



Western Michigan University
ScholarWorks at WMU

Master's Theses

Graduate College

4-2005

Factors Affecting Individual Attitudes toward Democratization of South Korea

Gang-hoon Kim

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses



Part of the Political Science Commons

Recommended Citation

Kim, Gang-hoon, "Factors Affecting Individual Attitudes toward Democratization of South Korea" (2005). *Master's Theses*. 5027.

https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/5027

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



FACTORS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES TOWARD
DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOUTH KOREA

by

Gang-hoon Kim

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Political Science

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
April 2005

Copyright by
Gang-hoon Kim
2005

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Studying Political Science as an international student is difficult, as I have been faced with making many challenging and bold decisions. Without guidance and support of many professors and my family, I would not have been able to complete my long and painful journey of learning at WMU.

First of all, I would like to thank my committee members. I am so grateful to Dr. Kevin Corder, who has been very helpful in giving advice on statistical analysis and research methods. I would like to thank Dr. Priscilla Lambert for carefully reading the entire manuscript. In addition, I thank my friend Sun Lee for careful reading of the grammar of my thesis. Finally I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Dr. Alan C. Isaak, my committee chair. I am indebted to Dr. Isaak for encouraging me to focus on democratization in South Korea and factors affecting individual attitudes toward democratization. Furthermore, he taught me the fundamentals of democratic theory and inspired my intellectual development and experience.

Besides the committee members and friend, I would like to thank my family. Without my parents' unlimited moral, emotional, and financial support, I would not be able to pursue my dreams and interests. I also thank my wife Sea-jung, who gave me encouragement and affection throughout this process. Finally, I would like to

Acknowledgments—continued

share my delight with my beloved son Alexander Kim.

Gang-hoon Kim

FACTORS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOUTH KOREA

Gang-hoon Kim, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 2005

In mid-March 2004, the impeachment of President Roh Moo-Hyun was one of the hottest issues in South Korea. He was the first president to have been impeached by the National Assembly since the South Korean government was established in July 1948. The impeachment reveals a deep political disruption. The purpose of this paper is to scientifically determine to what extent the impeachment of the president may have undermined or developed the democracy in South Korea.

To answer these questions, this study examined the relationship between democratization and factors such as level of education, region, individual income, religion, age, attitude toward the impeachment, and voter participation using an Internet survey. Re-Poll, a public opinion census agency in South Korea, was used to collect and survey Koreans (n=1,076) 20 years of age and older, beginning in 2005, based on sampling at the individual level with selection by categories of age and sex.

This study demonstrates that gender, voting turn-out, and attitude toward President Roh's impeachment affects individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea, and that disagreement with President Roh's impeachment negatively affects individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Statement of Research Problem.....	1
Democratization of South Korea.....	4
Historical Background in South Korea (from the Rhee Sung-Man Administration to the Roh Moo-Hyun Administration).....	7
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	19
Factors Affecting Individual Attitude Toward Democratization.....	19
Political Participation (Voting).....	19
Level of Education	21
Religion.....	23
Geographical Area	25
Economic Development.....	26
Impeachment.....	29
Democratic Institution and Civil Society	32
III. DATA AND METHODS.....	38
Data Collection of Development of Democracy in South Korea	38
Model Specification	39

Table of Contents – Continued

CHAPTER

	Variables.....	40
IV.	RESULTS	44
	Statistical Results	61
V.	DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....	68
APPENDICES		
	A. Questionnaires	72
	B. HSIRB Protocol Outline	79
	C. Informed Consent	86
	D. WMU HSIRB Approval Form	89
	REFERENCES	91

LIST OF TABLES

1. Number of Participants.....	44
2. Age Ranges of Participants	45
3. Voting Turn-Out in the Last General Election on April 15, 2004.....	47
4. Level of Participants' Education	48
5. Religion	48
6. Kinds of Religion	49
7. Residential Area	50
8. Home Town.....	50
9. Annual Income	51
10. Evaluation of President Roh's Impeachment	52
11. Reasons for President Roh's Impeachment	52
12. Reasons Against Presidents Roh's Impeachment.....	53
13. Participation in Civil Society.....	54
14. Evaluation of Current Democratization of South Korea	55
15. Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea Before President Roh Took Office	57
16. Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea Before President Roh was Impeached	58
17. Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea After President Roh was Impeached.....	59
18. OLS Regression of Factors Affecting Individual Attitude Toward Democratization of South Korea	62
19. OLS Regression of Factors Affecting Individual Attitude Toward Democratization of South Korea, Using Dummy Variables	65

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Comparison Table 14 with 15, 16, and 17	60
--	----

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Research Problem

How does a president's impeachment affect the process of democratization? In mid March 2004, the impeachment of President Roh was one of the hottest issues in South Korea. Roh Moo-Hyun is the first president to have been impeached by the National Assembly since the South Korean government was established in July 1948. The impeachment of South Korea's president, Roh Moo-Hyun who was the leader of New Millennium Democratic Party, reveals a deep political disruption. President Roh was barred from exercising his executive powers when the National Assembly, controlled by the conservative opposition (Grand National Party and New Millennium Democratic Party), passed South Korea's first bill of impeachment based on minor violations of election law, corruption scandals, and the country's slow economic growth (Greenlees, 2004). It has been argued that impeachment was one of the strategies used by the opposition parties Grand National Party (GNP) and New Millennium Democratic Party (NMDP) to win the general election on April 15, 2004, and to overcome

their own illegal acts of corruption and a campaign fundraising scandal for the 2002 presidential election. Furthermore, opposition parties figured that it was impossible for them to win the general election without having a strong issue that could draw an interest from the people. Therefore, the impeachment became the dominant factor for the next election, leaving all other issues behind, including the individual competitiveness of the candidates. However, they failed to occupy the majority seats in the general election on April 15th 2004.

It could be interpreted that the impeachment of president was not justifiable. Furthermore, opinion polls in South Korea have shown that 70% of respondents disapprove of the impeachment, and President Roh's supporters took to the streets over the streets in a candle-light demonstration (Greenlees, 2004). Given the impeachment of the president in South Korea, a deep concern is that real democracy and politics are still unstable, even though South Koreans have been struggling to realize democracy and achieve political maturity during the past two decades of civilian governments. The purpose of this paper is to determine to what extent the impeachment of the president may have undermined or contributed to democratic development in South Korea.

Thus, this study argues that the impeachment and other factors such as the

level of education, region, individual income, religion, age, membership in civil society groups or organizations, and participation in the election significantly influenced the democratization in South Korea. Many important social and political factors, such as economic development, regionalism, and political participation as an electorate, influenced democratization. The research questions of this study are 1) what were the major factors that influenced democratization in South Korea? 2) how did those factors affect democratization in South Korea? and 3) to what extent has the impeachment of President Roh undermined or developed democracy in South Korea?

In order to answer these questions, this study will examine the relationship between democratization and factors such as level of education, region, individual income, religion, age, impeachment, and election, which could possibly affect democratization. Those factors not only each affected democratization, but also reciprocally influenced each other.

I first review the relevant literature on democratic theory, democratization and the historical background in South Korea and then assess how the people reacted to various aspects of the impeachment. I sketch the broader implications of my analysis in a brief concluding section. I would like to

study and examine how much South Korea has developed democracy by surveying people living in South Korea.

Democratization of South Korea

Some prestigious scholars define democracy as a form of government opposed to monarchies and aristocracies and, in terms of fundamental values or goods, democracy can be described as upholding the values of political equality, liberty, moral self-development, the common interest, a fair moral compromise, binding decisions that take everyone's interests into account, social utility, the satisfaction of wants, efficient decisions, and also the use of basic freedoms of association, information, and communication (Lijphart 1999; Held 1996; Linz 2000; Dahl 1956, 1989). Furthermore, Lijphart refers to the eight criteria of democracy proposed by Robert A. Dahl as follows: "1) the right to vote, 2) the right to be elected, 3) the right of political leaders to compete for support and votes, 4) elections that are free and fair, 5) freedom of association, 6) freedom of expression, 7) alternative sources of information, and 8) institutions for making public policies depend on votes and other expressions of preference" (Lijphart, 1999, p. 48-49).

Many political scientists argue that democratization is the transition from authoritarian or military systems to democratic political systems (Huntington 1991; Linz 1975). Sun-Hyuk Kim argues that “democratization is a nonlinear, complex, prolonged, and dynamic process in which a nondemocratic political system moves to a democratic one” (Kim, 2000. p. 11). Starting in the late 1980s South Korea has acquired a surprisingly quick identity as an East Asian model of economic prosperity and political democracy (Kim, 2003). Huntington, in *The Third Wave*, says that South Korea became the first third-wave democracy in Asia (Huntington, 1991), and Samuel Kim contends that South Korea’s transition to democracy began in 1987-88, and five years later, South Korea elected its first civilian leader (Kim Young Sam) in 1992 (Kim, 2003). Furthermore, Samuel Kim, in *Korea’s Democratization*, argues that South Korea transferred power peacefully to an opposition party in early 1998 (Kim, 2003).

On the other hand, Samuel Kim also argues that although there is little doubt that South Korea is now a secure electoral democracy, its democratic consolidation¹ is far from complete and it is necessary for South Korea to do much work and reform in order to consolidate South Korea’s democracy (Kim,

¹ Democratic consolidation happens when democratic values and ideals are stable and deeply institutionalized; an accountable civilian government guarantees basic civil rights such as those of expression and assembly and when society is largely involved in the political process.

2003). For instance, even though South Korea is a notable case of a democratic transition, the regional voting pattern (regionalism) inhibits full consolidation of democracy in South Korea (Kim, 2003). He also claims that “South Korea has yet to be geographically, socially, culturally, and politically unified within its own borders with having chronically fratricidal regional factionalism, searing labor-management conflict, and right/left ideological cleavages”(Kim, 2003, p. 4). Because South Korea has made some progress at the intermediate level of civil society groups, these groups have increasingly become an active force for democratic consolidation in propagating the norms of participatory democracy. “With increased fairness in political contestation, expanded civil liberties, and increased civilian control of the military, South Korea has successfully accomplished its transition from authoritarian rule to democracy and has now become one of the leading nascent democracies in Asia” (Kim, 2003).

By reviewing the historical background of the Republic of Korea (ROK, hereafter “South Korea), I investigate the history around South Korea’s early post-war government, how South Korea transitioned to democracy, whether the first government really can be called a democratic government, how Park’s military government took place, how other military governments(Chun Doo-Hwan and

Roh Tae-Woo) took power after President Park's assassination, and how the military government transitioned to a democratic government and the democratic government can be called real democratic government. Furthermore, what was the significance of Kim Dea-Jung's government and did President Roh Moo-Hyun's election follow naturally from Kim Dea-Jung's term? Keeping these questions in mind, I will explain the historical background of South Korea.

