

The Internet and the 2002 Presidential Election in South Korea

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ABSTRACT (150 단어 내외로 분량 줄여주시기 바랍니다.)

The central question investigated in this paper are two-fold: (1) how do the candidates use the Internet?; and (2) does on-line campaigning make a difference in the election results? In on-line campaigning Roh was much more successful than his counterpart Lee Hoi-chang. It is, however, too early yet to judge the effects of the Internet on the election and real politics for the following reasons.

First, the widespread use of the Internet does not always mean an increase in the political use of the Internet. The growth of Internet users and broadband connection is one thing and the development of e-politics is another. Second, from survey data, it is clear that traditional media such as television and newspapers were still much more effective than the Internet as a media of news delivery or opinion making. Third, the turnout of the 2002 election showed that the Internet was not greatly successful in creating new political participation.

The central questions being investigated in this paper are two fold: (1) how do the candidates use the Internet?; and (2) Does the online on-line campaigning make a differences in the result of the election election results? To address these questions, this study uses content analysis of candidate websites, discussion groups, and offline coverage of the election.

Commentators were quick to judge the success of Roh Moo Hyun's campaign in the 2002 Presidential election as a result an outcome of his strong Internet presence, and thereby conferred great potential for the

~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~on~~ ~~and~~ ~~elections~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~future~~. In ~~the~~ ~~online~~ ~~on~~ ~~line~~ campaigning Roh was much more successful than his counterpart ~~Lee Hoi Chang~~ Lee Hoi-chang. It is, however, too ~~hasty~~ ~~yet~~ ~~early~~ ~~yet~~ ~~to~~ ~~judge~~ the effects of the ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ on the election and real politics ~~for~~ ~~because~~ ~~of~~ the following reasons:

First, the widespread use of ~~the~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~activities~~ does not always mean an increase ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ political use of the ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~. The growth of ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ users and broadband connection is one thing and ~~the~~ development of e-politics is another. Second, from ~~many~~ survey data, ~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~clear~~ ~~we~~ ~~can~~ ~~see~~ that ~~the~~ traditional media such as television and newspapers were still much more ~~powerful~~ ~~effective~~ than the ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ as a media of news delivery or opinion making~~r~~. Third, the turnout of the 2002 election showed that ~~the~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ was not ~~greatly~~ ~~so~~ successful in creating new political participation. While the turnout rate of the 2002 presidential election was 70.8%, only 47.5% of voters in their twenties participated in the vote.

~~Thus~~ ~~e~~ Even though we cannot point to a direct relation between ~~Roh Moo Hyun~~ Roh Moo-hyun's victory in the election and the ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~due~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~reasons~~ ~~above~~, there is still some evidence to show that Roh's ~~successful~~ ~~online~~ ~~on~~ ~~line~~ campaign strategy might have aided his ~~success~~ ~~win~~ in the election. Roh overwhelmed his competitor in the electorate of their twenties and thirties, most of them ~~are~~ ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~ users. Even though there is not a clear connection between Roh's victory and effect of the ~~Internet~~ ~~Internet~~, it is true that Roh was able to collect the support of the young voters and thereby take the initiative in the campaign stage. In addition, Roh's ~~online~~ ~~on~~ ~~line~~ strategy also ~~attributed~~ ~~to~~ ~~composing~~ ~~the~~ ~~election~~ ~~stage~~ ~~as~~ ~~contributed~~ ~~to~~ ~~setting~~ ~~the~~ ~~terms~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~election~~ ~~as~~ ~~he~~ ~~wanted~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~by~~ ~~making~~ it a contest ~~between~~ ~~that~~ ~~pitted~~ ~~"~~ ~~reformist~~ ~~"~~ vs. ~~"~~ ~~conservative~~ ~~"~~ ~~"~~ ~~new~~ ~~politics~~ ~~"~~ vs. ~~"~~ ~~old~~ ~~politics~~ ~~"~~ and ~~"~~ ~~the~~ ~~commonality~~ ~~"~~ vs. ~~"~~ ~~the~~ ~~nobility~~ ~~"~~.

Keyw ~~Words~~

~~internet~~ ~~Internet~~, presidential election, ~~online~~ ~~on~~ ~~line~~ campaign, e-democracy

Introduction

~~By 2002 the Internet had come of age, especially in the election. Nobody can question that~~Without doubt, the 2002 presidential election was the first ~~Internet~~Internet election in South Korea. ~~It was unconceivable~~At the same time, it is inconceivable that the election could have taken place without an ~~online~~on-line dimension. As the population of ~~Internet~~Internet users has quickly growns, the trend of ~~Internet~~Internet elections has ~~now~~ become a worldwide phenomenon. In all recent major elections which have taken place in liberal democracies ~~→~~ such as the 2000 U.S. presidential election, the 2001 UK general election and the 2002 Australian federal election ~~→~~ the ~~Internet~~Internet has become a major campaign tool. The emergence of new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the 1990s ~~had~~ led to further ~~consideration~~utilization and thereby examination of these trends of campaign professionalization and globalization. How far will they alter campaign style? Is the ~~Internet~~Internet another device for standardizing campaign conduct across liberal democracies?

Since the characteristic features of the ~~Internet~~Internet are clearly different from those of older media, the potential influences on the electoral process are also different. ~~The~~ expanded use of the ~~Internet~~Internet as a campaign tool in elections has the potential for numerous ~~impacts~~effects on the form and style of future elections. ~~Three such potential impacts are identified by Gibson: Gibson identifies three such potential impacts.~~ First, the large volume and speed at which information is transmitted could provide a more substantive basis for campaigning than other forms of media. Second, the ability to identify users makes it possible to target groups of voters, thereby allowing for the personalization of e-mail messages to specific groups members. Even within one website, particular information can be directed to specific individuals or groups. Finally, the interactive nature of the technology allows interested parties, (such as candidates), ~~to~~ accrue nearly instantaneous feedback on their campaign ~~and~~ positions. Bulletin boards and chat rooms can also act as a forum where voters ~~can~~could speak out and be queried about the campaign. ~~The~~ voter could gain an enhanced role in shaping the conduct of the campaign through more direct access to candidates. (Gibson et al.

