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## Regionalism and Political Institutions in South Korea

Towards democratic consolidation

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## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to examine how regionalism affects the performance of South Korean political institutions. My argument is that different electoral climates present different incentives to political leaders and that these incentives affect their regime performance, contributing to the formation of a specific political culture, more or less favorable to the consolidation of democracy. The thesis analyzed the patterns of electoral politics and electoral reform and the role of regionalism in presidential and parliamentary elections. The study analyzed three presidential administrations of Kim Dae Jung, Roh Moo Hyun and Lee Myung Bak since South Korean democratic transition. Analysis cases were set to compare electoral climates, parliamentary elections and regional cleavage in the time span of the three administrations from 1997 till 2008. The result of this inquiry indicated that regionalism and political institutions of electorate and political parties evolved in a way that regime performance depends on both: regionalism and policies.

**Keywords:** The Electoral System, Regionalism, South Korea, presidencies, elections, democratic consolidation

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# **1 Introduction**

World politics have changed radically in the past few decades. Since the 1970s, democracy spread to many countries in Latin America, Southern Europe, Asia, and Africa. With the collapse of Communism at the beginning of the 1990s democracy reached many regions in the world, the phenomenon, which Huntington called the “Third Wave” of democratization (1991: xiii). Democratization is a complex historical process, consisting of several stages, which involves the phases of transition and consolidation (Diamond 1996: 171).

In 1987 South Korea began the process of democratic transition with adoption of the new constitution (Cotton 1997: 97). Roh Tae Woo, the candidate from the ruling Democratic Justice Party in the 1987 presidential election provided the breakthrough for South Korean democratization. In 1997, the election of Kim Dae Jung as president underscored the first peaceful transfer of power between the ruling and opposition parties in the history of South Korean politics, which was a milestone toward democratic consolidation in the country (Kil 2001: 63).

Since the early stages of democratization process in 1987, regionalism has continuously been a major factor behind social cleavage in South Korea (Hahm 1997). Thus, democracy and its consolidation have been influenced by this regional cleavage as well. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the structure and contents of regionalism, how it modified and influenced democratic consolidation in the country.

South Korea is a country of special interest because it has been through significant political and economic changes in the past decades. From one of the poorest countries in the world with poor resource endowment it dramatically changed into the 13<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world <sup>1</sup>. The continued division of the Korean peninsula, as a result of superpowers intervention after the end of the WW II, still remains the last Cold War legacy that underscores importance of South Korean geopolitics (Kim 2001: 11).

## **1.1 Research Problem**

Democratic regimes vary in the depth and nature of the challenges they face. For a democracy to be consolidated Linz and Stepan require three minimal conditions

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm> U.S. Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs

that must be obtained: democracy needs to become “the only game in town”, the completion of a democratic transition and democratic governance (1997: 15). The main criteria for democratic governance are free contested elections, legitimate functions of legislature and rule within the bounds of a state of law. Diamond points out political institutionalization, democratic deepening and regime performance as generic tasks that all new democracies must handle to become consolidated (1999: 74). Political institutionalization addresses to strength political institutions of the state administrative apparatus, political parties, legislature and the electoral system (Diamond 1999: 85).

In his study of the relationship between legitimacy and regime performance Diamond argues that “the deeper the belief in legitimacy abided by the rules of the democratic system, the more efficacious the regime is likely to be” (1999: 77). These reciprocal relations between legitimacy, effectiveness, and democratic stability make a consolidated democracy to some extent a product of it. Hence, a consolidated democracy is a relationship between regime performance and democratic governance, the conditions pointed out by Diamond, Linz and Stepan. Therefore, democratic governance, characterized by free elections, functions of legislature under a state of law and regime performance, shaped by political institutionalization are two variables consequential for democracy consolidation.

South Korean legislature is represented by National Assembly, which comprises 299 members elected for a four-year term with 243 members single-seat constituencies and the remaining 56 members by proportional representation (Ferdinand 2008: 504). Elections constitute parliaments and determine their composition. Electoral system in combination with social cleavage structure leads to the inclusiveness of a legislature and electoral inclusiveness has several dimensions: the proportionality of the electoral system, that is, how votes are translated into seats, the spectrum of political parties represented in parliament and the social profile of the legislators (Ruland et al. 2005: 96).

In South Korea, elections has been dominated by political parties and the party leaders have tended to identify themselves with specific regions, which made Korean politics to be known as “regional party-centered politics” (Shin et al. 2005: 87). As the result of that, regionalism is the major social cleavage, which according to Lipset and Rokkan “has an impact on party system formation and electoral performance” (1967: 5). Regionalism is embedded in local and regional ties rooted in Korean

society and is a distinguishing aspect of political culture, which makes regionalism an important factor affecting the choices of the Korean electorate.

## **1.2 Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this thesis is to look at how regionalism and political institutions evolved since democratic transition and how regime performance affected the process of democratic consolidation in South Korea. Political institutions that this research is focused on are the electoral system, presidential leadership style, regional cleavage and party policies of the three presidential administrations from 1997 till 2008.

### *Research Questions*

- What have been the patterns of electoral politics and electoral reform since 1987?
- How have presidential policies affected elections outcomes?
- What is role of regionalism in presidential and parliamentary elections?
- How has regionalism modified in the last two presidential elections?
- How have party policies developed since democratic transition?

## **1.3 Research Design and Method**

The design of this thesis is based on “maximalist conception” that focuses on the outcomes of politics (Lee 2007: 103). Compared with “minimalist conception”, which according to Huntington emphasizes procedural democracy (1991: 6) “maximalist conception” includes not only procedural democracy, but also such elements as institutionalization of political institutions, more systematic and transparent democratic accountability (Diamond 1996: 162). There are various approaches on the characteristics of the institutionalization. However, the most important argument binding all the approaches is that “structures do matter, as they are the formal structures of government, defined as presidential or parliamentary” (Peters 2008: 5).

The word “institution” is used loosely in political science to mean everything from a formal structure like a parliament to social class or law (Peters 1999: 28). However, in this thesis “institution” refers to formal components of the institutional apparatus, such as legislature, political parties and elections with incorporation of social cleavage – regionalism.

The main focus of the research is to scrutinize political structure and social cleavage affecting the overall regime performance in South Korea. Thus, the historical legacy, characteristics of democratic transitions, and emergence of partial regimes are the important domains to analyze in order to explain consolidation (Morlino 2008: 181).

The primary data source is Korean National Election Commission that keeps records of all the elections since establishment of the Republic of Korea. Another data source is the summary of previous researches on the political institutions and democratic consolidation in South Korea. To assess the importance of historical overview, an accurate summary on political development is presented with the use of historical institutionalism, which is applied to analyze the past. Historical institutionalism focuses on the influence that a variety of institutional factors can have over policy choices and over the regime performance (Peters 1999: 64). It provides with a tool to understand the current South Korean politics with greater consistency.

Validity is of fundamental importance in the research thesis. Do the selected indicators have a good connection with the theoretical framework? In order to get satisfying validity a three-front attack is applied. The first attack consists of a qualitative investigation of historical overview of political institutions and regionalism; the second to scrutinize presidencies on electoral system and the third to examine the role of regionalism in presidential and parliamentary elections. Analysis cases are set to compare political institutions and regional cleavage in the time span of the three administrations from 1997 till 2008. Although, taking into account short time period since election of Lee Myung Bak and followed after that parliamentary election, the data collected for analysis on Lee Myung Bak's presidency is less sufficient compared to the other two cases.

The method is qualitative, which implies that dependent on the result, some form of casual connection between variables exists. However, it does not tell about the strength of that connection, which in order to achieve a quantitative method is required.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

Theoretical concept of this thesis derives from the discourse of institutional theory. Institutional theory is helpful in conceptualizing and ordering empirical changes in democratic affairs (Bogason 2008: 38). When the focus is on democratic

institutions and the constitution-making process, the institutions play a key role to explain them. Legislatures are the major source of legitimacy of democracies, the important representative institution in a democratic system (Hahn 1996: 4). Thus, the study of legislatures offers useful perspectives on the nature of a political system as a whole and the regime performance (Close 1995: 1).

Morlino argues that the past authoritarian and non-democratic institutional legacy is one of the main factors in understanding the institutions created in the new democratic regime (2008: 179). As legislature and political parties are perceived as institutional arrangement, neo-institutionalism serves as the comprehensive theoretical framework for this research. Neo-institutionalism states that institutions “reduce uncertainty, enhance the predictability of actor behavior, and stabilize role expectations, therefore accord fundamental importance to the design of political institutions such as the system of government, the electoral system or the structure of parliament” (North 1990: 3). Neo-institutionalism focuses upon the component institutions of political life: electoral systems, cabinet decision-making, intergovernmental relationships or contracting rules (Peters 1999: 8). Neo-institutionalism concerns not just with the impact of institutions upon individuals, but with the interaction between institutions and individuals, it is interested in testing theoretical models of how institutions affect behavior (Lowndes 2004: 102).

I argue that democratic transition and consolidation are two separate concepts. While the former concentrates on transition from authoritarian rule, the latter focuses on the democratic development. Many scholars have stated and emphasized the conceptual distinction between democratic transition and consolidation. Although this thesis scrutinizes pre-transition background, the theoretical concept primarily derives from the democratic consolidation theory. However, taking into consideration the short time period since South Korea took the path toward democratic consolidation, this thesis is most unlikely to give a straightforward answer to whether South Korea a consolidated democracy or not.

