

Continuity and Change in 2002 Presidential Election

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Abstract (~~너무~~ 김 ~~니다.~~ 단어 ~~로~~ 줄 ~~어~~ 주 ~~시~~ 기 ~~바~~ 라 ~~랍 니 ~~다.~~)~~

The 2002 presidential election outcomes ~~deflected~~ controverted many political observers' forecasts in many ways. ~~Three~~ distinguishing ~~characteristics~~ can be found in the 2002 election. ~~First of all~~ The first occurs along, ~~it is on the~~ a continuum of past election patterns. ~~We find the~~ There is an apparent sustained decline of the voting turnout and the persistence of regional cleavage since 1987. ~~Secondly,~~ age and ideology have ~~always~~ been important variables in vote choice, but that pattern ~~gets~~ becomes ~~intensified in the recent election.~~ ~~And~~ Additionally, ~~finally~~ some new patterns also emerged. Voluntary civil participation during the campaign, especially as expressed through Mr. Roh's fan club, “~~Roh sa mo~~”, ~~Nosamo~~ exhibited ~~demonstrated~~ the importance of quite earnest Internet-based activities, ~~as~~. ~~The Internet made a great difference in this election.~~ ~~Part of the reason the generation gap became~~ such a salient deciding factor ~~so salient~~ is that most Internet users are of the younger generation.

After examining both ~~the~~ continuity and changes ~~of~~ in the 2002 presidential election in comparison with past elections, I ~~conclude~~ assert that ~~the~~ 2002 election manifested political change by bringing about secular realignment. ~~Accumulation~~ The ~~inevitable~~ result of ~~accumulated~~ of ~~societal~~ at change ~~geared~~ into ~~played~~ a major role in creating partisan

realignment, ~~which cross-cuttingcut across~~ previous regional cleavages in this election. ~~This r~~Realignment ~~happened-was possible due to~~because of the following three factors: macro-political conditions, ~~and~~ new issues ~~such as political reform and the sunshine policy~~(~~be more clear~~), and candidate Roh, who ~~bridges-was able to bridge the gulf between~~ the two.—Macro political conditions included ~~de-aligned voters and the-former President Kim Dae Jung's~~ controversial ~~ialy in the~~ policy towards North Korea.—Mr. Roh was able to ~~carry through (or b~~broughtbring about ~~enefit from?)~~ these political changes since he ~~has been~~was viewed as an anti-regionalist, outsider, and a progressive.

Keywords: ~~Regionalism~~regionalism, ~~Party-party~~ realignment, ~~Dealignment~~de-alignment, ~~Sunshine~~sunshine policy, ~~Generational~~generational gap

~~제가 고친 것은 그린색입니다.~~

1-Introduction

The 2002 presidential election outcomes deflected many observers' forecasts in many ways. They were puzzled with the contradictory election outcomes, as they were. Although the results brought Mr. Roh Moo-hyun a surprising victory, the major patterns of the previous elections have persisted. The election outcome appeared quite unique and different from that of previous elections on the one hand. We have witnessed massive voluntary activism and internet-based campaign for the first time in history. On the other hand, patterns discovered in the previous elections, such as the prevalence of prevailing regional voting and the decline in voter turnout were still evident. Throughout the year, the most notable features of the election can be characterized as in terms of the instability of candidate support, as shown in figure 1. According to public opinion polls, candidates' popularity fluctuated throughout the year, which made the prediction of election outcome unpredictable.

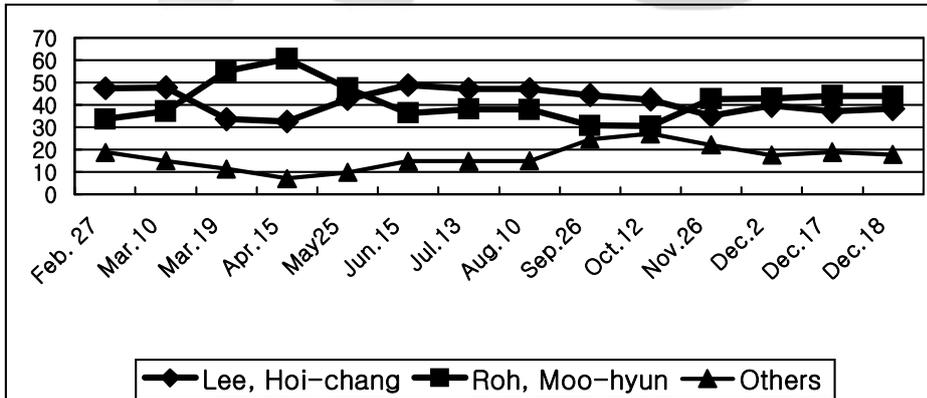


Figure 1.—Candidate Support in 2002 (%)

In summary, ~~three distinguishing characteristics can be found in the 2002 election. The first occurs along a continuum of past election patterns. three characteristics can be found in the 2002 election. First of all, it is on the continuum of past election patterns. Secondly, however, that in the recent election, that pattern gets becomes intensified a. And finally some new patterns also emerged emerges in new patterns.~~ Elaboration on these characteristics will be suggested below.

——— First, what patterns are continued ~~from previous elections?~~ ~~One is the sustained decline of the voting turnout since 1987. This The most recent election scored a quite low voting rate of 70.8% percent. The other Another pattern is continued in recent elections is expressed in that the persistent regional cleavage in voting patterns. patterns. S that persisted as in the past elections. For example, Mr. Lee Hoi-chang received about 70 % percent of the votes from Yeoungnam while Mr. Roh received 91-95 percent% from Honam. —~~

——— Second, age and ideological leanings ~~became prominent factors in voting choice. The age factor has been significant in almost every election since the advent of democratization in since 1987. The 2000 election was an exceptional case because it had a number of young candidates in their 30s nominated not only by the ruling party but also by the opposition party by the opposition one as well. As a result, the age effect was nullified and did not draw as much attention as the 2002 election did. The 2002 election results made moved the word "generation gap" so popular to a prominent place in the minds of the populace. Ideology, the other characteristic and key to understanding changes since previous elections, became significant and has interacted with the age factor ever since 1997 presidential election. (You have to explain or give an example here — I assume you're talking about the relatively more conservative ideological leanings of the older generation — anti-Communist, generally supportive of the US — versus the ideas of the younger generation. Make this explicit to the reader.)~~

——— Third ~~Finally, the feature of the 2002 election which that differed most from the previous ones is the fact that Jung Chung Mong-juoon and Roh Moo-hyun agreed upon a unified candidacy following the result of the national poll. The appearance of the a~~

third candidate can be interpreted as an indication of party de-alignment. — Candidacy unification artificially put a stop to increased party de-alignment and promoted realignment.