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2001, 2-3).

The World Wide Web (WWW) is increasingly widely used for communication by citizens and governments in most advanced democracies. Systematic study of its uses by, and effects on, traditional political actors such as parties and their voters, however, has been limited (Gibson et. al 2001, 1). This paper seeks to address that deficit by providing a analysis of candidates' election campaigning on the WWW during the 2002 Presidential election in South Korea. The central questions being investigated are two-fold: (1) how do the candidates use the Internet?; and (2) Does the online campaigning make a differences in the result of the election results? To address these questions this study uses content analysis of candidate websites, discussion groups, and offline coverage of the election.

In theory the Internet can bring about many changes in our lives. Depending on their connection and their computer software, individuals with access to the Net can: exchange electronic mail with other users; connect to remote computer sites world-wide;

read or publish multimedia documents consisting of text, graphics, sound, and video at World Wide Webs sites; read or publish complex documents composed using hypertext where clicking on a highlighted phrase on the screen takes the user into another domain (such as a document or video clip). A single hypertext document may be made up of multiple files residing in host computers around the world; Internet users can also participate in off-line (i.e. not simultaneous) discussions via e-mail with large groups of individuals on particular topics or via mailing lists and newsgroups; participate in on-line (i.e. real-time) discussions with groups of individuals using the Internet Relay Chat (IRC) function; transfer information from other computers (download files) as well as transfer information to other computers (upload files) using the File Transfer Protocol (FTP) function. These files can be text, graphics, sound or video (Swett 1995).

In the beginning of the literature Early literature on e-democracy or cyber democracy focused on the possibilities for direct democracy and closer connections of between individuals and governments and policy-making. Work by Rheingold (1993, reference에는 1995), Negroponte (1995), Grossman (1996) and Rash (1997) extolled the seemingly limitless possibilities of the Internet for forging new

and stronger forms of political engagement by citizens. These early works on e-democracy tried to prove an "equalization" thesis. They argued that as the Internet use disseminates widespread and becomes a tool of political participation, more opportunities would be given to the citizens to express their voice-opinions and eventually narrow the power gap between the elite and the masses. would be narrowed. In reality, however, we cannot find much overwhelming cases of growth in political engagement by citizens even though Internet access has widened become prevalent and the "digital divide" has been bridged. Schuefele and Nisbet (2002) found from their a telephone survey of New York residents, which examined the effects of different types of Internet use on a range of political behaviors and levels of factual knowledge, found that none of the modes of Internet use, including political information-seeking, had any significant effect on individuals' proclivity to engage in politics.

Many Foreign and domestic media did not hesitate to declare-describe the 2002 presidential election in South Korea as an the Internet election. They reported that Roh Moo-Hyun could winwon the race since-primarily because he had dominated his counterpart Lee Hoi-cChang in onlineon-line campaigning during the election period. Roh's team was very successful in mobilizing his supporters, especially young voters, in cyberspace and as a result thousands of young voters gathered on the streets throughout the campaign period to show their support for Roh. However, the media's contention that the successful onlineon-line mobilization was the major factor in Roh's election victory is problematic in light of the fact that the turnout of voters in their twenties amounted to only 47.5%. we cannot easily agree with the media's contention that a successful online mobilization of young voters made Roh win the race because the turnout of voters in their twenties was only 47.5%. This represents a 20.7% decrease in voter participation for this age group in comparison with the previous presidential election in 1997 when 68.2% of voters in their twenties went to the polls. It is clear that the Internet did not successful induce the young to participate in voting lure younger people to polling booths. When what effects, then, did the Internet have on the 2002 presidential election? From what point of views mightay we may

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label the 2002 presidential election the "~~Internet~~Internet election"? This paper ~~will~~ seeks to find some answers for these questions.

Political Use of ~~Internet~~Internet in South Korea

Last February ~~the UK publication~~ *The Guardian* ~~in UK~~ reported that "South Korea will stake a claim to be the most advanced ~~online~~online democracy on the planet tomorrow with the inauguration of a president who styles himself as the first leader fully in tune with the ~~internet~~Internet." ~~It also~~The article also said ~~claimed~~ that the development of ~~internet~~Internet technology has changed the ~~whole~~overall political dynamic in South Korea to an extent that the outside world has not yet grasped, and ~~that~~ the rise of "webocracy" has already made South Korea a place of exhilarating but unpredictable change. ~~The~~ paper argued that the ~~reason~~ ~~for~~ ~~seed~~ ~~of~~ ~~this~~ ~~webocracy's~~ flowering ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~webocracy~~ in South Korea may be found in the nation's "Information Super Highway" and widespread ~~online~~online activities.

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~~Almost~~ 70% of homes have a broadband connection, compared with about 5% in Britain. Because of the high connection speeds, much faster than most British broadband, people use the web more for shopping, trading and chatting. Koreans are said to spend 1,340 minutes ~~online~~online per month, and 10% of economic activity is related to IT - one of the highest levels in the world" (*The Guardian*, ~~24~~ February ~~24~~, 2003).

