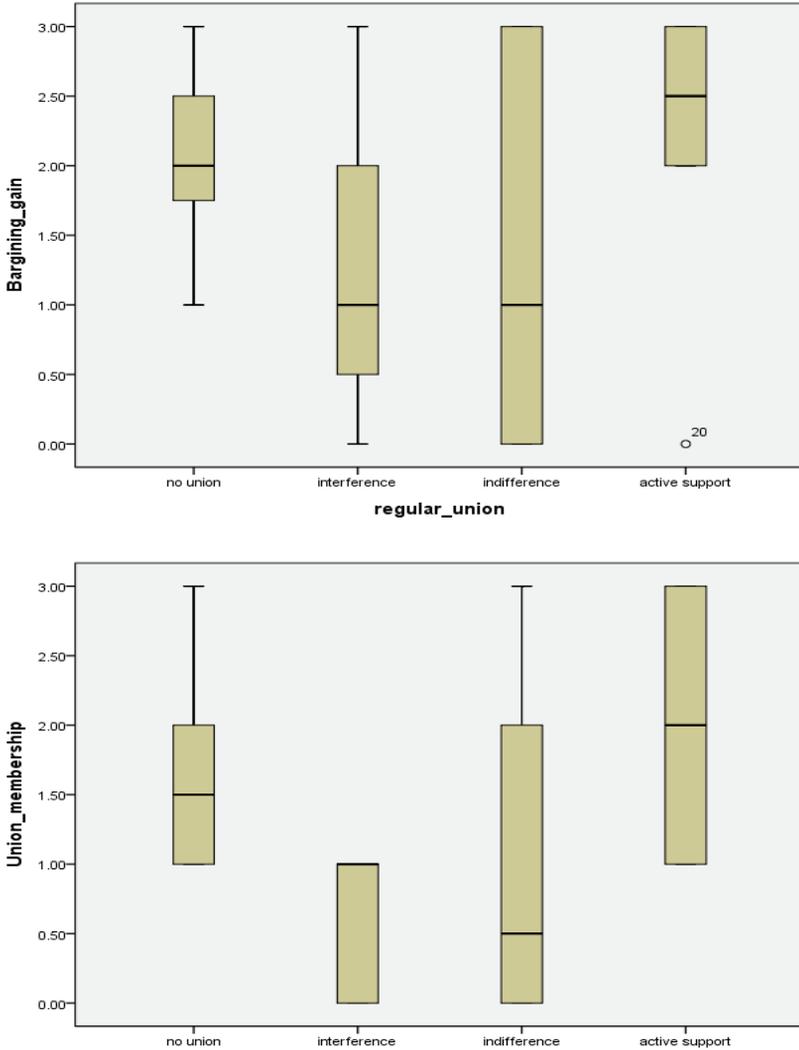


FIG. 4.—the Effect of Regular Workers Union’s Attitude over Struggle Outcomes

support.’ In many instances, non-regular workers’ struggles disclose their inhumane and precarious employment conditions and produce a public drama to resist and challenge employers’ exploitative treatment by gaining broad solidarity support from outside (Chun 2009). In some cases (i.e. Hyundai Hisco, Ulsan plant construction, Hongik University, Korea Workers’ Compensation and Welfare Service, and Coscom), where there exists no