Historical Background in South Korea (from the Rhee Sung-Man Administration to the Roh Moo-Hyun Administration)

Due to the traditional Confucian political culture and Japanese colonial rule for a long period, South Korean government, established in July 1948, and its people had difficulties in exercising democratic principles (Lee, 2002; Kim, 2000). Furthermore, the influence of the military in domestic politics was getting stronger because of the division of the Korean peninsula into North and South Korea. Moreover, the Korean War from 1950 to 1953 increased the political status of the military, and national security became the most important policy of the regime (Oh, 1999; Lee, 2002). "These internal and external factors impeded political development and encouraged President Rhee Syng-Man to abuse power" (Lee, 2002, p. 70). By the late 1950s, "President Rhee became increasingly convinced

that the fate of the nation was dependent on him alone,” and made the political system practically his own by controlling political parties and civil society (Beauchamp, 2002). “Because of the autocratic characteristics of the regime, the hallmarks of the First Republic (1948-1960) were President Rhee’s arbitrary executive power and the opposition movement against his tyranny” (Lee, 2002).

Although the Rhee regime had not eliminated the anti-government civil society and its activities, university and high school students began to protest against Rhee’s dictatorship on 19 April, 1960 (Beauchamp, 2002; Lee, 2002). This set off major student demonstrations, followed by repression and violence. Students, exposed to and influenced by Western political ideas, strongly criticized the regime because of their dissatisfaction with 1) the lawless and corrupt Rhee regime, 2) the society ruled by violence, 3) the corrupt society, 4) the economic depression, and 5) the arrogance of the privileged class (Lee, 2002). After this huge demonstration on April 19, the President Rhee finally announced he would step down from the presidency (Lee, 2002), and Rhee was forced into exile in Hawaii (Beauchamp, 2002).

The Second Republic (August 1960-May 1961) was established after the National Assembly election of July 29, 1960. In the election, the Democratic Party,

which had been the opposition party under the First Republic, became a majority party in the National Assembly. However, the Democrats disintegrated into factions, and Chang Myon (New Democratic Party) became the Prime Minister on August 19, 1960, by a narrow margin. Because of the experience of dictatorship and political corruption in the presidential system, the Second Republic adopted a cabinet system led by the Prime Minister. However, the Chang Myon government disappointed the Korean people when it imposed antidemocratic measures including appointing into positions of power Confucian scholar-officials- whose factional struggles often kept them from making decisions in the greater public good- and setting up an unstable cabinet system of government. Unlike people's expectations, political and social instability during the Second Republic was more serious than in the First Republic². Although more democratic than the First Republic in the institutional aspect -in that there were significant expansion of the rights of the people's press, publication freedom, and the freedom of assembly and association (Oh, 1999)-the Second Republic lost its control over political, social,

² For instance, in order to reallocate South Korea's meager financial resources the Chang government attempted to reduce the size of the Korean military. However, this attempt encountered immediate and fierce resistance not only from the Korean military but also from the United States (Oh, 1999). The Chang government also announced "A Five-Year Plan for National Development" with projects including land development, reforestation, and road and dam construction. However, the Chang cabinet of the Second Republic quickly evaporated some eight months after its inauguration, leaving much of its work undone (Oh, 1999).

and economic sectors because of the weak institutionalization of governance and the intense political struggles among many political parties.

Due to the unstable situation in terms of political and social stability, the military began to have a critical view of the Chang Myon regime. The military leaders began to seek political change through direct intervention in politics. Eventually, the military, led by Major Gen. Park Chung-Hee, carried out a military coup on May 16, 1961. Although some politicians, like President Yun Bo-Sun and Prime Minister Chang Myon, attempted to resist the coup of young military officers, the resistance did not succeed.

Therefore, the Third Republic was established by the military coup. However, the Park regime had faced the problem of legitimacy from the anti-government movement of the opposition force. The government felt a need to legitimate the new constitution, so Park inaugurated the “*Yushin-revitalizing reform*” constitution in 1972 (Beauchamp, 2002). Although Park stated the new constitution was necessary to eliminate the conditions fostering disorder and inefficiency and to develop free democratic institutions, civil society led mainly by students, the *Jaeya* (meaning the extra-institutional opposition) force, workers, and religious communities began to struggle with the *Yushin* regime for

restoration of the democratic constitution (Lee, 2002). Although the democratic struggle of civil society was not sufficient to break down the regime, it was enough to make political and social conditions unstable as well as provoke a political crisis for the regime in 1979 (Lee, 2002). Due to the internal and external conflict of Park's regime, Kim Jae-Kyu, the chief of Korean Intelligence Agency (KCIA), assassinated President Park on October 26th, 1979³. With Park's sudden death, the authoritarian "*Yushin*" regime collapsed, and South Korea faced a new political situation in the 1980s (Lee, 2002).

After Park's sudden death, in the politically and socially unstable situation, the democratic civil society became actively involved in transitional politics (Beauchamp, 2002). Under the politically unstable situation, the new military force, led by Chun Doo-Hwan, emerged as a real political actor in transitional politics (Lee, 2002). The new military force started to suppress democratic social movement, especially among students and workers (Lee, 2002). The new military force tried to justify their direct intervention in politics in order to eliminate political and social disorder. As a result of the suppression, the best

3. After the assassination of Park, Kim Jae Kyu and the other KCIA men who shot and killed four presidential guards were sentenced and executed with just a matter of months. This was the bloody end of the man who had led the 1961 military coup and Park's ambition to be a life-term president was shattered seven years after imposition of the "*Yushin*" rule, ending the Fourth Republic (Oh, 1999).

opportunity for democratization since the early 1970s was aborted, and the Korean people had to wait a long time for democratization to occur (Lee, 2002). In other words, democratic civil society, such as students and the *Jaeya* force in the early 1980s, continued to develop ideologies and strategies and waited for the right time to attain counter-hegemony against the military authoritarian regime (Lee, 2002). Even if the Chun regime concentrated its resources and effort on economic development and political and social stability, it could not avoid the fundamental problem of its legitimacy. For instance, opposition parties led by Kim Young-Sam and Kim Dae-Jung and democratic civil society raised doubts over the constitutional revision and began to protest against Chun's decisions. Furthermore, the middle class began to change their attitude and behavior toward the authoritarian regime and tried to participate in the democratic movement (Lee, 2002). As a result, in the spring of 1987, the Chun regime lost control to the democratic movement of the opposition coalition established by united civil society organizations and the opposition party. Thus the Chun regime faced a serious political crisis. At the end of the 1980s, religious organizations, workers, business people, and students demanded an end to the authoritarian regime and a fair direct election for president, calling out for democratization. Eventually, the

Chun Doo-Hwan regime yielded to the people's demands for democratization. It was a turning point of South Korean democratization. It could be interpreted as a result of the efforts of thousands of individuals and civil society organizations.

On 29 June 1987, Roh Tae Woo, then leader and presidential candidate of the ruling party of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) in a speech proposed political reforms, all of which were the opposition's demands, such as direct popular election of the president, revision of the presidential election laws, promotion of people's civil rights, amnesty for Kim Dae Jung, and swift implementation of local authority (Yoon, 1996; Saxer, 2002). By adopting the opposition's demands, Roh became the 13th president of South Korea.

After the military government, the 14th president of South Korea, Kim Young-sam, was called the Democratic President (Yoon, 1996)⁴. Democratization meant that the government could no longer use the repressive measures used during authoritarian rule (Yoon, 1996). South Korea has been caught up in the throes of reform ever since President Kim Young-Sam was inaugurated in 1993, with notable changes in the political, economic, military, and social spheres (Yoon,

⁴ For instance, when Kim took the presidential oath for a single five-year term on February 25, 1993, people said that Kim was the first civilian to be democratically elected in thirty-two years. He proclaimed that he was a fighter for democracy in the presidential inauguration. He also claimed the need to establish a new economy to restore economic vitality (Oh, 1999).

1996). However, those notable changes meant a complete separation from the military regime (Yoon, 1996). The Kim Young-Sam government tried to reform many areas of Korean life as follows: 1) Kim Young-Sam sought to eradicate the irregular and corrupt practices that had been rampant during the past authoritarian era, pledging he would not accept any financial contributions during his term of office; 2) The Kim government took a dramatic step by adopting the “real name” financial transaction system and “real name” ownership of real estate titles; 3) The government undertook reforms to secure civilian supremacy over the military; 4) The executive branch was restructured to create a small but efficient administration (Yoon 1996). On the eve of the financial crisis, South Korea was the world’s fifth largest manufacturer of automobiles, the largest producer of DRAM microchips, and home of world’s most efficient steel industry (Young, 2005).

However, by the end of his term in 1997, South Korea could not escape the denouement of the Asian financial crisis, turning sharply from economic growth to financial crisis (Young, 2005). “Unfortunately, the Kim administration failed to anticipate the financial problems inherent in this economic system and take defensive measures by enacting the reform legislation to strengthen the

competitiveness of the Korean economy” (Young, 2005, p. 150). Finally, the Kim Young-Sam administration during the IMF era faced greater external pressures to change from a state-centered to a market-oriented neoliberal state (Young, 2005). Therefore, Kim’s government had lost the authority to be a democratic consolidation (Beauchamp, 2002), and he left his position with the financial crisis.

In the midst of this financial crisis, Kim Dae-jung was elected to the presidency in December 1997. This was the first time in South Korean history that presidential power was transferred peacefully to an opposition candidate. Furthermore, due to Kim Young Sam’s failure and the ensuing economic calamity, Kim Dae Jung was given a chance to perform much needed institutional surgery (Kim, 2003). For instance, there were several institutional corrections as follows: to discipline government bureaucrats through an anti-corruption law; to introduce a new recruitment pattern for public offices with criteria such as privileged selection from particular regions, schools, or party members’ relatives; to place appointments in some important high ranking public offices under a more open screening process; to streamline public offices; and to downsize the number of officials in order to make them more efficient (Choi, 2001). However, even if the Kim government tried to perform political reforms, they did not solve some

problems such as partisan interest⁵, regionalism, unstable economic development, and the still unstable democratization in South Korea (Kim, 2003).

Huntington (1991) argues that “after democratization even if a former monopolistic party gives up its monopoly of power, it still has the opportunity of competing for power by democratic means.” In large measure, this lack of legislative movement was due to the opposition of the Grand National Party (GNP). The GNP held the majority of seats in the National Assembly and would not cooperate with Kim Dae-Jung’s (the then President) ruling party. Kim Dae-Jung’s presidency began with high expectations as a “Government of the People” in 1998, but his administration ended five years later, achieving much less than promised turnaround from the economic crisis, consolidation of a new democracy, and the development South Korea’s foreign policy toward North Korea (Young, 2005). After Kim Dae-Jung’s government⁶, Roh Moo –Hyun became Kim Dae-Jung’s party’s second President under ardent support from the younger generations

⁵ Partisan interest is related with regionalism in South Korea. According to Kim, Melanie Manion argues that “the competitive political process is influenced in large part by the preferences of voters for particular policies” (Kim, 2003, pg 164). In explaining the rise of partisan interest and regionalism, Kim argues that analysts have focused on two major factors: the historical underdevelopment of Jun-Ra province in contrast to Kyung-Sang province and the biased recruitment of elites (Kim, 2003). Therefore, political parties in South Korea cater to voters’ preferences and pursue regional interests in order to have high seats in the National Assembly rather than focus on the political development of South Korea.