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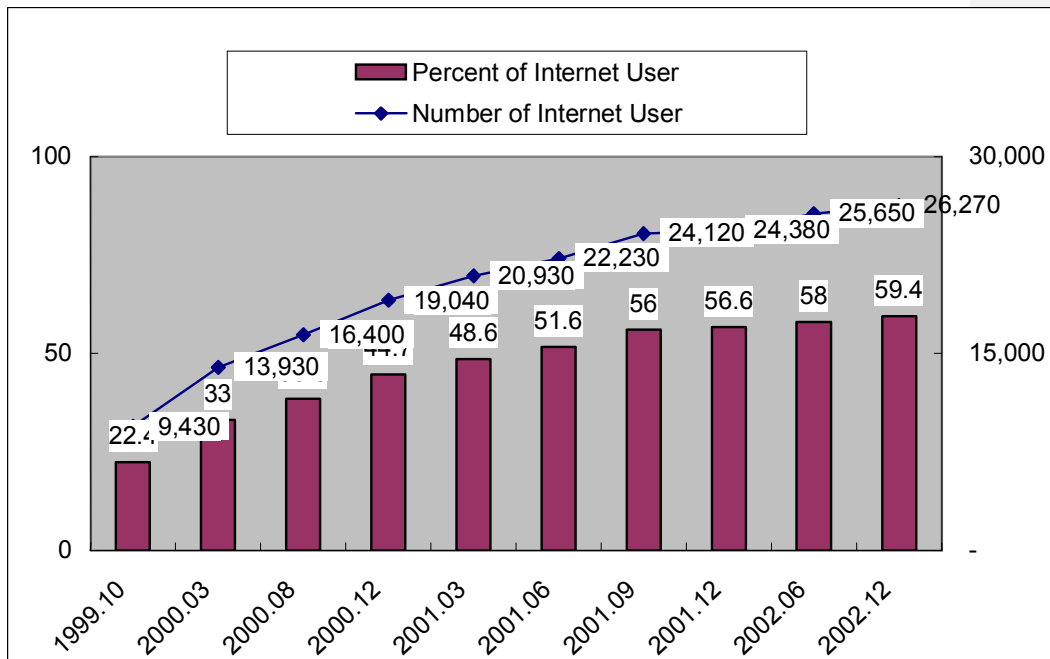
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~~It is true that~~The South Korean government has been very eager in recent years to build an Information Super Highway and to convert ~~it~~ from an industrial ~~based~~ society to an information society. ~~The government's slogan for the information policy was "let's go in advance in the informatization, even though late in the industrialization" and they have been very successful thus far.~~ According to a survey by ~~KRNIC~~ (Korea Network Information Center (~~KRNIC~~)), as of December 2002 about 26,270,000 people use the ~~Internet~~Internet at least once ~~in~~ a month. ~~This~~ is about 59.4% of the population age 6 years and over. Among ~~the~~ netizens, 71.8% access the ~~Internet~~Internet everyday and their average access time in a week is 13.5

hours.

Picture Figure 1.: Growth of Internet Users in South Korea.



Source: Korea Network Information Center (KNIC), "A survey on the Number of Internet Users and Internet Behavior." (2003), p.15.

Figure 1. Growth of Internet Users in South Korea

By looking at these statistics nobody mayBased on these statistics, we cannot question the speed at which the InternetInternet has been disseminated or the growth of its influence onin the whole society as a whole. When it comes to the political use of InternetInternet, however, we may not come so easily to the same

conclusion. When ~~people asked~~ apollod about the major purpose of their Internet use, 76.5% ~~answered that it is replied~~ "e-mail", followed by "information search" (71.3%), "gameing" (44.0%), and "chatting" (18.3%). If we ~~see look into~~ the "information search" category more specifically deeply, "study related" ~~research takes makes~~ up the majority most with 34.5%, followed by "work related" (25.3%), "hobby/leisure" (22.3%) and "living information" (13.9%). (KRNIC 2003-4). We can ~~find conclude~~ from the above data that even if online on-line activities are widespread in individuals' lives, political use of the Internet is still far from making similar correlative inroads.

We ~~can~~ also find from Internet site access rankings that political use of the Internet is relatively scarce low from the Internet site access rank. While the web-site of a sports related newspapers ranks as around the 10th, the site of Cheong wa Wa dae Dae (Office of the President) site ranks 404th; the Nation Assembly site ranks 1,251th, and NGO sites and other individual politician sites hold much lower positions.

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Table 1- Access Ranks of Internet Sites (www.rankey.com)

<u>Politician</u>	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Internet</u> <u>net News</u>	<u>Sports News</u>	<u>NGO</u>
<u>Lee Hoi-chul</u> <u>Chang Lee</u> (4,932)	<u>hHanKook-</u> <u>Li.com</u> (13)	<u>OhMyNews</u> (47)	<u>Sports Seoul</u> (11)	<u>People Power21-</u> <u>power21</u> (1,425)
<u>Kim Min-seok</u> <u>Suk Kim</u> (5,115)	<u>Digital Chosun</u> (23)	<u>YonhapNew</u> <u>s</u> (63)	<u>Sports Chosun</u> (16)	<u>Korea Tax</u> (2,505)
<u>Yu Si-min</u> <u>Min Yoo</u> (6,213)	<u>Joins.com</u> (30)	<u>Pressian</u> (98)	<u>Sport Today</u> (18)	<u>Korean Federation for</u> <u>Environmental</u> <u>Movement</u> (2,893)

