

# CAMPAIGN EFFECTS IN KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

by

JEONGHUN MIN

(Under the Direction of Paul-Henri Gurian)

## ABSTRACT

Do campaigns matter? To answer this intriguing question, this study examines the effects of presidential campaigns in Korean presidential elections. The main purpose of this study is to develop a theoretical framework to analyze campaign effects on vote choice in Korean presidential elections. This study attempts to apply two theories of American presidential campaigns, the “equilibrium” and “enlightenment” theories, to the Korean presidential electoral setting, and develop the models of campaign events in Korean presidential elections.

This study argues that both presidential campaigns and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. The fundamental variables influence voters’ candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. Meanwhile, fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign are primarily responsive to campaign events.

An important role of campaign events is to assist voters to learn more about the fundamental variables to develop their enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign. The extent that voters are aware of the fundamental variables depends on how much campaign events make changes in information about the candidates during the campaign. It suggests that presidential campaigns play an important role in producing the eventual vote choice. As a result

of the enlightenment, voters move toward their eventual vote decisions toward the end of the campaign.

**INDEX WORDS:** Korean Presidential Elections, Campaign Effects, Fundamental Variables, Campaign Events, Campaign Information, Enlightenment

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## DEDICATION

To Sangmi and Seyoung, for their love and patience, and to my family, for their trust and support.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Do campaigns matter? This question has been one of controversial issues in the study of American electoral studies. The extant research on American electoral studies and campaign politics has made quite different suggestions about the campaign effects of American presidential elections: campaigns rarely change presidential election outcomes and vote choice; campaigns are important in several ways but they serve a limited role in producing presidential election outcomes and vote choice.

The controversy has posed the following questions to a student of campaign politics with a comparative perspective: Do campaigns matter in a foreign electoral setting? Which argument could be more convincing for analyzing campaign effects in a different electoral context? Could the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as party strength in the electorate, presidential popularity, and the status of the economy, predict presidential election outcomes in a foreign soil as much as they do in the American presidential electoral setting? In what ways could campaign events influence public opinion over the course of the campaign? Do campaign events play a significant role in producing eventual vote choice in a foreign electoral setting? How do presidential campaigns interact with the fundamental variables of the presidential election year in a foreign country? What roles do campaign events play in the electoral process? If a model of campaign effects in American presidential elections has general theoretical import, it could be applied in a variety of electoral settings, although specific variables used in the model to measure campaign effects on the electoral process and outcomes may vary for different countries.



As an effort to answer these intriguing questions, this study attempts to analyze campaign effects in South Korean presidential elections. The main purpose of this study is to develop a theoretical framework to analyze the influence of presidential campaigns on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections and to examine what roles campaign events play during the campaign. To develop a theoretical framework of Korean presidential campaigns, this study attempts to apply two theories of American presidential campaigns to the Korean presidential electoral setting: Holbrook's (1996; 1994) "equilibrium" theory and Gelman and King's (1993) "enlightenment" theory.

In his book, *Do Campaigns Matter*, Holbrook (1996) argued that before the campaign begins there exists an "equilibrium" level of candidate support, which can be regarded as an expected election outcome toward which voters are naturally predisposed. This natural predisposition is thought to be a function of prevailing national conditions of the election year, such as the state of the economy, party strength in the electorate, and the performance of the incumbent administration. In the meantime, campaign events mainly influence fluctuations in public opinion over the course of the campaign because the national conditions do not vary much during the campaign. Since the national conditions set the equilibrium level of candidate support, campaign events tend to move public support toward the equilibrium over the course of the campaign. Presidential campaigns influence public opinion during the campaign, but in such a way that the eventual election outcome is close to the expected equilibrium level of candidate support. In this way, presidential campaigns and the national conditions of the presidential election year jointly produce presidential election outcomes.

This study attempts to apply the equilibrium theory to Korean presidential elections. In American presidential elections, forecasting models of the national popular vote have been

developed using data available for the sixteen presidential elections, 1948-2008. However, Korea has conducted only five democratic presidential elections since its democratization of 1987 and, hence, it is not possible to obtain a statistically valid forecast because of the small sample. This means that the theory cannot be tested in the same way that Holbrook did. In addition, the equilibrium theory does not show clearly how individual voters respond to campaign events and move toward their eventual vote decisions over the course of the campaign.

This study attempts to get around those obstacles by analyzing changes in vote intention of subgroups of the electorate over the course of the campaign, based on Gelman and King's (1993) "enlightenment" theory. Gelman and King argued that subgroups of the electorate develop distinctive candidate preferences during the campaign and cast their ballots based on such enlightened preferences. To examine how campaign events influence voters' candidate preferences, this study will measure the direction of movement of vote intention of subgroups of the electorate over the course of the campaign rather than estimate changes in vote intention of the entire electorate toward a specific equilibrium point during the campaign. For instance, voters who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration are expected to move away from the incumbent party candidate. However, before the campaign begins, some of them have not made the connection between their disapproval and their intended vote choice. Campaign events serve to inform voters, moving them in the expected direction. Thus, voters who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are more likely to support the opposition party candidate toward the end of the campaign. Gelman and King attribute such movement to "enlightenment": as subgroups of the electorate learn more about the parties, issues, and candidates through campaign events, their candidate preferences increasingly line up with what political scientists would expect toward the end of the campaign.

Based on the equilibrium and enlightenment theories, this study argues that both presidential campaigns and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as regionalism, party identification, and presidential popularity, influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. The fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence vote intention before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice on election day. Meanwhile, fluctuations in public opinion over the course of the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events because the fundamental variables do not vary much during the campaign. An important role of campaign events is to enlighten voters by providing them with information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions over the course of the campaign. At the start of the campaign, voters have less information about the fundamental variables. When campaign events provide voters with information about the candidates, voters learn more about the fundamental variables and adjust their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information. Accordingly, voters' candidate preferences fluctuate when campaign events occur during the campaign.

At the beginning of the campaign, subgroups of the electorate, categorized by the fundamental variables, such as regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), partisans, independents, and voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the president, have different candidate preferences because the fundamental variables distinctively influence each subgroup's candidate preferences before the campaign begins. When campaign events provide the subgroups with information about the candidates during the campaign, individual subgroups develop distinctive enlightened preferences based on the fundamental variables. The difference in the enlightenment among the subgroups explains fluctuations in public opinion during the campaign. The influence of the fundamental variables on the subgroups' candidate preferences becomes

greater toward the end of the campaign as individual subgroups acquire their enlightened candidate preferences through campaign events. Because of the increasing influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention, individual subgroups develop more homogeneous candidate preferences within the groups and heterogeneity in candidate preferences across the groups increase toward the end of the campaign.

In this way, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and campaign events influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. Campaign events influence voting behavior of Korean presidential elections by assisting voters to learn more about the fundamental variables to develop their enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign. The extent that voters are aware of the fundamental variables depends on how much campaign events make changes in information about the candidates over the course of the campaign. It suggests that presidential campaigns play an important role in producing the eventual vote choice. As a result of the enlightenment, voters' candidate preferences move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign.

To empirically test the theory of this study, models of campaign events in Korean presidential elections are developed and they are empirically tested with the most current Korean presidential elections of 1997, 2002, and 2007. These three elections are chosen because they are contemporary and, hence, represent the state of modern campaigns. In addition, much of data used in the analysis of the models are not available for earlier Korean presidential elections. The empirical analysis will show that campaign events lead to fluctuations in public support during the campaign. Further, it will show that subgroups of the electorate develop distinctive candidate preferences through campaign events and move in the expected direction, based on the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, toward the end of the campaign. Finally,

it will show that the subgroups become more homogeneous in their candidate support over the course of the campaign and, therefore, the fundamental variables exert greater influence at the end of the campaign than they did at the beginning. The findings of the analysis will support the theory of this study and indicate that Holbrook's theory applies to Korean presidential elections.