## **1.5 Disposition**

This research is structured in the following manner. A historical overview of political development since South Korean independence is introduced followed by an empirical material on evolution of electoral system. The origins of electoral system and electoral climate will provide sources for understanding the current electoral

system under democratized period. The following parts describe Korean political parties, voting behavior and specifics of regionalism. The next parts are analysis cases of the three presidencies, which are structured to scrutinize electoral climate, parliamentary election and regional cleavage. Part three analyzes presidency of Kim Dae Jung, the fourth part scrutinizes Roh Moo Hyun's administration and in the same manner the fifth part analyzes Lee Myung Bak's presidency. The last part provides conclusions of how electoral climate evolved during the three administrations and elaborates the role of regionalism in post-transition period.

## **2. Historical Overview of Political Development**

Since the partition of the Korean peninsula in 1945, the political development of South Korea has produced Six Republics to date. When American troops entered the country after the surrender of Japanese armed forces, they found a society with no experience of the institutions or organizations of a democracy (Croissant 2002: 234). Traditional Korea was ruled by a royal dynasty and administered by the aristocracy, the *yangban*; under Japanese colonial rule, a limited number of Koreans had a right to vote for local assemblies (Nahm 1993: 340). Introduced democratic constitution was based on the American model, and the majority of Koreans did not understand the concepts of democracy, political representation and participation. The lack of experience with democracy explains the confusion in the following years. Despite its founding ideology of liberal democracy, the First Republic soon turned into authoritarianism, where the first president Rhee Syngman held power (Park 2001: 119).

The Rhee's authoritarian control of the 1960 presidential election caused the student uprisings that led to the fall of the First Republic with the establishment of the Second Republic, which did not last long. The Republic was toppled in May 1961 by the military under General Park Chung Hee's command (Nahm 1993: 442). After ruling the country as the junta's leader, Park was elected president of the Third Republic. Like Rhee Syngman, Park changed the constitutional limit of two terms to nominate again in the 1971 elections. After Park's assassination General Chun Doo Hwan rose to the presidency of the Fifth Republic (Nahm 1993: 471).

In 1987, President Chun faced massive pro-democracy demonstrations, and he conceded to citizens' demand for democratization by announcing Roh Tae Woo as his

handpicked future successor (Park 2001: 118). Shortly afterwards, the Sixth Republic was established with the method of electing president by direct popular vote. In early 1990, Kim Young Sam joined with President Roh to form the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP), who became the party's presidential nominee and won the December 1992 presidential election by collecting 42 percent of his vote (Park 2000). Kim Young Sam was the first civilian president since the military intervention in 1961. Five years later, in December 1997, Kim Dae Jung of the National Congress for New Politics (NCNP) was elected president, accomplishing the first peaceful transfer of presidential power to the opposition.

## **2.1 Evolution of Electoral System**

On May 1948, a general election was held to build the Constitutional Assembly and adopt the first Constitution with unicameral system and the president (Park 2001a: 1). Since the establishment of the Republic of Korea, there have been eighteen elections for the National Assembly to date: twelve in the pre-democratic era and six since 1987 (Park, 2000). In 1948, 200 representatives were elected for four years in single member districts to constitute the first legislative body - National Assembly (Nahm 1993: 421). In the Second Republic the constitution provided for a bicameral National Assembly, where members of the House of Representatives were elected every four years in single member districts, and the members of the smaller House were chosen by a proportional system. In 1963, the constitution of the Third Republic returned to a unicameral system with the reduced size to 175 seats allocated to national district candidates according to a proportional system (Hermanns 2004: 9).

The electoral system of the Fourth Republic created seventy-three districts with two electing members, the remaining seats were taken by the opposition party (Lee 2001: 145). The parliamentary electoral system of the Fifth Republic comprised 92 electoral districts, two assemblymen were elected in each district, and 92 national seats in the National Assembly were allocated proportionally according to election results. The president could appoint only 22 percent, namely national seats allocated to the ruling party (Lee 2001: 146). In the 1985 election, the opposing New Democratic Party (NDP) won an overwhelming victory over the ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) holding 50 percent of the local district seats. It became the first opposition party, which successfully promoted the movement for constitutional amendment for a direct presidential election system (Ibid).

The electoral system used for the Eleventh and Twelfth Assembly elections during the Fifth Republic was a one-vote mixed system, in which a nominal component of proportional representation (PR) is combined with a single nontransferable vote (SNTV) in two-member districts (Park 2001: 127). Two-thirds of 276 seats were elected from 92 two-member districts, and the remaining one-third of the seats was filled under a PR system (Ibid). Such electoral system is an example of the electoral manipulation that provided the ruling party with majority of votes in the legislature.

Accepting people' protest for direct election of the president, the Sixth Republic limited the presidency to a single five-year term and four years for the National Assembly (Park 2000). Prior to the Fourteenth Assembly election, the number of nationwide seats was reduced from 73 to 62, and the number of district seats increased from 224 to 237. The electoral system for the Fifteenth Assembly increased number of district seats to 299, of 253 elected from single-member districts, and the remaining 46 were filled under a proportional system (Park 2001: 130). The Sixteenth Assembly had 273 seats, of which 227 were elected from single-member districts and 46 by proportional representation (Croissant 2002: 244).

The primary goal that governments wanted to achieve through frequent election system change was to preserve their power and maintain their governing status. Authoritarian government employed two types of government strategies: a short term by quickly increasing seat shares in an upcoming election, and a long term by implementing election system changes (Lee 2006: 172-173). Both strategies were effective in accomplishing the main goal of authoritarian governments to strengthen and prolong their ruling status.

## **2.2 Electoral Climate**

There is universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage since 1948. Elections are held for the presidency and the National Assembly, the minimum age to run as a candidate to the National Assembly has been 25 years (Croissant 2001: 414). Since 1948, South Korea has had a unicameral parliament (National Assembly). The electoral system used in the presidential elections is a first-past-the-post system (Croissant 2002: 244).

The National Election Commission (NEC) is responsible for the organization and supervision of electoral campaigns, elections and vote counting. The NEC is an

independent constitutional body, that is equal in status to the National Assembly, the government, Law Court and the Constitutional Court, and is comprised of nine commissioners: three of them are appointed by the president, three by the National Assembly and three by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. The election law gives the NEC and the electoral commissions a mandate to supervise and manage all national and local elections, referenda, as well as affairs related to political parties and funds. Electoral Commission is comprised of 4 levels: national, metropolitan cities and provinces (si – do), wards, cities, counties (gu – si – gun) and towns (eup – myeon – dong) <sup>2</sup>.

Since the First Republic, the election climate of South Korea has had problems of government interference and negative publicity. In the election of 1948, the major problem was ideological confrontation, money disputes and government interference (Lee 2001: 146). Election manipulation took many different forms: suppression of opposition party campaigns, refusal of candidates' registration, suggestion for voluntary resignation, and threatening voters with legislation (Lee 2001:147). In April 1960 Student Revolution overthrew the ruling party regime, which was viewed as a positive sign of people's political awareness. Although the next fifth and sixth parliamentary and presidential election climate was relatively fair, money and government authority remained playing an important role.

Despite the absence of open bribing, threatening or assaulting of the opposition party leaders, other means such as promoting regional projects for discussing matters with the ruling party' candidates and attacking the opposition party's candidates and their campaigns were widely used (Lee 2001: 148-149). The tenth parliamentary election of 1978 brought to the political landscape competition between the ruling and opposition parties back, and the election climate again became more corrupt, as the ruling party candidates gave out cash instead of distributing gifts to the voters as it has been doing before.

The eleventh and twelfth parliamentary elections the ruling party won in the rural areas, and the opposition party won in the urban areas (Lee 2001: 150-151). South Korea regained a democratic constitution and election system in 1987, which brought to the election arena pro-democratic Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, contributing in the fight against corrupt electioneering (Lee 2001: 151).

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.nec.go.kr/english/news/media.html> accessed on 12 February 2009

From the Sixth Republic, the regular term of office for the president is five years without re-election and for years for the National Assembly with no term limits. To be eligible for the presidency citizens must be at least 40 years old and have resided in the county minimum five years and be eligible member of the National Assembly (Croissant 2001: 416). They may run as party candidates or as independents. An independent candidate needs the support of 2500-5000 electors, among whom not more than 500 may live in the same city or province and in parliamentary elections, candidates may be recommended either by a political party or by electors – independent candidates, who need the recommendation of 300-500 electors (Croissant 2002: 243).

Although Korean law stipulates that the nomination of candidates for public office is made through a democratic procedure within a party, in reality the process is typically initiated at the highest level. A party establishes a screening committee for candidacy at its national headquarters, which reviews applications for candidacy or searches for candidates itself (Park 2000). A possible candidate is evaluated by such criteria as public visibility, loyalty to the party, connections and relations with the top leaders, and likelihood of possible victory (Ibid).

The local government of South Korea is divided into two tiers, consisting of the provinces and municipalities. Since the early 1990s, elections have been held at local and provincial levels (Croissant 2002: 243). The First Republic provided elections of councils at the provincial level appointed by the president. However, the Local Autonomy Act of 1949 granted the elected councils the right “to dismiss them through a non-confidence vote” (Hermanns 2004: 11). Due to the outbreak of the Korean War (1950-1953) elections took place only in parts of the southern provinces. In early 1956, prior to the next scheduled local elections, President Syngman Rhee changed the regulations by introducing the direct election of administrative heads, hoping to weaken the power of the opposition politicians in the National Assembly. In 1958, the Local Autonomy Act was changed again to suppress the local councils’ power, president Rhee reverted to presidential appointments that replaced direct elections of administrative heads (Ibid).