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Yi Mun-ok Moon Ok Lee (8,195)	Internet Hankyoreh (39)	The DanzilboDaa nziilbe (108)	Goodday (27)	NGO Korea (4,042)
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Netizens' indifference to the political use of the ~~Internet~~ is ~~not~~ a phenomenon found ~~not~~ only in South Korean society, but is evident in ~~various a~~ ~~number of other~~ liberal democracies such as the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom. During the most recent elections in each of these ~~a significant part of the respective populations took part in online~~ activities, ~~states there was a significant number of people online.~~ 62% of Americans had access to ~~Internet~~ at the time of the 2000 US presidential elections; 59% of Australians during their 2002 federal elections; 49% of UK population was ~~online~~ at the 2001 general election and 59.2% of South Korean had access to ~~Internet~~ at the time of the 2002 ~~p~~Presidential election. Thus, ~~by having a website,~~ it is clear that candidates and parties can potentially reach a significant number of voters ~~through their own websites and online~~ activities. The critical question, however, is ~~of course~~ how many of those voters are spending time looking for information ~~about related to~~ the election as they surf? Data from the 2001 UK General Election survey by the Work Foundation concluded that voters were largely uninterested in using the ~~Internet~~ for political purposes, with only 15% of those ~~online~~ expressing interest in using the medium for campaign information. Less than one in ten planned to e-mail a politician, candidate or party, although about a third said they might contact a friend or family member about ~~the~~ election. As such, the UK compares unfavorably with figures the authors quote from the 2000 US Presidential election which showed that about a third of voters ~~wentgoing online~~ for election news (Gibson, et al 2002). Therefore we have to be very ~~careful in~~ ~~wary about~~ correlating an increase of ~~Internet~~ access with widespread use of the ~~Internet~~ for political purposes. ~~The former is one thing and the latter is another.~~ We cannot ~~expect~~ ~~assume~~ that proliferation of ~~online~~ activities ~~would~~ naturally and eventually lead to the dissemination of ~~online~~ politics

and e-democracy.

Another thing we have to consider in discussing the political use of the Internet is how much of an effect an individual's online political activities has on her/his real political actions, including voting choice the ultimate ballot casting. We have to try to find answers for the following questions The following questions must first be addressed in order to analyze the effect of Internet politics on real politics: First (discussed above), do the netizens use the Internet for political purpose as discussed above? (discussed above); Second, how much the to what extent do online political activities -- such as searching for political information, exchanging political opinions s with colleague fellow netizens, and contacting government officers and politicians via e-mail and e-bulletin board -- effects the formationing of individuals' political opinions and positions?; Third, do online political activities result in changes s in the pattern of real political activities? That is, does online political participation result in an increase in real political engagement by citizens?; Fourth, how powerful-effective is the Internet when compared to other media such as television, newspapers s and radio in forming individuals' political opinions and positions?;

From the data surveyed-collected in both in the U.S. and South Korea, we can find it is apparent that the Internet is still much less powerful-influential compared to television, newspapers and even radio in forming individuals' shaping political positions, especially for voting choice. In the U.S., while 66% of respondents answered that they get most of their informations about election campaigns from the television, only 7% said that the Internet was a major information source. Even for the Internet users, only 11% get-gathered election information from the Internet, while 62% turned to television was 62% and 34% turned to newspapers 34%.

Table 2- Source of Election Information In the US

	<u>Internet</u> users	<u>Non-Internet</u> users	Total
Television	62	72	66
Newspapers	34	33	33

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Radio	14	11	13
Magazines	2	1	1
Internet Internet	11	*	7
Mailings/ Flyers flyer s	2	3	2
Friends/ Family famil y/ Other other acquaintances	1	2	1
Combination of several sources	1	1	1
Other	2	2	2
	N = 1,707	N = 1,038	N = 2,745

Question: How did you get ~~most of your~~ news about the election campaigns in your state and district? From television, ~~from radio or from~~ magazines, or ~~from the~~ ~~Internet~~Internet? (Multiple- Response)

Source: [IPDI\(The Institute for Politics, Democracy and the Internet\): 2003. Untuned Keyboards: ~~Online~~On-Line Campaigners, Citizens, ~~And and~~ Portals ~~In in~~ The the 2002 ——— Elections. \(잡지나 신문 기사명?? 그렇다면 IPDI가 잡지나 신문명인가요?\)](#) (<http://www.ipdi.org/untuned.pdf>). 21 March 21, 2003.

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South Korea ~~surveys~~ also found that the ~~Internet~~Internet's influence on the election was still lower than ~~traditionalthe major _ media like television and newspaper~~. According to the Korea Press Foundation's survey in 2002, only 23.4% of the respondents said that they used ~~the~~ ~~Internet~~Internet to gather information about elections and politics, ~~while 76.5% did not use the Internet~~. —54.2% of those polled answered that media such as newspapers and television was ~~most influential in forming~~central to their political opinions, while only 18.7% were influenced by information from the ~~Internet~~Internet (Park Sun Hhee Park-2003, 1). In ~~the survey~~ data ~~collected~~ by Social Science Data Center just after the 16th Presidential election, ~~for to~~ the question, ~~that~~ "what is most helpful in learning about the candidates?"

only 5.6% answered it ~~is was the Internet~~Internet, while 42.2% answered ~~that it was~~ television and 26.0% ~~said~~ newspapers (Kim Hyung_jun Kim-2003, 104). ~~From this survey data we can see~~These findings indicate that, even though there is no doubt about the growth of the ~~Internet~~its power in general, the ~~Internet~~Internet still does not exert significant influence as a media of news delivery or opinion making ~~er~~ (Park Sun_hIee Park-2003, 1).

Candidates and Election Campaigning ~~Online~~On-line

Over past 30 years electoral commentators have noted a professionalization of electoral campaigning in liberal democracies leading to an international convergence of campaign techniques and styles, and South Korean is no exception. The main trends include: the increased centrality of television in campaigns; the use of marketing techniques, advertising, ~~and~~ opinion polling; a move towards ~~more~~ personality rather than issue led campaigns; and a reduction in the level of direct interaction between voters and politicians as campaigns were increasingly conducted in television studios (Farrell and Webb, 2000 ~~reference에 없습니다.~~; Norris, 2000). ~~For many years, even though, Thus~~ people have come to expect most of their encounters with politicians to be mediated by television and the press. ~~In~~ recent ~~years~~ the ~~I~~nternet ~~has begun to offer the~~offers a possibility of providing more direct access to information. Leaving aside its influence on the election result, the ~~Internet~~Internet ~~have~~has become a major campaign tool. Today, it is difficult to imagine an election without candidates websites and ~~online~~on-line campaigning strategy~~my~~.