Contemporary Korean politics has been dominated by presidential campaigns during presidential election years. In every presidential campaign season, all the candidates raise and spend enormous amounts of money on consultants, national surveys, campaign appearances, and very expensive television advertising. Meanwhile, the attention of the Korean public is focused on campaign events all through the presidential election year. In addition, journalistic analysis of campaigns in Korean presidential elections regards presidential campaigns as a key factor of determining election outcomes. For example, according to Kim (2003), Lee, Hoi-Chang's defeat in the 2002 presidential election was expected because his party, Grand National Party (GNP), was defeated in the battle of the media campaigns, such as presidential debates, campaign ads, and campaign speeches, by its main competitor, Roh, Moo-Hyun of Millennium Democratic Party (MDP). Given that Lee was narrowly defeated in the presidential election, a member of GNP regretted that his party could have won the election if it had waged a better campaign during the campaign season.<sup>1</sup>

However, the academic community has not paid much attention to campaign effects in Korean presidential elections. Since the introduction of the media campaigns to presidential elections in 1997, previous studies have measured the influence of presidential debates on voter perceptions of candidate images and vote choice (Cheong 2003; Han and Kang 2008; Kang 2003; Kim 2008; Kim 2003; Kwon 2006; Lee 2004; Rhee 2007). They found that presidential

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<sup>1</sup> Roh, Moo-Hyun (48.9%) narrowly defeated Lee, Hoi-Chang (46.6%) in the 2002 presidential election. The margin of victory was just about 570,000 votes.

debates have a positive impact on candidate images by improving voter perceptions of candidates' personal characteristics, and that presidential debates influence vote choice in presidential elections mainly by reinforcing voters' candidate preferences. Meanwhile, Tak (2006) explored the influence of campaign ads on voter perceptions of candidate images. He found that campaign advertising encourages voters to change their perceptions of candidate images positively. Last but not least, Lee (2006) found that campaign issues influenced the 2002 presidential election outcome. Although their findings make some suggestions about the influence of campaign events on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections, there has been little research to develop a theoretical framework to analyze the effects of campaigns in Korean presidential elections. It suggests that little research has paid attention to systematically analyzing campaign effects in Korean presidential elections and, hence, it is not clear in what ways campaign events influence voting behavior of Korean presidential elections and what roles campaign events play in the electoral process.

Meanwhile, analyzing campaign effects in Korean presidential elections is relevant to examine whether the findings of American presidential campaigns could be applied to a foreign electoral setting. South Korea has maintained the democratic presidential electoral system since its democratization of 1987: a winner-take-all popularity system without run-off elections.<sup>2</sup> In addition, media politics has emerged as a critical factor in waging presidential campaigns since 1997. Since then, Korean presidential elections have had reasonably well-developed campaigns, media organizations, and the electorate that has widespread access to campaign communications. These features suggest that contemporary Korean presidential campaigns have kept similar

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<sup>2</sup> Unlike the American presidential election system, however, the Korean presidential election system does not adopt an Electoral College Vote system. The popular vote system decides which candidate will be the next president of Korea.

features with American presidential campaigns, such as presidential debates, campaign ads, and campaign communications through mass media. Finally, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as regionalism, party strength in the electorate, and presidential popularity, have influenced voting behavior of contemporary Korean presidential elections. It suggests that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year have significantly influenced voting behavior of presidential elections in both countries.

Overall, Korean presidential elections offer an appropriate electoral setting to examine the applicability of theories of American presidential campaigns to a foreign electoral setting and to investigate whether presidential campaigns matter in a foreign electoral context. As far as campaign effects in Korean presidential elections are concerned, there has been little research to systematically examine this intriguing topic. It is expected, therefore, that this study can contribute to the academic community by broadening our understanding of how presidential campaigns work in the electoral process and of whether presidential campaigns matter in producing vote choice in presidential elections.

This study proceeds in the following manner. Chapter 2 summarizes the existing research on campaign effects in American presidential elections to review what roles of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and campaign events play in producing electoral outcomes. In chapter 3, this study develops a theoretical framework to analyze the effects of presidential campaigns on vote choice in Korean presidential elections by applying the “equilibrium” and “enlightenment” theories to the Korean presidential electoral setting. Chapter 4 analyzes the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters’ candidate support to examine whether the fundamental variables influence voters’ candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. In

chapter 5, this study develops models of campaign events in Korean presidential elections and research methods to empirically test the hypotheses of this study. Chapter 6 presents the results of the empirical analysis on the influence of campaign events and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. Finally, chapter 7 offers conclusions of this study by summarizing the findings of the research and discussing how the findings might lead future research endeavors.



## **Chapter 2: Debate over Campaign Effects in American Presidential Elections**

### **The Argument against Campaign Effects**

#### **Individual-Level Evidence**

The body of individual-level research is not very supportive of the idea that campaigns play an important role in determining voting behavior of presidential elections. The voting decision largely is a product of party identification and retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration. This finding suggests that there is little room for campaigns to influence vote choice of presidential elections.

In their book, *The People's Choice*, Lazarsfeld et al. (1944) argued that most voters know far in advance of the campaign for which candidate they will vote based on their political predispositions. Many know in May, even before the candidates are nominated, how they will vote in November. They estimated that the overall influence of the campaign is only between five and eight percentage points, and concluded that presidential campaigns do not have much influence on the vote choice. In addition, Campbell et al. (1960) argued that intensity of partisan preference is a more important factor in vote decision than issue or candidate preference: each voter is casting a vote on election day heavily influenced by his/her party identification. In the same vein, Finkel (1993) suggested the “minimal effect” of presidential campaigns. He argued that the overwhelming majority of individual votes could be accounted for from attitudes such as party identification and presidential approval that are measured before the conventions. The campaign has limited influence on vote choice (only 4.8%) and negligible consequences for producing vote choice.

Meanwhile, in *The Responsible Electorate*, Key (1966) concluded that voters determine how to vote mainly by their retrospective evaluations of governmental performance: their perceptions and appraisals of policy and performance of the incumbent administration. Regarding campaign effects, he suggested that although campaigns change vote intention, other influences, such as the recollections of their experiences of the past four years, outweigh the campaign in the determination of the vote. Fiorina (1981) supported and expanded Key's ideas about retrospective voting. He found that partisanship and voting behavior are strongly influenced by retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration. Much of the research that followed Fiorina focused on the economic performance of government (Kinder et al. 1989; Lewis-Beck 1988; Markus 1988). For example, Lewis-Beck (1988) explored the time dimension of voter judgments on economic conditions. He argued that, at least in the 1984 presidential election, voters strongly responded to both immediate past economic conditions and future economic expectations, whether personal or collective, short-term or long-term.

### **Aggregate-Level Evidence**

Aggregate-level research has attempted to explain why elections turn out the way they do. Although they differ from the individual-level research in the level of analysis, the understanding of elections generated by these two approaches is essentially the same: election outcomes and voting behavior are heavily influenced by party affiliation and by voters' evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration.

Aggregate-level studies have demonstrated that presidential election outcomes are easily explained by a few political and economic variables: party strength in the electorate and

retrospective evaluations of the job of the incumbent party, as reflected in presidential popularity and the objective measures of economic performance (Kiewiet and Rivers 1985; Kramer 1971; Markus 1988). According to Markus (1988), changing macroeconomic conditions are more important as the determinants of election outcomes than other factors. He estimated that 3% of the vote can be attributed to the campaign effects and it may be decisive in close contests. Campaigns provide politically relevant information to reinforce preexisting predispositions and to structure personal political agenda. Kiewiet and Rivers (1985) found that changes in the unemployment rate were strongly related to changes in support for Reagan during the 1984 presidential campaign. This finding, that changes in public opinion during the campaign are related to noncampaign variables, suggests little room for influence from the campaign.

Meanwhile, some studies developed models of predicting presidential election outcomes (Abramowitz 1988; Campbell and Wink 1990; Campbell 1992; Erikson et al. 2001; Erikson and Wlezien 1999; Holbrook 1991; Lewis-Beck and Rice 1984). They have shown that presidential election outcomes can be predicted well by a few political and economic variables, such as presidential incumbency, presidential popularity, and economic conditions. For example, Lewis-Beck and Rice (1984) argued that a forecasting model which incorporates both presidential popularity and economic trends can generate accurate predictions about presidential election outcomes. In the meantime, Abramowitz (1988) found that presidential election outcomes can be predicted well by a simple model with three independent variables: the incumbent president's approval rating, the change of the economy during the election year, and the timing of the election. Finally, Erikson and Wlezien (1999) showed that their findings are consistent with the interpretation that the electoral choice is already in place before the general election campaign begins. During the fall, when political activity and media attention are at their peaks, aggregate

presidential preferences remain largely unchanged. Therefore, the influence of campaign events is small and short-lived.

In sum, both the individual-level and aggregate-level studies are not very supportive of the idea that campaigns play a significant role in shaping opinion and determining election outcomes because noncampaign factors, such as party strength in the electorate, presidential popularity, and the status of the economy, mainly determine how voters cast their ballots on election day. Some of the studies suggest that there could be a campaign effect, but the effect is very limited.