— The new trend in the 2002 election may have been the that of voluntary civil participation during the campaign. — Especially in the case of Mr. T then-candidate Roh's fan club cum political advocacy group, "Roh-sa-moNosamo," — exhibited quite earnest Internet-based activities. The Internet made a great difference in this election. — It overwhelmed the influence of newspapers and appeared as an powerful emerging powerful mediamedium. — Part of the reason the generation gap became so salient a factor in this election has to do with the fact that is that most Internet users are of the young generation. —

The purpose of this paper is to present and discuss both the continuity and changes of the 2002 presidential election in comparison with past elections. If we could findit is possible to identify the continued patternspatterns of continuity from previous elections, then the origin of that pattern should be identifiedthen it becomes possible to identifyidentify their origin. — If we foundIn a similar way, if it is possible to identify patterns of any changes from the past, then we also have to see what the impetus of that change isthen it will become possible to identify the impetus driving itthem. — In this paper, I will attempt to explain Also, while exploring these patterns of continuity and changes of theas expressed in the 2002 presidential election outcomes, I will place them within theinto the same a larger theoretical framework.

In order to fully understand the meaning of 2002 presidential election, tThe outcomes of each election since the 1987 presidential election and analyses of their meanings will be summarized presented in the next section. — In the third section, the patterns of continuity and changes found in the outcome of the 2002 presidential election will be examined. — On the surface, the 2002 election largely followed previously established patterns, but had these also took place alongside considerable changes from the past, and thus brought yielded unexpected results. — In the fourth section, we I will discuss the simultaneous factors of continuity and change, and present our own a different

theoretical model to understand the seemingly contradictory results. ~~Through this model, we can, while explain offering an explanation~~ explain for the background factors ~~the background reasons for~~ that led to the election of ~~president~~ President Roh. ~~Finally, by way of in the conclusion~~ concluding my argument, ~~we I will offer~~ some speculations about ~~the summarize the results of this paper and speculate on the~~ future path of ~~the~~ Korean party politics and possibilities for political reform.

The History of Presidential Elections since Democratization

As a result of the democratization movement in June 1987, ~~P~~ President Chun Doo-hwan accepted the constitutional reform ~~for mandating~~ direct presidential elections. ~~The Direct direct~~ elections was were revived for the first time since being nullified by President Park Chung ~~H~~ hee. ~~In 1987, the government party~~ Democratic Justice Party (DJP) nominated ~~Mr.~~ Roh Tae-woo for president. ~~He had~~ carried out a coup d'état ~~of in~~ December 1979 and was designated as the successor ~~to of~~ Chun. On the opposite side, Kim Young-sam (YS) and Kim Dae-jung (DJ) led the democratic camp. ~~Voters demanded the unification of the presidential candidates of the democratic camp, but both leaders ignored these demands~~ and ran separately ~~ran~~ for the election because ~~they were~~ each was assured of the certainty of their own victory, ~~their~~. ~~Their calculations having been~~ was based on regional cleavage. ~~Mr. Roh Tae Woo came~~ comes from ~~the~~ Daegu (~~/Kyungbuk Gyeongsangbuk-do province~~), area while YS ~~came~~ hailed from ~~the~~ Pusan (~~/Kyungnam Gyeongsangnam-do province~~), area, ~~so both~~ Both of them were from Yeoungnam region, in the south-eastern Korea. ~~Therefore, DJ, who comes~~ comes from Honam region in the southwest, expected to have an advantage over the other two candidates.

Regionalism has been a feature of ~~prevailed in Korean~~ S presidential elections since ~~the~~ very early stages of democracy in Korea. Various theories explain this (~~Choi~~ Choi 1993; ~~Cho~~ Cho 1998; ~~Cho~~ Cho, 2000a). ~~The most common argument is that the the~~ former presidents Park Chung ~~H~~ hee and Chun Doo ~~h~~ Hwan, who both hailed from ~~Taegu Daegu~~ Daegu, ~~/Kyungbuk Gyeongbuk both~~, instituted a severe discriminatory policy in

the appointment of ~~high-level~~high-level public officials and ~~practiced~~ pork barrel ~~allocations~~politics.— Due to the traditional antagonism between ~~the~~ ~~Yongnam~~Yeongnam and Honam areas, this policy incited a sense of alienation ~~of~~among the Honam people. There was much resentment for this discrimination and DJ was able to use ~~this~~it to consolidate vast support in Honam.

Roh ~~Tae-woo~~ was ~~eventually~~ victorious.— However, the election process revealed a growing push for freedom and democracy.— ~~In addition,~~ ~~But it is more~~ ~~importantly,~~noteworthy that for the first time in history, the ~~government party~~DJP, led by ~~the former P~~resident Roh, became the minority in the National Assembly as a result of the 1988 general elections.— ~~It was partly because~~This was partially due to election law ~~confining~~the privilege of the ~~government~~ruling party, but ~~mostly the major reason for~~ ~~this unprecedented shift lay in the fact that the~~ ~~because~~four regional parties were born after the 1988 general elections.— The ~~government party~~DJP, which was now just one out of four regional parties, naturally held less than the majority of the seats in the National Assembly.

In the past, region had played a critical role in presidential elections. But in ~~the~~ general elections, urbanization had ~~been~~become the most important factor.— The opposition party won ~~the~~seats in ~~the~~urban areas, while the ruling party ~~found support~~ ~~in~~was supported in the rural ~~areasones~~.— Democratization ~~diluted~~lessened the division of democracy and non-democracy between ~~the~~urban and ~~the~~rural.— As a result, regionalism affected the general elections as a decisive factor for the first time.