⁶ Kim Dae-jung was the leader of the New Millennium Democratic Party until he was elected President of South Korea in 1997. He resigned leadership at that point, but remained a member of the party.

as well as the “38 generation”- a large, well-educated, politically active, and pro-democracy group born in the 1960s and 1970s. “Roh has appealed to people’s emotions more (Greenlees, 2004, p. 14).” “Roh’s common-man image has dovetailed with the surge in anti-Americanism, and could win him the votes of average workers as well as the young anti-U.S. protesters” (Greenlees, 2004, p. 15). In his presidential campaign, he also emphasized the new politics of Korean democracy - a horizontal, participatory, and networking style of politics – versus the old politics paradigm of predominant hierarchy and authoritarianism (Young, 2005).

Unfortunately, he had little political authority against opposition parties like the Grand National Party (GNP) and the New Millennium Democratic Party (NMDP)⁷. Eventually, he was faced with impeachment, a first for South Korea. After South Korean President Roh Moo-Hyun’s impeachment by the National Assembly on March 12, 2004, the fate of Roh’s presidency had hinged on two decisions: 1) the verdict of a Constitutional Court on whether or not to validate the

⁷ The Roh administration recruited some new faces and young reformers to cabinet posts and as presidential assistants (Young, 2005). However, close family members and associates of the president became involved in corruption scandals, tarnishing his image. President Roh’s high-risk style of confrontational politics against corruption and his political reform, relocating the Capital from Seoul, economic and social reforms, North Korea’s nuclear standoff and the U.S. and South Korea’s alliance were, also, causes to why opposition parties (the Grand National Party and New Millennium Democratic Party) blamed his government and developed Roh’s impeachment.

National Assembly's impeachment motion and, 2) the judgment of the people themselves in a national assembly election on April 15, 2004 (Greenless, 2004). Thanks to the Constitutional Court's reinstatement and the people's support, Roh returned to his position as President. However, according to *JoongAng Daily* Newspaper (26 July, 2004), a poll conducted by the Blue House itself brought some distressing news about President Roh Moo-Hyun's popularity, which had hit a high of about 50 percent after his reinstatement to office on May 14 2004. The survey said it had fallen to about 30-35 percent.

Given this unstable democracy in South Korea, I would like to know how much South Korea has developed its democracy by researching the relationship between the development of democracy and several control variables such as region, democratic institution, economic development, level of democracy, and so on in South Korea.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Factors Affecting Individual Attitude Toward Democratization

Political Participation (Voting)

The strong relationship between political participation and support for the norms and institutions of democracy is a central tenet of democratic theory. Dahl in *Democracy and Its Critics* argues that “at the decisive stage of collective decisions, each citizen must be ensured an equal opportunity to express a choice that will be counted as equal in weight to the choice of any other citizen” (Dahl, 1989). Lipset in *Political Man* argues that “if the members or citizens are not politically active, they are removed from the influence of the controlling power” (Lipset, 1963). He also argues that in order to develop democracy it is necessary to have a high level of participation by the members of society or citizens (Lipset, 1963). Furthermore, Jan E. Leighley argues “political participation is typically equated with voter turnout, although citizens participate in a variety of political activities, with varying levels of involvement over time” (Leighley, 1995).

In terms of political parties and the election system, Lipset argues that parties and the election system are critical elements in the course of democratic

consolidation (Lipset, 1994). He contends that “the agent of authority may be strongly opposed by the electorate and may be changed by the will of the voters” (Lipset, 1994, p. 8). He also says that “the electorate becomes part of the legitimating structure and elections offer the voters an effective way to change the government” (Lipset, 1994, p. 10). According to Held (Held, 1996), “Marx defended the role of elections to choose among those who would represent local views and interests, delegates who were mandated to articulate particular positions and were subject to recall if they failed in that respect.”

Even though the electoral system in South Korea was established in 1948, elections were not democratic (Lee, 2001)⁸. After establishing a democratic constitution and election system in 1987, this current election system⁹ turned out to be the cleanest and least expensive (Lee, 2001). By asking people whether they voted in the last general election on May 25th 2004, I can figure out the relationship between participation in elections and individual attitude toward democratization in South Korea. Furthermore, determining age might give an

⁸ As World War II ended, the southern half of the Korean peninsula was occupied by American troops and Rhee Syng-Man was elected the first president with support from the American military government. But Rhee made the political system unilaterally and practically his own by controlling the election system and political parties (Oh, 1999, see pg 37-39).

⁹ South Korea elects on national level a head of state - the president - and a legislature. The president is elected for a five year term by the people. The National Assembly (*Kuk Hoe*) has 299 members, elected for four year terms, 243 members in single-seat constituencies and 46 members by proportional representation. South Korea has a multi-party system.

additional opportunity to understand individual attitudes toward democratization in South Korea.

My hypothesis is that the majority of the younger generation will support President Roh, and they will oppose President Roh's impeachment. On the other hand, many older people, who are more politically and economically conservative, will approve of President Roh's impeachment due to the unstable economy, the unauthorized government and so on in South Korea. Therefore, by asking whether he or she voted in the last general election on April 15, 2004 and their age, I can understand the significance of the relationship between voting turn-out and age and the development of democracy in South Korea.

Level of Education

Robert A. Dahl in *Democracy and its Critics* says that "guardianship is a regime in which the state is ruled by meritorious rulers who consist of a minority of adults and who are not subject to the democratic process" (Dahl, 1956). In other words, because the common people could not rule the state, only a qualified minority of those who possess superior knowledge and virtue should. According to Held (1996), Schumpeter argues that "most issues in domestic and foreign

affairs are so remote from most people's lives that they hardly have a sense of reality." However, in terms of low-status persons Lipset argues that education could solve fundamental problems such as absence of a sense of past and future (lack of a prolonged time perspective), inability to take a complex view, greater difficulty in abstracting from concrete experience, and lack of imagination (Lipset, 1963). Furthermore, education cultivates individual human intellect and makes society a better place to live in.

In recent statistical analyses of education, Muller, Seligson, and Turan look at whether high education will facilitate the socialization effect of political participation (Muller, Seligson, & Turan, 1987). Conducting surveys in the U.S., Costa Rica and Turkey, they conclude that education is the most important causal agent for enhancing commitment to democratic institutions and procedures.

Helliwell argues that education plays an important role in explaining long-term GDP growth and it affects democracy (Helliwell, 1994). In addition, Finkel tries to search for the relationship between civic education and the mobilization of political participation in developing democracies. Conducting surveys in the Dominican Republic and South Africa, he concludes that civic education is highly related to developing democracies (Finkel, 2002).

One of the most distinctive questions of the latest round of discussions and debates on democratization in South Korea is the question of how much education affects one's attitude toward democratization (Kim, 2000). Is there a fundamental relationship between the level of education and acceptance of democratization in South Korea? My hypothesis is that more educated persons are satisfied with democratization in South Korea than less educated persons are, and more educated persons are more likely to support democratization of South Korea than less educated persons are. Therefore, by asking the level of education I can infer the relationship between the level of education and the attitude toward democratization in South Korea.

Religion

According to Lipset (1994), Huntington contends that religious tradition has been a major differentiating factor in transformations to democracy. He also argues that Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Islam, and Confucianism have been negatively related with democracy, whereas Protestantism and democracy have been positively interlinked. Furthermore, he emphasizes that "Protestants have been less authoritarian, more congregational, participatory, and

individualistic” (1994). Huntington in *The Third Wave* argues that religious changes promoted democratization in the 1970s and 1980s (Huntington, 1991).

For instance, “the most prominent case was South Korea” (Huntington, 1991).

At the end of World War II Korea was primarily a Buddhist and Confucian country. However, by the mid-1980s, approximately 25 percent of the population was Christian (Huntington, 1991). The Christian converts were primarily young, urban, and middle class. Therefore, Huntington strongly argues that “espousing Christianity promoted the social and economic change in South Korea” (Huntington, 1991). In other words, modern democracy developed first and most vigorously in Christian countries, he contends. The religious situation in contemporary South Korea is that, in spite of rapid industrialization and urbanization, a strong religion like Christianity gives an impulse to the development of democracy. For instance, during the authoritarian government from the 1960s to the 1980s many pastors and other religious leaders protested against the authoritarian and military government and they supported the development of democracy in South Korea.

Given the previous studies, my hypothesis is that religions are negatively or positively related with the democratization of South Korea. Therefore, I would

like to ask religion in order to look at the relationship between religion and the development of democracy in South Korea.

Geographical Area

According to Lipset (1963), “the poorer the country, the greater the emphasis on nepotism- support of kin, friends, and same regional people.” And he argues that “this in turn reduces the opportunity to develop the efficient bureaucracy which a modern democratic state requires” (Lipset, 1963).

Regionalism is problems in South Korea. For instance, the future of South Korean politics rests on one major issue: Will the Grand National Party (GNP) still be the largest party in the National Assembly? In particular, will the Youngnam (the southeastern region) force remain loyal to the current GNP leadership leaded by Lee Hoi-chang who had lost the presidential election to Kim Dae-jung and Roh Moo-hyun? If Youngnam politicians should break out of the GNP and form a new party, the game of coalition building among the four parties will become extremely complex. Youngnam had produced all the presidents from Park Chung-hee’s coup of 1961 to Kim Young-sam’s retirement in 1998. Regionalism is one of the hottest issues in general and presidential elections in South Korea.

Based on the long-standing problem of regionalism in South Korea, my hypothesis is that geographical area is related with acceptance of democratization of South Korea. Therefore, I will use the region as one of my control variables in the model.

Economic Development

Huntington in *The Third Wave* argues that “even if the relationship between economic development and democracy and democratization is complex and probably varies in time and space, economic factors have significant impact on democratization” (Huntington, 1991). He also argues that rapid and successful economic development caused the authoritarian regime to lose its legitimacy and to split the ruling coalition (Huntington, 1991). Furthermore, it facilitated creation of the middle class who were critical of the regime, and encouragingly affected the growth of pro-democracy of civil society (Huntington, 1991).

In recent statistical analyses of the relationship between democracy and economic development, Burkhart and Lewis-Beck use time series analysis and data set from 131 nations in order to investigate the causal relationship between economies and democracy. They argue that economic development fosters

democratic performance, emphasizing that economic development causes democracy, whereas democracy does not cause economic development (Burkhart and Lewis-Beck, 1994). In addition, Helliwell investigates the two-way linkages between democracy and economic growth, using cross-sectional and pooled data for up to 125 countries over the period from 1960 to 1985 (Helliwell, 1994). He claims that income has a partial effect toward democracy (Helliwell, 1994). In order to investigate the interactions among democracy, political stability and economic growth, Feng employs aggregate data covering ninety-six countries from 1960 to 1980 (Feng, 1997). The result of the study indicate that long-run economic growth tends to exert a positive effect upon democracy (Feng, 1997).

Huntington contends that rapid economic growth rapidly creates the economic base for democracy (Huntington, 1991). The economy of South Korea has been rapidly and successfully developing for the last four decades. Since authoritarian governments had concentrated all efforts on economic development, their efforts for economic development were successful. Through economic development, authoritarian regimes had justified their authoritarian rule. In order to achieve rapid and successful economic development, every economic policy had been set and implemented by the government, and the regime had to suppress

labor movements and other social movements that criticized the suppression of workers and the regime's economic policy. In the 1980s and 1990s, rapid and successful economic development caused the authoritarian regime to lose its legitimacy and to split the ruling coalition. Furthermore, it facilitated creation of the middle class who were critical of the regime. According to Huntington (Huntington, 1991), "economic development could create new sources of wealth and power inside and outside the state." South Korea is suffering serious economic problems in the aftermath of the 1997 financial crisis. Even if President Rho's government tries to find reasonable alternatives to overcome the economic crisis, the economic problem in South Korea is getting worse. Therefore, the majority of the people feel nostalgia for the previous administration of Pak Jung-Hea (1961-1979).