### **The Argument for Campaign Effects**

Although decades of voting behavior studies have shown that campaigns only have limited influence on producing presidential electoral outcomes, some studies suggest that presidential campaigns matter or have potential to matter in the following grounds: the number of late deciders is growing, voters' candidate preferences fluctuate during the campaign, and campaign events and the media are the main source of information that assist voters to decide how to vote over the course of the campaign.

### **Growing Number of Late Deciders**

Campaign events influence voters because presidential elections have seen an increasing proportion of late deciders (Flanigan and Zingale 1987; Holbrook 1996; Petrocik 1996). One way of examining campaign effects is to see how many voters make up their minds before the campaign begins. In presidential elections, independents and weak partisans are more likely to decide their vote intention during the campaign, while strong partisans make their decisions by

the end of the conventions (Flanigan and Zingale 1987). From 1952 to 1992, 63% of the electorate already decided how they would vote by the end of the conventions. It suggests that the remaining 37% had the potential to be mobilized by the campaign (Holbrook 1996). Petrocik (1996) argued that campaign information and messages could be particularly important in shaping the choices of swing voters. While a party is a major source of an issue handling reputation, any characteristic that distinguishes candidates, such as issue handling competence, could establish the differential. Reagan's victory over Carter was accomplished by last-minute events that reinforced voters' preference for Reagan's issue agenda.

### **Fluctuations in Vote Intention during the Campaign**

Campaign events influence vote choice because voters' preferences for the candidates have been increasingly volatile during the campaign (Allsop and Weisberg 1988; Campbell et al. 1992; Geer 1988; Gelman and King 1993; Holbrook 1994; Shaw 1999; Hillygus and Jackman 2003). Allsop and Weisberg (1988) showed that there was the considerable variation in partisanship during the 1984 presidential campaign. There was a curvilinear change moving toward the Democratic Party during some parts of the campaign and toward the Republican Party during other parts of the campaign. Changes in partisan strength in the electorate corresponded to changes in vote intention, suggesting responsiveness to short-term campaign events. Gelman and King (1993) found that public opinion polls conducted during the campaign vary enormously in support for Democratic and Republican candidates. The 1988 and 1992 presidential elections experienced dramatic changes in candidate support over the course of the campaign: the level of support for the candidates completely reversed itself from early summer to election day. They argued that changes in polls are primarily responsive to campaign events during the campaign

and campaign events assist voters to acquire their enlightened preferences by the end of the campaign.

Meanwhile, party conventions, presidential debates, and other campaign events influence candidates' standing in presidential election opinion polls (Campbell et al. 1992; Geer 1988; Holbrook 1994; Hillygus and Jackman 2003; Shaw 1999). Geer (1988) found that presidential debates reinforce many voters' preferences for the candidates, but there are also sizable potential for presidential debates to change voters' candidate preferences-especially among those respondents who are undecided or are weakly committed to one of the candidates. Campbell et al. (1992) concluded that the party conventions influenced candidate support throughout the course of the campaigns, 1964-1988. With few exceptions, there was a convention bump and it typically added about 5 to 7 % to the nominee's postconvention poll standing. In addition, the first convention in the campaign sequence, held by the out-party, generated an additional but temporary increase in the nominee's support. Hillygus and Jackman (2003) found that party conventions and presidential debates influenced vote preference in complex ways during the 2000 presidential campaign. Gore increased support through the conventions, whereas Bush did so through the presidential debates. Among presidential voters, independents, undecided voters, and mismatched partisans were particularly likely to change their candidate preferences in response to the campaign events.

### **Source of Information for Voters**

Campaigns have influence on presidential electoral outcomes because voters are influenced by campaign-related factors, such as candidate personality judgments, media coverage, and television advertising (Gelman and King 1993; Popkin 1991; Salmore and

Salmore 1989; Shively 1992). According to Salmore and Salmore (1989), more attention to candidates and campaigns is particularly important because most voters nowadays receive information about candidates not from political parties but from campaign activities. Popkin (1991) argued that campaigns and the media play important roles in producing vote choice by offering information. As voters have a limited amount of information about politics and a limited knowledge of how government works, campaigns give them much of the information they reason from as they deal with their uncertainty about these matters. As campaigns reach most people through the media, the media play a critical role in shaping voters' knowledge about the links between issues and offices and their views about what kind of person a president should be. Campaigns and the media influence the voter's frame of reference, and, therefore, can change his or her vote.

Shively (1992) documented that a change in the nature of electoral change was evident around the 1950s and 1960s. Until the 1950s and 1960s, electoral change may have generally been mostly a matter of differential abstention, but since then it appears to have been mostly a matter of conversion. This shift can be explained by the fact that campaign information could be gained easily due to the advent of television, investigative reporting, face-to-face debate, and other factors that eased the flow of the campaign information. According to Gelman and King (1993), voters decide which candidate to support eventually based on their enlightened preferences. Accordingly, an important role of the campaigns and the media is to enlighten the voters – to give them sufficient information in a timely fashion so they can make up their minds relatively easily.

In sum, the findings of the literature suggest that presidential campaigns do matter in producing vote choice in presidential elections mainly by influencing vote decisions of weak

partisans, independents, and swing voters over the course of the campaign. It suggests that presidential campaigns can be decisive in close contests by swaying the decisive votes, although presidential electoral outcomes are mainly influenced by noncampaign factors, such as party strength in the electorate and retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration.



### **Chapter 3: A Theory on Campaign Effects in Korean Presidential Elections**

Do campaigns matter in Korean presidential elections? How do presidential campaigns influence vote decisions in Korean presidential elections? What roles do presidential campaigns and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year play in the electoral process? In this chapter, this study develops a theoretical framework to analyze the influence of presidential campaigns on vote choice in Korean presidential elections by applying two theories of American presidential campaigns to the Korean presidential electoral setting: Holbrook's (1996, 1994) "equilibrium" theory and Gelman and King's (1993) "enlightenment" theory.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Fundamental Variables of Korean Presidential Elections**

Holbrook (1996) argues that in each American presidential election year there exists an equilibrium level of candidate support, which can be regarded as an expected election outcome toward which voters are naturally predisposed, as found in the forecasting models of presidential elections. This natural predisposition is thought to be a function of prevailing national conditions of the election year, such as the state of the economy, party strength in the electorate, and the performance of the incumbent administration. The national political and economic conditions of the election year determine the context of the campaign, or what the candidates have to work with. The equilibrium level of candidate support is expected to change from one election year to

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<sup>3</sup> This study only deals with the influence of presidential campaigns on vote choice in Korean presidential elections. South Korea has held only five democratic presidential elections since its democratization of 1987. Accordingly, analyzing the influence of presidential campaigns on Korean presidential election outcomes (at the aggregate level) is problematic because of the small sample (Kim 1994).

the next depending on prevailing national conditions: the equilibrium is expected to favor the challenging party when the economy is sluggish and the president is unpopular, while it is expected to favor the incumbent party when the economy is growing and the president is popular.

Meanwhile, fluctuations in public opinion over the course of the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events because the national conditions of the presidential election year do not change much during the campaign. When voters receive information from campaign events during the campaign, they update their evaluations of the candidates and the evaluations translate into their vote intention (Lodge et al. 1995). Since the national conditions of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of candidate support, however, it is expected to see campaign-induced shifts in public opinion around the equilibrium level during the campaign. The effects of campaign events are related to the degree to which public opinion early in the campaign is out of the equilibrium. Presidential campaigns can have the greatest effect on changes in candidate support over the course of the campaign when early public opinion polls deviate substantially from the expected election outcome. Presidential campaigns influence public opinion over the course of the campaign, but in such a way that the eventual election outcome is close to the expected equilibrium outcome. In this way, presidential campaigns and the national conditions of the presidential election year jointly produce presidential election outcomes.

Based on the equilibrium theory, this study posits that presidential campaigns and fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections.<sup>4</sup> The fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence

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<sup>4</sup> This study employs the term, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year (Gelman and King 1993) instead of Holbrook's national conditions of the election year in order to indicate factors that influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. Gelman and King (1993) define the fundamental variables as factors that influence

voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice on election day.<sup>5</sup> Voters' eventual vote decisions are likely to change election by election according to prevailing fundamental variables of the presidential election year. Meanwhile, fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign are primarily responsive to campaign events because the fundamental variables do not vary much over the course of the campaign. When campaign events offer information during the campaign, voters update their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information (Lodge et al. 1995). The influence of campaign events is related to the degree to which voters' candidate preferences early in the campaign are different from their eventual vote decisions. In other words, the disparity between voters' preferences for the candidates in early polls and their eventual vote decisions suggests the potential influence of campaign events on vote intention over the course of the campaign. Korean presidential campaigns influence voters' candidate preferences during the campaign by assisting voters to move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign.