In the 1992 presidential election, two leaders of the democratic camp, YS and DJ, clashed again.— ~~But~~However, ~~in this time~~election, Chung ~~Joo~~Ju-young, the CEO of the Hyundai Corporation joined the race ~~in this election~~. ~~(are you saying this had a causal effect on the other camp? You mean that he was such a large potential threat that he forded other parties to boost and and consilodate their support? If you are, you should state something along those lines.)~~— ~~At~~By the end of the election, ~~Kim~~ Young-sam ~~Kim~~ (YS), ~~a candidate~~ from the ruling party, was ~~elected~~declared the victor.— ~~As~~ Because of ~~the fact that~~ ~~president~~ Roh ~~Tae-w~~Woo, ~~as president,~~ went throughencountered so

~~much significant resistance~~ ~~difficulty~~ in the National Assembly, ~~as as he had been surrounded flanked~~ by three opposition parties, ~~he~~ Therefore, Roh merged the party with YS and Kim Jong-pil (~~the successor of President Park and the representative of the conservative party which that had its political base in the ChoongChung-chung-cheong province, and also region the successor of President Park~~) and made a giant ruling party, ~~the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)~~.— YS was nominated in 1992 as a presidential candidate of the merged ruling party.

President Kim (YS) built the first civilian government since the military dictatorship ended, and discharged ~~the~~ private factions within the military.— The "real-name account system" was one of the most important contributions of President Kim because it halted the flow of black money.— However, due to his son's involvement in a corruption scandal, the ~~perception of the~~ morality of Kim's government declined, and the ~~reformation~~ policy was stranded.— At the end of ~~the his~~ term, the Asian financial crisis ~~swept had afflicted~~ the nation, and the government finally ~~went for a bailout by the IMF had to subject itself to an IMF bailout~~.

In the 1997 presidential election, ~~Mr.~~ Lee Hoi-chang, a former justice of the Supreme Court who held various important posts in the YS government, became the presidential candidate of the ~~government ruling~~ party.— Again, DJ ran as a candidate of the opposition party.— It was the fourth time that he had run for president, having made attempts in the years 1971, 1987 and 1992.— As Rhee In-je walked out of the ruling party's nomination, due to competition with ~~Mr.~~ Lee Hoi-chang, and became ~~the a~~ third-party candidate, the 1997 election became a battlefield of trilateral competition of two major candidates and one minor ~~one~~.— Thanks to the failure of the economic policy of the ~~government ruling~~ party, DJ ~~at last~~ was ~~at last~~ elected as a president.

President Kim (대통령) Dae-jung skillfully overcame the economic crisis ~~and~~ ~~widened~~ ~~opened the~~ channels of ~~talk~~ communication with the North, ~~and thereby~~ stabilizing ~~the~~ South Korea's ~~the~~ relationship with ~~the~~ North Korea through his "sunshine policy."— The building of ~~an~~ Internet infrastructure is another achievement of his government, which made the nation one of the most powerful IT countries in the world.— However, ~~the~~

reformation of education policy and the health care insurance system did not bear fruit due to the resistance of stakeholders.— ~~The political fallout of his~~ his two sons' corruption scandal at the end of his term also inhibited his reformist policy.— Finally, right after he left office, an Independent Counsel was appointed to investigate the sending of money to the North inappropriately suspicious transfer of funds to the North.

Many consider the 2002 election to be one of the most unpredictable elections in Korean history.— Roh Moo-hyun's winning victory was a surprising event not only in the primary elections for candidacy, but also in the main presidential election.— ~~For the whole of~~ Throughout the President Kim's term, the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) did not seem to have much chance of winning again in the a next subsequent election. ~~Mr.~~ Lee Hoi-chang, the counterpart in the last election, kept had maintained his power in the opposition party for five years.— Voters in Yeongnam Yeongnam region, who had lost their political privilege for the first time, continuously supported ~~Mr. Lee~~ Lee Hoi-chang and the Grand National Party.— ~~Mr.~~ Lee had been called the "half president" for those five years.

—
However, the sentiment of crisis ~~enabled~~ made the reform of the government party MDP possible and led the party to hold the first open primary (electorates composed of half party representatives and half voters).— The reason Roh Muhyun (who did not have any supporting ground within the party) won the primary was that he had several special qualifications for the election.— ~~We will discuss~~ These will be discussed them in the fourth section of this paper.

Roh's ~~winning~~ winning illustrated how a volunteer-oriented campaign ~~could have more competitive power~~ was able to gain position itself more competitively (?) than the traditional, organization-oriented ones.— ~~Specifically~~ More specifically, through the Internet, these alternative campaign strategies were able to be fully played at and executed the Internet gave full play (?) to the whole campaign process (Kim Hyeong-jun: 2003). Internet-based activities like Roh's fan club played an very important role.— as Internet media also ~~countered~~ provided a counter voice counter voice to the conservative media,

and disseminated information favorable to Roh.

~~Having been victorious~~ Thanks to this volunteer movement, Roh's government called itself a "participatory government." To encourage and institutionalize civilian participation in government policy, the government employed a senior advisor of civilian participation and received recommendations for ministerial candidates through the Internet.

Many observers argue that Roh's victory ~~means~~ marks a huge political change. However, ~~the change~~ this shift away from the norm ~~did not mean~~ did not mark an abrupt discontinuity from ~~the~~ previous election outcomes and voting behavior. ~~They were~~ These behaviors exist ~~on~~ along a ~~the~~ continuum of ~~the~~ previous election experience. ~~In order to properly explore~~ Then, what is ~~However, before exploring this point, it is first necessary to define~~ these pattern of continuity and ~~what is~~ change in the 2002 election? ~~We will discuss them in~~ This will be the topic of the next section.

Change and Continuity

Throughout the year, the most notable features of the election can be characterized in terms of the instability of candidate support, as shown in Figure 1. According to public opinion polls, the presidential candidates' popularity fluctuated so that it made the prediction of election outcome unreliable.