The Second Republic introduced direct elections for all local heads (Croissant 2002: 243). Elections were held in December 1960, but the whole system was abolished in the aftermath of the military coup (Hermanns 2004: 11). The first term of full local government lasted until June 1998 when four-year terms were scheduled, so

that local elections were held with a two-year interval to National Assembly elections (Hermanns 2004: 12). It was highly expected that local autonomy would provide the training ground for a democratic citizenry with increasing civic participation in local politics. However, actual voter participation in local elections has been low (Hwang 2006: 34).

Local elections are overshadowed by national politics. The involvement of political parties, which have had strong ties with regions, has caused regionalism to penetrate into local elections and it has become the major factor in mobilizing support of parties (Hwang 2006: 35). Interestingly enough, after the democratic transition of 1987, the urban-rural cleavage disappeared from national elections, however it continues to exist in the local elections. Hwang argues that it might be closely related to the “decline of electoral participation in urban areas because of the differential impact of democratization on the urban and rural areas (2006: 43).

In South Korea, a party’s popularity is determined by the image of its party leader (Park 2001: 142). Therefore, all the major party’s leaders are expected to take part in the local election campaign. As party leaders are from the national level, it is common for them to bring national issues into local elections, always raising the issue of political stability together with local prosperity (Hwang 2006: 50). By so doing, it seeks a supporting means in exchange for local development by promising the central government’s distribution of goods (Hwang 2006: 51). Since the democratic transition of 1987, every election including local election has been marked by a decisive presence of regional cleavage (Ibid). All the major parties get support along the regional origin of their party leader.

### **2.3 Political Parties**

Political parties in Western democracies emerged as the realms of state and civil society expanded, creating the necessity and opportunity for parties to play a pivotal role in connecting the rulers with the ruled (Lee 2001: 154). In a democracy, political parties serve as the central organizational connection between the state and citizens (Schmitter 2001: 71). In South Korea, the political parties were formed before the establishment of civil society and were created as for politicians’ personal needs (Lee 2001: 154).

The first president Rhee Syngman was against political parties before he became president. However, he created his own Liberal Party (LP) once he faced

organized opposition in the National Assembly and realizing that institutional support in the legislature is needed to pass his policies (Lee 2001: 155). The Democratic Party (DP), the main opposition during Rhee's regime was formed in 1955 in protest to the arbitrary passage of the 1954 constitutional amendment for direct election of the president by popular vote (Han 1969: 448). Division of the Korean peninsula with Communist state in the North the political landscape in the 1950s was anti-Communist.

South Korean political parties as organizations have been traditionally very weak and short-lived. Although the party organizations have undergone numerous changes, their founding politicians have remained the same almost all along (Croissant 2001: 414). New ruling and opposing parties were formed with each change of regimes (Lee 2001: 155). Frequent regime changes have made political parties unstable. Instead of ideological spectrum or policy programs, personalities appeared to be influential in party politics. In the authoritarian period, the party system was mostly characterized by a dominant party system with the issue of authoritarianism versus democracy that divided the ruling and opposing parties (Park 2001: 121). Under military dictatorship for thirty years, ruling parties were election organizations or propaganda machinery, and opposing parties functioned merely as protest organizations (Lee 2001: 156).

Because power rotated from the individual to the party, instead of from the party to the individual politician, the level of institutionalization of Korean parties has been low. Even after the transition to democracy in 1987, civilian political leaders began competing against each other for gaining power, which intensified regional cleavage and personalism. For a long time, political parties in Korea did not play a central role in politics (Ibid).

The fluidity of the party system prevented its institutionalization, which has been described as the "process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability" (Huntington 1968: 12). In order to institutionalize, a party has to develop a solid identity not based on its leader or regime change. South Korean parties lacked the experience of party development. Under authoritarian rule parties easily dissolved one party to establish a new one or merge with another. During the military regime the opposition party provided voters with the collective incentive of democratization, which appealed more to urban rather than to rural voters, which resulted in the ruling party's victories in rural areas and the opposition party's in

urban areas (Lee 2001: 158). After democratic transition in 1987 political landscape was dominated by the "three Kims: Kim Young Sam, Kim Jong Pil and Kim Dae Jung". Since the regional division, each political party in South Korea survives with support from its regional stronghold while receiving rather limited support from other regions.

#### **2.4 Voting Behavior**

Since a presidential election is a national event for choosing the country's most powerful leaders, it tends to attract more voters to polling places than does a National Assembly election (Park 2001: 139). Socioeconomic variables such as education, income, and occupation have not been decisive patterns in the voting participation among the South Korean voters. The most influential factor that affected Korean voters in elections from the First to the Fourth Republic was the urbanization of the electoral district with a tendency of urban voters' support for the opposition party candidates and rural voters' support for the ruling party's candidates (Lee 2001: 153).

During President Park's regime the conflict between urban and rural areas was "the most important determinant of vote choice whereas in the subsequent democratization period conflict has centered upon regional rivalries" (Browne & Kim 2003: 20). In presidential elections, a voter supports the candidate, who comes from the same region as the one where the voter was born or is strongly identified with (Park 2001: 141). Regional voting was particularly noticeable in the 1987 presidential election, when Roh Tae Woo dominated in the northern part of the Yeongnam region, in his home city of Daegu he had 69.8 percent of the votes; Kim Young Sam's strength was centered in the southern part of the Yeongnam region, 54.6 percent of the votes in Busan. South Chungcheong was the strongest support of Kim Jong Pil's support where he had 44.1 percent of the votes (Ibid).

In the National Assembly elections, voters often support the candidate of the party whose leader is a favorite son of their home region. Candidate image voting, which refers to the pattern of voters' candidate choices based on the affection is also significant. In the campaign, a successful candidate does not neglect to convey warm personal tones to his potential supporters (Park 2001: 142). The emotional aspect of candidate image was a crucial factor for Kim Young Sam's victory and Kim Dae

Jung's campaigning strategy of burying his old image as a radical politician with the use of humor and smile instead illustrates the importance of candidate image (Ibid).

## **2.5 Regionalism**

The importance of regionalism is being highlighted because since its emergence during the early stages of Korea's democratization process, regional conflict has continuously been a major factor behind social cleavage in South Korea. Despite South Korean ethnic homogeneity, regionalism has been a fact of life. Suppressed under authoritarian rule, it has become important again since political liberalization in 1987 (Steinberg 1998: 78). With little diversity in ideological spectrum, parties had to rely on other identifiers and regionalism became the most significant. Regional interests became personalized in charismatic leaders, even though the parties claimed to represent the whole country (Ibid).

There have been regional differences throughout the cultural and social history of Korea but only in modern history have they played an important role in politics. The division can be traced back to the period of the Three Kingdoms, when the Kingdom of Paekche was established in the southern eastern part of the Shilla Kingdom in the southwestern part of the peninsula (Nahm 1993: 27). This extended to the division of the two regional rivals of Honam and Yeongnam areas (Hermanns 2004: 19). Honam region has had a status of an opposition bastion. Although it contains about a fifth of the country's people and through extensive migration has influence in Seoul and other areas, Honam has been denied equitable shares of investment, economic opportunity, and access to higher-level administrative appointments (Hermanns 2004: 20).

Regionalism was strong during the authoritarian Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan governments with the dominant voting pattern of urban-rural cleavage (*yeochon yado* – rural voters for the ruling party, urban voters for the opposition parties), reflecting the strong anti-authoritarian sentiment among the urban middle class (Im 2004: 187). Under authoritarian regime, two prominent opposition leaders from different regions: Kim Young Sam from Kyongsang of the Yeongnam region and Kim Dae Jung from Cholla of the Honam region. Both cooperated in their struggle against authoritarian regime, the voting pattern was influenced by urban-rural and democratic-authoritarian cleavages.

After the democratic transition in 1987 the issue of democratization lost its relevance and voters lost their main reference point for voting. Candidates for the presidency mobilized regionalist pattern as the main vehicle for collecting votes. As the two Kims had similar reputations as leaders of the democratization movement and did not have noticeable ideological differences, they had to appeal to voters as favorite sons of their home provinces. The candidate of the authoritarian bloc Roh Tae Woo chose regionalism as the best winning strategy to divided the pro-democratic two Kims, projecting the image of Kim Dae Jung and the citizens of Cholla province as radical, revolutionary, leftist and anti-system forces (Im 2004: 188). The split of the two Kims' democratic coalition as independent presidential candidates allowed Roh Tae Woo to win.

In the National Assembly election of 1988, the parties of the "three Kims" (Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young Sam and Kim Jong Pil) virtually took the greatest share of their home provinces Cholla, South Kyongsang and Chungcheong provinces respectively (Choi 2002). The pattern of party politics underwent a sudden reshaping when President Roh Tae Woo made a surprise announcement on 22 January 1990 to merge his party with the two parties of Kim Young Sam and Kim Jong Pil into the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). This ruling party commanded more than a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, while the opposition side represented Kim Dae Jung's party and the minor Democratic Party organized by a small faction of Kim Young Sam's former followers (Park 2001: 126).

Roh Tae Woo's party merger with Kim Young Sam and Kim Jong Pil into the new ruling party secured by the political pact of guaranteeing Kim Young Sam the new party's presidential candidacy (Im 2004: 190). The three-party merge was based on a grand regional coalition of North and South Kyongsang and Chungcheong provinces and created a hegemonic regionalism aiming to isolate a small minority region of Cholla (Ibid). The "three Kims" parties created a monopoly of regional representation and reduced electoral competition to the regional level, as well as personalized political parties (Im 2004: 191).