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presidential electoral outcomes, such as party affiliation, presidential popularity, the status of the economy, candidates' quality, values, and issue positions, ideology, region, education, income, and gender. Considering that the fundamental variables include more factors that influence vote choice in presidential elections than the national conditions, this study employs the term, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, to indicate important factors that influence voting behavior of Korean presidential elections.

<sup>5</sup> Holbrook (1996) developed a forecasting model of American presidential election outcomes from 1952 to 1992 (at the aggregate level) and, based on the results of the model, he hypothesized that the national conditions of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of the eventual election outcomes. However, this study cannot hypothesize that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of Korean presidential election outcomes. Since Korean presidential elections have been conducted only five times since the democratization of 1987, it is not plausible to develop a forecasting model of Korean presidential elections. Instead, based on the findings of previous studies on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections, this study posits that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year mainly determine vote choice in Korean presidential elections.

What factors consist of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year?

Previous studies on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections suggest that regionalism, retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration, and party identification can be included as the fundamental variables of the presidential election year.

Studies have shown that regionalism has been the most important determinant of voting behavior of Korean presidential elections. After the democratization of 1987, regionalism has emerged in Korean elections, and has been considered as one of primary factors to explain vote choice (Choi 1996; Jung 1993; Kang 2008; Kang 2004; Kim 2008; Kim 2006; Kim 1998; Kim 1994; Lee 2007; Lee 2006; Lee 1999; Lee 1998; Lee 1995; Park et al. 2008; Park 1993; Yang 2001).

Regionalism in Korean elections means that, especially in Youngnam and Honam Provinces, a political party or its candidate wins a landslide victory by gaining overwhelming candidate support from either of the two regions, far beyond the average nationwide support (Choi 1996).

In other words, it presents a Korean electoral phenomenon that regional voters in both Youngnam and Honam Provinces overwhelmingly support their “regional” party or its candidate, respectively. Table 3.1 presents how regional voters cast their ballots in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential elections.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The number of eligible voters in Honam Province is smaller than in Youngnam Province. In the 2007 presidential election, Honam voters consisted of 11% of the total eligible voters, while Youngnam voters consisted of 27% of the total eligible voters. The percentage of eligible voters in the two regions in the 2002 and 1997 presidential elections were quite similar to the 2007 presidential election. Meanwhile, two metropolitan areas, Seoul and Gyeonggi, consisted of 48% of the total eligible voters in the 2007 presidential election. It suggests that which candidate takes more votes in the two metropolitan areas significantly influence the outcome of a presidential election. To get details, refer to The National Election Commission of Republic of Korea, [www.nec.go.kr](http://www.nec.go.kr).

Table 3.1 Election Outcomes by Regions in Korean Presidential Elections (%)

|                   | <u>1997</u> |      | <u>2002</u> |      | <u>2007</u> |      |
|-------------------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
|                   | NCNP        | GNP  | MDP         | GNP  | UNDP        | GNP  |
| <b>Seoul</b>      | 44.9        | 40.9 | 51.3        | 45.0 | 24.5        | 53.2 |
| <b>Gyeonggi</b>   | 39.1        | 35.7 | 50.5        | 44.3 | 23.6        | 51.4 |
| <b>Gangwon</b>    | 23.8        | 43.2 | 41.5        | 52.5 | 18.9        | 52.0 |
| <b>Chungchong</b> | 43.9        | 27.4 | 52.5        | 41.3 | 22.6        | 37.1 |
| <b>Youngnam</b>   | 13.4        | 60.4 | 24.9        | 70.4 | 9.7         | 63.7 |
| <b>Honam</b>      | 94.4        | 3.3  | 93.2        | 4.9  | 80.0        | 9.0  |
| <b>Jeju</b>       | 40.6        | 36.6 | 56.1        | 39.9 | 32.7        | 38.7 |
| <b>Nationwide</b> | 42.9        | 35.4 | 52.9        | 42.6 | 30.3        | 43.6 |

Source: Trial-Heats of the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Presidential Elections (Gallup Korea 1998, 2003, 2008).

NCNP: National Congress for New Politics; GNP: Grand National Party; MDP: Millennium Democratic Party; UNDP: United New Democratic Party.

Notes: (1) NCNP, MDP, and UNDP were the regional party of Honam Province; (2) GNP was the regional party of Youngnam Province.

As seen in Table 3.1, regional voters in Honam and Youngnam Provinces supported their regional party, respectively, far beyond the average nationwide support.<sup>7</sup> Honam voters' support for their regional party candidate is noticeable since the regional party candidate swept over 80% of voter support from the region in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections. Although they cast their ballots to their regional party candidate lower than their regional rival (Honam voters), Youngnam voters also expressed regionalism by consistently supporting their regional party candidate far beyond the average nationwide support in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections.

<sup>7</sup> The candidate of NCNP was Kim, Dae-Jung and Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate of GNP in 1997. Roh, Moo-Hyun was the candidate of MDP and the candidate of GNP was Lee, Hoi-Chang in 2002. The candidate of UNDP was Chung, Dong-Young and Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate of GNP in 2007. The GNP is a conservative party, while NCNP, MDP, and UNDP represent a liberal counterpart of GNP. The liberal party changed its name frequently only to win the election without noticeably changing its platform and members. It suggests the weak institutionalization of Korean political parties. The candidates of the two major parties only had a real chance to win the presidential elections.

The main reason why regionalism has dominated the electoral process of Korean elections is that alternative social cleavages, such as religion, class, and ideology, were not developed well after the political cleavage between democratization and anti-democratization was vanished by the democratization of 1987 (Hwang 2002). Given the underdevelopment of alternative social cleavages and the severely uneven socioeconomic development between the regions, politicians have mobilized regional rivalry as a main tool for electoral appeal and such appeal has been well responded by voters whose collective identity is based on regional ties. Each party has dominated the votes of its regional home base while garnering only limited support from outside of its regional base (Kang and Jaung 1999). In short, under the condition that alternative social cleavages did not influence the electoral process, regionalism has emerged the decisive factor of vote choice in Korean elections (Choi and Jo 2005).

Retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration and party identification have also influenced voting behavior of Korean presidential elections (Jeong and Oh 2008; Kim 2008; Kim 2007; Kwon 2008; Lee 2006; Lee 1999; Lee 1998; Lee and Jeong 2008, 2007; Park et al. 2008). The influence of retrospective voting on vote choice could be small in Korean presidential elections because president of Korea can have only one five-year term (Lee 2006). However, an incumbent party candidate cannot be free from voters' evaluations of governmental performance since the candidate runs for president with the incumbent party label (Lee 2006, 43). In addition, retrospective evaluations of the job of the incumbent administration significantly influenced vote choice in the 2007 presidential election (Jeong and Oh 2008; Kim 2008; Kwon 2008; Park et al. 2008): voters' disappointment in the incumbent administration mainly by its poor economic performance played an important role in voter support for the opposition party candidate.

Party identification has an impact on vote choice in the 2002 and 2007 presidential elections (Kim 2008; Kim 2007; Kwon 2008; Lee 2006; Park et al. 2008). For example, Kwon (2008) found that most voters who supported the opposition party voted for the challenging party candidate in the 2007 presidential election. Kim (2007) also found a positive relationship between the level of political sophistication and use of partisan cues. Sophisticated Korean voters were more likely to rely on partisan cues for their vote decisions in the 2002 presidential election.

However, the effects of both retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration and party identification on vote choice have been limited by the influence of regionalism on vote decision. As we examined earlier, regional cleavage has been the most dominant cleavage line since the democratic transition and it has played a powerful role in framing candidates' appeal and vote decisions in Korean presidential elections. Accordingly to Kim (1995), voting behavior of Korean presidential elections can be explained well with a few variables. With only two variables, regionalism and age, about 75% of vote choice in the 1992 presidential election could be explained (Kim 1994). Moreover, economic voting was found in the 1997 presidential election but its impact was limited by regionalism (Lee 1998). Likewise, the retrospective voting model did not work well in the 1997 presidential election because the issue of economic crisis in 1997 was limited by regionalism in the election: voter evaluations of which party is to blame for the economic crisis were in line with the regional cleavage (Kang and Jaung 1999).