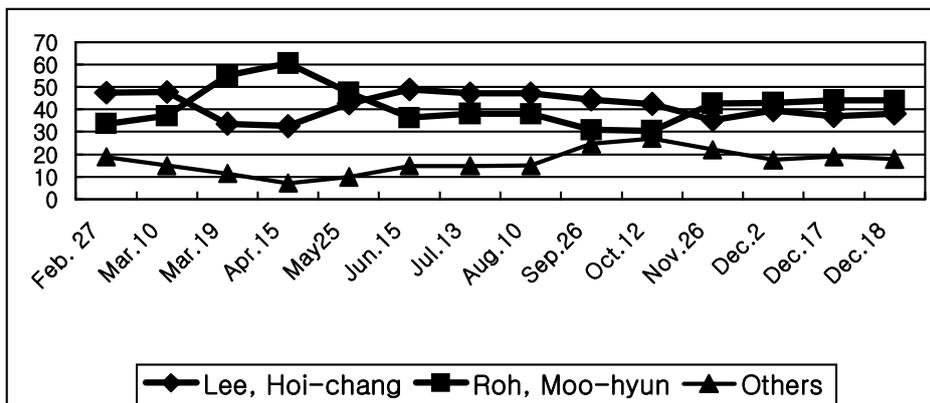


Figure 1. Candidate Support in 2002 (%)

Then, why support for the candidate has been unstable and fluctuating? Can we make sense of this phenomenon in relation to other distinguishing characteristics found in 2002 election?

Three things from the 2002 election outcomes are worthy of closer attention. The first occurs along a continuum of past election patterns. Second, in the recent election, that pattern becomes intensified and finally emerges in new patterns. Elaboration on these three characteristics will be suggested below.

First, what patterns are continued from previous elections? One is the sustained decline of voter turnout since 1987. The most recent election scored a quite a low voting rate of 70.8 percent

The outcome number of voters of in the 2002 election did not deviate from the past elections. ~~Firstly~~ ~~First~~. ~~A~~, although there was great mobilization by the Internet and phone campaigns, the voting rate has been continuously declining, ~~and continuously~~ as shown in ~~<Figure 2>~~. ~~—~~ Especially in the 20s and 30s age range, the voting rate was only around of 20s and 30s fell by 47.5% and, 68.9%, respectively. The voting rate of in the 20's age group was 5.3% point below ~~to that of~~ the last presidential election. ~~—~~ The Overall, the reduction fall in voting voter turnout was even sharper than the previous elections.

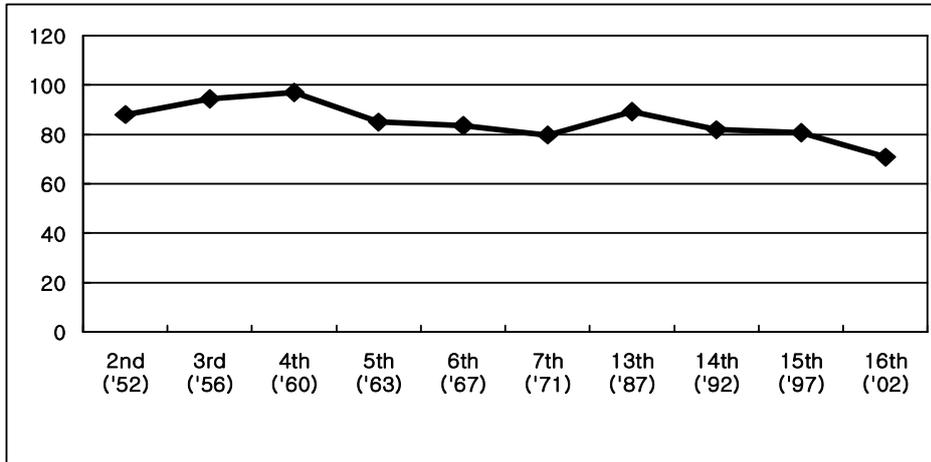
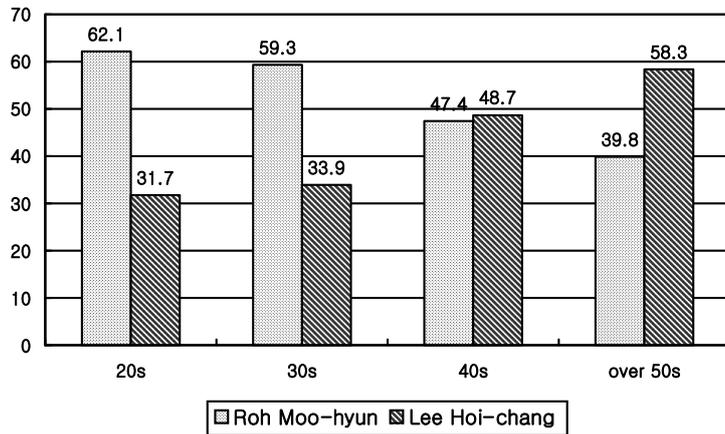


Figure 2. -Voting Rate (%)

Voting patterns continued to be marked by the regional divisions as well. continued, too. — Mr. Lee achieved received nearly 70% of support the votes from Yeongnam Yeongnam region, while Mr. Roh got 91-95% voter support in voters from from Honam region. — The regional differences between the western and eastern sections of Korea had persisted. — As shown in <Table 1>, analyses of survey data also demonstrate that regional affiliation (measured by hometown) were was the largest determinant of the election outcomes results.

As seen in <Figures 3> and 4, Roh had a great deal of support from the young and highly educated voters. — In addition, the younger generation usually the younger generation possesses has a higher education level than the older one. — And thus, as in multi-variate analysis of <Table 1>, the education effect disappears, while age remains a salient variable.

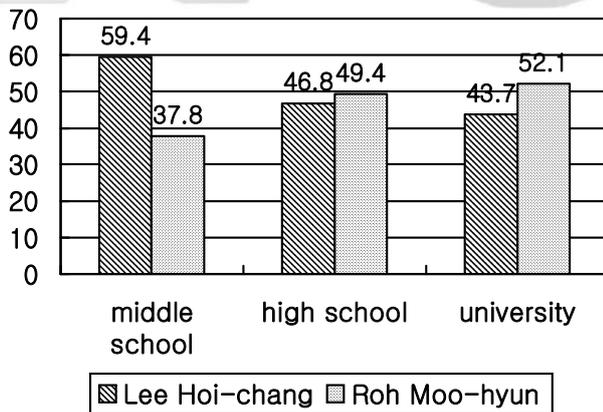


*Source: Korean Broadcasting System (KBS).