The irony of regionalism is that before democratic transition, all three Kim presidents had national political bases, such as modernization or struggle against authoritarian dictatorial rule (Hahm 1997). Being unable to present fresh party platforms or new ideologically distinguishing policies, the three Kims relied on their regional bases, which have become their political courses. One of the problems

associated with regionalism arises at the governmental level, when the government is seen as only representing the interests of a particular region, while other regions fail to believe the government is representing national interests.

### **3. Analysis Case 1 - Kim Dae Jung**

#### **3.1 Electoral Climate**

The 1997 presidential election campaign was unlike anything South Korean has experienced before. With less than two months until election day an opposition candidate is leading in the polls, while the ruling party's candidate is in behind. In a country, where before the transition to democracy the authoritarian government used all of its power to ensure staying in power, it was extremely unexpected (Hahm 1997). On 18 December 1997, Kim Dae Jung of the Democratic Party was elected president in his fourth bid for power with 40.3 percent of the vote (Kang, Jaung 1999: 603). It was the first peaceful transfer of power to the opposition party candidate in 50 years (Im 2004: 286). His election was an important development in the Korean path towards democratic consolidation (Hahm 2008: 137).

The transfer of power in the 1997 presidential election has also historic meaning for democratic consolidation because of the time it took place, in the midst of a severe economic crisis. Despite the mood of national despair generated by economic crisis, the balloting was the cleanest and most transparent since direct election of the president began in 1987 (Steinberg 1998: 76). The issue of economic crisis was dominant in the 1997 presidential election because the crisis culminated at the height of the campaign. Kim Dae Jung was successful in persuading voters that a shift to the opposition would be the best solution to the crisis (Park 2001: 135). Despite the historical event of a peaceful power transfer, it was the period of pain and struggle in the aftermath of the economic crisis with unemployment rate reaching close to 10 per cent and factories were running at barely over 60 per cent of capacity (Park 1999: 133). The situation required sufficient recovery policies from president. Another important factor was North Korea, which tried to take advantage of South Korea's hardship by testing the military response of Seoul and its allies while at the same time acquiring economic assistance (Hahm 1997).

Regionalism continued to play a strong role in post-transition period. In fact, the development of regionalism in political landscape is linked with the “three Kims: Kim Young Sam, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil” who have dominated Korean politics for thirty years (Hahm 1997). Each of the Three Kims had come to represent a particular region of the country where their political parties also had power bases, which had made regionalism a dominant factor of Korean political debates (Ibid). Counting on the regional base in the Cholla provinces, Kim Dae Jung in addition made an alliance with Kim Jong Pil, who was an ex-military officer and one of conspirators of the 1961 coup during Park Chung Hee’s regime (Kang, Jaung 1999: 603). Such unusual alliance of two former adversaries lays in a assessment that the regional support of Kim Jong Pil’s base will bring more chances of winning the election in exchange Kim Dae Jung agreed to push a constitutional amendment in favor of a parliamentary system (Hahm 1997).

Although Kim Dae Jung’s winning in the presidential election was marked as a peaceful transfer of power from the government party to the opposition, something that has never happened in South Korean politics before, it also illustrates the picture, where former rivals can work together to meet their interests and ensure their political survival and longevity.

Despite the fact that Kim Dae Jung presidency was marked as a historical breakthrough toward Korean democratic consolidation, his period is also marked with some controversial issues. Inter-Korean summit of 2000 between South Korean President Kim Dae Jung and North Korean President Kim Jong Il was without any doubt a historical event and breakthrough in inter-Korean relations. Kim Dae Jung’s “sunshine policy” toward North Korea aimed at inducing change in North Korean policy toward the South through conciliation and improving and expanding bilateral relations (Park 1999: 137). Upon his inauguration, Kim Dae Jung proclaimed a strategy of separating politics from economics, the policy that allowed to negotiate a deal with North Korea on nine joint ventures, one of which was a tour to the Mountain Kumgang area, a premier tourist site located on North Korea’s east coast (Park 1999: 138). Summit meeting of South and North Korean leaders laid a foundation for improving and expanding bilateral relations. Exchange of family members from each side cross-visited the two capitals of Seoul and Pyongyang took its place for the first time since 1985 (Ibid).

### 3.2 Parliamentary Elections

The 2000 parliamentary election was held on 13 April 2000, at the midpoint of Kim Dae Jung's term and it was regarded as an evaluation of his administration. Although Kim Dae Jung defeated GNP candidate Lee Hoi Chang in the 1997 presidential election, his party (NCNP) remained a minor party in the National Assembly with 78 of the body's 299 seats, while Lee's party controlled a comfortable majority of 161 seats (Kim 2000: 895). In order to secure the ruling coalition's control of the majority in the National Assembly Kim Dae Jung focused on two tasks: to remake his basically regional NCNP party into a national party and to revise the electoral system for the National Assembly (Kim 2000: 896). As a first step at reorganizing his party, Kim Dae Jung initially urged Kim Jong Pil's ULD to merge with his NCNP, the name of which already has been changed to the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) (Park 2000). However, the ULD refused to join the MDP and also ended its partnership with Kim Dae Jung's party over what it saw as a betrayal on the president's part Kim 2000: 896). During the 1997 presidential election campaign, Kim Dae Jung promised the ULD leader Kim Jong Pil to introduce a parliamentary cabinet system of government by 2000 but proved unwilling to follow through (Ibid).

While issues are considered to be an important influence on voting behavior in Western countries, the 2000 election demonstrated a turning point for the importance of issues in Korean voting behavior. One of the issues was the campaign for "clean" or "new" politics, promoted by the citizen group Civil Action for the 2000 General Election (CAGE), which drew up a list of over 300 politicians they judged inappropriate as candidates (Hermanns 2004: 28). The group labeled 86 candidates as "must not be elected" candidates and actively campaigned against them based on their past records of corruption, undemocratic behavior and collaboration with previous authoritarian regimes (Kang, Walker 2002: 481). Out of the 86 candidates in the list, who stood for office, only 27 candidates were elected (Hermanns 2004: 28).

Another issue in the campaign was the inter-Korean dialogue scheduled for June 10-12, which was announced three days before polling day (Kang & Walker 2002: 481). Although the news were received positively in most areas of the country, the timing of the announcement was met with suspicion by many voters in the south – east and the GNP, who saw the move as a tactic to boost the party's support (Ibid).

Negotiations over revision of the electoral system to replace the existing electoral system, which was predominantly based around single-member districts (SMD) with multimember districts (MD) agreed on a hybrid of the SMD and proportional representation (PR) system (Kim 2000: 896). Under the proposed system, 258 of the 299 National Assembly members would be elected in SMD and the remaining 41 would be chosen under the PR system from party lists of candidates, with each voter having two votes to cast: one for the candidate running in his or her electoral district and the other for the party list (Kim 2000: 897).

However, the proposal was met with heavy criticism from civic groups and ultimately was rejected. Facing such criticism, the two sides agreed in early February 2000 to retain the existing electoral system but reduce the number of seats from 299 to 273 (Ha 2001: 32). The 227 seats to be elected as SMDs, while the remaining 46 to be distributed under proportional representation: a party receiving 3%-5% of the vote would be given one seat even if it failed to win any SMD seats (Kim 2000: 898). There was one additional reform measure is the 30 percent appointment of the candidate position to women under proportional representation, to guarantee equal political opportunity for women (Park 2000).

This election was of great importance to both the government and opposition parties. For the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) winning a majority in the election was imperative of the Kim Dae Jung government was to push ahead with its political and economic reform programs. For the opposition Grand National Party (GNP) winning was a means of repudiating the government's political and economic policies (Kim 2000: 894). Also, for both the government and the opposition, the 2000 election was of significance as it was regarded as a major indication to the next presidential election in 2002. Although various issues had influence on the voting behavior the nature of the issues in most cases evolved or were associated with parties' leaders rather than political issue itself.

The 16<sup>th</sup> National Assembly election held under the new legislation resulted in the opposition GNP winning of 133 seats (Appendix 1: Distribution of seats in the National Assembly election 2000). Kim Dae Jung's MDP won 35.9 percent with 115 seats, Kim Jong Pils' ULD won only 9.8 percent of the vote with 17 seats (Ha 2001: 32). The DPP, which was formed hurriedly before the April election collected 3.7% of the popular vote of only one seat and one under the proportional representation

system (Kim 2000: 905). The HNKP won just one seat, and five independents shared the remaining assembly seats.

The election outcome represented a defeat for the ruling MDP to push Kim Dae Jung's economic and political programs. It put an end to any moves of introducing a cabinet system of government with the dismal performance of the ULD, which had been the main proponent of such proposal. The GNP leader was a strong advocate of the presidential system of government (Kim 2000: 913). For the MDP, the parliamentary election had produced *yosoyadae* (minority ruling party) structure, in which the main opposition party has greater parliamentary representation than the ruling party (Ha 2001: 32).

The 2000 parliamentary election brought changes to the National Assembly: newcomers took up more than 46 percent of the seats of then 299-seat body or 137 newcomers in the new 273-seat assembly (Kim 2000: 907). The number of female legislators increased from 3 percent to 5.86 percent (Hermanns 2004: 27). Among the newcomers were ten young well-known former student activist leaders who brought the total number of individuals in the body from the so-called "386 generation" (those in their thirties, who attended university in the 1980s and were born in the 1960s) to 13 (Kim 2000: 907). The low voter turnout reflected apathy and alienation on the electorate. In keeping with a long-established pattern in South Korean political behavior – the more urbanized a district, the lower the voter turnout, overall turnout was lowest in Seoul and other metropolitan areas (54.3%), while it was higher (69.35%) in rural areas (Kim 2000: 907). Aside from that, it is also most likely that voter low turnout was affected by the Central Election Commission's announcement of the National Assembly candidates had served prison terms (Ibid).