In short, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year include regionalism, retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration, and party identification. This study posits that these fundamental variables influence vote intention before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential

elections. The fundamental variables influence vote intention before the campaign gets under way. Campaign events then assist voters more aware of the fundamental variables by offering information over the course of the campaign. As a result, voters move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign. This study will analyze whether the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence vote intention before and after the campaign and how they interact with campaign events over the course of the campaign.

### **Presidential Campaigns in Korean Presidential Elections**

How can Korean presidential campaigns influence voters' candidate preferences? What roles do Korean presidential campaigns play in the electoral process? How can Korean presidential campaigns interact with the fundamental variables of the presidential election year? Previous studies on American presidential campaigns suggest that presidential campaigns influence public opinion during the campaign because the number of late deciders is growing (Flanigan and Zingale 1987; Holbrook 1996; Petrocik 1996), voters' preferences for the candidates fluctuate over the course of the campaign (Allsop and Weisberg 1998; Campbell et al. 1992; Geer 1988; Gelman and King 1993; Holbrook 1994; Shaw 1999; Hillygus and Jackman 2003), and campaign information influences voters' candidate support over the course of the campaign (Gelman and King 1993; Popkin 1991; Salmore and Salmore 1989; Shively 1992).

Public opinion during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential campaigns shows that Korean presidential elections have experienced that a number of voters decide their vote intention during the campaign, that public opinion fluctuate over the course of the campaign, and that campaign information functions as a primary source of information for voters. In 1997, about 52% of voters did not make up their minds until two or three weeks before election day



(Gallup Korea 1998) and about 40% of voters did not decide for which candidate they would vote until two weeks before election day in 2002 (Lee 2006). Likewise, about 36% of voters made their vote choices within one week before election day in 2007 (Gallup Korea 2008). Independents and weak partisans consisted of most of the late deciders and they were likely to make up their minds during the campaign by receiving new information generated by campaign-related factors, such as candidate personality judgments, television advertising, and presidential debates (Lee 2006). Their vote decisions were more influenced by the campaign-related factors than strong partisans during the campaign because they did not have a loyalty to a party (Kim et al. 2003). The evidence that Korean presidential elections have experienced a number of later deciders suggests that presidential campaigns can influence voters' preferences for the candidates over the course of the campaign.

As in Figure 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, voters' candidate preferences fluctuated throughout the three Korean presidential election years. Moreover, the front-runner was reversed three times in 2002 and once in 1997. Although the front-runner was not changed in 2007, voters' candidate preferences also fluctuated throughout the election year. The fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign suggest that campaign events can influence voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. It is because changes in vote intention during the campaign are likely to be primarily in response to campaign events since the fundamental variables of the presidential election year do not vary much during the campaign and, hence, they are not likely to influence changes in voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign.

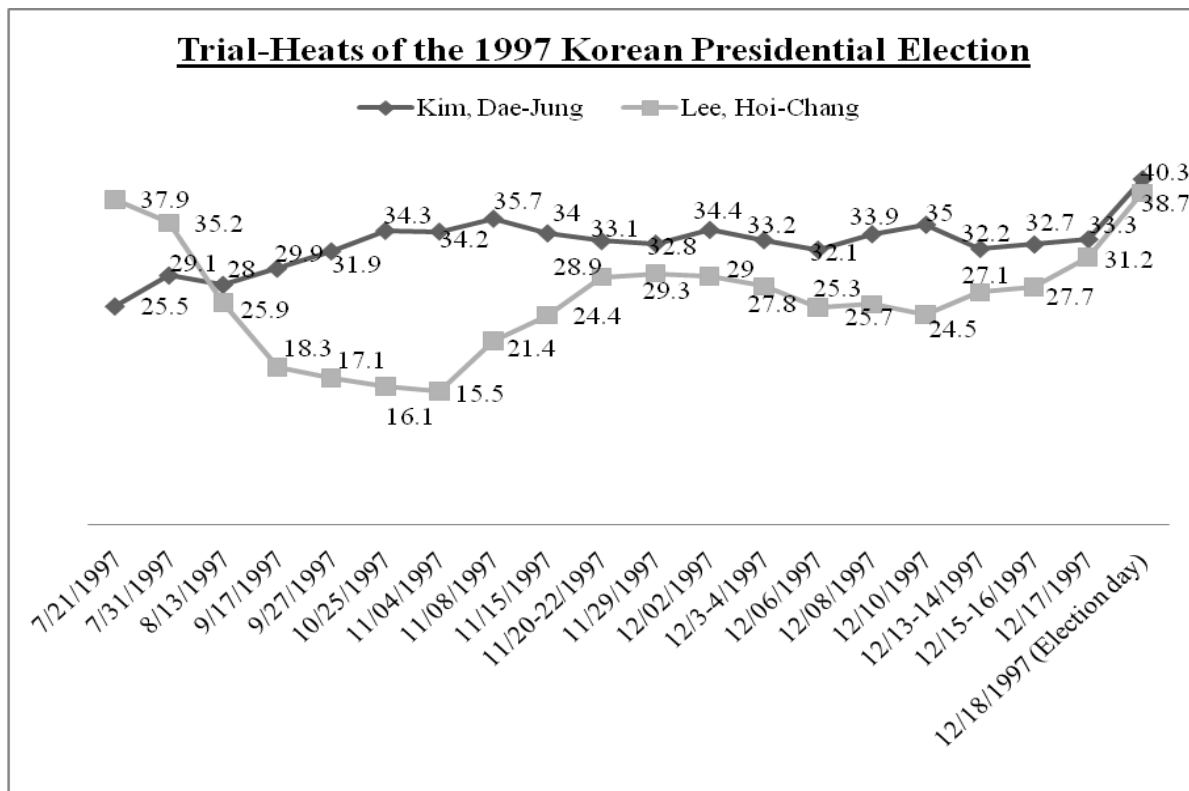


Figure 3.1 Trial-Heat Polls in the 1997 Korean Presidential Election

Source: Trial-Heats of the 1997 Presidential Election (Gallup Korea 1998).

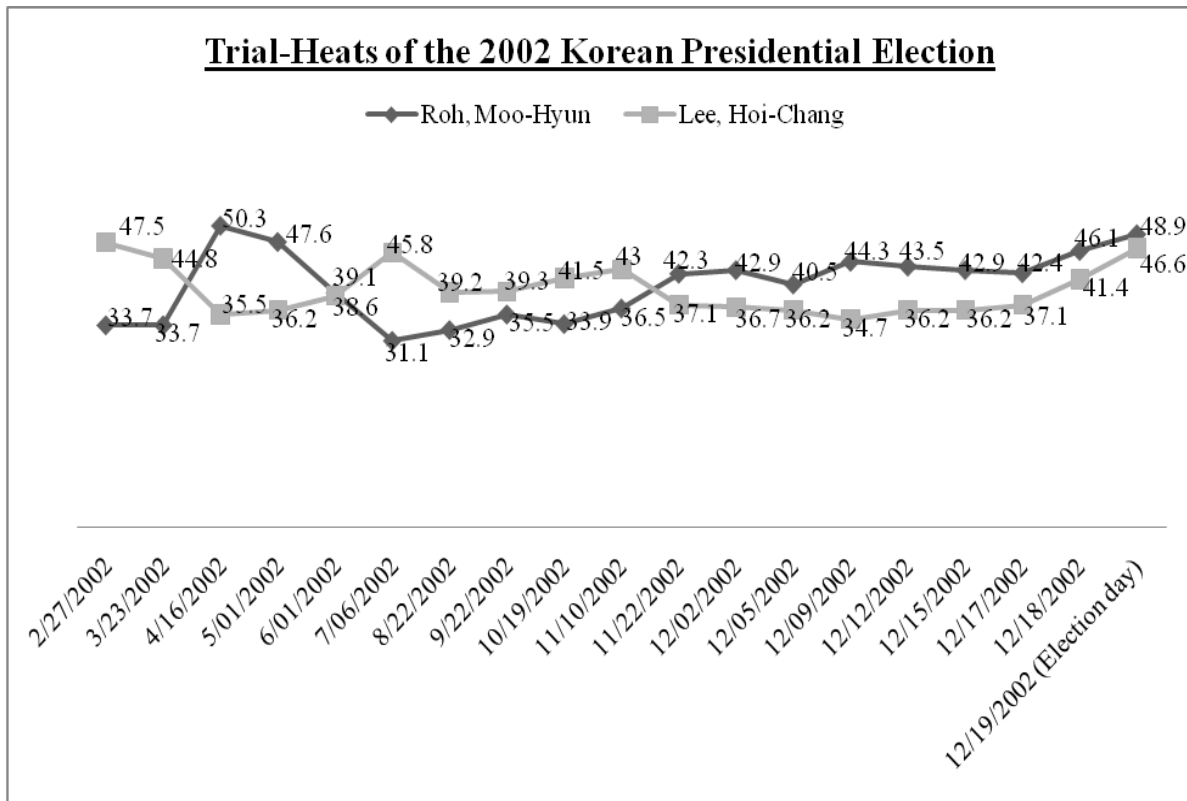


Figure 3.2 Trial-Heat Polls in the 2002 Korean Presidential Election

Source: Trial-Heats of the 2002 Presidential Election (Gallup Korea 2003).