Given the previous study's relationship between democracy and economy, the high income person is more satisfied with democratization of South Korea than low income person. Therefore, by asking people's income I will look at how stable democracy can continue to develop in South Korea.

Impeachment

Mr. Roh Moo-Hyun is not accused of “Nixonesque” lying or “Clintonesque” sexual faults (Economist, 2004). Although the opposition has focused on the election-rules violation for the purposes of impeachment, there are bigger worries, particularly corruption (Economist, 2004). A recent fiscal scandal has touched Roh’s closest aides, a number of whom are either behind bars or under investigation for accepting illegal donations. Mr. Roh’s political opposition, the Grand National Party (GNP), had also been caught out. In December, Lee Hoi-Chan, the GNP’s leader, admitted that the party had accepted two billion won (\$42 million) in illegal funds from big companies, and turned himself in to state prosecutors (Economist, 2004). Given that both sides are corrupt, the people are understandably questioning the democratic process.

During the presidential campaign in late 2002, Mr. Roh stated that he would try to root out endemic political corruption as president. The economic situation in South Korea was troublesome before President Roh’s inauguration in February 2003. He had struggled to build on the goodwill from sources such as economic development and stable political development. The country’s economic pump-priming, prompted by President Roh in response to the economic problems,

has helped to stimulate a recovery, but this has not been entirely painless (Economist, 2004).

President. Roh said in public that he would do everything he could to ensure votes for the Uri Party at next month's legislative elections (Fairclough, 2004). This broke the rules that prohibit public officials from electioneering (Fairclough, 2004). Even if President Roh, however, refused opposition demands for an apology, did this amount to an impeachable offence (Economist, 2004)? This question will be explored in-depth at a later point, but first, let's focus on the impeachment process.

South Korea got firsthand experience of national turmoil as the powerful opposition parties pushed to impeach President Roh Moo-Hyun for violating election laws (Fairclough, 2004). The two main opposition parties, Grand National Party (GNP) and New Millennium Democratic Party (NMDP), have 206 members in the 273-member National Assembly, more than the two-thirds majority or 180 members required to impeach the country's head of state.

There are recent statistical studies on U.S. presidential impeachment (Nixon and Clinton). McGeever performed a detailed investigation of Watergate's effect on public opinion, Finch examined his data for evidence of possible trends

in public sentiment on impeachment and for clues to the probable electoral repercussions of Watergate (Finch, 1974). The result of this study argues that “Watergate is not an issue rooted in intense social, economic, or ideological conflict” (Finch, 1974). Moreover, “even though Watergate and Nixon’s impeachment may temporarily hold the electorate’s attention, it does not provide the continuing foundation for political conflict that is necessary to sustain an electoral alignment” (Finch, 1974). Thus, Nixon’s impeachment had little impact on democracy as a whole; the Clinton sex scandal did not influence democracy either. In order to investigate public opinion toward Clinton-Lewinsky affair and the Clinton’s impeachment, Miller conducted a regional survey of citizens living in seven Midwestern states in 1998 (Miller, 1999). He argues that even though Clinton’s impeachment and sex scandal was strongly influenced by the partisan lenses, the public’s reaction to Clinton’s overall image remained relatively stable (Miller, 1999). Furthermore, the result of this study contends that even though his lie did diminish people’s regard for his morality, the public’s estimation of Clinton’s leadership abilities was not diminished at all by the scandals of 1998 (Miller, 1999). In addition, Kagay argues that most of the American public classified President Clinton’s sex scandal as being in the private zone and they are

more interested in national economy than Clinton's impeachment (Kagay, 1999).

Due to economic, political, and historical differences between the U.S. and South Korea, impeachment had a much larger impact on South Korea.

Given the impeachment of the president in South Korea, I am deeply concerned that South Korea is still not ready for real democracy, although it has been struggling to realize democracy and achieve political maturity during the past two decades of civilian governments. In other words, the goal is to determine to what extent the impeachment of the president may have undermined or encouraged the development of democracy in South Korea. Therefore, my hypothesis is that there is a negative relationship between individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea and President Roh's impeachment. In other words, if respondents of my Internet survey do not agree with President Roh's impeachment, they are more likely to be unsatisfied with the democratization of South Korea.

Democratic Institution and Civil Society

Lijphart analyzes broadly and deeply worldwide democratic institutions by examining thirty-six democracies during the half-century from 1945 to 1996

(Lijphart, 1999). According to Lijphart (1999), “the main institutional rules and practices of modern democracies such as the organization and operation of executives, legislatures, party systems, electoral systems and the relationships between central and lower-level governments can be measured on scales from majoritarianism at one end to consensus.” In order to measure the main institutional rules and practices of modern democracies, Lijphart make a division between the two concepts of majoritarian and consensus. Briefly, Lijphart argues that “majoritarian democracy is to concentrate power in the hands of the majority” (Lijphart, 1999).

On the other hand, “the consensus model tries to share, disperse, and restrain power in a variety of ways such as cabinets, legislatures, parties, election systems, supreme courts, interest groups and central banks” (Lijphart, 1999).

Lijphart contends “the consensus democracy means that majority includes rather than excludes to maximize the size of the ruling majority” (Lijphart, 1999). David Held in *Models of Democracy* argues that “the actual institutional organization of the state is central to the degree to which individuals can enjoy freedom” (Held, 1996).

According to Lipset, Larry Diamond defines a strong civil society as more

important than electoral rules in encouraging a stable system (Lipset, 1994). By comparing English-speaking countries and European countries such as Germany, Lipset argues that “in a large complex society the body of the citizenry is unable to affect the policies of the state” (Lipset, 1956, p. 15). For instance, Lipset says that “if citizens do not belong to politically relevant groups, the controllers of the central power apparatus will completely dominate the society” (Lipset, 1956, p.15). He also argues that “citizen groups must become the bases of the institutionalized political parties which are a necessary condition for a modern democracy” (Lipset, 1994).

Putnam in *Making Democracy Work* tries to understand the performance of democratic institutions by comparing Northern Italy with Southern Italy. For instance, he argues that the Northern is much more advanced than the Southern in terms of the level of economic development, social accommodation, education, and effective government (Putnam, 1993). In comparing Northern Italy's civic traditions with Southern Italy's lack, Putnam puts forth several criteria that define civil society. One criterion is the civic orientation of the citizens themselves. Are citizens interested in politics? Are they active participants in the political process? Putnam's research shows that citizens' interest and active participation in politics

was directly proportional with the "civicness" of a particular region (Putnam, 1993). Northern Italy, with its successful regional governments, showed a high level of participation and interest in the political process, whereas the languishing regions of the south demonstrated a large degree of apathy and uninterest towards politics and active political participation (Putnam, 1993).

Another method Putnam employs to measure the civic orientation of citizens in the regions of Italy studied is looking at the "associativeness" of the people (Putnam, 1993). That is, did citizens form private organizations? Did they ally themselves in clubs, sports leagues, and other such groupings? Once again, citizens in the successful regions of the North demonstrated a high degree of associativeness. They united in all sorts of groups with all sorts of purposes. Once again, the South lacks in associativeness.

Democratic institutions in South Korea traditionally have been weak and used by authoritarian regimes (Kil & Moon, 2001). Especially after the military coup in 1961, the domination of the government over other institutions such as the court, the National Assembly, and political parties became stronger. Thus, the National Assembly, political parties, and the courts had been forced to serve as institutional instruments that merely approved and supported the policies

formulated in the executive branch, controlled by the authoritarian regime, until the democratic transition in 1987. Due to the tight control of the authoritarian regime over the institutional political arena during the 1970s and early 1980s, those institutions could not attain any autonomy from the regime. During the 1970s and early 1980s, opposition parties did not play active roles in the democratic movement.

However, after the emergence of the strong opposition party as an outcome of the general election, the opposition party was able to struggle actively against the authoritarianism. Kihl argues that “after a successful political transition from authoritarian politics to a new era of liberal democracy, South Korea’s next challenge lies in consolidating its democratic gains and building durable political institutions” (Kihl, 2005). Thanks to the emergence of the strong opposition party and interest group, Roh Moo-Hyun on December 18th 2002, was selected as President in South Korea. However, he was impeached by the existing military (authoritarian) party (GNP) in 2004.

My hypothesis is that there is a relationship between individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea and participation in civil society. In other words, if respondents of my internet survey do participate in civil

organizations, they are more likely to be satisfied with the democratization of South Korea .Therefore, in my thesis I would like to ask the question: Are you a member of any kind of group (social, political, etc.)? If you are, what kind of group is it?

CHAPTER III

DATA AND METHODS

Data Collection of Development of Democracy in South Korea

In order to gather data, I used “Re-Poll”, which is a public opinion census agency in South Korea, to find and survey respondents. Data were from surveys of Koreans 20 years of age and older. The surveys were conducted from November 29, 2004 to January 5, 2005 (38 days) and the total number of participants was 1076. The survey was based on sampling at the individual level with selection by categories of age, sex, and geographic regions. The procedure for choosing sampling was as follows: respondents for the survey were chosen by means of random selection of individuals. In order to find respondents, “Re-Poll” sent e-mail surveys to randomly chosen people who use the Internet and are members of “Re-Poll” or one of other large websites such as “Daum”, “I Love School”, and “Yahoo Korea” in South Korea, and asked them to voluntarily participate in the survey. A total of 1,076 personal surveys were conducted with voting-age Koreans (age 20 and older), representing members of the adult population of all provinces, except Je-ju Province in South Korea. (Residents of Seoul and Kyung-Gi province,

Choong-Chung province, Kang-Won Province, Jun-Ra province, and Kyung-Sang province were surveyed).

Using a survey, the variables were conducted as follows: gender, age, whether or not s/he voted in the recent election, the level of education, religion, geographical area, the amount of annual income, whether or not s/he favored the impeachment, and membership in civil society groups or organizations. Based on the survey, I analyzed how much these variables are related with the democratization in South Korea.

Model Specification

Individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea = (gender, age, whether or not s/he voted in the recent election, the level of education, religion, geographical area, the amount of annual income, whether or not s/he favored the impeachment, and membership in civil society groups or organizations):

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + b_4X_4 + \dots + b_iX_i + E$$

Where, **X** represents all independent variables that affect the outcome in question.

The **b** are respective regression coefficients.

Y = development of democracy (i.e., Individual attitude toward democratization of South Korea)

X_1 = gender

X_2 = age

X_3 = voting turn-out

X_4 = level of education

X_5 = religion

X_6 = geographical area

X_7 = amount of annual income

X_8 = whether or not s/he favored the impeachment

X_9 = civil society groups or organizations

I will use support for democratic norm as a proxy for support of development of democracy.

Variables

Dependent variable: I used individual attitude toward democratization as a proxy variable. In order to measure “the individual attitude toward democratization” I used a scale of 1-10, 1 being very unsatisfied with democratization and 10 being

very satisfied with democratization.

1) Gender: Male was coded 1 and female was coded 2.