Huang argues that in order for South Korea to consolidate its democracy "the number of National Assembly members elected through PR should be increased, while the proportion of seats allocated to the leading party should be decreased" (1997: 157). Although South Korean legislature revision of reducing the number of seats from 299 to 273 took place, the number of seats distributed under proportional representation is low.

### **3.3. Regionalism**

Regionalism has been the bane of South Korean politics. Whatever its genealogy and origins are it acquired concrete form and shape in the 1960s with the

economic development. In order to allocate scarce resources and allocate them more efficiently, president Park Chung Hee chose to develop Seoul-Busan corridor, which included Kyongsang province, where he happened to have been born. With the explosive growth of the economy the region was heavily industrialized, while other provinces, such as Cholla were relatively neglected (Hahm 1997). Later, the fact that Park's successors, Presidents Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo were also from Kyongsang province reinforced the idea that the province was given preferential treatment and the sense of discrimination felt by the people of Cholla found a political representative in Kim Dae Jung, the region's favorite son (Hermanns 2004: 20). In the country, where regionalism is an important factor in people's voting decision-making, Kim Dae Jung fostered regionalism and in fact enjoyed massive support from his regional base in the Cholla provinces.

Kim Dae Jung's victory in the 1997 presidential election was attributed to two factors: the formation of an electoral alliance with Kim Jong Pil who held a charismatic leadership over the Chungcheong province and the internal division of the ruling GNP (Kang & Jaung 1999: 603-604). Despite the difference in ideologies and careers, the coalition between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Pil was formed and named the "DJP alliance", after the English initials of their given names (Ibid). While Kim Dae Jung had mobilized constant support from his home region, he did not gain support outside of it. Relatively small size of Kim Jong Pil's home base in Chungcheong region left him with the only choice to make a cross-regional coalition.

Kim Jong Pil had taken an important position along the regional cleavage because the regional rivalry was mainly between the two regions of Cholla and Kyongsang. To institutionalize his role in forming a government, Kim Jong Pil suggested an electoral coalition with a party that would support his plan to introduce the constitutional conversion to a parliamentary system. While other candidates did not respond to his offer, Kim Dae Jung accepted the offer as his last chance (Kang & Jaung 1999: 604).

Electoral support for Kim Dae Jung from the Chungcheong region played a crucial role in his electoral victory. Voting pattern in the 1997 election clearly varied from region to region. Kim Dae Jung enjoyed a massive support from his regional base in the Cholla provinces of the Honam region. In contrast, Lee Hoi Chang, the runner-up, won 1.7 percent of the vote in Kwangju, 4.5 percent in North Cholla and 3.2 percent in South Cholla (Appendix 2: Presidential Election of 1997).

The Honam residents have been especially well known for rallying around their favorite son, Kim Dae Jung. The residents have felt discriminated against under the governments of Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, Roo Tae Woo and Kim Young Sam, all coming from the Yeongnam region (Steinberg 1998: 78). The citizens of Kwangju have not forgotten being brutally during their resistance of general Chun's military takeover in 1980 (Oberdorfer 1997: 128-129). In the Yeongnam region, Lee Hoi Chang collected a solid majority of the votes: 53.3 percent in Busan, 72.7 percent in Daegu, 61.9 percent in North Kyongsang and 55.1 percent in South Kyongsang. By contrast, Kim Dae Jung collected roughly 15 percent or less of the votes cast in each of these cities and provinces (Croissant 2001: 477).

What distinguishes this election was the voting pattern in Chungcheong and Kyongsang provinces, where the ruling bloc used to enjoy overwhelming support. In the 1997 presidential election, these regions were split between Lee and Rhee (Kang & Jaung 1999: 605). The dispute within the ruling GNP, which was created out of a three-party merger in 1990, caused factional rivalry along their former identities (Kang, Jaung 1999: 604). Rhee In Je performed relatively well in his home region of Chungcheong, which had been, however, dominated by Kim Jong Pil. Rhee secured a relatively good share in South Kyongsang as his factional base of support, which made Lee Hoi Chang unable to win as many votes as he could have (Kang, Jaung 1999: 606). In sum, the split of votes between Lee Hoi Chang and Rhee In Je resulted in the favorable condition for Kim Dae Jung to win in his fourth presidential bid.

Although Kim Dae Jung was known as a pro-democratic fighter, there was severe criticism of his administration in regard to noticeable regional bias in the appointment of key government posts. Key positions in the government and government-controlled corporation were given to individuals from the Honam region, even Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Kim 2000: 899). The appointment rate of political figures from the Honam region increased sharply from 14 percent to 27 percent, whereas the appointment rate of those from the Yeongnam region declined from 45 percent to 25 percent (Choi 2002).

In the National Assembly election, most candidates for district seats were closely tied to their electoral districts by birth or other connections. In this case, regional voting refers to the regional base of the candidate's party or that of the party's top leader (Park 2001: 141). The regional cleavage factor served as the dominant cue for voters' choices. In the parliamentary election of 2000, each of the

major parties went into the elections with a clear regional power base: the GNP in the south – east (Kyongsang), the MDP in the south – west (Cholla), and the ULD in the central region (Chungcheong). The fact that neither the GNP nor the MDP won a single seat in each other's home region indicated the strength of regionalism in South Korea (Kang, Walker 2002: 484).

Regionalism continued to play a strong role in the presidential and parliamentary elections. Kim Dae Jung's victory in the 1997 election was largely due to his strategic alliance with Kim Jong Pil, the coalition of the two Kims allowed Kim Dae Jung to count on the votes in home region of Kim Jong Pil. In the parliamentary election of 2000 regionalism play a strong role in Honam and Yeongnam regions. Kim Dae Jung promised to reduce regional cleavage in his presidency, however he failed to carry out his promise. By filling many top posts with people from his home region of Honam made him an unpopular figure in the Yeongnam region.

The opposition GNP gained 62.5 percent of the popular votes, while not one of the MDP members was elected in the Yeongnam region. The negotiations over revision of electoral law have not found compromise between the two sides. Reduced number of the total seats from 299 to 273 has not changed the distribution of seats between the two tiers, remaining the overwhelming majority in the SMD seats.

## **4. Analysis Case 2 - Roh Moo Hyun**

### **4.1 Electoral Climate**

The presidential election of 2002 was marked by a victory of the liberal candidate from the governing Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) Roh Moo Hyun. This election was another milestone in the history of Korean democracy after its democratic transition. The MDP candidate, Roh, won the election with 48.9 percent of the vote, narrowly defeating the GNP candidate, Lee Hoi Chang, who won 46.6 percent (Appendix 3: The Results of the Sixteenth Presidential Election). From personal background and professional career, the two main candidates were opposites. Roh Moo Hyun comes from a poor farming background holding only a high school diploma. He passed the bar and became a self-educated lawyer and was actively involved in the democratization movement (Walker & Kang 2004: 842). He also

gained popularity by pushing, in particular, for the end of the “three Kims” era that has dominated in South Korean politics.

Strikingly differ from Roh, Lee Hoi Chang was raised as the son of a lawyer and made a remarkable career for himself: Supreme Court Judge, Chairman of the National Auditing and Inspection Office and Prime Minister (Jaung 2003: 5). On the ideological spectrum, Lee stood on the right and conservative side, stressing minimization of government’s role in the economy (Kim et al. 2008: 139). His campaign highlighted job creation rather than funding for the unemployed, underlined financial and corporate restructuring toward a sound market economy (Jaung 2003: 8). Roh belonged to the left and “progressive” side advocating for drastic reforms. He supported more active role of government in the economy, especially in providing social safety nets for the lower class through expanding social assistance programs and reducing income taxes for the lower middle and lower classes (Lee 2003: 74). The catchphrase of his campaign was “liquidation of old politics”, whereas Lee stressed the need to “judge the corrupt regime” (Ibid).

One of the reasons of Roh’s victory in the presidential election was his alliance with Chung Moon Joon, a member of one of South Korean most important families - Hyundai Conglomerate. The family was responsible for organizing South Korea’s co-hosting of the 2002 Football World Cup, which brought enormous popularity to Chung and inspired him to run for the presidency (Walker & Kang 2004: 842). Roh and Chung came from the very opposite social classes with contrasting policy preferences, but both represented the new younger generation of Korean political leaders and they both shared one common objective to oppose Lee Hoi Chang’s bid for the presidency (Lee 2003: 72). Sharing a similarly progressive ideology, Chung and Roh feared they might split the like-minded vote. This led them to negotiate by an agreement that they would hold one television debate, and the one who scored higher in a public opinion poll would run as the “unified candidate” (Ibid). The poll favored Roh by a slight margin over Chung 46.8 percent versus 42.2 percent (Walker & Kang 2004: 842).

Despite the difference in contrasting policy preferences, such as ideological standing and class origin, both represented the new wave in South Korean politics. Roh was associated with liberal vision and Chung represented patriotism, which in a way made sense of their surprising coalition (Jaung 2003: 6). Few hours before voting started, Chung abruptly withdrew from his cooperation with Roh. Instead of

damaging Roh's chances, the last minute defection seemed to have created a late surge of support for the MDP. Highly educated but disappointed with the old style of politics, Roh's followers used the Internet to form a fan club – known as “Rohsamo”<sup>3</sup> (literally “gathering of those loving Roh”) – to articulate their political views and to attain the public support for Roh (Lee 2003: 66).