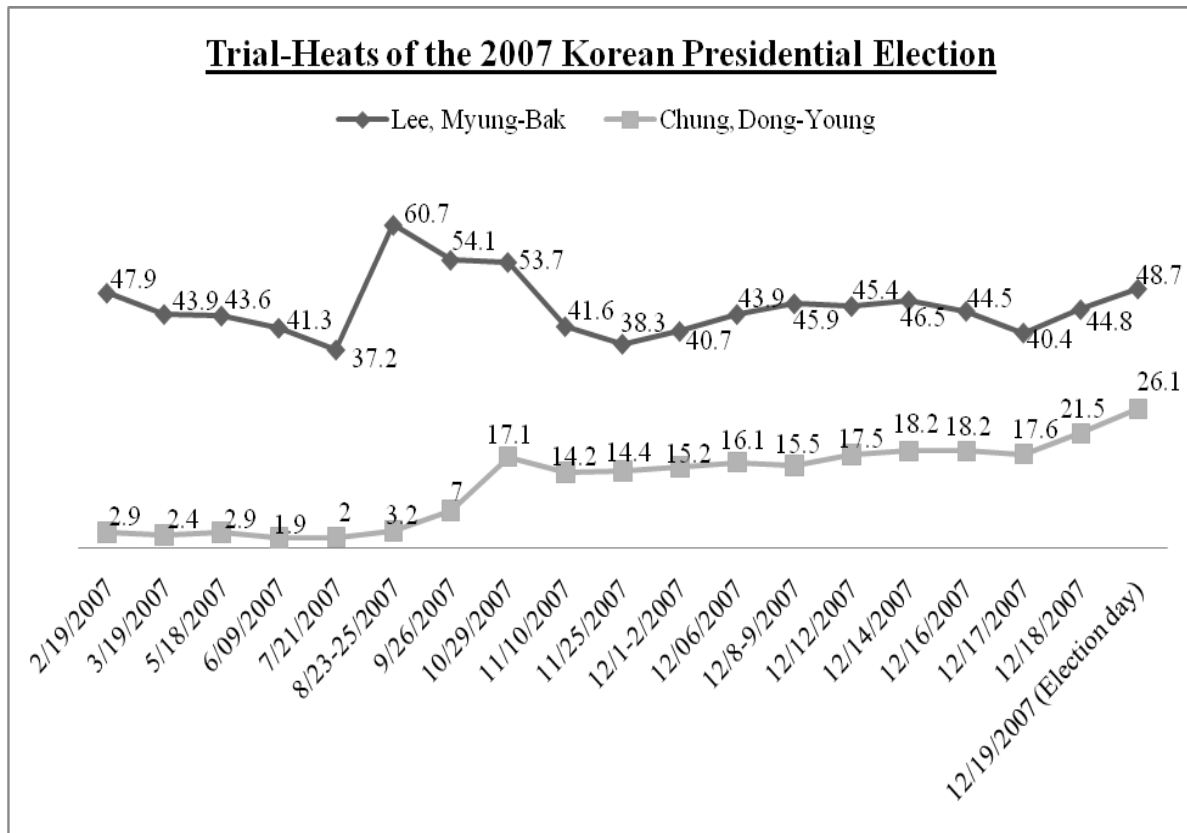


Figure 3.3 Trial-Heat Polls in the 2007 Korean Presidential Election

Source: Trial-Heats of the 2007 Presidential Election (Gallup Korea 2008).

Campaign events and the media have influenced vote choice in contemporary Korean presidential elections by offering information. Since the introduction of media politics to Korean presidential elections in 1997, campaign events and the media have functioned as the main source of information during the campaign. In the 1997 presidential election, 82% of voters reported that campaign events, via the media, such as presidential debates, campaign speeches, news reports, and campaign advertising, influenced their vote decisions (Kang 2003). In the 2002 presidential election, 67% of voters answered that campaign events on television affected their vote choice (Kang 2003). Likewise, voters reported that their vote decisions were significantly influenced by the media campaigns, such as presidential debates (33%), television and newspaper reports (28.6%), and campaign advertising (8.7%), in the 2007 presidential election

(Gallup Korea 2008). These findings suggest that presidential campaigns can influence voters' candidate preferences by providing voters with information about the candidates over the course of the campaign.

Based on the evidence of the potential influence of Korean presidential campaigns on voters' preferences for the candidates during the campaign, this study posits that fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events. To explore the way campaign events influence voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign, this study attempts to apply the "enlightenment" theory (Gelman and King 1993) to Korean presidential elections.<sup>8</sup> Gelman and King (1993) argue that voters cast their ballots in presidential elections based on their 'enlightened' preferences. *Enlightenment* means that voters become to learn more about the values of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as party identification, the state of the economy, presidential popularity, and candidates' quality, values, and issue positions, to make informed judgments. However, the enlightened preferences do not require that voters be able to discuss these preferences intelligently. Instead, it is required that voters know enough that their vote decisions are based on the true values of the fundamental variables.

At the start of the campaign, voters do not have sufficient information necessary to make enlightened voting decisions. When a pollster asks them for which candidate they will vote in November, most respondents report their 'likely' voting decisions even if they have not gathered sufficient information about the fundamental variables. This suggests that the survey response

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<sup>8</sup> Although the equilibrium theory offers a theoretical ground for the way that campaign events influence voters' candidate preferences during the campaign, it does not show clearly how individual voters respond to campaign events and approach their eventual vote decisions over the course of the campaign. The enlightenment theory suggests a way that individual voters respond to campaign events and develop their candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign.

could be based on a different information set from what will be available by the time of the election. It will be different from the eventual vote choice to the extent that the voter's information set improves over the course of the campaign. Therefore, presidential campaigns are important in producing the eventual result of the election. Presidential campaigns play a central role in providing voters with information so that they become more aware of the fundamental variables over the course of the campaign; notably, the candidates' ideologies and their issue positions.<sup>9</sup> As voters become more enlightened, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign, the importance of the fundamental variables in voters' candidate preferences is increasing because voters' enlightened preferences mean that voters become more sensitive to the fundamental variables for their vote decisions.

However, in American presidential elections, subgroups of the electorate, categorized by the fundamental variables, such as Democrats, Republicans, independents, whites, non-whites, Southerners, and non-Southerners, develop distinctive enlightened preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign. It is because the fundamental variables distinctively influence their candidate preferences before the campaign gets under way. When campaign events occur during the campaign, based on the fundamental variables, individual subgroups adjust their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information and messages (Lodge et al. 1995).<sup>10</sup> As the subgroups learn more about the values of the

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<sup>9</sup> This process depends on the media and they can continue to make the campaign relatively fair by giving the candidates a reasonable opportunity to express their views and, hence, they continue to help inform the voters (Gelman and King 1993, 434-435). All this will assist in making voters aware of where the candidates stand in the campaign issues, and help them learn more about the fundamental variables. Delivering information about candidates' quality, values, and issue positions is therefore the most important role of the media (Gelman and King 1993, 448-449).