The unique features of the new medium, such as ~~effective~~ dissemination of information ~~effective~~ in terms of its speed and cost, its interactive capabilities and combination of text, video and audio, ~~have candidates paying~~have inspired ~~candidates to give more weight~~ attention to ~~online~~on-line campaigning. The new medium provides parties and candidates ~~with~~ creative new ways to engage with the electorate. There are six main ~~reasons why candidates create an~~objectives for ~~creating~~ ~~online~~on-line presence: ~~providing information to the public and~~ to ~~older~~

media; campaigning and fund raising through direct e-mail; targeting ~~the youth audience~~younger demographics; symbolic significance- (the mark of modernity); virtual infrastructure/efficiency gains; and soliciting voter/member feedback and participation_ (Gibson, et al 2003~~0~~, ~~ref. 에는 2001과 2002만 있는데요??~~). By ~~making~~fashioning their own websites candidates expect ~~them~~ to fulfill several different functions during the campaign: to organize the efforts of their members; to turn casual supporters into active campaigners or members; and to turn casual browsers into supporters_ (Coleman 2001).

~~Without any doubt~~Certainly the ~~Internet~~Internet was a major campaign tool in the 2002 presidential election in South Korea. ~~The Internet~~It has ~~quickly~~quickly become the most popular way of organizing street rallies, political and otherwise, ~~including that of the estimated seven million South Koreans who swarmed into the streets after the stunning success of their national soccer team in last summer's World Cup. Although Roh Moo-Hyun~~Roh Moo-hyun campaign team mastered exploited the ~~Internet~~Internet, other major political parties used it and other forms of mass communication ~~as well, too~~. The parties held an average of only three rallies a day, compared with 49 a day during the 1997 campaign. Campaigning with loudspeakers on the streets was ~~also~~ much less common. ~~Further, t~~he number of election law violations committed in cyberspace ~~also shows~~ the intensity of ~~online~~on-line campaigning in the last election: ~~there were 735. The number of election law~~ violations in 2002, ~~was 735~~, more than double the 346 crimes reported in the 1997 presidential election. Amongst the 2002 election law violations, violations that occurred in cyberspace (203) were much greater than ~~those related to~~ money and goods ~~related violations~~ (128), which had been the most common ~~errors~~ in previous elections. (~~Dong-a Ilbo~~ 22nd Dec-ember 2002).

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Table 3- Number Access to Roh's Campaign Site (www.knowhow.or.kr)

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Date	No. of access	Date	No. of access	Date	No. of access
<u>21 Nov. 21</u>	133,862	<u>4 Dec. 4</u>	239,882	<u>17 Dec. 17</u>	488,619
<u>22 Nov. 22</u>	145,787	<u>5 Dec. 5</u>	263,881	<u>18 Dec. 18</u>	668,612
<u>23 Nov. 23</u>	149,269	<u>6 Dec. 6</u>	322,607	<u>19 Dec. 19</u>	860,855

24 Nov. 24	160,800	7 Dec. 7	334,128	20 Dec. 20	578,980
25 Nov. 25	260,494	8 Dec. 8	344,336	21 Dec. 21	532,892
26 Nov. 26	159,514	9 Dec. 9	403,259	22 Dec. 22	313,377
27 Nov. 27	179,442	10 Dec. 10	348,550	23 Dec. 23	314,728
28 Nov. 28	212,222	11 Dec. 11	372,608	24 Dec. 24	276,725
29 Nov. 29	175,502	12 Dec. 12	371,354	25 Dec. 25	239,307
30 Nov. 30	213,192	13 Dec. 13	377,881	26 Dec. 26	251,815
1 Dec. 1	195,268	14 Dec. 14	331,424	27 Dec. 27	228,133
2 Dec. 2	186,015	15 Dec. 15	370,203	28 Dec. 28	198,224
3 Dec. 3	201,459	16 Dec. 16	831,909		

Source: Millennium Democratic Party. 2003. "A White Paper On the 16th Presidential Election." -p. 217. 『16대 대통령선거 백서』
 국문으로 출간된 자료라면 국문명 알려주시기 바랍니다.

Until March 2002, about 9 months before ~~the election day~~ballot casting, ~~Roh Moo-hyun~~Roh Moo-hyun was far behind ~~Lee Hoi-chang~~Lee Hoi-chang in the race. On March 5, the opposition-oriented Korean-language daily *Chosun Ilbo* published a ~~p~~Presidential-residential candidate survey result where Lee Hoi-chang ~~won~~held 38.7% of the support while Roh Moo-hyun got only 25.2%. ~~The popularity of Roh Moo-hyun~~Roh Moo-hyun's popularity, however, had been ~~known~~recognized much earlier among ~~the~~netizens. In the so-called "cyber world" ~~in Korea, this phenomenon~~the trend was observed as early as ~~in~~the middle of February -- almost one month earlier than the beginning of the shift of popularity from Lee to Roh. On ~~February~~19 February, ~~th~~ an independent Korean-language electronics daily ~~named~~Digital Times reported ~~the Roh's~~ rising popularity ~~of Roh~~and ~~the Lee's~~ declining image ~~of Lee~~. The *Digital Times* based its report on a survey conducted by a "political stock investment" website (www.posdaq.co.kr) which marked the popularity of each Presidential candidate with a stock price quotation on ~~Feb.~~18 February. In this survey, the "political stock prices" of the different candidates were expressed as follows: Roh Moo-hyun (22,000 won), Kim ~~Keun~~Geun-tae (13,000 won), ~~Jeong~~Dong-yeongChung Dong-young (9,500 won), Lee Hoi-chang (8,200 won).