2) Age: I asked his or her age.

3) Voting: If he or she voted in the last general election on April 15, 2004, I coded

1. Otherwise, I coded 2.

4) The levels of education: I measured the levels of education based on regular courses of study. For instance, if she or he graduated from high school or less than, she or he was numbered 1 and if she or he is being in 4 years university, she or he was numbered 5. (1: graduated from high school or less, 2: dropped out of 2- year college or currently in 2-year college, 3: graduated from 2- year college, 4: dropped out of 4- year college, 5: currently in 4- year college, 6: graduated from 4- years college, 7: currently in graduate, and 8: graduated from graduate school).

5) Religions: Protestant Christian was coded 1, Roman Catholic was coded 2, Buddhist was coded 3, Confucianism was coded 4, others were coded 5, and no religion was coded 6.

6) Geographic Area

I) a residential area: Seoul and Kyung-Gi province were coded 1,

Choong-Chung province was coded 2, Kang-Won Province was coded 3, Jun-

Ra province was coded 4 and Kyung-Sang province was coded 5.

II) Hometown area: Seoul and Kyung-Gi province were coded 1,

Choong-Chung province was coded 2, Kang-Won Province was coded 3, Jun-

Ra province was coded 4 and Kyung-Sang province was coded 5.

7) Amount of Annual Income: I measured income as his or her annual income.

Less than 10,000,000 won was coded 1, 10,000,000 won – 20,000,000 won was coded 2, 20,000,000 won - 30,000,000 won was coded 3, 30,000,000 won – 40,000,000 won was coded 4, 40,000,000 won – 50,000,000 won was coded 5, and more than 50,000,000 won was coded 6.

8) Whether or not s/he favored the impeachment: If he or she agreed with the impeachment, I coded 1. Otherwise, I coded 2. In addition, those who agreed with the impeachment asked reasons why: President Roh made an unstable political situation was coded 1, President Roh did not overcome economic problems was coded 2, President Roh has no leadership ability as President was coded 3, and other reasons was coded 4. Those who opposed the impeachment were also asked why they thought that why: That the oppositions' impeachment lacked justification was coded 1, President Roh did not deserve to be impeached was coded 2, President Roh has done well with domestic affairs so far was coded 3,

and other reasons was coded 4.

9) Civil society groups or organizations: I asked respondents “are you a member of civil society groups or organizations? If yes, in what kind of civil society groups or organizations do you participate?”

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Based on the data, the relationships between individual attitude toward democratization of South Korea and other factors such as gender, age, level of education, annual income, voting turn-out, geographical area (i.e., residential area, home town), religion, and attitude toward impeachment were examined. The duration of data collection was, approximately, 38 days. Table 1 shows the total number of participants in the internet survey for this study. The number of male participants is 617 and the number of female participants is 459. Table 2 shows age groups divided into five ranges based on participants' ages. According to "Re-poll", the number of participants over 50 are very small due to less use of internet and computers.

Table 1
Number of Participants

Gender	Number	Percentage (%)
Male	617	57.34
Female	459	62.66
Total	1076	100.00

Table 2

Age Ranges of Participants

Age	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
20-29	371	182	189	34.48
30-39	410	238	172	38.1
40-49	265	177	88	24.63
50-	30	21	5	2.79
Total	1076	618	458	100.00

According to *the Korea Herald*, the majority of disappointed voters, especially those in their 20s and 30s, to President Roh's impeachment are willing to use the elections as an opportunity to voice dissatisfaction with the opposition-controlled parliament's decision to impeach Roh for an alleged violation of the Elections Law and other alleged illegal behavior (*The Korea Herald*, 2004).

According to *Donga Daily New Paper*, the National Election Commission (NEC) officially announced on April 16 that Uri Party garnered 152 victories, including 23 from the proportional representation system, and that the Grand National Party (GNP), Democratic Labor Party (DLP), Millennium Democratic Party (MDP), the United Liberal Democrat (ULD), and National Alliance 21 won 121, 10, nine, four, and one seats respectively, and two independent members were elected.

Meanwhile, it was reported that 60.6 percent of all eligible voters participated in

the 17th general election. The percentage increased by 3.4 percent compared to the 16th general election, which was 57.2 percent. The NEC conveyed that 21,581,550 people out of 35,596,497 of the electorate voted in the April 15 elections (*Donga Daily New Paper*, 04.17, 2004).

A table of political participation was constructed from the replies of “yes” and “no” to the question about participation in the last general election on April 15, 2004. Table 3 shows that 952 respondents participated and 124 respondents did not vote in the last general election on April 15, 2004. The sixty respondents who did not participate in the last general election said that even though the majority of candidates pledge to work for the people and nation during the election campaign, no one keeps their pledge after being elected. Furthermore, they criticized that most politicians are only interested in their own profit and fractional interest. Therefore, 49 respondents said that they were disappointed by politicians and the unstable political situation, so that they were unwilling to participate in it. Thirty-two respondents said that they were less interested in politics, so that is why they did not participate. The remaining 32 respondents have other reasons such as midterm examinations, personal business, studying abroad, and so on.

Table 3

Voting Turn-Out in the Last General Election on April 15, 2004

Election	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Yes	952	568	384	88.48
No	124	50	74	11.52
Total	1076	618	458	100.00

Table 4 shows level of education of respondents. The number of those who graduated from high school is 233, and the greatest number of participants are the people who graduated from 4 - year college. Because this is an internet survey, there are no participants who have not at least graduated from high school.

Table 5 indicates respondents' religious preferences. Five hundred thirty-nine respondents identify themselves as religions and five hundred thirty-seven do not. Table 6 indicates the types of religion. As table 6 shows, 324 out of the 539 respondents who are religions believe in the traditionally Western Christian religions and 205 respondents believe in Buddhism. Only one respondent believes in Confucianism. In term of other kinds of religions, some respondents have beliefs such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Won Buddhism, Daesunjinrihoe, and so on.

Table 4

Level of Participants' Education

Education	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
H	233	81	152	21.65
C/D	2	1	1	0.19
C/G	86	31	55	7.99
U/D	12	5	7	1.12
U/S	128	75	53	11.90
U/G	513	335	178	47.68
G/S	32	29	3	2.97
G/G	70	61	9	6.51
Total	1076	618	458	100
Note: 1. H: graduated from high school, 2. C/D: dropped out of 2 years college or currently in 2-year college, 3. C/G: graduated from 2- year college, 4. U/D: dropped out of 4 - year college, 5.U/B: currently in 4 - year college, 6. U/G: graduated from 4 - year college, 7. G/B: currently in graduate and 8. G/G: graduated from graduate school				

Table 5

Religion

Religion	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Yes	539	308	231	50.09
No	537	310	227	49.91
Total	1076	618	458	100.00

Table 6

Kinds of Religion

Religion	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Protestant	236	135	101	21.93
R- Catholic	88	47	41	8.18
Buddhist	205	123	8	19.05
Confucianism	1	1	0	0.09
Others	9	2	7	0.84
Not religious	537	310	227	49.91
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: R-Catholic: Roman Catholic				

Table 7 and 8 show residential area and home town respectively. South Korea contains five provinces: Kyung-Gi Province, Choong-Chung Province, Kang-Won Province, Jun-Ra Province, Kyung-Sang Province, and Je-Ju Province (also called Je-Ju Island), and Seoul is the capital of South Korea. In this study, I did not include Je-Ju Province. Even though I tried to obtain similar number of respondents from each province, the numbers of participants from Choong-Chung and Kang-Won Provinces are less than those from Jun-Ra and Kyung-Sang Provinces.

Table 7

Residential Area

Residential Area	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
S& K	239	132	107	22.21
C-C	208	132	76	19.33
K-W	202	122	80	18.77
J-R	220	134	86	20.45
K-S	207	98	109	19.24
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: 1. S&K: Seoul and Kyung-Gi Province, 2. C-C: Choong-Chung Province, 3. K-W: Kang-Won Province, 4. J-R: Jun-Ra Province and 5. K-S: Kyung-Sang Province				

Table 8

Home Town

Home Town	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
S& K	226	127	99	21.00
C-C	177	111	66	16.45
K-W	175	105	70	16.26
J-R	253	156	97	23.51
K-S	245	120	125	22.77
Total	1076	619	457	100.00
Note: 1. S&K: Seoul and Kyung-Gi Province, 2. C-C: Choong-Chung Province, 3. K-W: Kang-Won Province, 4. J-R: Jun-Ra Province and 5. K-S: Kyung-Sang Province				

Table 9 shows the range of respondents' annual incomes. The range of 715 the lowest-earning respondents' annual incomes is from less than 10 million Won (which is similar to \$10,000) to 30 million Won.

Table 9

Annual Income

Annual Income	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Less than 1	273	134	139	25.37
1-2	226	104	122	21.00
2-3	216	135	81	20.07
3-4	170	113	57	15.80
4-5	116	81	35	10.78
More Than 5	75	52	23	6.97
Total	1076	619	457	100.00
Note: 1. Less than 1: less than 10,000,000 Won, 2. 2-3: 20,000,000-30,000,000, 3. 3-4: 30,000,000-40,000,000, 4. 4-5: 40,000,000-50,000,000 and 5. More than 5: more than 50,000,000				

Table 10 indicates respondents' evaluations of President Roh's impeachment. Based on the question "Do you agree with the impeachment of President Roh?", 250 respondents agreed with President Roh's impeachment. On the other hand, 826 respondents disagreed with President Roh's impeachment.

Table 10

Evaluation of President Roh's Impeachment

Impeachment	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Yes	250	156	94	23.23
No	826	462	364	76.77
Total	1076	618	458	100.00

Table 11 shows the respondents' reasons for supporting President Roh's impeachment. When it comes to other reasons, some respondents said they wanted to choose all of the numbers (1, 2, and 3), and some of them said that there were no adequate answers to questions.

Table 11

Reasons for President Roh's Impeachment

Reasons Yes	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	52	39	13	20.8
2	43	24	19	17.2
3	148	86	62	59.2
4	7	7	0	2.8
Total	250	156	94	100.00
Note: 1. President Roh made an unstable political situation, 2. President Roh did not overcome economic problems, 3. President Roh has no leadership ability as President, and 4. Other reasons				

Table 12 indicates the respondents' attitude toward disagreement with President Roh's impeachment. As table 12 shows, the majority of respondents said

that “the oppositions’ impeachment lacked justification and President Roh did not deserve to be impeached”. In other reasons, 11 respondents who answered other reasons were concerned about the overemphasis on international relations and 9 respondents worried about severe economic and social disruption. Some respondents argued that presidential capability and talent should be evaluated by the people rather than the National Assembly.

Table 12
Reasons Against President Roh’s Impeachment

Reasons No	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	260	147	113	31.48
2	487	268	219	58.96
3	48	28	20	5.81
4	31	19	12	3.75
Total	826	462	364	100.00
Note: 1. The oppositions’ impeachment lacked justification, 2. President Roh did not deserve to be impeached, 3. President Roh has done well with domestic affairs so far and 4. Other reason				

As table 13 indicates, most respondents do not participate in civic organizations. Among those who do, 11 respondents participate in Non-Government Organization (NGO), 10 respondents participate in Korea Federation for Environmental Movement (KFEM), and some participate in other civil societies such as Korea Independent Commission against Corruption (KICC), the

Citizens Coalition for Economic Justice (CCEJ), Korean Confederation of Labor Unions (KCLU), and so on.