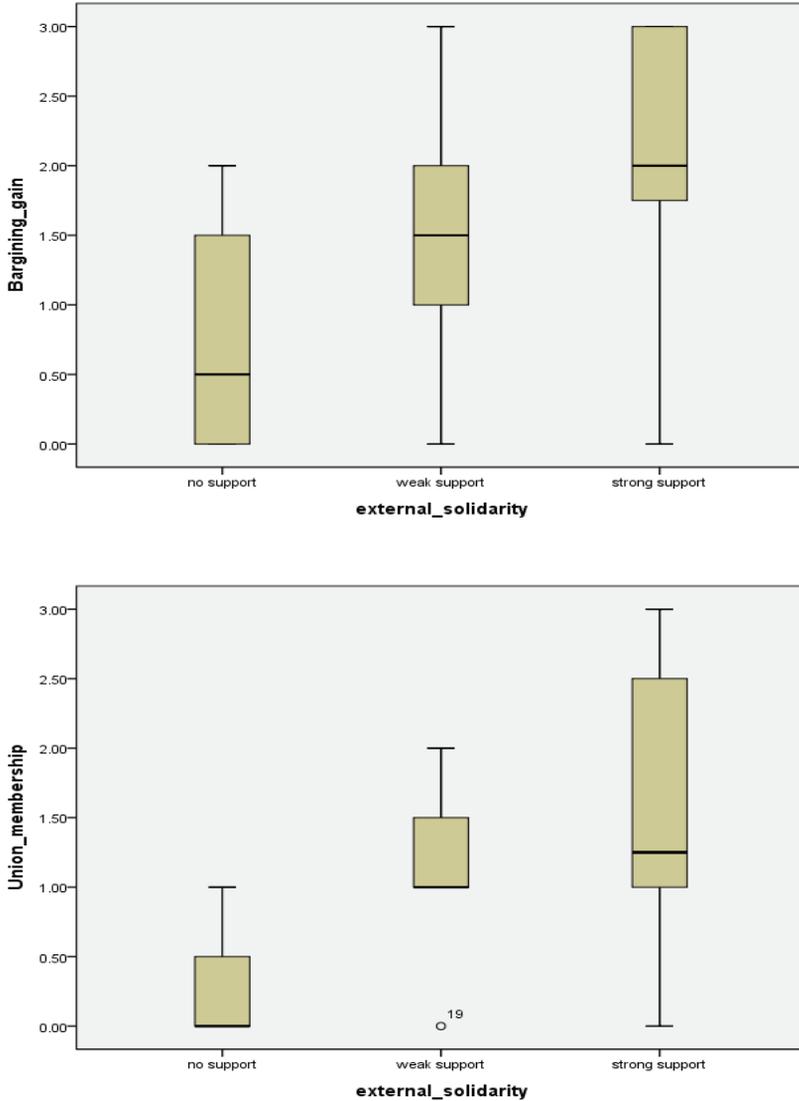


FIG. 5.—The Effect of External Solidarity over Struggle Outcomes

regular workers union or, if any, an indifferent/interfering one, the public drama enabled non-regular workers to make substantial gains in bargaining and membership. In some other cases, however, non-regular workers' struggles create a different kind of public drama, characterized as a

nationwide proxy of labor-capital or union-state confrontation concerning the legal and policy regulation of non-regular employment. In the cases where such class warfare took place, like Hyundai Motor, Ulsan plant, Korail attendants, E-land, and New Core, those disputes are observed to become more protracted and result in limited outcomes.

It is also observed that the outcome of non-regular workers' struggle is to a certain extent correlated with some attributes of their struggle, such as repertoire, duration and timing. As displayed in [Figure 6], non-regular workers unions, which harness only two or three kinds of action repertoires, is better in both bargaining gains and union membership than the union mobilizing more than three kinds of action repertoires.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the number of protest repertoires has a negative correlation with the outcome of non-regular workers' struggles. This implies that the stronger the union is, the fewer struggle repertoires it resorts to for achieving what it desires. Similarly, the number of high-risk protest repertoires harnessed by the non-regular workers union is negatively associated with the outcome, as illustrated in [Figure 7].<sup>19</sup> This means that the more high-risk repertoires a non-regular worker union relies upon, the worse the outcomes. Reversely speaking, the union unable to obtain its desired results with low-risk repertoires of protest action tends to mobilize high-risk struggle repertoires, but with little gains.

From this finding that the number and intensity of protest repertoires is inversely correlated with the outcome of non-regular workers' struggles, we may infer that the extreme form of union militancy by non-regular workers is likely to be self-destructive, an indomitable but impotent struggle. When non-regular workers do not resolve their problems by the conventional and low-risk repertoires of protest action, they cannot but choose the more high-

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<sup>18</sup> There exist two outliers—Coscom and Cargo truckers—which are located outside the patterned correlation between the outcome and the number of repertoires. Coscom and Cargo truckers mobilized four kinds of protest repertoires. Nonetheless, the former made full bargaining gains, particularly aided by the Ministry of Labor's decision against the employer's illegal use of dispatched labor as well as the industry union's active involvement, and the latter has sustained its organizational cohesiveness by demonstrating formidable leverage in its collective action since the first strike action in 2003.

<sup>19</sup> Taking into account the risk protest repertoires posed to struggle participants in terms of bodily and financial damages as well as legal punishment (McAdam 1986; Yoon 2010), the struggle repertoires harnessed by the 30 cases, are classified into two categories, high-risk and low-risk: the former includes blockades, occupation protests, aerial protests, and suicide protests, while the latter is comprised of legal strike action, hair-shaving and hunger strikes, and street campaigns. Note that the relationship the low-risk repertoire has with the outcomes of struggle action is not entirely clear, unlike the high-risk repertoire.