Figure 3. Vote For for The the Two Candidates By by Age and education

(1) age

(2) Education



*Source: Korean Broadcasting System (KBS).

Figure 4. Vote for the Two Candidates by Education

<Table 1> Logistic Regression Output by Democratic Party Support Variable

Independent Variables	1992 General Election		1992 Presidential Election		1996 General Election		2000 General Election	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Government Party	1.270	.001	.925	.001	1.041	.001	1.5134	.001
Opposition Party	-2.329	.001	-1.825	.001	-1.444	.001	-6.7802	.381
Age	.155	.081	.028	.001	.321	.001	-.0066	.433
Sex	-.045	.819	.116	.457	-.102	.511	-.1725	.334
Education	-.133	.287	-.091	.372	.081	.363	-.1543	.238
Family Income	-.073	.320	-.015	.718	.077	.010	.0128	.782
Urban	.355	.116	-.047	.798	.96	.560	.2385	.235
Rural	.447	.105	.018	.937	.549	.035	-.0210	.933
Honam	-.758	.007	-1.859	.001	-.688	.004	1.1533	.001
YoungnamYeongnam	.607	.003	.502	.002	-.110	.506	-1.2720	.001

Independent Variables	1997 Presidential Election (vote Lee)		1997 Presidential Election (vote DJ)		2002 Presidential Election (vote Roh)	
	B	Sig.	B	Sig.	B	Sig.
Government Party	1.9164	.0001	-1.5473	.0001	.455	.007
Opposition Party	-1.7010	.0001	1.0955	.0001	-.775	.001
Age	.0222	.0055	.0110	.1356	-.022	.001
Sex	-.2943	.1062	.0014	.9932	-.138	.292
Education	.1128	.3639	-.0526	.6503	.003	.968
Family Income	-.0455	.3156	-.0120	.7709	.012	.714
Urban	.1504	.4430	.1803	.3305	-.359	.009
Rural	-.4461	.1358	.5022	.0524	-.111	.630
Honam	-2.8968	.0001	1.9043	.0001	2.294	.001
YoungnamYeongnam	.5459	.0001	-1.1512	.0001	-.790	.001
N	800.154		930.381		1431.303	
Percentage Correct	82.05%		79.68%		70.2%	

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Note: Government party: inclination toward the Government Party
(1=government party, 0=others)

Opposition party: inclination toward the opposition party
(1=the primary ~~Opposition~~ opposition party, 0=others)

Age: actual age of respondents

Sex: sex of respondents (1=male, 0=female)

Education: education level of respondents (1=elementary school, 2=middle school, 3=high school, 4=over college education)

Family income: 9 digits

Urban: urban area (1=metropolis, 0=midsize town and others)

Rural: rural area (1=rural, 0=others)

Honam: hometown (1=Honam, 0=others)

~~Youngnam~~ Yeongnam: hometown (1=~~Youngnam~~ Yeongnam, 0=others)

Second, Age has usually been an important variable in voting patternsthe age factor has been significant in almost every election since the advent of democratization ~~since~~ in 1987. The 2000 election was an exceptional case because it had a number of young candidates in their 30s nominated not only by the ruling party but by the opposition one as well. As a result, the age effect was nullified. ~~—~~ <Table 1> shows that age had been playing an important role since 1992, except in the case of the for ~~the~~ 2000 National Assembly elections. ~~In the 2000 elections, however, two parties competitively nominated candidates in their 30s who had been the leaders of student activists in the democratic movement. Therefore, age was not significant only in the 2002 election outcomes.~~ The 2002 election results moved the word “generation gap” to a prominent place in the minds of the populace.

The reasons why age becomes a more salient variable in 2002~~this~~ election are two: one has to do with~~is~~ the nature of the prevailing issues and the other is the Internet. ~~—~~ In 2002 presidential election, the salient issues were policy toward the North Korea and Anti-Americanism. Young voters who ~~had~~ not gone through the~~experienced~~ Korean War ~~are~~were ~~the~~ strong supporters of DJ’s “sunshine policy.” Since they also lived under relative affluence and prosperity, they demanded equal partnership in the relationship with the U.S.

~~is~~ because of the Internet. ~~—~~ <Table 2> shows the Internet users by age.

Controlling for other factors, age alone stands out in as the key variable affecting the way voters collected major information on candidates.—_But again, the effect of the Internet is, in some sense, exaggerated—in some sense.—_According to the polls, most electorates (81.5%) got-received information about the election through TVtelevision.—_Not many people got-gathered information about the candidate through the Internet (2.9%).—_The advent of age as a new variable in-reality is, in reality, led by party realignment and we will deal with this issue in the next section.

Table 2. Internet Users by Age (%)

Age	Internet Users (%)
10s	91
20s	90
30s	69
40s	39
50s	18
Over 60s	2

(Source: Kim H.-yeong-jun (2003).

~~_____Ideology, the other characteristic and key to understanding changes since previous elections, became significant and has interacted with the age factor ever since 1997 presidential election. Thus, older voters were more conservative, whereas younger voters were more liberal. –The nature of the ideology in 2002 election will be discussed later. (You have to explain or give an example here – I assume you’re talking about the relatively more conservative ideological leanings of the older generation – anti-Communist, generally supportive of the US – versus the ideas of the younger generation. Make this explicit to the reader.)–~~

~~_____ The emergence of age and ideology as important determining factors signifies the meaning of the 2002 presidential election, sinceas age and ideology arewere the driving forces of partisan realignment.~~

Party realignment requires a new cleavage (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). While regionalism ~~caused was the cause of such a~~ cleavage in the past, ideology started emerging as the new cleavage since ~~the~~ 1997 presidential election (Cho 2000b).—_However, ideological differences ~~in Korea~~ do not ~~come from~~ revolve around issues such as ~~the role of the government in~~ welfare policy, ~~unlike in Western like in western~~ countries.—_Ideology in ~~the~~ Korean case mainly reflects ~~the~~ attitudes towards ~~the~~ North Korea (Kang 2003b). During Kim's (DJ) administration, this issue became extensively politicized.—_The pros and cons of the “sunshine policy” created conflict and it became the major subject of ideological discourse. ~~Thus, Ideology~~ emerged as an ~~has been an~~ important ~~factor in the~~ 1997 presidential election, ~~–variable,~~ but its significance increased in the 2002 election.