Table 13

Participation in Civil Society

Civil Society	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
Yes	61	42	19	5.67
No	1015	576	439	94.33
Total	1076	618	458	100.00

In order for the respondent to understand democratization, I explained the brief definition on democratization in questionnaire as follows: Many political scientists argue that democratization is the transition from authoritarian or military systems to democratic political systems. Many political scientists also define that democratic systems are taken through universal suffrage, regular free and fair election, a civil society (civil society according to the liberal perspective can, generally, be understood as a sphere of voluntary associations and informal networks in which individuals and groups participate in activities of public consequence for their liberty and interests.), the rule of law, an independent judiciary and so on (see Table 14).

Table 14

Evaluation of Current Democratization of South Korea

Evaluation/ D	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	15	9	6	1.39
2	30	15	15	2.79
3	72	36	36	6.69
4	101	54	47	9.39
5	162	79	83	15.06
6	163	88	75	15.15
7	239	140	99	22.21
8	217	139	78	20.17
9	53	39	14	4.93
10	24	19	5	2.23
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: (1= is very dissatisfied with the democratization of South Korea, 10= is very satisfied with the democratization of South Korea)				

For the question “How would you evaluate the democratization of South Korea today?” 619 respondents out of 1076 answered that they are satisfied, relatively, with the democratization of South Korea. Only 77 respondents said that we are very contented democratization of South Korea. On the other hand, 218 respondents answered that they are very dissatisfied with the democratization of South Korea.

In order to compare today's individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea with before President Roh took office and before and after President Roh was impeached, I asked respondents their opinions of democratization during those times. Tables 15, 16, and 17 show the respondents' evaluation toward democratization of South Korea before Roh took office, before Roh was impeached, and after Roh was impeached, respectively. As table 15 indicates, 632 respondents (58.73%) out of 1076 are answer 5 to 7. In other words, 632 respondents said that they were relatively satisfied democratization of South Korea before President Roh took office. 257 respondents (23.89%), only, said that they were not very satisfied with the democratization of South Korea before President Roh took office. Table 16 shows the evaluation of democratization of South Korea before President Roh was impeached. As table 16 indicates, 615 respondents (57.16%) said that they were moderately contented with the democratization of South Korea before President Roh was impeached.

Table 15

Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea Before President Roh Took Office

Evaluation/ B/R	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	23	12	11	2.14
2	31	12	19	2.88
3	71	36	35	6.60
4	132	66	66	12.27
5	216	115	101	20.07
6	224	128	96	20.82
7	192	117	75	17.84
8	134	95	39	12.45
9	35	26	9	3.25
10	18	11	7	1.67
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: (1= is very dissatisfied with the democratization of South Korea, 10= is very satisfied with the democratization of South Korea), B/R ; Before President Roh took office				

Table 16

Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea Before President Roh was
Impeached

Evaluation/ B/I	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	21	12	9	1.95
2	27	14	13	2.51
3	65	31	34	6.04
4	121	63	58	11.25
5	203	102	101	18.87
6	210	118	92	19.52
7	202	119	83	18.77
8	161	110	51	14.96
9	46	35	11	4.28
10	20	14	6	1.86
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: (1= is very dissatisfied with the democratization of South Korea, 10= is very satisfied with the democratization of South Korea), B/I : Before President Roh was impeached				

Table 17 points out the evaluation of democratization of South Korea after President Roh was impeached. 730 respondents (67.84%) out of 1076 respondents said that they were relatively satisfied with the democratization of South Korea after President Roh was impeached.

Table17

Evaluation of Democratization of South Korea After President Roh was
Impeached

Evaluation/ A/I	Number	Male	Female	Percentage (%)
1	30	19	11	2.79
2	35	19	16	3.25
3	73	40	33	6.78
4	118	49	69	10.97
5	173	92	81	16.08
6	170	98	72	15.80
7	206	122	84	19.14
8	181	115	66	16.82
9	71	49	22	6.60
10	19	15	4	1.77
Total	1076	618	458	100.00
Note: (1= is very dissatisfied with the democratization of South Korea, 10= is very satisfied with the democratization of South Korea), B/I : After President Roh was impeached				

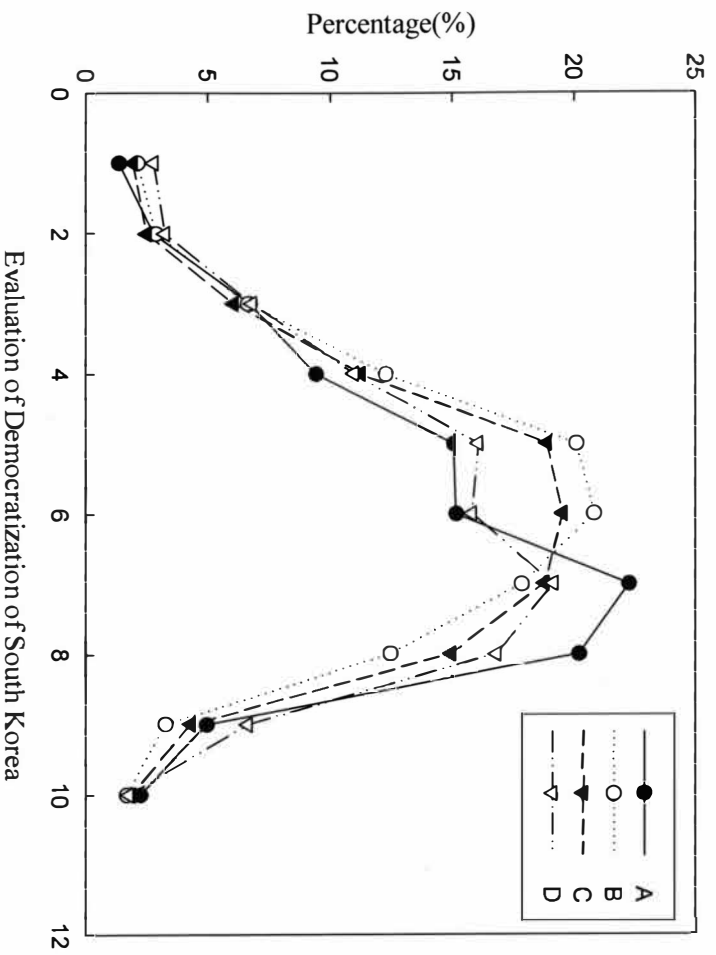


Figure 1. Comparison Table 14 with 15, 16, and 17

Note: A: ● indicates the percentage of evaluation of democratization of South Korea. B: ○ indicates the percentage of evaluation of democratization of South Korea before President Roh took office. C: ▼ indicates the percentage of evaluation of democratization of South Korea before President Roh was impeached. D: ▽ indicates the percentage of evaluation of democratization of South Korea after President Roh was impeached.

Figure 1 shows a comprehensive comparison of Tables 14, 15, 16, and 17.

A shows the current evaluation of democratization of South Korea and B, C, and D, respectively, show the evaluation of democratization of South Korea before President Roh took office, the evaluation of democratization of South Korea before President Roh was impeached, and the evaluation of democratization of South Korea after President Roh was impeached. As figure 1 indicates, every line

is similar except line A. Based on Figure 1, most respondents in Line A said that they are satisfied (6-8) with the democratization of South Korea, whereas most respondents in Lines B,C, and D said that they are satisfied, but to a lesser degree (5-7), with the democratization of South Korea.

Statistical Results

The empirical results from the regression analysis are shown in Table 18. The table entries are OLS regression coefficients. The left column contains the independent variables. The middle column contains standardized coefficients and standard errors and the right column includes t-ratio. The empirical results clearly show that individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea are significantly related with gender, voting turn-out, and attitude toward President

Roh's impeachment. The coefficients for these items are significantly greater than zero: gender, election, and impeachment. The seven remaining coefficients are not statistically significant. The standardized coefficients confirm the widely differing impacts of individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea.

Table 18
OLS Regression of Factors Affecting Individual Attitude
Toward Democratization of South Korea

Variables	Coefficient (s.e.)	t-ratio
Age	.1879 (.0122)	1.54
Gender	-.3112* (.1731)	-1.80
Education	-.0216 (.0399)	-0.54
Voting Turn-out	-.5356* (.2804)	-1.91
Religions	.0735 (.0824)	0.89
Residential Area	.04981 (.075261)	0.66
Home Town	-.0521328 (.0726405)	-.072
Annual Income	0.1054 (0.0656)	1.61
Impeachment	0.3424* (0.1899)	1.80

Civil Society	-0.0504 (0.3677)	0.891
R² = 0.064, N= 1076		
<p>Note: Table entries are OLS (Ordinary Least Squares) regression coefficients and figures in parentheses are standard errors. *Coefficient is significantly different from zero, 0.1 level, one-tailed test.</p> <p>*Gender: Male= 1 and Female=2 *Voting Turn-out (participation in last election on April 15, 2004): Yes=1 and No=2 * Impeachment (Do you agree with the impeachment of President Roh?): Yes=1 and No=2</p> <p>*p<0.1</p>		

The voting participation in the last National Assembly Election on April 15, 2004 has, by far, the strongest effect, with a coefficient of -.5356. The negative coefficient shows that most respondents who participated in the general election said they were satisfied with the democratization but not the remaining respondents who did not participate in the general election. Gender has an effect with a coefficient of -.31. Because the coefficient is negative, it can be interpreted that most male respondents were satisfied with the democratization of South Korea, but less so the female respondents. Attitude toward the impeachment also has an effect with a coefficient of 0.3424. Because the coefficient is positive, it can be interpreted that most respondents who disagreed with President Roh's impeachment were satisfied with the democratization of South Korea, but less so the respondents who agreed with President Roh's impeachment. On the other hand,

other factors such as age, level of education, religion, residential area, home town, and participation in civil society had no significant effects on individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea.

Using dummy variables is essentially to classify data into mutually exclusive categories such as geographical region, sex, race, color, religion, political upheavals, and party affiliation (Gujarati, 2003). The objective of using dummy variables is to compare each residential area and home town, looking at the relationship between residential areas and home towns. In my study, by using dummy variables with residential area and home town (Seoul and Kyung-Gi Province, Choong-Chung Province, Kang-Won Province, Jun-Ra Province and Kyung-Sang Province), I tried to ascertain how much each geographical region (residential area and home town) was related with other variables. Table 19 shows the results as follows: 1) Because the coefficient is negative, it can be interpreted that male respondents are satisfied with democratization of South Korea more than are female respondents. 2) Because the coefficient is negative, it can be interpreted that male respondents who participated in the last general election were content with democratization of South Korea more than were female

Table 19

OLS Regression of Factors Affecting Individual Attitude Toward
Democratization of South Korea, Using Dummy Variables

Variables	Coefficient (s.e.)	t-ratio
Age	.0133 (.0093)	1.44
Gender	-3.26*** (.125)	-2.62
Education	-.008 (.028)	-.29
Voting Turn-out	-.573*** (.185)	-3.09
Religions	-.23 (.115)	-2.6
Annual Income	.151** (.047)	3.17
Impeachment	.354** (.14)	2.52
Civil Society	-.038 (.251)	-.15
Residential Area	-.246* (.138)	-1.78
$R^2 = 0.064$, N= 1076		

Note: Table entries are OLS (Ordinary Least Squares) regression coefficients and figures in parentheses are standard errors. *Coefficient is significantly different from zero, 0.01 level, one-tailed test.