The Rohsamo group consisted largely of younger people, and managed to generate backing for their candidate among electors who would otherwise have had little interest in the election. His followers connected with each other through the Internet, debating policy issues, developing political platforms, raising funds, and attending public gatherings where Roh appeared, which all contributed to his popularity in public opinion polls (Walker & Kang 2004: 843).

Roh represented a new generation of Korean political leaders, who has been elected on the promise of a new kind of politics. In June 2002, while the Football World Cup was staged hosted by South Korea and Japan, local elections were held. The conservative GNP won 11 of the 16 gubernatorial positions, including the position of mayor in Seoul (Hermanns 2004: 32). The defeat of the ruling party was attributed to voters' disappointment with the MDP and its achievements. Corruption scandals, which involved two of Kim Dae Jung' sons gave the party a negative image (Chosun Ilbo 2002, June). It pictures the little role that local elections play in the campaign, where national policies, personalities and the upcoming presidential elections dominate. In the local elections, candidates used their party tickets only at the regional level with 3.8 percent of positions, which went to independent candidates. The DLP had a strong showing in Ulsan, collecting over 28 percent of the vote and nationwide it won over 8 percent. The GNP won over 60 percent of the council seats nationwide (Hermanns 2004: 32). The presidential election of 2002 is regarded as the first national-level election of South Korean history, in which generational differences played a critical role in the election outcome. The generational cleavage traces back to several different roots.

The first has to do with economic, left-right ideological division (Kim et al. 2008: 138). Lee Hoi Chang with his conservative stands on various issues was supported by those who were wealthy and preferred stability, many of them happening to belong to the older generation.

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<sup>3</sup> Another English version is NOSAMO (the association of voters who like Roh Moo Hyun)

In contrast, Roh Moo Hyun, a self-taught lawyer without a college education was an example of the self-made man and a supporter of the weak and poor, an image that appealed to the younger generation (Kim et al. 2008: 139). The striking difference of Roh and Lee was in form of foreign policy issues. Lee continuously expressed his preferences for a North Korean aid policy based on reciprocity, emphasizing the significance of the ROK-U.S. Alliance (Jaung 2003: 6). Roh, on the other hand, advocated continued cooperation with the North to prevent heightened tension in the Korean Peninsula, demonstrating nationalistic leaning and his seemingly independent position was extremely popular among the younger generation (Kim et al. 2008: 140). The election of Roh Moo Hyun marked the end of the “three Kims” era that was dominated on Korean political landscape for thirty years.

#### **4.2 Parliamentary Election**

Electoral and party politics throughout 2003-2004 have dictated the contour of the political landscape. Roh Moo Hyun has had difficulties in dealing with the National Assembly from the beginning. Despite of defeat in the presidential election, the opposition GNP held a majority of seats in the National Assembly. Although Roh was elected as official candidate from the MDP his relations with some members have not been cordial, as the most powerful MDP group consists of close personal followers of former president Kim Dae Jung with power bases in Honam (Lee 2003:134).

The first year under Roh’s presidency was judged to be not as successful or smooth as his predecessors. In September 2003, President Roh announced that he would quit the ruling MDP soon, which meant that the ruling party would be fractionalized into two rival groups: those loyal to Roh and the others loyal to the party’s founder, former president Kim Dae Jung (Kihl 2005: 57). Eventually, Roh Moo Hyun with 36 Democratic Party members walked out to found a new party called “Uri Open Party” with five dissidents from the GNP. To those remaining in the MDP, the new party symbolized Roh’ betrayal of the party that elected him. With the creation of Roh’s Uri Party, the MDP found itself in the opposition and willing to cooperate with the GNP against their previous colleagues now in the minority ruling party (Lee 2003: 135).

On March 12, 2004 Roh Moo Hyun was subjected to an impeachment motion by the opposition dominated National Assembly just a month before the forthcoming

parliamentary election (Kihl 2005: 53). The opposition MDP joined the main opposition GNP to impeach the sitting president, which was met by a public outcry with a candlelight vigil protest by Roh supporters (Kihl 2005: 54). With declining popularity of Roh from 80 percent to 25.6 percent during his first year of administration due to his unsuccessful policies of managing North Korean nuclear crisis to the relations with the United States deepened a crisis of confidence (Larkin & MacIntyre 2003: 1). However, the Constitutional Court rejected the parliament's impeachment of Roh. According to South Korean Constitution

“In case the President /.../ have violated the Constitution or other laws in the performance of official duties, the National Assembly may pass motions for their impeachment.”<sup>4</sup>

The Constitutional Court found the charged violations not severe enough to discharge the acting president (Ibid). Roh's first year of presidency was marked by controversial scandals, involving his long-time aide who was accused of receiving bribes, and another two of his close aides were also subjected to a government investigation (Larking & MacIntyre 2003: 2). The country's domestic politics by the end of his first year in office became volatile and uncertain on the eve of the legislature election (Kihl 2005: 60).

Roh was reinstated and the court's ruling offered the president an opportunity to free himself from the pursuit of partisan interests to focus on serving the entire nation with the support of the newly constituted National Assembly (Kihl 2005: 58). The 2004 parliamentary election was held under a new electoral system, a mixed-member majoritarian system that combined 243 single-seat districts (SSDs) with 56 proportional representation (PR) seats, elected from a single nationwide district.

Each voter registers two votes: one for an individual in the SSD tier, and one for a closed party list in the PR tier (Appendix 4: Seats in SSD and PR tiers of the 17<sup>th</sup> National Assembly 2004). Seats in both tiers are allocated separately: each party allocated its proportionate share of the PR seats plus the SSDs won by its candidates (Cho 2005: 526).

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<sup>4</sup> <http://korea.assembly.go.kr> Article 65 (1) of the R.O.K Constitution, accessed March 5, 2009

The revised electoral system was a response to a Constitutional Court ruling in 2001, which found the old system unfair and restrictive of voter's rights. Mixed-member systems contain two tiers: one must entail allocation of seats nominally, whereas the other must entail allocation of seats by lists (Shugart & Wattenberg 2001: 10). Mixed-member systems combine the majoritarian and proportional principles in one electoral system with the primary difference between the two in the presence or absence of a linkage between tiers (Shugart & Wattenberg 2001: 13). Linkage between tiers refers to whether votes are transferred from the nominal tier to the list tier. When there is no linkage between tiers in the allocation of seats, a party simply takes its seats in the nominal tier and adds to them whatever number of seats it wins in the list tier (Ibid).

South Korean revised electoral system is a mixed-member majoritarian system with the closed party list, wherein candidates are ranked prior to the election by the parties themselves and voters have no say in the order by which candidates are elected. According to Shugart and Wattenberg, in a mixed-member majoritarian system when the two tiers are not linked it means that majority received by a large party in the nominal tier is not likely to be wiped away by proportional allocation from the list tier (2001: 13). Thus, the principle behind majoritarian system is giving an advantage to a large party.

Under the mixed-member majoritarian system, the percentage of seats allocated from the list tier is an important variable due to the given non-compensatory nature of the PR allocation. Most of such systems in Western democracies have a nearly even split between tiers, such that around half of the seats are allocated proportionally (Shugart & Wattenberg 2001: 19).

As in other mixed-member systems, politicians elected from the PR list have different incentives from those elected in the single-member districts. However, some features of representation on the PR lists are specific to South Korea. Candidates on the PR lists can be classified into two groups: the new newcomers to politics, who are recruited by the parties because of their expertise or public profile; and high profile politicians, who are elected because they did not have time to build up support or the parties need them in a national campaign (Jun & Hix 2008: 7-8). As for those elected from the single member district, there are two types of constituencies in terms of electoral success: "safe" party seat, in which a particular party has stable popularity and enjoys the favor of regional voting behavior in the district; and the other type of

district is one, in which no party has a safe seat and regional voting cannot be predicted (Jun & Hix 2008: 9). Politicians generally agree on which aspects of electoral system favor large and smaller parties, so that effects of electoral system are well understood and easy to predict. During period of flux in the party system, however, it is much harder to predict party dynamics, which can produce strategic shifts and errors (Reed & Thies 2001: 172).

The National Assembly election resulted in the victory of the governing Uri Party. The GNP lost a significant proportion of seats taking into consideration the increase in the total number of seats in the National Assembly to 299 (Appendix 5: The 2008 General Election Results by Political Party). This was the first time in nineteen years that the governing party acquired a simple majority of seats, which requires 150 seats in a 299-seat assembly in the National Assembly (Kim et al. 2008: 142). Neither of the GNP nor the MDP from the opposition side was successful in returning as the majority party in the National Assembly. The GNP had 137 and the MDP 61 seats, while the Uri Party captured a simple majority of 152 seats in the 299-seat unicameral legislature (Kihl 2005: 61-64). The number of female politicians in the National Assembly increased to 13 percent (39 seats) compared with 6 percent (16 seats) in 2000. Due to the revised electoral laws, 29 women were elected from the PR tier and 10 from the SSDs. Newcomers and younger candidates won more seats in the 2004 election than previously: 43% (129) successful candidates were younger than 40 (Cho 2005: 529).

The rise of the Uri Party as the majority party in the new National Assembly marked a movement away from the old toward the new politics. The Uri Party dominance was interpreted as a victory of the progressive liberal forces over the conservative forces that had been entrenched in the political landscape of South Korea's Sixth Republic (Kihl 2005: 61). However, the phenomenon did not last long. In the 2005 by-elections, for six parliamentary seats, seven mayoral contests, and ten city council seats, the ruling Uri Party failed to capture a single seat. The opposition GNP won five of the six parliamentary races, whereas an independent defeated the ruling party candidate in the district of the proposed new administrative city of Daejeon and the MDP candidate won the mayoral city election in Mokpo of the South Cholla province (Kihl 2005: 66). Only one year after the April parliamentary election, the ruling Uri Party had lost its status of controlling the simple majority in the National Assembly (Chosun Ilbo 2005: May).