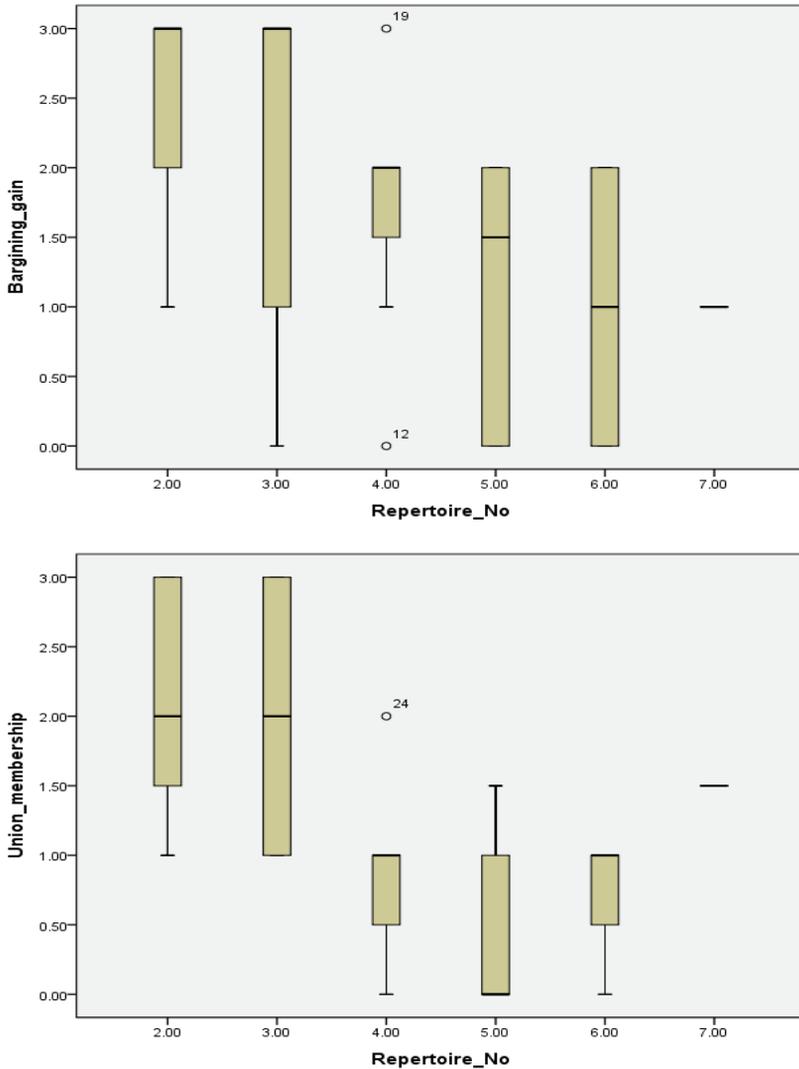


FIG. 6.—Outcomes and Repertoires of Non-regular Workers’ Struggles

risk repertoire to overcome employer’s oppression; however, their militant action tends to result in the decreasing participation of union members, who must leave in order to make a living, and the few remaining members then turn to a desperate but isolated “Sisyphus-style” struggle (Chun 2013). As such, the extremization of protest repertoires is an inevitable choice by non-regular workers unions lacking organizational power and action resources,