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In the online campaigning Roh Moo-Hyun was much more successful than his counterpart Lee Hoi-Chang. Roh Moo-Hyun's campaign team used the Internet to go-shift into turbo drive; Young people were mobilized by a highly effective internet campaign by Mr Roh, who utilized South Korea's world-leading broadband network better than did Mr Lee. During his campaign, millions of voters absorbed Mr. Roh's message from Internet sites that featured video clips of the candidate and audio broadcasts by disc jockeys and rock stars. Numerous visitors logged on to his main website every day to donate money or obtain campaign updates. During the campaign period over 300,000 netizens a day visited his official campaign site on any given day and on the election day, the 19th of December, the site recorded an unbelievable 860,855 visitors.

Table 4. Number of Files and Access in Roh Site's Bulletin Board

Date	No. of files	No. of access	No. of access per file
Dec. 8	6,435	1,485,821	230.90
Dec. 9	6,725	1,474,612	219.27
Dec. 10	7,049	1,457,962	206.83
Dec. 11	8,219	1,650,694	200.84
Dec. 12	7,571	1,496,246	197.63
Dec. 13	7,257	1,436,995	198.02
Dec. 14	6,886	1,751,226	254.32
Dec. 15	6,814	2,076,078	304.68
Dec. 16	10,163	2,351,013	231.33
Dec. 17	11,711	2,871,200	245.17
Dec. 18	15,162	2,899,410	191.23
Dec. 19	32,697	5,611,869	171.63
Dec. 20	15,089	2,165,556	143.52
Dec. 21	9,182	1,263,916	137.65

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Source: Millennium Democratic Party. 2003. "A White Paper On the 16th Presidential

Election." p. 218. 『16대 대통령선거 백서』

Almost half of South Korean voters are below the age of 40 -- a prime demographic for users of the ~~Internet~~Internet and ~~cell phones~~cell phones. Until last year, many were politically apathetic, put off by the country's traditional political machinery. But Mr. Roh reached out to voters with one of the world's most sophisticated ~~Internet~~Internet campaigns, and the vast majority of the younger population voted for him. Before the ~~ruling Millennium Democractic~~Democratic Party's (MDP) primary ~~election of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party(MDP)~~campaigning began, Mr. Roh was best known for his repeated failures to be elected to parliament. Self-educated, he came from a poor family and had been jailed for helping dissidents fight the military regimes of the past. But young voters admired the lawyer for his integrity and his image as an independent outsider, and ~~they~~formed an ~~Internet~~Internet fan club to promote his ~~future~~name. The ~~fan club, -NOSAMO osamo~~ (peoples who love Roh), was formed as a kind of fan club, just after Roh was defeated in the 16th National Assembly election. At that time Roh insisted ~~to run in~~ running not in Seoul but in ~~-~~Busan, ~~hostile~~territory ~~hostile~~ to his party, ~~refusing to run in Seoul~~ and failed to overcome the barrier of regionalism, ~~the chronic political trouble of the country~~plague of politics in South Korea. Even though he lost in the election and failed to ~~break down the old practice of regionalism~~break through regional prejudices, he earned ~~an the~~ image of 'new politician' and 'reformist'. ~~Due to this image the~~On the tide of this image-making, members~~hip in of~~ ~~Nosamo~~NOSAMO reached 70,000 before the presidential election and ~~it~~peaked at about 80,000 after the election. ~~Nosamo~~ ~~The fan club, NOSAMO,~~ helped launch what has been called "the Roh typhoon." Its energetic activism was crucial to Mr. Roh's triumph in the primaries and in the presidential election. NOSAMO was organized across the country and ~~they~~members gathered voluntarily ~~in~~ cyber and real space ~~as occasions called for~~on relevant occasions.

Roh's fundraising efforts also diverged from more common methods.- Largely through ~~Internet~~Internet-based groups, Roh's team raised over 7 billion won from more than 200,000 individuals. ~~Nosamo~~ NOSAMO ~~did a great effort to make~~made

great strides in creating a culture of voluntary political donation, which was very rare until then a rare practice at the time. Through the InternetInternet, NOSAMO the club organized the voluntary distribution and collection of 'piggy " piggy banks' banks" across the country.

Table 5- Roh's Camp's Fund-Raising on the Internet Website Through Electronic

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	Number of Donation	Amount of Donation (won)
Credit Card	31,899	1,329,876,426
Mobile Phone	20,165	347,045,283
ARS	21,188	211,880,000
On-line transfer	101,635	4,320,699,711
"Piggy Bank"	22,042	759,633,678
"Hope Ticket"	6,835	309,000,000
Total	203,764	7,278,135,098 won

Source: Millennium Democratic Party. 2003. "A White Paper On the 16th Presidential Election." p. 208.

Did the InternetInternet Make Any Difference in the Election Results?

As we see clear from the above, Roh Moo-hyunRoh Moo-hyun was very successful in onlineon-line campaigning, when compared with his rivalry Lee Hoi ChangLee Hoi-chang. According to The Guardian, "In recent months onlineon-line campaigns have swung the presidential election, stirred tens of thousands into anti-US protests and nudged government policy on the nuclear standoff.Polls showed that the victory in December of Mr Roh - who claims to be the world's first president to understand HTML website coding - came from a huge surge of support from their twenties- and thirtysomethings-thirties" It also saidsaid the article also

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reported that this in South Korea, where elections are usually decided by regional rather than generational loyalties, this was a dramatic development. Then can we Is it possible then to reach the conclusion that the Internet gave Roh the victory in the election?

~~We cannot find, however, direct relation between the Internet and Roh's win. Was the Roh's win due to his successful online campaign and supports of young netizens? This conclusion is half true and half false. The response to this overarching question is both negative and affirmative. First of all~~ Firstly, Roh's online campaign did not succeed in pulling young voters younger citizens into the voting booths. While the turnout rate of the 2002 presidential election was 70.8%, only 47.5% of voters in their twenties participated in the vote. The difference of the turnout between the average voter and those in their twenties was widened from 12.5% in the 1997 election to 23.3% in the 2002 election. The turnout rate for voters in their thirties, although higher than the rate for twenty-somethings year-olds was 2% lower than the average in the 2002 election, while in the 1997 election it was 1.9% higher than the average turnout. This means that although the young voters visit candidates' websites and exchange political opinions with other Internet users, their online political participation does not always lead to political engagement in real-world politics.