<sup>10</sup> Gelman and King find that the enlightenment has the largest effect on independents because they tend to be on

fundamental variables, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign, the importance of the fundamental variables in their vote decisions is increasing toward the end of the campaign. Accordingly, individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. As a result, voters' candidate preferences are getting closer to the expected election outcome, predicted by the fundamental variables before the campaign begins, toward the end of the campaign.<sup>11</sup>

Based on the enlightenment theory, this study posits that the main role of Korean presidential campaigns is to enlighten voters by providing them with information so that voters learn more about the fundamental variables of the presidential election year over the course of the campaign. Previous studies on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections suggest that regionalism, retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration, and party identification can be included as the fundamental variables. At the start of the campaign, voters have less information about the fundamental variables. In other words, voters do not have the information necessary to make their enlightened voting decisions, which means that Korean voters know enough that their vote decisions are based on the true values of the fundamental variables. When pollsters ask respondents for which candidate they will vote in December early in the campaign, therefore, most respondents are likely to choose a candidate based on a low level of information about the fundamental variables. Thus, respondents' preferences for the

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the margin in voters' preferences for the candidates. Changes in information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions, via campaign events, produce larger shifts in vote intention of independents than partisans who are not near the margin (1993, 440-441).

<sup>11</sup> Gelman and King point out that the theoretical assumptions depend on both major candidates running relatively effective campaigns. If one candidate were to slack off and not campaign as hard as usual, the campaigns would not be balanced and the eventual election outcome would be significantly different from the expected outcome (1993, 435).

candidates early in the campaign could be quite different from their candidate preferences by the end of the campaign. The difference in voters' candidate preferences before and after the campaign depends on the degree to which campaign events improve their information about the fundamental variables over the course of the campaign. As campaign events offer information over the course of the campaign, voters are likely to develop their enlightened preferences toward the end of the campaign.

What information do campaign events offer voters to develop their enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign? Korean politics has experienced the weak institutionalization of political parties and, as a result, what matters in Korean presidential elections is a candidate, not a party (Jin 2008; Kang and Jaung 1999). In addition, information about the candidates is not available much before the campaign begins (Lee 2006). Accordingly, voters are likely to rely on campaign events, via the media, to gather information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions during the campaign. When voters receive information about the candidates through campaign events over the course of the campaign, they are likely to adjust their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information (Lodge et al. 1995) and develop their enlightened preferences by the end of the campaign.<sup>12</sup> It suggests that presidential campaigns play a central role in providing voters with

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<sup>12</sup> Survey data show the significance of a candidate in Korean presidential elections. According to the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Presidential Election Studies, voters considered the candidates' capability (including their integrity) most important for their vote decisions. In 1997, 49% of respondents answered that they considered 'candidate/candidate's capability' most important for their vote decisions, while 6% of them picked 'political party' as the most important consideration for their vote choice. In 2002, 56% of respondents reported that 'candidate/candidate's capability' was their top consideration for their vote choice, whereas 8% of them ranked 'political party' at the top of the list. In 2007, 33% of respondents answered that 'candidate's capability' was the most serious consideration for their vote decisions, while 11% of respondents picked 'political party' as their top consideration.



information about the candidates over the course of the campaign and assisting voters to learn more about the fundamental variables.

However, subgroups of the electorate, categorized by the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), partisans, independents, and voters who approve or disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration, are likely to develop distinctive enlightened preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign. It is because the fundamental variables distinctively influence individual subgroups' candidate preferences before the campaign begins. For example, Honam voters' candidate preferences are quite different from Youngnam voters' preferences for the candidates at the beginning of the campaign. According to a July 22 survey, 75% of Honam voters supported Kim, Dae-Jung and 64.5% of Youngnam voters supported Lee, Hoi-Chang before the 1997 presidential campaign got under way (Korean Social Science Data Center 1997). The finding suggests that regional voters have quite different candidate preferences in terms of the influence of regionalism on their vote intention before the campaign begins.

As campaign events provide them with information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions during the campaign, therefore, individual subgroups are likely to develop distinctive enlightened preferences, based on the fundamental variables. It means that individual subgroups become more sensitive to the fundamental variables through campaign events and, therefore, the importance of the fundamental variables in the subgroups' candidate preferences is increasing over the course of the campaign. As a result, individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. Such difference in the enlightenment among individual subgroups accounts for fluctuations in public opinion during the campaign. In other words, voter

perceptions of the importance of the fundamental variables in their candidate preferences, via campaign events, explain changes in voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign.

The theoretical assumptions about how Korean presidential voters develop their enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign suggest the way that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year interact with campaign events during the campaign. The fundamental variables influence voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. However, voters have less information about the fundamental variables at the beginning of the campaign. As campaign events provide subgroups of the electorate with information about the candidates, individual subgroups learn more about the fundamental variables and, hence, the importance of the fundamental variables in their candidate preferences is increasing over the course of the campaign. As a result, the influence of the fundamental variables on the subgroups' candidate preferences becomes greater and their candidate preferences move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign.

In this way, campaign events interact with the fundamental variables of the presidential election year during the campaign: campaign events assist voters to learn more about the fundamental variables to develop their enlightened preferences. The extent that voters are aware of the fundamental variables depends on how much campaign events make changes in information about the candidates over the course of the campaign. It suggests that presidential campaigns play an important role in producing the eventual vote choice. As a result of the enlightenment, voters' candidate preferences move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign.

## **Chapter 4: The Influence of the Fundamental Variables on Vote Intention**

This study posits that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, such as regionalism, party identification, and retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration, influence voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. Meanwhile, fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events because the fundamental variables do not vary much during the campaign. In this chapter, this study examines whether the fundamental variables influence voters' candidate preferences before the campaign gets under way and mainly determine the eventual vote choice on election day. Moreover, it is examined whether the fundamental variables change much during the campaign.

### **Fundamental Variables & Vote Intention in Korean Presidential Elections**

To examine whether the fundamental variables of the presidential election year have an impact on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice on election day, this study empirically tests the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention before the campaign began and on the eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential elections. The dependent variable of the analysis is vote intention. There is a question in the survey data, conducted during the campaign, "Which of the following candidate would you vote for if they run for president in this presidential election?" Meanwhile, there is a question in the survey data, conducted right after election day, "Who did you vote for in this presidential election?" It is measured with a dichotomous variable

scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate and scored 0 for those who voted for other candidate. Lee, Hoi-Chang of Grand National Party (GNP) was the incumbent party candidate in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of United New Democratic Party (UNDP) in 2007.

The main independent variables are regionalism, party identification, and retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration.<sup>13</sup> Considering that the regional cleavage in Korean presidential elections is substantial for voters whose hometown is either Honam or Yeongnam Province, two dichotomous variables are included to measure regionalism. There is a question in the data asking, “Where is your hometown?” Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent’s hometown is Honam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Honam Province are Kim, Dae-Jung of the opposition National Congress for New Politics (NCNP) in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of the incumbent MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of the incumbent UNDP in 2007. It is expected that Honam voters were more likely to support their regional party candidate than other candidates in the presidential election. Meanwhile, it is scored 1 if a respondent’s hometown is Yeongnam Province, 0 otherwise. The

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<sup>13</sup> When it comes to explaining vote choice of Korean presidential elections, party identification and regionalism can be interrelated each other. Voters can support a candidate because their hometown is the regional base of his party as well as they support his party. However, they are not the identical group of voters. Some voters support the candidate although his party is not regionally based on their hometown. They favor the candidate since his party is their most preferred party. For example, the 1997 Korean Election Study showed that 84% of respondents whose hometown is Honam Province supported Kim, Dae-Jung’s NCNP (220/263), while 23% of respondents whose hometown is not Honam Province favored Kim’s NCNP (215/933). It shows that the number of Kim’s supporters was almost evenly divided between the two groups, but voters whose hometown is Honam Province expressed more homogeneous vote intention than those who supported Kim’s party but their hometown is not Honam Province. It suggests that dividing subgroups of the electorate into partisans and regional voters is appropriate in examining distinctive candidate preferences among the subgroups. The same logic can be applied to the relationship between party identification and presidential approval.

regional party candidates of Youngnam Province are Lee, Hoi-Chang of the incumbent GNP in 1997, Lee, Hoi-Chang of the opposition GNP in 2002, and Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition GNP in 2007. It is anticipated that Youngnam voters were more likely to support their regional party candidate than other candidates in the presidential election.

For party identification, a dummy variable measures whether a respondent supported the incumbent party candidate. There is a question in the data, “Which party do you support?” It is coded as 1 if a respondent supported the incumbent party, 0 if others. GNP was the incumbent party in 1997, MDP in 2002, and UNDP in 2007. It is expected that the incumbent party supporters were more likely to support the incumbent party candidate than other candidates in the presidential election.