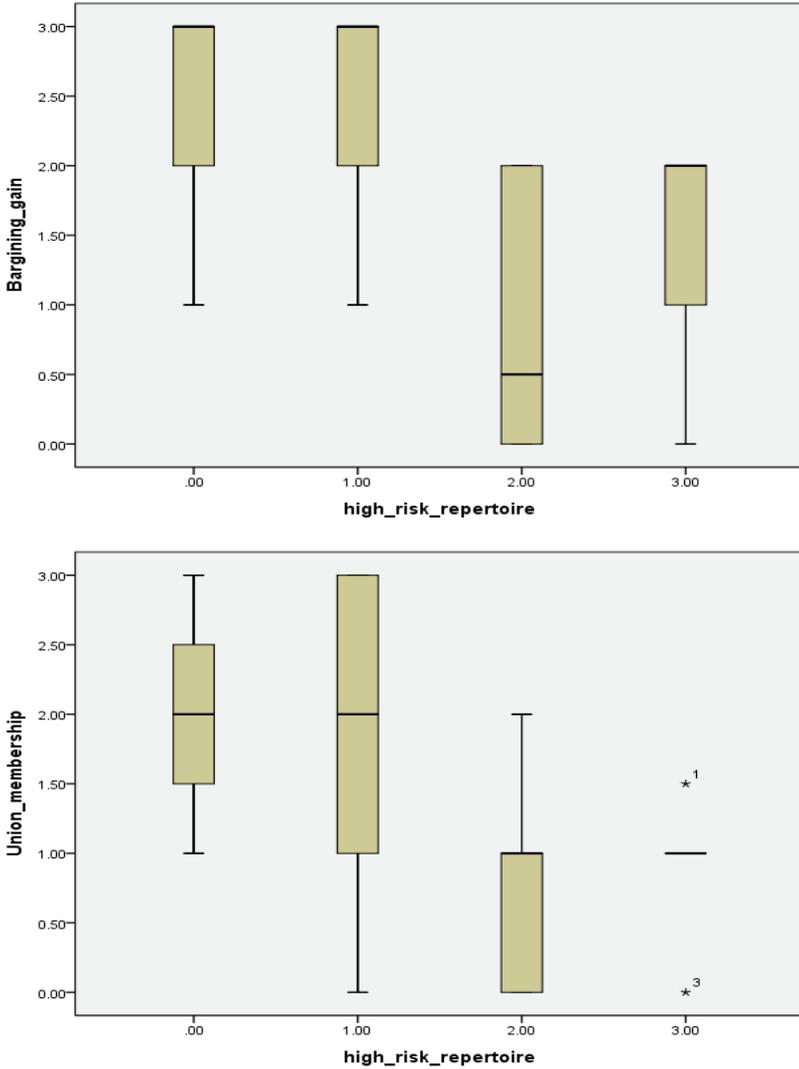


FIG. 7.—Outcomes and High-risk Repertoire of Non-regular Workers’ Struggles

but often leads to a vicious circle of union militancy.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> It should also be noted that the extreme self-sacrificing action repertoires, such as hunger strike, aerial (or sky) protests and suicide protests, in some instances (i.e. Hyundai Heavy Industry; Hyundai Mipo Ship-building; Jaeneung Education; Samsung Electronics Service) saved the union and made significant gains, like reinstatement of dismissed members and regularization of employment status, under the very unfavorable conditions. The self-sacrificing protest, which

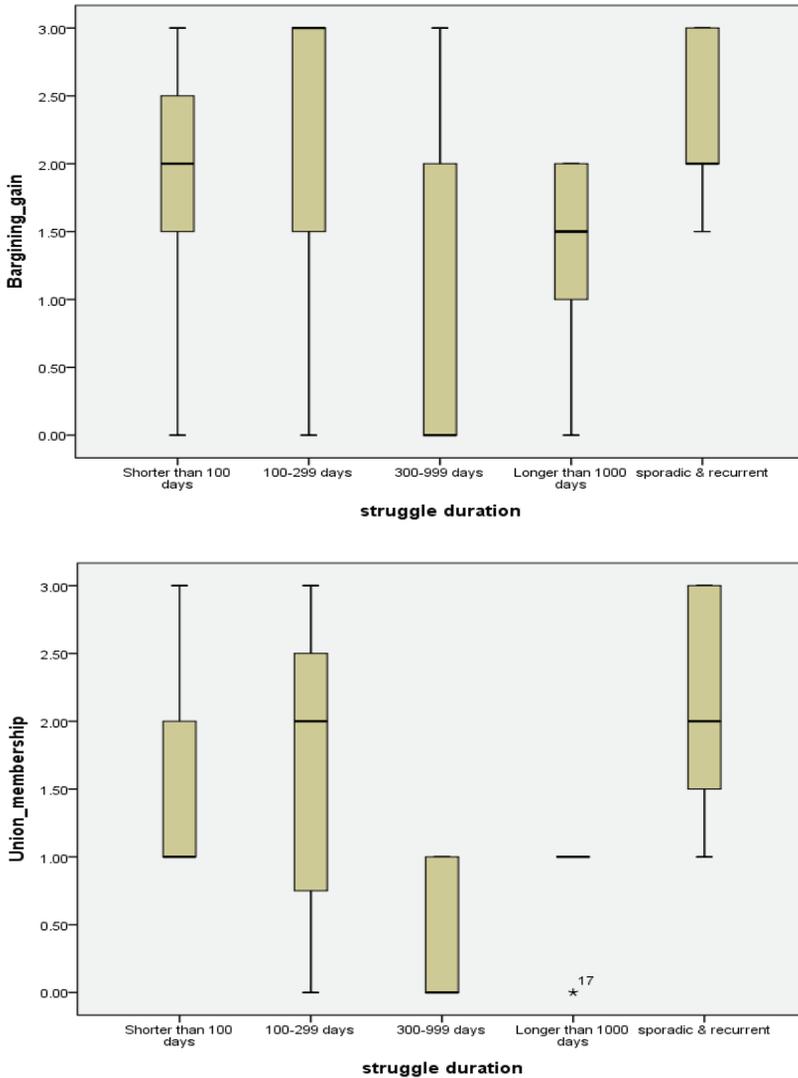


FIG. 8.—Outcomes and Duration of Non-regular Workers’ Struggles

As illustrated in [Figure 8], non-regular workers’ struggles, lasting longer than 300 days, tend to make fewer gains in both bargaining and membership