The 2004 parliamentary election marked the first significant shift of power in the National Assembly in the past decades. Representing younger generation, the liberal Uri Party won majority of seats in a parliament that was dominated by conservative forces. As a result of negotiations over electoral system, South Korea is a mixed-member majoritarian system with the nominal tier consisting of single-seat districts and the list tier on a PR formula. Although the revised electoral system is seen as more fair toward voters' rights, the split between tiers are not allocated proportionally. The share of list seats under the PR allocation is much lower than the share in the nominal tier.

### **4.3 Regionalism**

The GNP has a very strong power base in the southeast of the country, and its candidate, Lee Hoi Chang, won 67.7 percent of the votes cast in the region. In a similar manner, the support for the MDP is firmly rooted in the southwest, where Roh Moo Hyun won a massive 93.4 percent of the votes cast (Walker & Kang 2004: 844). The election was not purely decided along regional lines, but it is obvious that a candidate without strong support has little chance of winning. The MDP's support basis was firmly in the Honam region, but by choosing a candidate from Yeongnam, the party hoped to become more acceptable to voters in that area (Walker & Kang 2004: 845). The plan did not succeed and voters in Yeongnam continued to support the GNP.

In spite of the simultaneous implementation of local elections, the overall turnout rate was low, and voting rates across communities varied greatly, especially by degree of urbanization. A distinctive feature of turnout in local elections was the urban-rural cleavage with lower turnout in urban areas than in rural areas (Hwang 2006: 45). Although the urban-rural cleavage disappeared in national elections after the democratic transition in 1987 it is still a prominent phenomenon in local elections. Due to a person's social environment and engagement in the community that have an important impact on shaping civic life the urban-rural cleavage in voter turnouts is attributable partly to differences in social relations between residents of urban and rural areas (Ibid).

Generational differences played an important role in 2004 with the younger votes preferring the Uri Party or the DLP and the older generation supported the GNP over the other two parties. Although regionalism affected the choice of the electorate,

the ideological and generational cleavages have appeared along with it. When new cleavages emerge it will have an important relation on the stability of party system and can contribute to democratic consolidation in new democracies (Kim et al. 2008: 147). Since 1987, regional rivalry has prevailed in all elections, and reached its height with the merge of the three major parties into the DLP in 1990, which isolated the Cholla region. The fading effect of regionalism in the 2002 presidential election directly resulted from the retirement of former presidents, who were the driving forces of regional rivalry, the so-called “three Kims”.

Regionalism remained a major influence in the 2004 parliamentary election with dominance of two parties in National Assembly. The GNP garnered 60 out of 68 seats in the Kyungsang provinces, while the Uri Party replaced the MDP in the Cholla provinces by winning 25 out of 31 seats in the province (Cho 2005: 529). Although the new revised electoral system expanded the ideological spectrum in the National Assembly, as long as the number of single seat districts exceeds PR seats in a mixed-member majoritarian electoral system, a gap between votes and seats will continue. In their research Shugart and Wattenberg argued that in order for mixed-member system to be successful, electoral system “has to generate a nationally oriented party system, effective representation of small parties and an open-list system” (2001: 588-591). If the PR lists are closed, parties have to develop a reputation throughout the entire district, not by the strength of popular candidates (Shugart & Wattenberg 2001: 590).

## **5. Analysis Case 3 - Lee Myung Bak**

### **5.1 Electoral Climate**

On 19 December 2007, South Koreans chose Lee Myung Bak as their next president. The victory was a decisive one, Lee won 48.7 (11,5 million) percent of the vote, while the candidate from the United New Democratic Party (UNDP) Chung Dong Young, captured only 26 percent (6.2 million). The GNP candidate for 1997 and 2002 presidential elections Lee Hoi Chang who stood as an independent this time finished third with 15.7 percent (Chaw 2008: 181).

Lee Myung Bak is a former Seoul mayor, who earned a nickname “bulldozer” from his days as chief executive and president of Hyundai Engineering and

Construction (Berkofsky 2008). By choosing Lee Myung Bak, despite bad press and allegation of his controversial business dealings, the people showed that economic progress was the major theme in their votes. Also, dissatisfaction with Roh's weak presidency and his engagement policy of generous North Korean assistance policy and more importantly dissatisfaction with economic conditions stimulated the vote in favor of Lee (Steinberg 2008).

Lee Myung Bak was widely credited for his ability to manage during his mayoral post, especially the reconstruction of Cheonggyecheon<sup>5</sup> stream in downtown heart of Seoul, which had been paved over in the 1950s and has become now a popular recreation area among Koreans, as well as tourists (Shin 2005: 109). Domestic issues, particularly the economy, dominated the presidential campaign. Before taking office in February 2008, Lee called for South Korea to attain his "747 vision" – an annual 7 percent growth, incomes of US\$ 40000 and an economy the seventh largest in the world (Steinberg 2008). Lee's "747 vision" further included a plan to build a "Great Korea Canal" that will connect the main rivers of the country to provide waterways for physical distribution (Lee 2007: 92). However, rising public opposition made him cancel the project.

Lee's closest rival Chung Dong Young a former news anchorman, served as a unification minister and chairman during the Roh Moo Hyun administration, but Roh's unpopularity caused him and other party members to form the United Democratic Party (UNDP) in August 2007 (The Hankyoreh 2007). Park Geun Hye from the GNP, the daughter of the late president Park Chung Hee was the second leading candidate in the polls (Lee 2007: 93). Her policy orientations shared common roots with policies of Lee Myung Bak. Like Lee, Park considered economic growth the government's primary goal, supported deregulation, emphasized education reform and favored strengthening the U.S.-R.O.K military Alliance (Lee 2007: 94).

The 2007 presidential election brought about liberal-democratic changes to the political discourse in South Korea. Nationalism, ideology, unification ceased to dominate campaign discourses, which was a change from the previous election in 2002, when the "sunshine policy" and anti-Americanism overshadowed all other issues and ultimately decided the outcome (Hahm 2008: 138).

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<sup>5</sup> for more details <http://english.seoul.go.kr/cheonggye>

The results of the 2007 presidential election show that the people have shifted the larger themes that influenced their votes in the previous elections' voting behavior, such as equality, political change or reconciliation with North Korea for economic comfort, stability and the country's well-being.

## **5.2 Parliamentary Election**

The 18<sup>th</sup> parliamentary election officially opened on 30 May 2008, a day after the 17<sup>th</sup> National Assembly finished its session. It includes 134 new members: 87 in district seats, 47 in national proportional seats, and the largest number of women members ever – 41 (Asia Briefing 2008: 2). Upon Lee's election, the GNP drafted a policy platform for the April polls with "Twelve grand visions, 44 targets, and 250 detailed objectives", which promised a program of deregulation and tax cuts, as well as recruitment of native English speakers to teach in rural areas and reduce educational imbalances with cities (Asia Briefing 2008: 3).

In contrast to the GNP policies, the UNDP ran on a populist platform, promising representation of the common people and the middle class. It has accused Lee and the GNP of favoring the rich, arguing that GNP plans for deregulation will hurt the middle class and will benefit large corporations. The UNDP failed to win the 100 seats in order to be able to block constitutional changes (Ibid).

Another conservative party was formed in the wake of Lee Hoi Chang's failed presidential campaign. The GNP's unsuccessful candidate in 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, Lee tried for a third time because he viewed Lee Myung Bak being narrowly conservative (Yoon 2007). In February 2008 he joined with the minor People First Party, led by Sim Dae Pyong to form the Liberty Forward Party (LFP) with its influence limited to North and South Chungcheong provinces. The party gained only eighteen seats, which under the legislature's rule was too short to form a negotiating block (Asia Briefing 2008: 5).

The 2007 presidential election nominee Park Geun Hye narrowly lost to Lee Myung Bak. She had established a strong base within the party, as well as in her region of Daegu. Park and her supporters were very critical of Lee's canal proposal. The policy positions of the three conservative groups are agreed on most issues. Pro-Park Alliance and the Liberty Forward Party are hesitant to offer support for free trade agreements, since liberalization of the agricultural sector would significantly

affect their constituencies, which include many rural districts (Asia Briefing 2008: 5). Foreign policy was low on the campaign agenda, but the GNP's platform promised to repair the security alliance with the United States and improve relations with Japan.

### **5.3 Regionalism**

Lee Myung Bak was the clear winner across the country except for the city of Kwangju and Cholla provinces, where Chung received overwhelming majorities. In North Cholla province, Chung polled 81.6 percent to Lee's 9 percent. On the other hand, the president-elect won 72.6 percent in North Kyongsang, where Lee Hoi Chang was second with 13.7 percent and Chung had only 6.8 percent (Asia Briefing 2007: 1). With little party discipline and few major policy differences, regionalism, which has persisted for decades, was again an important theme in the legislature election.

Although the GNP won 153 seats, not one of these was in Kwangju, the Honam region or Chungcheong province. The UNDP garnered 19 seats in the North and South Chungcheong provinces, but only one in the conservative stronghold of the Yeongnam region, where the GNP won 29 seats (Asia Briefing 2008: 5). Pro-Park Alliance victories were concentrated in the Geongsang province, while the Liberty Forward Party won seats in the Daejon area and South Chungcheong province.