Table 6. Turnout of Voters by Generation in the 15th and 16th Presidential Election (difference from the total votes. %)

	20s	30s	40s	over 50s	Total
16th election	47.5(-23.3)	68.8(-2)	85.5(15)	81.0(10.2)	70.8
15th election	68.2(-12.5)	82.6(1.9)	87.5(6.8)	89.9(9.2)	80.7

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The usefulness of the Internet in engaging young voters was tested by Bimber (2001), and he also suggested uninspirating evidence for the Internet as a stimulant to participation. Schuelele and Nisbet (2002) also offered a similar conclusion that none of the modes of Internet use was found to have any significant effect on individuals political engagement, either in a

conventional sense such as voting or in more participatory forums (Gibson et. al. 2002, 4). While there were those who held great hopes for the Internet as a revitalizer of democracy (Rheingold, 1995; Rash 1997), many observers have seen these expectations as ~~too much~~ unrealistic in that they were ~~assuming~~ the presence of ideal citizens. According to the ~~'normalization'~~ "normalization" thesis, those who are already engaged and interested are logically the most inclined to go and find more information ~~online~~ on-line, thus pulling them further into an upward spiral or virtuous circle of participation (Norris 2000, 228). That is to say, the new medium has a certain limit in making new political engagement.

~~Then the~~ Thus did the Internet ~~Internet did not make any effect on the win of~~ have no impact Roh's campaign? ~~From the table~~ Table 7, we can see ~~are~~ represents generational voting patterns in the 2002 presidential election: ~~While~~ Roh Moo-hyun ~~Lee Hoi-chang~~ Lee Hoi-chang won the supports of voters in their twenties and thirties, ~~Lee Hoi-chang~~ Lee Hoi-chang defeated Roh ~~in the vote of~~ among those in their forties and fifties. ~~Roh overwhelmingly dominated his rivalry Lee in the vote of the twenties and thirties. The scales were ultimately tipped in the generational margins: While~~ Roh earned 62.1% support from the voters in their twenties, Lee collected 31.7%, resulting in a difference of 30.4%. ~~For those in their~~ thirties Roh won 59.3% support and defeated Lee by 25.4%. ~~Voters in their fifties favored Lee over Roh by 18.5%.~~

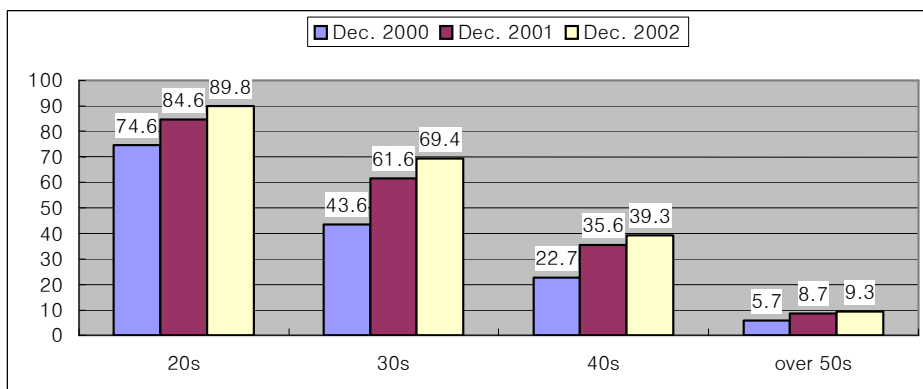
Table 7:- Generational Vote in the Presidential Election of 2002 (%)

	20s	30s	40s	over 50s
Roh Moo-hyun <u>Roh Moo-hyun</u>	62.1	59.3	47.4	39.8
Lee Hoi-chang <u>Lee Hoi-chang</u>	31.7	33.9	48.7	58.3
Others	6.2	6.8	3.9	1.9
Difference*	30.4	25.4	-1.3	-18.5

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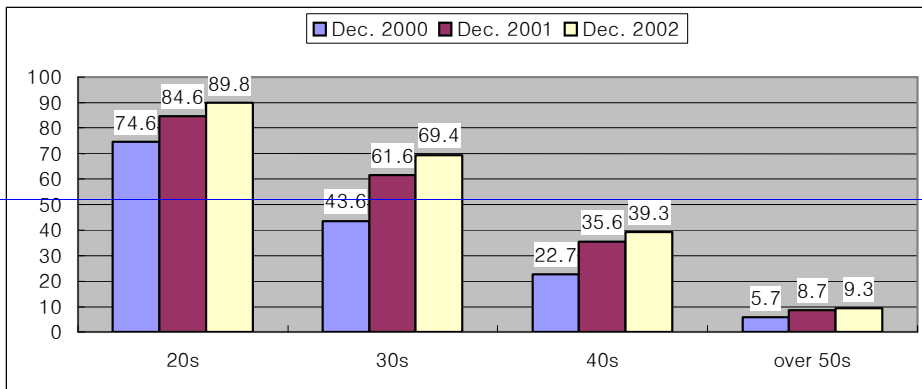
* Difference in support rate between Roh and Lee

Roh's landslide victory over Lee in the ~~vote of~~ ballots of voters in their twenties and thirties may be ~~explained by~~ accounted for in the effects of the ~~Internet~~ Internet. At the time of the election about 90% and 70% of ~~those in their~~ the twenties and thirties respectively used ~~internet~~ Internet. During the same period less than 10% of ~~the~~ over those over fifties accessed the ~~Internet~~ Internet at the time of the election. ~~Even though~~ Despite the fact that the turnouts ~~off for the~~ for the voters in their twenties and thirties was lower than that for the over-~~fifty~~ fifties electorate, they account for a larger proportion of ~~the~~ the population than the over fifties voters, ~~given that~~ As almost half of South Korean voters are below the age of 40, ~~and they take up the most of~~ Internet users. As we ~~see~~ saw in the early part of this paper, Roh was very successful in pulling the young voters to his websites and mobilizing them ~~on in the~~ in the cyberspace and ~~the real world~~ real world. Even though Roh failed to create a new political engagement ~~of the~~ among young voters through the ~~Internet~~ Internet, he ~~seemed to~~ seems to have been successful in ~~collecting netizens' supports via the~~ attracting netizen attention and support.