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originated from Chun,Tae-II’s self-immolation in 1970, has since become the extreme repertoire of micromobilization for labor activists and union members in order to call to the “hearts and minds” of the people (Kim 2008).

than those of under 300 days. A protracted struggle implies that a non-regular workers' union cannot put the struggle to an end in a shorter period, owing to the lack of sufficient force to pressure the employer to accept their claims. The negative correlation between the duration and the outcome of non-regular workers' struggles might be closely linked to the inverse relationship between the number and intensity of struggle repertoires and outcomes. The non-regular workers union which failed to obtain its desired gains by conventional protest action is more likely to resort to a more extreme or high-risk struggle repertoire, but with little productive outcome. As a result, the dispute tends to become further protracted.<sup>21</sup> In contrast, the non-regular workers union, which succeeded in mobilizing members for powerful protest action, causing severe damage to the employer's production or public image (i.e. the Kia Motor Hwasung plant and Hongik University janitors), made considerable gains in bargaining and membership, with fewer high-risk actions and a shorter duration.

Besides, when further exploring the patterned correlation among the attributes of non-regular workers' struggles, a couple of interesting points are observed. Firstly, the nature of contentious issues is closely related with such key features of those struggles, such as the outcomes, repertoire, and duration. Concretely speaking, the issues of dismissal and outsourcing are likely to lead to a more high-risk repertoire, a more protracted dispute, and the worse outcomes in bargaining gains and union membership, whereas the economic and institutional issues tend to involve the less high-risk repertoire and the shorter struggle with better outcomes. This evinces that employer-driven massive dismissal and outsourcing drives non-regular workers into a painful warfare to desperately protest against employer's injustice and for their survival, in sharp contrast to the union-led "getting more" game. In many instances of this warfare, however, the unions harnessed a variety of struggle repertoires, including the extreme and high-risk ones, but still failed to block employers' decisions. Secondly, the duration and outcomes of non-regular workers' struggles appear to be significantly associated with the timing of the struggle, which reflects the effect of the political-economic situation. The duration and outcome of our struggle cases are respectively shorter and better during the liberal governments (2000-2007) than under the conservative governments (2008-present). This result reaffirms that the

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<sup>21</sup> A glimpse of relationship between repertoire (number and intensity) and duration of non-regular workers' struggles by box plot confirms that the two attributes are positively correlated with each other, though in a moderate form.

political opportunity structure plays a significant part in shaping the process and outcome of non-regular workers' struggles, in that the liberal governments, taking a pro-labor policy, provided the more favorable opportunity condition for non-regular workers' collective action than the pro-business conservative governments do.<sup>22</sup>

## Conclusion

This study explores the commonality and variation of non-regular workers' struggles in Korea by drawing upon 30 major dispute cases which have taken place since 2000. The exploratory analysis offers a grounded inference to shed light on the nature of militant activism produced by precarious workers at the margin of labor markets, albeit the paper's limited statistical precision. The common features of those struggles are characterized as defensive claim-making, employer's determined union-busting, protracted struggles outside the workplace, transgressive protest repertoires, reliance on external solidarity, third actors' mediation, dispute recurrence and union's organizational instability, and protest against large firms.

At the same time, the non-regular workers' struggles show a great deal of variation in the outcome (i.e. bargaining gains and union membership) and key attributes (i.e. repertoire, duration, timing) of those struggles. The different outcomes of the struggles are closely correlated with the attitude of regular workers unions as well as the extent of external solidarity toward non-regular workers' struggles, with some contingencies (i.e. public meaning of the struggle, the content and timing of related legal decision by the government or the court, the industry union's involvement, and claimants' self-sacrificing protest) creating outliers from this patterned relationship. The outcome of non-regular workers' struggles is also correlated with their repertoire and duration in a polarizing form like the spirals of moderatization (better outcome – low-risk repertoire – shorter duration) and extremization (worse outcome – high-risk repertoire – longer duration).