~~The E~~election outcomes ~~in-of~~ 2002, influenced by ~~the variables of~~ age (Kang 2003a) and ideology ~~variables,~~ were not new, ~~;~~ but ~~rather it was a~~ continuous phenomenon.

~~But, although~~ their influence ~~had~~ became more powerful and clearer. ~~— Still (Then, why~~
did many people feel a great difference in the 2002 election over previous elections? ~~— We~~
~~This is an important question to ask, since it is undeniable cannot deny~~ that there were
some exceptional ~~events aspects~~ in this election. ~~—~~

I think that ~~the~~ "S-curve" ~~aptly~~ describes the nature of political change, ~~very aptly~~
~~as shown in <Figure 2>. — I think political~~ Political change ~~is does~~ not manifest until
certain macro-political conditions reach ~~the a~~ critical point. ~~— Even Still, although macro-~~
political conditions reach ~~a critical point that point~~, without a catalytic alternative ~~that can~~
~~galvanize new issues and mobilize potential supporters, (what is a "catalytic alternative?"~~
~~— although you may explain it somewhere else later, you need to introduce the concept just~~
~~a bit so that we can keep up with your argument.) it they could cannot not make result~~
~~in yield~~ any manifest political change (Newman 1991, 1992, 1994; Cho 2000a² or b²). ~~— I~~
argue that considerable social changes had already occurred in ~~the the~~ previous elections,
but ~~due to this lack of a catalytic alternative,~~ political changes ~~were did~~ not manifest ~~due~~
~~to the lack of a catalytic alternative. —~~

~~Finally, the feature of the 2002 election that differed most from the previous ones~~
~~is the fact that Chung Mong-joon and Roh Moo-hyun agreed upon a unified candidacy~~
~~following the result of the national poll. The appearance of a third candidate can be~~
~~interpreted as an indication of party de-alignment. Candidacy unification artificially put a~~
~~stop to increased party de-alignment and promoted realignment.~~

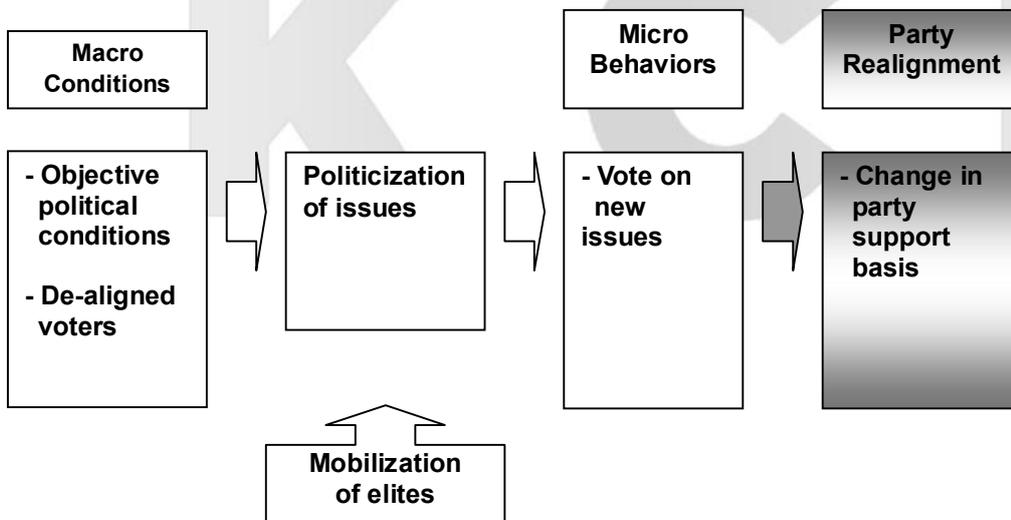
~~_____ The new trend in the 2002 election may have been that of voluntary civil~~
~~participation during the campaign. Especially in the case of then-candidate Roh's fan club~~
~~cum political advocacy group, RohsameNosamo, exhibited quite earnest Internet-based~~
~~activities. The Internet made a great difference in this election. It overwhelmed the~~
~~influence of newspapers and appeared as a powerful emerging medium. Part of the reason~~
~~the generation gap became a so salient a factor in this election has to do with the fact that~~
~~most Internet users are of the young generation.~~

~~I have presented continuity and discontinuity as characteristics of the of 2002~~

elections. In the next section, I explain why the 2002 election outcomes ~~are~~ were quite unexpected ~~in spite~~ despite their having taken place within a pattern of continuity. This will also explain why support for the candidates has been so unstable throughout the election year ~~of the continued patterns.~~

A Model of Partisan Realignment

To explain the characteristics of change in the 2002 election, it is necessary to present a partisan realignment model that I developed to explain regional alignment shown in ~~<Figure 53>~~. Partisan realignment ~~means~~ can be defined as the change of current party support basis. Party systems develop through patterns of alignment, ~~realignment, and~~ de-alignment and realignment (Key 1955-~~1959~~).



Source: Cho (1998)

Figure 35. A Model of Party Realignment

According to this model, three conditions have to be satisfied to bring about party

realignment: ~~these having to do with (?)~~ macro conditions, ~~political (?) issues (specific campaign??)~~ (이부분 좀더 구체적으로 설명해주세요 뒤에 있어요, 앞에서도 설명했고), and a candidate ~~as who acts as~~ a mediator ~~of between~~ these two conditions.— Although macro conditions ~~are may be sufficiently achieved present in the necessary form~~, it ~~does not link greatly rarely affect affects to the~~ voting behavior unless there is a candidate who can mobilize voters. Therefore, ~~the such a~~ stagnated ~~state of~~ politics would suddenly ~~draw (define?) be defined as~~ an "S-curve" as soon as a politician who can use it politically appears.—

Macro conditions indicate two things: the existence of ~~de-aligned~~ voters ~~de-aligned~~ from the current party system, ~~and as well as~~ objective political conditions that may give rise to new issues.— Only when macro political conditions are met can new issues capture voters.— The first movers in party realignment are young voters because they do not have any commitment to the old political issues.— New issues become political if they ~~are~~ capitalized ~~up~~ on objective political conditions.— But for new issues to bring about realignment, they should be "easy issues"¹ ~~(easy how? — I don't quite understand here?? 무슨뜻인가요? 미주를 달았습니다.)~~ (Carmines and Stimson 1985 1984, ; ~~Carmines and Stimson~~ 1989)¹; and crosscutting of the previous issues.— Those conditions ~~will will create a~~ reshuffling ~~of~~ the support basis of existing parties.