Source: KNIC (2003, 18).

Picture-Figure 2- Growth of Internet Access Rate by Age



Source: Korea Network Information Center. "A survey on the Number of Internet Users and Internet Behavior." 2003. p. 18.

The Similar effects of Internet use on the young voters was also suggested by a survey in the US. Evidence from the Pew Center, gathered during the 2000 US Presidential election, showed that exposure to information online could affect peoples vote choice ballot selection. Overall, just under half of those who had seen gathered campaign information from cyberspace reported that it had affected their vote choice. Perhaps most significantly it was the younger users that were most likely to report this greater influence rate (only one third of those aged 50 years and over reported any influence) of those between 18 and 29 years of age compared to one third of those aged 50 years and over (Gibson, et al 2003 ref에는 2001과 2002만 있습니다).

Even though there is not a clear connection between Roh's victory and the effect of the ~~Internet~~Internet, it is true that Roh was able to collect the support of the young voters and thereby take the initiative in the campaign stage. ~~Roh camp's campaign strategy focused on appealing to electorates' 'feeling' or 'sensitivity' rather than to reason, and it had been successful via the Internet. On the T~~television advertisements ~~he showed off~~highlighted his youthfulness and lowbrow image ~~and these clips. His campaign advertisements~~ were downloaded 455,060 times from his website. ~~Roh~~He succeeded in making the presidential election a contest between ~~"reformists" and "conservatives," "new politicians" vs and "old politicians," "the commonality" vs and: "the nobility" and "pacifist" vs. 'the cold war'"cold warrior."~~ His ~~online~~on-line strategy ~~was ultimately successful in appealing~~ appealed to young netizens' ~~cultural~~ and emotional ~~sensibilities. and finally moved them.~~

Conclusion

Some early works on e-democracy by Elshитай (1982), Artterton (1987) and Toffler ~~and Toffler~~ (1995) extolled the seemingly limitless possibilities of the ~~Internet~~Internet for bringing about a different kind of representative democracy. ~~Since the early stage of this study, however, m~~Most of empirical studies on the effect of the ~~Internet~~Internet ~~that followed those early theorizations, however, have~~ suggested that the new medium did not have some ~~kind of~~ mysterious power to transform ~~the~~ real politics ~~as much as to the degree~~ the idealists expected. That is, ~~the "normalization" thesis has been more persuasive than won out over the "equalization" thesis. They~~ The latter's proponents forcefully argue that ~~the world of~~ cyberspace cannot exist apart from the real world, and ~~that~~ the ~~appearance form and function~~ of cyberspace is ~~greatly largely guided structured~~ by the real world.

Just after the 2002 ~~P~~presidential election, ~~many~~ domestic and foreign media reported that South Korea ~~has come to the~~has reached a stage of ~~the most~~ advanced ~~online~~on-line democracy. They ~~declared nominated Roh that~~ the ~~new president Roh Moo-Hyun as the~~ first ~~Internet~~Internet president in the world. Commentators were

quick ~~to judge the success of Roh's campaign as a result of~~ to attribute his success to his strong ~~Internet~~ presence, and thereby conferring great potential ~~on~~ for the ~~Internet~~ and future elections. ~~—It is, however, too hasty yet judge the effects of the Internet on the election and real politics because of the following reasons. It is the position of this paper that it is too early draw definite conclusions about the Internet.~~ To summarize:

First, the widespread use of ~~the Internet~~ activities does not always necessarily mean an increase ~~of in the~~ political use of the ~~Internet~~. The growth of ~~Internet~~ users and broadband connection is one thing and development of e-politics is another. ~~In 2002, Even~~ though about 60% of the South Korean population over the age of 6 accessed the ~~Internet~~ and while their average access time in a week was 13.5 hours, most of their ~~Internet~~ activities had no political purpose.

Second, ~~the~~ traditional media such as television and newspapers were still remained much more powerful-effective than the ~~Internet~~ in delivering political news. According to a survey ~~done-conducted~~ just before the election, 71.6% of respondents answered-specified TV as their primary source of election related information while and 20.6% answered-identified newspapers, while only 4.8% said relied on the ~~Internet~~ (Yang Seung Chan 2003).

Third, the turnout of the 2002 election showed that ~~the Internet~~ was not so-highly successful in creating new political participation. While the turnout rate of the 2002 presidential election was 70.8%, only 47.5% of voters in their twenties participated in the vote. The difference ~~of-in~~ the turnout between the average voter and voters in their twenties widened from 12.5% in the 1997 election to 23.3% in the 2002 election.

Even though we cannot point to a direct relation between ~~Roh Moo-Hyun~~ Roh Moo-hyun's victory in the election and the ~~Internet~~ due to the reasons above, there is still some evidence to show that Roh's successful online-on-line campaign strategy might have aided his win in the election. Roh overwhelmed his competitor ~~in the electorate of amongst those in~~ —their twenties and thirties, most of them are ~~Internet~~ users. ~~In addition~~ Perhaps more significantly, Roh's online-on-line strategy also attributed to composing the election stage as he wanted by making it a

contest between was central in setting the terms of the terms of the election into
oppositions between "reformist" ~~vs~~ and "conservative," "new politics" ~~vs~~ and
"old politics" and "the commonality" ~~and~~ vs. "the nobility"; terms ultimately
favorable to his overall campaign.

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