Such patterned correlation between the outcome and those attributes (including regular workers union's attitude and external solidarity support) of

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<sup>22</sup> The 16 cases of non-regular workers' struggles happened under the liberal governments, compared to the five cases under the conservative governments and the nine cases carried over between the two regimes. This fact might be well-aligned with the political opportunity structure perspective. In addition, the 2008 global financial crisis would also become an unfavorable structural context constraining non-regular workers' struggles.

non-regular workers' struggle reaffirms the significance of resource mobilization, in particular for precarious workers' protest action. As underscored by McCarthy and Zald (1977), the mobilization of relevant resources is a *sine qua non* factor to determine the course and character of social movement and labor activism.<sup>23</sup> As per the non-regular workers union, which lacks sufficient resources for its protest action, the mobilization of resources from regular workers unions as well as external solidarity actors is a key factor to shape the outcome and style of a union's struggle against the employer. The existing literature of resource mobilization presumes that unions or workers who can mobilize sufficient resources are more likely to engage in militant action (Dixon et al. 2004). This premise, however, does not fit with our finding that non-regular workers who do not have enough resources to mobilize their protest action tend to move on to the more extreme struggle repertoires, though with little success. The protracted and high-risk struggles by non-regular workers standing on the margins is ceaselessly fuelled by those workers' desperate desire to change, as well as their deep resentment against, the precarious working life and deprived labor citizenship in neoliberal Korea. In this light, non-regular workers' militancy might primarily have been driven by the oppression or threat structure of a non-standardized labor market since the late 1990s, which contrasts with regular workers' militancy, geared to more gains in wages and working conditions, under the political opportunity structure created by the democratization of 1987. At the same time, the fact that the outcome and duration of non-regular workers' struggles are to some extent correlated with the timing of the struggle evidences some noticeable effects that political-economic opportunity structure has over those workers' protest actions.

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<sup>23</sup> Cress and Snow (1996) classify the resource of labor activism into four categories: moral, material, informational, and human resources.

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## [Appendix A] 30 Major Cases of Non-workers' Struggles between 2000-2014

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested Issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(1) Remicon (dependent contractor)	2000-2001 (163 days)	Union & worker status recognition, transportation fee increases, * killing a union official by strike busting violence, claims for damages	Plant blockade, hair shaving, collective hunger sit-down, aerial protest (Han River bridge), river raft demonstration, general strikes	Support by union federation & social movement organizations (i.e. relay hunger strike) * court's denial of worker status	Partial contracting & no contract in a majority of plants; Membership up & down (500 dismissed & five arrested)
(2) Korea Telecomm (temporary)	2000-2002 (519 days)	Massive dismissal (7,000) & outsourcing, job guarantee * claims for damages	Hair shaving, stay-in protest at telephone office, HQ & National Congress, aerial protest(Han river bridge), one-man picketing, nation-wide tour protest	Regular union's refusal to support; limited support from national center & SMOs	Outsourcing enforced; union dissolved
(3) Carrier Kwangu (contracted)	2000-2001 (100 days)	Union recognition, illegal temping & regular job guarantee * union member dismissal & blacklist, strike busting violence, damage claimed & criminal charge	Stay-in strike, hunger strike, aerial protest at city hall roof & water fountain, suicide protest attempt	Regular union from early support to later strike-busting action; limited support by federation & local SMOs; MoL's illegal temping decision	Partial gains for regular status; union dissolved

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested Issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(4) Kia Motor Kwangju plant (contracted)	2001-2002 (8 months)	Contracted workers' union suppression, massive layoff	Hunger strike, street sit-down protest	Regular unions' active solidarity & protective negotiation; local SMOs' active support	Phased recruit of contracted members into regular status; union sustained
(5) Korea Workers' Compensation & Welfare Service (temporary)	2003 (41 days)	Temporary workers union suppression & massive dismissal, status change to regular job	One-man picketing, strike action, local office protest, street sit-down demonstration * union official's suicide protest	Regular unions' refusal to support and strike-busting actions; strong support from federation & SMOs + government's pro-labor stance	Phased recruit of temps into regular status; temporary union shrunk
(6) Hyundai Heavy Industry (contracted)	2003-2004 (56 days)	Contracted worker union suppression & massive dismissal, discriminatory working conditions; * criminal charge & damage claims	Nationwide workers protest campaigns, aerial protest at tower crane, solidarity rallies* union member's suicide protest	Regular unions' refusal to support and strike-busting actions; strong support from federation (expulsion of regular union) & SMOs	No contract gain; contracted union shrunk
(7) Seoul University Hospital Care workers (dependent contractor)	2003-2004 (8 months)	Union suppression, forced closure of union's job placement center * legal injunction against strike actions	Street campaigns, hunger protest, stay-in protest at hospital HQ office/MoL regional office/ National Human Rights Commission	Regular unions' strong solidarity & protective negotiation; active support from a joint commission of 50 CSOs	Labor contract gained & union job placement reopened; union enlarged