*Gender: Male= 1 and Female=2 *Voting Turn-out (participation in last election on April 15, 2004): Yes=1 and No=2 * Impeachment (Do you agree with the impeachment of President Roh?): Yes=1 and No=2 * Residential Area: Seoul & Kyung-Gi= 0 and Other Provinces=1

Dummy variable for one outlying case (Seoul & Kyung-Gi Province was coded 0 and remaining provinces were coded 1) was included in the regression, whereas other dummy variables for seven cases (which are residential area and home town) were excluded in the regression and are not reported here (see Appendix 1). * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$

respondents. 3) Since the coefficient is positive, it can be interpreted that respondents who are earning high annual incomes are more satisfied with democratization of South Korea than are respondents who are earning low annual incomes. 4) Based on the coefficient on impeachment, it can be interpreted that respondents who disagreed with President Roh' s impeachment are more satisfied with the democratization of South Korea than are respondents who agreed with President Roh's impeachment. 5) Finally, using dummy variables (Seoul & Kyung-Gi province were coded 0 and other provinces were coded 1), it can be interpreted that respondents who are living in Seoul or Kyung-Gi province are more satisfied with democratization of South Korea than are respondents who are living in other provinces.

Although the coefficients for gender, voting turn-out, annual income, impeachment, and residential area reached statistical significance in dummy variables, the substantive influence of annual income and residential area variables did not match with previous results.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

My theoretical model not only accounts for individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea but also provides insights about how the independent variables (age, gender, level of education, voting turn-out, religion, residential area, home town, annual income, attitude toward the impeachment, and participation in civil society) affect the dependent variable. Based on the research questions of this study- 1) what were the major factors that influenced individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea?, 2) how did those factors affect attitudes about democratization of South Korea?, and 3) to what extent has the impeachment of President Roh undermined or developed democracy in South Korea?- I can reach the following conclusions:

This study demonstrates findings. First, gender, voting turn-out, and attitude toward President Roh's impeachment affects individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea. Second, disagreement with President Roh's impeachment positively affects individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea.

Isaak argues that “empirical statements state facts or relationships that we have observed or discovered through various methods such as experimentation or statistical control procedures” (Isaak, 2001, p. 9). The use of statistical methodology on the survey results in this research supports that there are important, significant implications from this research on questions relating to the future of South Korean democratization. Based on the historical background, even though South Korea has made substantial development toward greater democratization since 1987, Korean politics still faces old threats from the military and new ones from the *chaebols* that influence the political agenda in South Korea. Moreover, corruption remains rooted in the business sector and regionalism and intraparty power struggles continue to afflict politics (Cha, 1993). Although factors such as regionalism, level of education, participation in civil society, and religion were not shown in this study to be related with individual attitudes toward democratization in South Korea, based on previous studies these should still affect progress toward democratic maturity. Even though President Roh was impeached due to the imbalance of power between the president and the National Assembly, the Korean people should reconsider the rule of law and proper restraint on executive power. In this study, most Korean people remain

satisfied with the current system of democratic governing performance and democratization in South Korea.

This thesis presents several results about the factors affecting individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea. However, there are several limitations to the study, such as the number of participants, age ranges of participants, the range in the level of education of participants, and disproportionate geographical representation and these would need to be addressed in order to improve further studies. Given the total population of South Korea (approximately 4,823,400), 1076 participants is too small a sample size to statistically generalize the individual attitudes toward democratization for the whole population of South Korea. Therefore, it would be better to amplify the sample size so as to investigate the significant relationship between independent variables and the dependent variable. Due to this being an Internet survey, only a few respondents older than those in the 50s age group participated and there are no participants who have not at least graduated from high school. Therefore, it is necessary to increase age groups and to enlarge the levels of education surveyed in order to better look into the relationship between individual attitudes and democratization of South Korea. The geographical area of South Korea falls into

Seoul and 6 provinces (Kyung-Gi Province, Choong-Chung Province, Kang-Won Province, Jun-Ra Province, Kyung-Sang Province and Je-Ju Province). But, this study did not include Je-Ju Province.

Despite the potential limitations, this study enhances our understanding of the relationship between individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea and other factors (age, gender, level of education, voting turn-out, religion, residential area, home town, annual income, view of the impeachment, and participation in civil society). Furthermore, given the impeachment of the president in South Korea, I am deeply concerned that South Korea is still not ready for real democracy, although it has been struggling to realize democracy and achieve political maturity during the past two decades of civilian governments. In other words, the goal is to determine to what extent the impeachment of the president may have undermined or developed democracy in South Korea.

Therefore, by examining the relationship between individual attitudes toward democratization of South Korea and attitude toward President Roh's impeachment as a policy variable, this study argues that disagreement with President Roh's impeachment positively affects individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea.

Appendix A

Questionnaires

Questionnaires

Western Michigan University
Department of Political Science
Principal Investigator: Alan C. Isaak
Student Investigator: Gang-hoon Kim

Subject Information: factors effecting individual attitude toward democratization in South Korea

President Roh Moo-Hyun was inaugurated on January 25, 2002. He was impeached in mid March 2004. The impeachment of President Roh would be revealed a deep political disruption and impacted democratization of South Korea. Therefore, I am conducting a study looking at the relationship between democratization and individual factors (level of education, region, income, religion, age, participation of election, and pros or cons of impeachment) which influence democratization.

Maybe, because you are either a member of Re-Poll or another large websites, you can, individually, be chosen and contacted by Re-Poll. Participants who are members of Re-Poll and other large websites can participate in this Internet survey voluntarily. Because the purpose of this study is to focus on the relationship between democratization and individual factors and the pros and cons of the impeachment of President Roh, you must have been eligible to vote for the last National Assembly election on April 15, 2004. You must also have the willingness to participate in this Internet survey. For example, if you voted ruling party for the last National Assembly election, it may mean that the voters preferred President Roh's government.

If you are interested, I would like to take some basic information from you. Because this study is anonymous, this information will remain confidential. Furthermore, this information will be used only for purposes of the study. This survey is comprised of 12 multiple choice and submultiple questions and will take approximately 10 minutes to complete by using the Internet survey. You may choose to not answer any question and simply leave it blank. If you choose to not participate in this survey, you can quit replying to the questions.

1) Today's date: _____
Year / Month / Day

2) Age: _____

3) Sex: 1) Male: _____ 2) Female: _____

4) Education: _____ 0-23, (for example, if you graduated middle school, you can write 9.)

5) Did you participate in the last general election on April 15, 2004 as an electorate?

1) Yes: _____ 2) No: _____

(If not, why you did not participate in it?)

6) Do you have religion? Yes: _____ No: _____

If yes, 1) _____ Christian 2) _____ Rome Catholic 3) _____ Buddhist 4) _____

Confucianism 5) _____ others; specify _____ 6) _____ No

7) Where do you live?

- 1) _____ Seoul or Kyong-gi Province
- 2) _____ Chung-chong Province
- 3) _____ Kang-won Province
- 4) _____ Jon-ra Province
- 5) _____ Kyoun-sang Province

8) Where is your hometown?

- 1) _____ Seoul or Kyong-gi Province
- 2) _____ Chung-chong Province
- 3) _____ Kang-won Province
- 4) _____ Jon-ra Province
- 5) _____ Kyoun-sang Province

9) Annual income

- 1) _____ Less than 10,000,000 Wons
- 2) _____ 10,000,000 Wons – 20,000,000 Wons
- 3) _____ 20,000,000 Wons - 30,000,000 Wons
- 4) _____ 30,000,000 Wons – 40,000,000 Wons
- 5) _____ 40,000,000 Wons – 50,000,000 Wons

6) _____ More than 50,000,000 Wons

10) Are you a member of civil society groups or organizations? Yes: _____

No: _____

If yes, what kind of civil society groups or organizations do you participate?

11) Do you agree with the impeachment of President Roh? 1) Yes: _____ 2)

No: _____

Give your reasons:

If yes, 1. _____ President Roh made an unstable political situation.

2. _____ President Roh did not overcome economic problems.

3. _____ President Roh has no leadership ability as President.

4. Other reasons _____

If no: 1. _____ Oppositions' impeachment lacked justification.

2. _____ President Roh did not deserve to be impeached.

3. _____ President Roh has done well with domestic affairs so far.

4. Other reasons _____

12) Many political scientists argue that democratization is the transition from authoritarian or military systems to democratic political systems. Many political scientists also define that democratic systems are taken through universal suffrage,

regular free and fair election, a civil society (civil society according to the liberal perspective can, generally, be understood as a sphere of voluntary associations and informal networks in which individuals and groups participate in activities of public consequence for their liberty and interests.), the rule of law, an independent judiciary and so on. How would you evaluate the democratization of South Korea today?

(1= is least developed democracy, 10= is most developed democracy)

1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ 6__ 7__ 8__ 9__ 10__

(Please assign your evaluation between 1 and 10.)

President Roh Moo-Hyun was inaugurated on January 25, 2002. He was impeached in mid- March 2004.

I. How would you evaluate democratization of South Korea before President Roh took office?

1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ 6__ 7__ 8__ 9__ 10__

II. How would you evaluate democratization of South Korea before he was impeached?

1__ 2__ 3__ 4__ 5__ 6__ 7__ 8__ 9__ 10__

III. How would you evaluate democratization of South Korea after he was

impeached?

1__2__3__4__5__6__7__8__9__10__

If you have any questions about the above questions, please send e-mail to

gang.kim@wmich.edu or ironhoon113@hotmail.com

Thank you for your participation

Appendix B

HSIRB Protocol Outline

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Protocol Outline

Western Michigan University
Department of Political Science
Principal Investigator: Alan C. Isaak
Student Investigator: Gang-hoon Kim

Project Description

In mid March 2004, the impeachment of President Roh was one of the hottest issues in South Korea. Roh Moo-Hyun is only the first president to have been impeached by the National Assembly since the South Korean government established in July 1948. The impeachment of South Korea's president, Roh Moo-Hyun, reveals a deep political disruption. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to scientifically determine to what extent the impeachment of the president may have undermined or developed the democracy in South Korea.

In order to answer these questions, this study will examine the relationship between democratization and several factors such as level of education, region, individual income, religion, age, impeachment and election, using an Internet survey.

In order to gather data, I will use "Re-Poll", which is a public opinion census agency in South Korea, to find and survey respondents. Data will be from surveys of Koreans 20 years of age and older. The surveys will be conducted in the beginning of 2005 (n= 1,000). The survey will be based on sampling at the individual level with selection by categories of age and sex. The procedure for

choosing sampling will be as follows: individual respondents for the survey will be chosen by means of random selection.

The 1,000 surveys will be conducted with voting-age Koreans (age 20 and older), representing members of the adult population of South Korea (i.e., residents of Seoul, minus Cheju Island and all the provinces: Kyung-gi, Choong-chung, Kang-won, Kyung-sang, and Jun-ra). The survey is expected to take approximately 10 min. Data will be collected during a period of one month (in January 2005). This study will be disseminated for my master thesis.