But even with these macro conditions, without ~~having~~ a new candidate who can make it political and mobilize voters, micro ~~changes~~ in voter's behavior does not appear. If all of ~~those these~~ conditions ~~become are satisfied met~~ and some groups of voters move across ~~the~~ existing party ~~support basis lines~~, then party realignment ~~happens occurs~~.

It is ~~Roh's the~~ appearance ~~of Roh~~ that ~~makes defined such~~ a clear change in the 2002 election.— Although age ~~is was~~ already an important variable, ideology ~~starts started~~ to ~~play an have~~ influential ~~power role~~.— ~~Mr.~~ Roh contrasted his progressivism against the conservatism of candidate Lee and presented many alternatives in policy. Roh succeeded in mobilizing young voters by using ~~the~~ ideological cleavage politically.

Considerable social changes had already occurred, but party realignment did not

¹ Carmines and Stimson define "easy issues" as those that (1) deal with ends rather than means (2)

happen in the past because of the lack of an alternative candidate who could mobilize de-aligned voters away from the existing party system. ~~Then, how~~ Thus, so this begs the question of exactly how exactly did Roh mobilized young voters? ~~First of all, he~~ Roh has fought against regionalism for a long time. ~~Running~~ Having run three times as a candidate of the party ~~whose~~ with its support base in ~~is~~ Honam, he successfully created the image of an anti-regionalist. ~~As far as the regionalism is the~~ an (?) ~~To the extent that regionalism is an~~ existing division, it is quite natural that Roh took the lead role in party realignment.

Secondly, he is an outsider not only of the party but also of the mainstream political circles. ~~Roh was not in a mainstream group even within~~ ~~the~~ his own (?) party (NMP) and had no political power ~~basis~~ base. ~~Voters got bored~~ became apathetic and uninterested in ~~with~~ the existing party system and hoped for a great change in politics. Their support of Roh ~~showed~~ embodied their dissatisfaction with the existing parties. Public discontent toward the existing political parties ~~had already precipitated since~~ ~~(before or right after?)~~ was had already precipitated by the term of time ~~the~~ 1997 financial crisis reared its head. ~~Roh represented "new politics versus old politics,"~~ promising extensive political reform (Lee H.Yi Hyeon-u 2003). ~~Another ideological issue across regions was the~~ "Sunshine ~~sunshine~~ Policy ~~policy~~." ~~Roh declared that he would continue President Kim's engagement policy so he could use it in~~ the mobilization of new voters who had not ~~undergone~~ gone through ~~experienced~~ the Korean War.

Thirdly, ~~he~~ Roh was a progressive politician rarely found in Korean politics. According to a poll conducted by the Joong-ang Ilbo in February 2002, voters had become more progressive than the National Assemblymen on issues like welfare, reform of the ~~Chaebo~~ jaebeol (big conglomerates in Korea), ~~and as well as~~ Korea's relationship with the United States ~~US~~. ~~The conservative National Assemblymen did not read the progressive public's~~ mind. ~~In comparison, Roh's progressive position drew support from the~~ young voters ~~public~~ and even after the election many voters moved to ~~the~~ a more progressive position.

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are emotional, and (3) stay long on the agenda, unlike "hard issues."

For example, before the election, voters in their 20s were more conservative than those in their 30s. But as shown in Table 3, which describes post-election polls, voters in their 20s ~~twenty something voters~~ 20s moved into the more progressive position. It became clear that in Korea, the major ideological issue turned out to be the public's attitude to the North. Thus, in the 2002 election, the macro-political conditions were voters' discontent toward the existing political party system and controversy ~~on~~ over the sunshine policy. Mr. Roh took advantage by mobilizing young voters on two issues: political reform and engagement policy towards North Korea.²

Table 3. Political Ideology by Different Generations

(1) Before Election

(-50: most liberal / +50: most conservative)

Generation	20s	30s	40s	Over 50s
Average	14.7	13.1	16.9	18.7

(2) After Election

(1=most liberal / 5=most conservative)

	Ideology	Support for North Korea
20s	2.62	2.30
30s	2.55	2.48
40s	2.93	2.52
50s	3.09	2.61
Over 60s	3.17	

Source: Kang (2003a).

² It is true that attitudes toward the sunshine policy are a function of regionalism, particularly among older voters (Lee-Gyi Gap-yun 2002), but it is not necessarily true for younger voters.

In the end, the seemingly great change in this election resulted from the cumulative effect of social change.—~~The~~ Roh's unique character ~~of Roh~~ contributed to this phenomenon. He was the person who could challenge existing political power, regionalism, and conservative ideology, so real change was/became possible.— The fact that his hometown crosscuts ~~the~~ existing regional party lines also made it easy for him to gear into realignment/effect political realignment.

Change did not happen in one a day.— ~~It was going on~~ The factors allowing for it to happen were already in motion (?) under the surface.— Before ~~the a~~ new candidate brought in new issues and mobilized voters, ~~it (what was?) they were was~~ hidden below. In fact, the sign of change can be found in ~~the case that the~~ 33333333 case in which 12 left-wing politicians from the People's Party entered the Democratic Party and were all elected in 1992.— The ~~government party/ruling party~~, led by the former President Kim Young-s Sam, promised reform and captured the majority of seats in the Capital-capital area for the first time in 1996.— In 2000, the blackballing strategies of many civic organizations' ~~blackballing activities~~ were successful in defeating 70% of the targeted candidates. Those/Such outcomes are the proof/evidence that change had already started.— Changes in the 2002 election were the cumulative result of this movement, ~~and it was simply incited by Roh~~ which came to a head with Roh's election into office.