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(8) Keumho Tire (contracted)	2004 (5 months)	Illegal temping & regular job guarantee	Regular-non-regular solidarity strike actions, street campaigns	Regular union's strong solidarity & protective negotiation; active support from federation & local CSOs + MoL's illegal temping decision	Recruit of all contracted workers into regular status; regular & non-regular union merge
(9) Pohang Plant Construction (daily)	2004 (43 days); 2006 (82 days)	Prevention of multi-tier subcontracting, wage increases, working hour reduction; * criminal charge & strike busting violence	Strike & plant blockade, stay-in protest at the major client company; * union members' death by violent police repression	Strong support by federation; mediation by local city mayor	Wage increases & working hour reduction; union shrunk
(10) Ulsan Plant Construction (daily)	2005 (76 days)	Union recognition, labor contract, prevention of occupational accident; * criminal charge	Sit-down strike; plant blockade, solidarity rallies	Strong support by federation; mediation by local city mayor. Strong support from local labor & CSOs	Local social pact signed, union/ negotiation recognition; union enlarged
(11) Human Resource Development Service of Korea (temporary)	2005 (56 days)	Dismissals & discrimination, employment guarantee	Strike, iron-chain sit-down protest at National Congress	Regular union's active solidarity; support from CSOs	Partial recruit into regular status; union sustained

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(12) GM Daewoo Changwon plant (contracted)	2005-2006 (6 months)	Union suppression and members dismissed, illegal temping & regular job guarantee; * criminal charge	Street sit-down protest, aerial hunger protest (31 days); plant attacks as local solidarity action	Regular union from early support to later strike-busting action; limited support by federation & local SMOs	No gain; union dissolved
(13) Dump truckers (dependent contractor)	2005-2006 (sporadic)	Union & worker status recognition, excess police regulation	Operation refusal/ strike, construction site blockade	Active support from federation; successful bargaining with MoCT	Gains in concerned law reforms; union doubled
(14) Hynix Magner Chips (contracted)	2005-2007 (30 months)	Union suppression & members dismissed; * damage claimed	Strike, hunger sit-down protest, three-step one-bow demonstration, street stay-in protest, attacks at plant entrance/HQ office/local MoL office, nationwide protest campaigns	Regular union's indifference; Strong support by federation & local CSOs (one-man picketing, candlelight demonstration, protest visit to the governor)	Failed reinstatement & job transfer assistance; union dissolved

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(15) Hyundai Hisco (contracted)	2005-2007 (8 months)	Union suppression & members dismissal/subcontractor closure, working system change	Aerial protest at plant crane (26 days), three-step one-bow demonstration, street sit-down protest, one-man picketing, signature-collecting campaigns	Regular union's indifference; strong support by local union-CSOs (incl. local general strike); mediation by local city mayor	Local social pact signed, union/negotiation recognition, reinstatement of dismissed members; union sustained
(16) Kia Motor Hwasung plant (contracted)	2005-2007 (sporadic)	Union suppression, illegal temping & regular job guarantee; * criminal charge	Stay-in strike at painting shop, hunger protest (20 days), serial strike action	Regular union from early support to later indifference; active support by federation & local SMOs	Contract gained & recruit members into regular status; regular & non-regular union merge & enlarged
(17) KTX attendants (contracted)	2006-2009 (1000 days)	Disguised employment & outsourcing	Hair-shaving, hunger protest, stay-in protest at HQ office & Seoul Station, three-step one-bow parade, candlelight rallies, aerial protest at station tower	Regular union's inactive support; active support from CSOs + MoL's anti-union decision, yet Court decision for regular job status (2010)	Partial job transfer to the affiliated firm; union dissolved

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(18) Donghee Auto (contracted)	2006-2010 (36 months)	Union suppression, members dismissal (100), subcontractor closure; * protest-busting violence	Street stay-in protest at client firm HQ (4 months), candlelight rallies; one-man picketing & attack at sales shops with CSOs	Industry unions active involvement & bargaining; strong support from CSOs	Gradational reinstatement of dismissed members, union recognition; union shrunk
(19) Coscom (dispatched)	2007-2008 (460 days)	Illegal temping & outsourcing, union suppression	Hair-shaving protest, street sit-down protest, eight-step one-bow demonstration, stay-in protest at HQ office, aerial protest at Han river bridge & CCTV tower	Regular union's disturbance; industry unions active involvement + MoL's illegal temping decision	Status change into directly employed temps; union dissolved
(20) New Core (temporary)	2007-2008 (480 days)	Outsourcing & massive dismissal (350), union suppression, shop closure	Rotatory strike, occupation at Cathedral/MoL office, candle light rallies, sales boycott campaigns, aerial protest, Hong Kong expedition campaign	Regular & non-regular solidarity strike; strong support from joint support board covering 742 labor & SMOs	Outsourcing enforced; union shrunk by 1/4