Method of Analysis

In order to obtain data, I will use “Re-Poll”, which is a public opinion census agency in South Korea, to survey and find respondents. Data will be from surveys of Koreans 20 years of age and older. The surveys will be conducted in the beginning of 2005 (n= 1,000). The survey will be based on sampling at the individual level with selection by categories of age and sex. The procedure for choosing sampling will be as follows: respondents for the survey will be chosen by means of random selection of individuals. The 1,000 surveys will be conducted with voting-age Koreans (age 20 and older), representing members of the adult population of South Korea (i.e., residents of Seoul and all the provinces minus Cheju island: Kyung-gi province, Choong-chung province, Kang-won Province, Kyung-sang province, and Jun-ra province). After collecting data from participants, Re-Poll will send the collected data to me using Excel. The collected data can then be analyzed by using a multiple regression analysis utilizing my own data. As a result, I can expect whether factors, such as level of education, age,

region, annual income, religion and impeachment, can affect attitudes toward democratization of South Korea or not.

Benefits of Research

In my thesis, by controlling for the level of education, gender, age, annual income, region and religion, I can measure the recent Korean presidential impeachment as a main policy variable and evaluate how the presidential impeachment affects individual attitudes toward the democratization of South Korea. While preparing for the literature review of my thesis, I understood that political leaders like presidents impacted the democratization of several developing countries. Furthermore, this study will expect the respondents to understand how much South Korea is developed in terms of democratization. We want to encourage respondents to participate by giving two thousands won (around 2\$) cash or gift card upon completion of the survey. According to Re-Poll, there are two incentives for taking the survey, either cash or gift card depending on a participants' preference. For instance, if one participant prefers cash, Re-Poll will deposit two thousand won in the participant's Internet account. Otherwise, Re-Poll will send a gift card to the participant directly.

Subject Selections

In order to get data, I will use "Re-Poll", which is a public opinion census agency in South Korea, to survey and find respondents. Because this survey is anonymous, Re-Poll will measure subject selections while considering anonymity and confidentiality. The purpose of this thesis is to search for individual attitudes

about the democratization of South Korea. In technical terms, attitudes mean not only like and dislike, but also a positive or negative orientation toward an object. Therefore, it is necessary to have many techniques such as anonymity and confidentiality for encouraging respondents' feeling (i.e., positive or negative) toward attitude objects. Therefore, an anonymous survey is useful. Data will be from surveys of Koreans 20 years of age and older. The surveys will be conducted in the beginning of 2005 (n= 1,000). The survey will be based on sampling at the individual level with selection by categories of age and sex. "Re-Poll" will survey through random sampling to persons who usually use Internet and are included the subject of survey. "Re-Poll" will send an e-mail to each person who is a member of "Re-Poll" and one of the members of each large website such as "Daum", "I Love School", and "Yahoo Korea" in South Korea, by asking them to voluntarily participate in the survey.

Risks to Subjects

There is one advantage using an Internet survey. If respondents have mild discomforts or inconveniences, they can stop answering the questions. According to Re-Poll, there are no known risks to subjects. Respondents are, at least, a member of Re-Poll or other large websites that are connected websites with Re-Poll. Therefore, a respondent who wants to maintain the confidentiality of his/her identities can answer the questions anonymously. Furthermore, using the Internet, respondents will take enough time to understand and consider survey questions after receiving e-mail from "Re-Poll". Therefore, they can respond to the survey questions having ample time and comfort

Protection for Subjects

As requested by Mr. Gang-hoon Kim, we, Research & POLL Co., Ltd., will collect the data for Mr. Kim using the Internet survey. Our website, www.repoll.com, is fully secured so the protection of the surveyed subjects' identities will be protected. We will not release any information collected for any purpose other than Mr. Kim's research. The data to be provided to me contains no identifying information (no email and no name). According to Re-Poll, they have contracts with other large websites, such as "Daum", "I Love School", and "Yahoo Korea", in South Korea. Those websites cannot open respondents' identities without approving them legally. Thus, in terms of security, Re-Poll guarantees that those websites have to protect security for respondents.

Confidentiality of Data

The collected data will be stored and locked in PI's office for three years. Otherwise, I will destroy it exactly three years after the close of my study in order to maintain confidentiality of data.

Informed Consent Process

According to Re-Poll, in order to do an informed consent process they will send e-mail to each respondent who is a member of Re-Poll or a large website. If the respondent agrees to participate in the Internet survey, Re-Poll will send a questionnaire to each respondent. Because the participants are more than 20 years of age, they, independently, can decide whether they are willing to participate in

Internet survey or not. In terms of consent documents, because of using Internet survey, it is difficult for Re-Poll to obtain a copy of all consent documents.

However, through the Internet survey Re-Poll can collect data according to each respondent's consent.

Appendix C

Informed Consent

Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Informed Consent

Western Michigan University
Department of Political Science
Principal Investigator: Alan C. Isaak
Student Investigator: Gang-hoon Kim

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled "Factors Affecting Individual Attitudes toward Democratization in South Korea." This research is intended to study the relationship between democratization and individual factors. This project is Gang-hoon Kim's thesis project.

This survey is comprised of 12 multiple choice and submultiple questions and will take approximately 10 minutes to complete by using the Internet survey. Your responses will be completely anonymous. You may choose to not answer any question and simply leave it blank. If you choose to not participate in this survey, you can quit replying to the questions. You will be asked questions regarding whether you agree with the impeachment of President Roh Moo-Hyun, and how satisfied you are with democratization in South Korea. According to Re-Poll, there are two incentives for taking the survey, either cash or gift card depending on a participants' preference. For instance, if one participant prefers cash, Re-Poll will deposit two thousand won in the participant's Internet account. Otherwise, Re-Poll will send a gift card to the participant directly.

By participating in this study, your benefit is to have time for considering democratization in South Korea. Furthermore, this study will expect the

respondents to understand how much South Korea is developed in terms of democratization.

All of the information collected from you is confidential. That means that your name will not appear on any papers on which this information is recorded. All data will be retained for at least three years in a locked file in the principal investigator's office. Otherwise, I will destroy it exactly three years after the close of my study in order to maintain confidentiality of data.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, you may contact either Gang-hoon Kim at 1-269-598-1602 or Alan C. Isaak at 1-269-387-5689. You may also contact the chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board at 1-269-387-8293 or the vice president for research at 1-269-387-8298 with any concerns that you have.

Because the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board has approved this consent document for use for one year, you can participate in this Internet survey.

Appendix D

WMU HSIRB Approval Form

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY



Human Subjects Institutional Review Board

Date: December 7, 2004

To: Alan Isaak, Principal Investigator
Gang-hoon Kim, Student Investigator for thesis

From: Amy Naugle, Ph.D., Interim Chair

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Amy Naugle", written over the printed name.

Re: HSIRB Project Number 04-11-20

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Factors Affecting Individual Attitudes toward Democratization of South Korea" has been approved under the exempt category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you may only conduct this research exactly in the form it was approved. You must seek specific board approval for any changes in this project. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date noted below. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse reactions or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: December 7, 2005

Walwood Hall, Kalamazoo, MI 49008-5456
PHONE: (269) 387-8293 FAX: (269) 387-8276

REFERENCES

- Beauchamp, E. (2002). *From transition to power alternation: Democracy in South Korea, 1987-1997*. Routledge: New York & London.
- Burkhart, R. E. and Lewis-Beck M. S. (1994, Dec). Comparative democracy: The economic development thesis. *The American Political Science Review*, 88, 903-910.
- Cha, V. D. (1993, Sept). Politics and democracy under the Kim Young Sam government: Something old, something new. *Asian Survey*, 33, 849-863.
- Choi, J. (2001, Feb). Political reform under democracy: The case of the Kim Dae-Jung government. *JoongAng Daily*.
- Dahl, R. A. (1956). *A preface to democratic theory*. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- Dahl, R. A. (1989). *Democracy and its critics*. Yale University Press.
- Economist.com/ Global Agenda. (2004, Mar 12). Roh goes, for now. *London*: pg. 1.
- Economist (2004, Mar 13). Will they impeach the president? South Korea *London*, 370, 65.
- Fairclough, G. (2004, Mar 15). Roh impeachment shows broad South Korean rift. *Wall Street Journal* (Eastern edition). New York, pg. A. 15.
- Feng, Y. (1997, July) Democracy, political stability and economic growth. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27, 397-418.

- Finch, G. B. (1974, Jun). Impeachment and the dynamics of public opinion: A comment on "guilty, yes; impeachment, no." *Political Science Quarterly*, 89, 301-304.
- Finkel, S.E. (2002, Nov). Civic education and the mobilization of political participation in developing democracies. *The Journal of Politics*, 64, 994-1020.
- Greenlees, D. (2004, Mar 25). The high cost of democracy. *Far Eastern Economic Review* 167, 12: 14-5.
- Held, D. (1996). *Model of democracy*. Stanford University Press.
- Helliwell, J. F. (1994, April). Empirical linkages between democracy and economic growth, *British Journal of Political Science*. Vol.24, No.2; 225-248.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman, OK.
- Kagay, M. R. (1999, Autumn). President address: Public opinion and polling during presidential scandal and impeachment, *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 63, 449-463.
- Kim, J. A. (1971, Jan). The Republic of Korea: A quest for new directions, *Asian Survey*, 11, 92-103.
- Kim, S. H. (2000). *The Politics of democratization in Korea: The role of civil society*. University of Pittsburgh Press: Pittsburgh.
- Kim, S. S. (2003). *Korea's democratization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kil, S.H. & Moon, C.I (Eds) (2001). *Understanding Korean politics*. State University of New York Press .

- Lee, S. H. (2002). *A foundation for democratic transition: The evolution of Korean civil society 1972-1987*. Western Michigan University.
- Leighley, J. E. (1995, Mar). Attitudes, opportunities and incentives: A field essay on political participation, *Political Research Quarterly*, 48, 181-209.
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty- six countries*. Yale University Press.
- Linz, J. J. (2000). *Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 19-20.
- Lipset, S., M., Trow, M. A., & Coleman, J. S. (1956). *Union democracy; the internal politics of the international typographical union*. New York: Free Press.
- Lipset, S. M. (1963). *Political man: The social bases of politics*. Anchor Books.
- Lipset, S. M. (1994, Feb). The social requisites of democracy revisited: 1993 presidential address, *American Sociological Review*, 59, 1-22.
- Miller, A. H. (1999, Dec). Sex, politics, and public opinion: What political scientists really learned from the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, *Political Science and Politics*, 32, 721-729.
- Muller, E. N., Seligson, M.A., & Turan, I. (1987, Oct). Education, participation, and support for democratic norms, *Comparative Politics*, 20, 19-33.
- Oh, J. K. (1999). *Korean politics: the quest for democratization and economic development*. Cornell University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civil traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton University Press.
- Saxer, C. J. (2002). *From transition to power alternation; Democracy in South Korea, 1987-1997*. Routledge: New York & London.

Yoon, S. H. (1996, May). South Korea's Kim Young Sam government: Political agendas. *Asian Survey* 36, 511-522.

Young, W. K. (2005). *Transforming Korean politics: Democracy, reform, and culture*. M.E. Sharpe: New York.