The negative effect of regionalism is that it misleads the people's choices and distorts their political consciousness. From an economic perspective, voting based on regionalism can be considered rational, from a social perspective, regionalism appeals to regional exclusiveness and antagonism, and therefore distorts the political judgment of people. In addition, this regionalism is closely connected to both school and family ties, connections that have exercised a decisive influence upon presidential and National Assembly elections.

## **6. Conclusion**

This research has been structured to imply a theoretical framework of neo-institutionalism, which focuses upon the component institutions of political life: electoral systems, legislature, political parties and elections. As the nature of Korean politics to be known as "regional party-centered politics", regionalism is the major social cleavage and a distinguishing aspect of political culture. Although the thesis

scrutinized pre-democratic period, theoretical concept primarily derived from the democracy consolidation theory. It focused on development of political institutions to examine evolution of political structure and social cleavage affecting the overall regime performance in South Korea.

Since its independence, the political development of South Korea has produced Six Republics. Throughout the history of the Six Republics the Constitution was revised nine times for the convenience of those in power. As a consequence, the Constitution limited people's election rights, which resulted in democratization movement of opposing the dictatorship and a democratic Constitution was adopted.

The electoral system was used by the ruling elites as a tool to strengthen and prolong their power and not as a means to realize the democratic principles. The electoral system during the Fifth Republic was a one-vote mixed system, wherein a nominal component of proportional representation was combined with a single nontransferable vote in two-member districts. The electoral system of the Sixth Republic remained a one-vote mixed system with the number of district seats increasing to 237 in the Fourteenth Assembly election and 253 in the Fifteenth election. From the Sixth Republic, the regular term of office for the president is five years without re-election and for years for the National Assembly with no term limits.

The victory of Kim Dae Jung in the 1997 presidential election was an important development in the path toward democratic consolidation, as it was the first peaceful transfer of power to the opposition party candidate in fifty years. During Kim's presidency, the electoral system remained largely unchanged: 227 seats from single-member districts and 46 by proportional representation. The changes the 2000 parliamentary election brought to the National Assembly were the victory of the opposition GNP and increased number of newcomers and female legislators.

The presidential election of 2002 was marked by a victory of the liberal candidate from the governing Millennium Democratic Party Roh Moo Hyun. The use of Internet and support from the young generation represented him as a new generation of Korean political leaders. The electoral system was revised to a mixed-member majoritarian system that combines 243 single-seat districts with 56 seats under proportional representation. In 2004, the rise of the Uri Party as the majority party in the National Assembly marked a movement away from the old toward the new politics. However, Uri Party was a result of Roh's decision to walk away from MDP and create a new party with five dissidents from the GNP. The phenomenon of

Uri Party as a ruling party in the National Assembly ended in May 2005 during by-elections, wherein it failed to capture a single seat.

Victory of Lee Myung Bak in the 2007 presidential election showed that shift from the larger themes that influenced their votes in the past decade, such as equality, political change or reconciliation with North Korea for economic well - being. Economy was the main issue in presidential and parliamentary elections. The parliamentary election of 2008 was marked by a victory of the conservative GNP.

In South Korea from 1948, political parties were created around a charismatic leader to serve as a personal support base. Under authoritarian rule, the opposition faced the government as one bloc. Once democratization reached the country, the opposition split into several factions, which could easily form a new party or dissolve it. During the 1990s, a large number of parties have existed but many failed to become permanent, serving as election vehicles. Although the number of parties reduced, they still lack ideological spectrum.

Regionalism is the dominant social cleavage in South Korean politics, which has been the bane since the early stages of the democratization process. In presidential elections, a voter supports the candidate of the voter's home region, and in the National Assembly elections, voters support the candidate of the party whose leader is a favorite son of their region. In a post-transitional period, regionalism prevailed in both types of elections. Election of Kim Dae Jung was particularly marked by a strong presence of regional cleavage. The trend of regionalism modified from what it was during the authoritarian period. During authoritarian period Honam and Yeongnam were the two rival regions, while in a post-transition period, Chungcheong region was included to the existed regional cleavage.

Regionalism was an important factor determining the choices that the electorate made, but its impact was limited. In the 2002 presidential election, regionalism was dominant, but another social cleavage of generational differences also played an important role in the election. As a result, a large support of the votes from the younger generation voted for Roh Moo Hyun. It appears that regionalism plays more important role in parliamentary election than in presidential elections. Due to the lack of ideological spectrum, political parties orientated themselves along regional lines. The trend slightly changed during the 2004 parliamentary election with the victory of the new Uri Party, which was marked as a shift in the political

landscape of South Korean politics. In the 2008 presidential election, issue of economy dominated the choices of the voters in favor of Lee Myung Bak.

Based on the findings, regionalism and political institutions of electorate and political parties evolved in a way that regime performance depends on both: regionalism and policies. The role of regionalism is important, however, compared to the previous administrations, its impact declined to some extent during Roh's presidency, when generational cleavage played a significant role in the elections' outcome.

For a democracy to become consolidated, a young democracy like South Korea must achieve broad participation of political institutions and masses. The dilemma of South Korean politics since its democratic transition has been the lack of strong, dominant parties that can claim legitimacy through ideological cleavages. The average longevity of political parties was relatively short and fluid in changes. New ruling and opposition parties are merged, dissolved and reformed with little concern for electoral consequences. In South Korea, the attitudes and behavior of the political establishment have changed little since its democratic transition in 1987.

Based on the analysis presented in this thesis, political institutional and social cleavages slightly evolved since the country's democratic transition. It is early to predict if South Korea a consolidated democracy, but it is definitely a democracy with some vibrancy.

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## Appendix

### *Appendix 1. Distribution of Seats in the National Assembly Election, 2000*

Political Party	Number of Seats		
	PR	District	Total
Grand National Party (GNP)	21	112	133
Millennium Democratic Party (MDP)	19	96	115
United Liberal Democrats (ULD)	5	12	17
Democratic People's Party (DPP)	1	1	2
Hopeful New Korea Party (HNKP)	0	1	1
Independent	0	5	5
Total	46	227	273

Source: National Election Commission <http://www.nec.go.kr>

### *Appendix 2. Presidential Election of 1997*

Region	Kim Dae Jung	Lee Hoi Chang	Rhee In Je	Others	Total % (nationwide)
Seoul	44.9	40.9	12.8	1.4	22.8
Busan	15.3	53.3	29.8	1.6	8.2
Daegu	12.5	72.7	13.1	1.7	5.2
Kwangju	97.3	1.7	0.7	0.3	3.0
Daejon	45.0	29.2	24.1	1.7	2.7
Kyongsang Namdo	11.0	55.1	31.3	2.6	6.4
Kyongsang Bukdo	13.7	61.9	21.8	2.6	6.0
Cholla Namdo	94.6	3.2	1.4	0.8	5.1
Cholla Bukdo	92.3	4.5	2.1	1.1	4.6
Chungcheong Namdo	48.3	23.5	26.1	2.1	3.9
Chungcheong Bukdo	37.4	30.8	29.4	2.4	3.1
Nationwide	40.3	38.7	19.2	1.8	100.0

Source: Croissant (2001) "Korea" p. 477

*Appendix 3 The Results of the Sixteenth Presidential Election*

<b>Region</b>	<b>Roh Moo Hyun</b>	<b>Lee Hoi Chang</b>	<b>Others</b>	<b>Turnout Rate</b>
Seoul	51.30 2.792.957	44.96 2.447.376	3.51 190.933	71.4%
Busan	29.86 587.946	66.75 1.314.274	3.29 64.725	71.2%
Daegu	18.68 240.745	77.75 1.002.164	3.44 44.301	71.1%
Kwangju	95.18 715.182	3.58 26.869	1.14 8.562	78.1%
Daejeon	55.09 369.046	39.82 266.760	4.76 31.883	67.6%
Gyeongsang Namdo	27.08 434.642	67.52 1.083.564	5.22 83.706	72.4%
Gyeongsang Bukdo	21.65 311.358	73.47 1.056.446	4.65 66.802	71.6%
Cholla Namdo	93.39 1.070.506	4.63 53.074	1.74 19.910	76.4%
Cholla Bukdo	91.59 966.053	6.19 65.334	1.98 20.908	74.6%
Chungcheong Namdo	52.16 474.531	41.23 375.110	6.07 55.204	66.0%
Chungcheong Bukdo	50.42 365.623	42.89 311.044	6.25 45.290	68.0%
Total	48.91 12.014.277	46.59 11.443.297	4.19 1.030.315	70.8%

Source: National Election Commission <http://www.nec.go.kr>

*Appendix 4. Seats in SSD and PR tiers of the 17<sup>th</sup> National Assembly, 2004*

<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Votes (%)</b>	<b>SMD seats</b>	<b>PR list seats</b>	<b>Total seats</b>
Uri Party	38.3	129	23	152
Grand National Party	35.8	100	21	121
Democratic Labor Party	13.0	2	8	10
Millennium Democratic Party	7.1	5	4	9
United Liberal Democrats	2.8	4	0	4
Other Parties and Independents	3.0	3	0	3
Total	100.0	243	56	299

Source: National Assembly of the ROK <http://www.korea.assembly.go.kr>

*Appendix 5 The 2008 General Election Results by Political Party*

<b>Political Party</b>	<b>District Seats</b>	<b>Proportional Seats</b>	<b>Total Seats</b>
Grand National Party	131	22	153
United Democratic Party	66	15	81
Liberty Forward Party	14	4	18
Pro-Park Alliance	6	8	14
Democratic Labor Party	2	3	5
Renewal of Korea Party	1	2	3
Independents	25	0	25
Total	245	54	299

Source: Chosun Ilbo 10 June 2008