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(21) E-land (temporary)	2007-2009 (510 days)	Massive dismissal (400 plus) & outsourcing, wage scheme change to job-based pay; union suppression	Rotatory strike, stay-in protest, candlelight rallies, sales boycott campaigns, aerial tower protest, street campaign, three-step one-bow demonstration, Friday rallies, one-man picketing, Hong Kong expedition campaign	Regular & non-regular solidarity strike; strong support from joint support board covering 742 labor & SMOs plus active netizen support, national center's active involvement for strike fund & protests	Reinstatement of dismissed members by new owner (Homeplus), but union leaders; union sustained, but shrunk
(22) Kiryung Electronics (dispatched)	2005-2010 (1895 days)	Illegal temping, outsourcing & massive dismissal; ※ protest-busting violence & damage claimed	Plant stay-in strike, candlelight rallies, hair-shaving protest, hunger strike (94 days), aerial protest at plant tower, US expedition campaign	Industry union's active involvement & bargaining; strong support from CSOs & netizens (relay hunger protest) + MoL's illegal temping decision	Reinstatement of dismissed members; union shrunk (150 => 10)

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(23) GM Daewoo Bupyeong plant (contracted)	2007-2011 (1190 days)	Union suppression, subcontractor closure & massive dismissal, illegal temping	Street sit-down protest (1000 plus days), three-step one-bow demonstration, aerial protests at Han River bridge, CCTV tower, plant entrance tower (180 days)	Regular union from early support to later disturbance; industry union's active involvement & active support by local SMOs	Partial phased reinstatement; union shrunk
(24) Cargo Truckers (dependent contractor)	2003 2006-2008, 2009 (sporadic)	Recognition of union & worker status, lowering of toll fee and diesel price, broken contract & dismissal	Slow operation, truck demonstrations, refusal to operate, transportation shop blockade; * union members' suicide protests	Strong support from federation & CSOs	Significant gains from negotiation with government & transportation firms; union ups and downs
(25) Hyundai Mipo Ship-building (contracted)	2008-2009 (60 plus days)	Illegal temping, occupational accidents; * criminal charged	Protest campaign on plant & street, aerial protest at plant chimney, candlelight rallies, expedition protests; * union member's suicide protest	Regular union's disturbance, but regular activists' strong support; local federation's limited involvement decision	Partial reinstatement of dismissed members into regular status; union shrunk

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(26) 88CC Caddies (dependent contractor)	2008-2014 (75 months)	Union suppression & broken contract, disciplinary dismissal of union members(59); * protest-busting violence	Hunger protest (25 days), one-man picketing, demonstrations at HQ office	Strong support from federation & feminist groups (relay hunger protest & monthly rallies) + Court decision of ULP	MGMT's refusal to reinstate; union shrunk
(27) Jaeneung Education (dependent contractor)	2007-2013 (2076 days)	Union suppression & disciplinary dismissal, broken contract; * protest-busting violence	Strike, street sit-down protest, hair shaving/hunger protest (19 days), aerial protest at Congress tower & Church tower (202 days)	Active support from federation & SMOs (relay hunger protest & prayer rallies)	Reinstatement of dismissed members & contract signed; union shrunk
(28) Hyundai Motor Ulsan plant (contracted)	2005-present (sporadic)	Illegal temping, union suppression, disciplinary dismissal of union officials	Full & partial strike, stay-in protest at CTS & assembly plant, aerial protests at transmission power tower & PR tower, street sit-down protests * three union members' suicide protests	Regular union's inactive support & positional difference from contacted union; support from CSOs (Hope Bus)+ Court decision of illegal temping	Contract signed, yet not recruit into regular status; union ups and downs

Case workplace & employment type	Struggle duration	Contested issues	Struggle repertoire	External solidarity & State intervention	Struggle outcomes
(29) Hongik University Janitors (contracted)	2011 (49 days); 2012 (85 days)	Union suppression & massive dismissal, university's refusal of bargaining	Strike, street campaigns & sit-down protest, Stay-in strike in university HQ office, candlelight rallies	Industry union's active involvement & support; strong support from CSOs (>50) & netizens	Reinstatement of all dismissed members & contract signed; union sustained
(30) Samsung Electronics Service (contracted)	2013-present (sporadic)	Union suppression & disciplinary/discriminatory action to union members	Serial strike, stay-in protest at HQ & sales shops, Street campaigns, CEO interview protest * two union members' suicide protests	Strong support from federation & CSOs (200 plus) forming "Correcting Samsung Campaign"	Negotiation & organizing (1600 plus 55 in 55 units) in process