— The ~~time factor~~ timing is/was also important.— Anti-American demonstrations, which arose at the end of the race, assisted in Roh's winning the election. ~~As shown in evidence???~~ table 4, voters in their 20s were influenced by the death of two middle school girls. The pictures of ~~dead~~ two girls disseminated through Internet aroused young voters' anger and appeared to have affected their voting decision. ~~(No further discussion if this fact here? The fact that there is no concrete evidence cited, unlike in your other examples, makes this seem like a weak statement.~~

Table 4. Most Influential Issues by Age

Unit: %

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	<u>20s</u>	<u>30s</u>	<u>40s</u>	<u>50s~</u>	<u>total</u>
<u>North Korean nuclear issue</u>	<u>8.4</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>17.7</u>	<u>16.4</u>	<u>13.2</u>
<u>Death of two middle school girls</u>	<u>13.2</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>6.5</u>	<u>8.0</u>
<u>Relocation of central government Agencies to Chungcheong province/region</u>	<u>24.1</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>16.1</u>	<u>18.7</u>
<u>Unified candidacy of Roh and Chung</u>	<u>20.4</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>24.3</u>	<u>14.5</u>	<u>19.9</u>
<u>Wiretap scandal of National Intelligence Service (NIS)</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>2.7</u>
<u>Politicians' opportunism</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>4.8</u>
<u>Others (including no answer)</u>	<u>27.1</u>	<u>30.9</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>40.9</u>	<u>32.6</u>
<u>Total (N)</u>	<u>100</u> <u>(357)</u>	<u>100</u> <u>(382)</u>	<u>100</u> <u>(333)</u>	<u>100</u> <u>(428)</u>	<u>100</u> <u>(1500)</u>

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Conclusion

In the previous sections, we examined change and continuity of the 2002 election.— This election was quite different from ~~ones in the the past election patterns~~, but it also had many ~~continued elements~~ elements of continuity. Political change came with various conditions.— As a macro condition for party reform, voters' disillusionment with dissolution from the existing issues had started already mostly with young voters.—

The latent factor of change ~~broke through to appeared on~~ the surface because Roh was a new type of candidate who could mobilize voters with new political slogans and focus on the "political reforms/sunshine policy" and "sunshine policy" as an issue. During the process, TV debates and the Internet also played ~~the a~~ critical role in inducing young voters.

If the last election was the election-one that brought party realignment, however, there are still several questions that remain unanswered. The most important questions are

~~those of~~ why the voting rate was so low and why regionalism did not disappear.—_First of all, changes during the past elections appeared so ~~concomitantly steadily~~ with ~~the changes in population replacement growth and movement (?)~~ 인구이동을 지칭한 것이지요?? 아니면 ~~demographic change~~ 를 의미하신 것이지?? ~~replacement~~ that this election could not be a ~~critical one resulting in a election that fundamental~~ and abrupt ~~ly~~ changes in the political landscape. ~~major one~~ (무슨 뜻이지요?? You are referring to this as not a major ELECTION, or that major CHANGES were not possible? It sounds like you mean the former, although I think you really mean the latter).—_That is, the change characterizes secular realignment ~~that brings about gradual change. (you mean social factors, like population growth and change, right?)~~ rather than critical realignment ~~that results in abrupt change. (explain these two terms more a bit they are not so clear)~~ The ~~s~~Silent revolution is ~~on going and is not completed yet~~ongoing and still incomplete. Secondly, existing parties are regional parties, so ~~that the~~ voters found it difficult to overcome ~~the~~ regional cleavages.—_If ~~if~~ there ~~were had been~~ a new party ~~that had with~~ no regional ~~basis~~affiliations, then the result could have been different.—_Thirdly, Roh was not attractive enough as a candidate to bring about whole-scale party realignment. Roh suffered from criticism that he lacked the proper manners and qualifications for a presidential candidate.—_Especially ~~with~~ Chung Mong-juon's (MJ) ~~the eleventh-hour~~ withdrawal of ~~Jung Mong-jun's (MJ)~~ support ~~to for~~ Roh, ~~the a~~ night before the election, ~~caused the followers~~Roh lost the support ~~of MJ's followers~~supporters ~~to also withdraw their support~~ (see Kim ~~Y.Yeong-tae~~ 2003).—_As a result, Roh won the race by quite a narrow margin.—_If there ~~were had been~~ a better alternative, then grand party realignment could have been possible.

The 2002 election showed that voters are prepared for party realignment.—_These macro conditions will affect the present party system in some way.—_Within the MDP, there is debate ~~on about the~~ establishment of ~~ing~~ a new party that will ~~be able to~~ overcome ~~the~~ regional ~~cleavage~~divisions.—_The new party will eventually enable party realignment before the National Assembly elections ~~comes~~ and ~~give offer the a~~ chance for people to vote ~~by according to~~ ideology and policy in the next general elections. ~~That is, it~~ ~~It~~ is

possible that party realignment, which was incomplete in the 2002 election, will be more complete in the next National Assembly elections.

I think your prose is a bit repetitive. What I mean is that your introduction sounds like you took topic sentences from your discussion and put them together in the introduction, which makes for a little bit of repetition, even though I know you are simply making a statement and are going to present the evidence later. The words are almost exactly the same, making the reader think you're saying essentially the same thing. I think if you could make the introduction more like a preview of what you're going to talk about, rather than a summary, it would be a little more interesting to read, and not sound like you're saying: "Here's what I'm going to talk about. Here's my main argument. Here's what I just told you." I think the conclusion is less like that, since you offer your concrete prediction about the next presidential election, as well as the 2002 National Assembly election. But still, there is a lot of overlap of words and phrasing in the beginning, middle, and end of your paper. Perhaps if you changed the sentence to reflect a bit more like: "Here's what I'm going to talk about and here are the main questions I need to ask and why. Here's my evidence and main argument. Here's my conclusion, based on the evidence I just presented, and this is how I answered my questions." More of that emphasis would help a lot. I enjoyed reading about this topic!

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ⁱ Carmines and Stimson define easy issues as being (1) deals with ends rather than means (2) emotional (3) stay long on the agenda as opposed to hard issues.

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페이지 14: [34] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [35] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [36] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [37] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [38] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [39] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [40] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [41] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [42] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [43] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [44] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		
페이지 14: [45] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
서식 있음		

페이지 14: [46] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
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서식 있음

페이지 14: [47] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
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서식 있음

페이지 14: [48] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
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서식 있음

페이지 14: [49] 서식 있음	김은아	2003-06-13 PM 5:33:00
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서식 있음

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