Finally, retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration are captured with presidential approval: the degree to which the respondent approves of the job of the president. Other variables, such as evaluations of the state of the economy and satisfaction with personal finances, were not included in the model because they are not all available for every election year.<sup>14</sup> There is a question in the data, “How do you evaluate the performance of the president?” Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent approved of the job of the president, while 0 is assigned if a respondent disapproved of the performance of the president. It is anticipated that voters who approved of the job of the president were more likely to support the incumbent party candidate than other candidates in the presidential election.

In the meantime, based on the findings of previous studies on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections, control variables are employed to capture the influence of

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<sup>14</sup> Holbrook (1996) found that with presidential approval in the equation, economic variables rarely have a significant effect on vote choice. Therefore, it should be acceptable to employ presidential approval to measure retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration.

sociodemographic characteristics on vote choice in Korean presidential elections: age, education, and income. Categorical variables are assigned to measure the control variables: numerical values from 1 (29 or below) to 4 (50 or over) are assigned for age; 1 (middle school diploma or below) to 3 (college degree or over) for education; and 1 (149 million won or below) to 3 (250 million won or over) for income.

This study employs survey data and Korean Election Study data for the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, and panel survey data for the 2007 Korean presidential election. For the 1997 presidential election, a July 22 survey is employed to measure the impact of the fundamental variables on vote intention before the campaign began. The 1997 Korean Election Study data, collected right after election day, is used to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice. For the 2002 presidential election, this study employs a July 2 survey to examine the impact of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign started and the 2002 Korean Election Study data, conducted right after election day, to measure the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice. The data for the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections are made available by Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC).<sup>15</sup>

For the 2007 presidential election, 2007 presidential election panel survey data are employed. Six panel surveys were conducted during the 2007 presidential election year. The third wave panel survey, conducted on October 17, is used to measure the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention before the campaign got under way, and the sixth wave panel survey, conducted right after election day, is employed to examine the impact of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice. The panel survey data for the 2007

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<sup>15</sup> The data are available at KSDC website, [www.ksdc.re.kr](http://www.ksdc.re.kr).

presidential election are made available by East Asia Institute (EAI).<sup>16</sup> Logistic regression analysis is employed to empirically test the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on vote intention before and after the campaign. Table 4.1 describes all the variables included in the models. Table 4.2 present the results of analysis on the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on vote intention before the campaign began and on the eventual vote choice at the individual level in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential elections.

Table 4.1 Variables Included in the Models of Vote Intention  
before and after the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean Presidential Campaigns

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Vote choice  | 1 = Incumbent party candidate, 0 = other   |
| Honam        | 1 = A respondent's hometown is Honam, 0 = other  |
| Youngnam     | 1 = A respondent's hometown is Youngnam, 0 = other   |
| Partisanship | 1 = Incumbent party supporter, 0 = other   |
| Approval     | 1 = Approve of the job of the president, 0 = Disapprove                                    |
| Age          | 1= 29 or below, 2=30-39, 3=40-49, 4=50 or over   |
| Income       | 1 = 149 or below, 2 = 150-249, 3 = 250 or over (unit: million won)                         |
| Education    | 1 = Middle school diploma or below, 2 = High school diploma,<br>3 = College degree or over |

<sup>16</sup> The data are available at EAI website, [www.eai.or.kr](http://www.eai.or.kr).

Table 4.2 Logistic Regression Analysis of Vote Intention  
before and after the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean Presidential Campaigns

|                       | <u>1997</u> |           | <u>2002</u> |          | <u>2007</u> |           |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|
|                       | Before      | Eventual  | Before      | Eventual | Before      | Eventual  |
| Honam                 | -2.117***   | -3.303*** | .868***     | 2.306*** | .717***     | 1.756***  |
| Youngnam              | .772***     | .792***   | -.736***    | -.809*** | -.330***    | -.626***  |
| Party identification  | 2.218***    | 3.737***  | 1.880***    | 2.711*** | 2.611***    | 3.336***  |
| Presidential Approval | -           | -         | .646***     | 1.468*** | .402***     | .760***   |
| Age                   | .026***     | .028***   | -.337***    | -.030*** | -.004       | -.012     |
| Income                | -.020       | .110      | .013        | .039     | -.002       | -.019     |
| Education             | .090        | .288***   | -.139       | -.119    | -.349***    | -.095     |
| Constant              | -1.139***   | -2.939*** | .963***     | .933***  | -1.222***   | -1.597*** |
| Percentage Correct    | 75.3        | 80.9      | 66.9        | 74.7     | 86.1        | 88.3      |
| Model chi-square      | 330.2       | 539.9     | 231.7       | 530.2    | 596.5       | 823.1     |
| N                     | 1004        | 1057      | 1000        | 1314     | 2524        | 1944      |

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

Notes: Before = voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began.

Eventual = the eventual vote choice on election day.

The influence of presidential approval on vote intention in the 1997 presidential election is not examined because data are not available.

Table 4.2 presents the results of the analysis on the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on vote intention before the campaign began and on the eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential elections. The overall findings support that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins, and that they mainly determine the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential elections by functioning as primary factors to explain voters' eventual vote decisions. Regionalism, measured by the two dichotomous variables, Honam and Youngnam, significantly influenced vote intention before and after the campaign in the anticipated direction. Party identification also had a significant impact on voter support for the candidates before the campaign began and on the eventual vote choice in the anticipated direction. Finally, retrospective evaluations of the job of the incumbent administration, measured



by presidential approval, showed consistent influence on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began and the eventual vote choice in the expected direction.

In the meantime, the findings show that age influenced voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began and the eventual vote choice in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections. The coefficients of the variable in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections are statistically significant and in the anticipated direction that younger generations are more likely to be liberal than older generations. However, education and income did not have a consistent impact on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign got under way and the eventual vote choice in the presidential elections.

In addition to the significance of the individual coefficients, the models work well in explaining voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began and the eventual vote choice in the presidential elections. The model of measuring the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began can correctly predict candidate preferences for the majority of voters, ranging from 66.9% predicted correctly in 2002 to 86.1% predicted correctly in 2007. Similarly, the model of examining the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice can correctly predict vote choice for the majority of voters, ranging from 74.7% predicted correctly in 2002 to 88.3% predicted correctly in 2007.

The overall findings of the analysis suggest that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, regionalism, party identification, and retrospective evaluations of the incumbent administration, significantly influence voter support for the candidates throughout the presidential election year: the fundamental variables influence the way voters form their vote intention before the campaign begins and function as primary factors to explain the eventual vote choice in December.

The results of the analysis also suggest that subgroups of the electorate, such as regional voters, partisans, and voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the president, had distinctive candidate preferences before the campaign got under way and they developed their candidate preferences during the campaign based on their earlier vote intention: Honam voters had quite different vote intention from Youngnam voters before the campaign began and the difference in their vote intention became more distinctive at the end of the campaign. For instance, before the 2002 presidential campaign began, Honam voters were more likely to support their regional party candidate, Roh, Moo-Hyun, than other candidates, while Youngnam voters' support for Roh was quite low. In addition, the difference in the coefficients between Honam and Youngnam voters' support for Roh significantly increased by 1.511 (1.604 to 3.115) during the 2002 presidential campaign. The same pattern is true for partisans and voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the president. These findings suggest that the fundamental variables distinctively influence individual subgroups' vote intention before the campaign begins and each subgroup develops distinctive candidate preferences over the course of the campaign.

In addition, it is suggestive from the findings that the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention is quite different before and after the campaign. The coefficients of the fundamental variables before the campaign began are smaller than those of the variables on election day. For example, the coefficient of Homan voters increased by 1.438 (.868 to 2.306) during the 2002 presidential campaign. Similarly, the coefficient of party identification increased by 0.831 (1.880 to 2.711) during the 2002 presidential campaign. The disparity in the coefficients of the fundamental variables before and after the campaign suggests that the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention become greater over the course of the campaign.

The difference in candidate preferences among individual subgroups and the disparity in the influence of the fundamental variables before and after the campaign suggest the potential influence of campaign events during the campaign and lend support to the theory of this study. The fundamental variables of the presidential election year distinctively influence individual subgroups' vote intention before the campaign begins. However, they have less information about the fundamental variables at the start of the campaign. When campaign events offer information about the candidates during the campaign, the subgroups are likely to be more sensitive to the fundamental variables and adjust their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information. Accordingly, the importance of the fundamental variables in their vote intention is increasing over the course of the campaign and the influence of the fundamental variables on their vote intention become greater toward the end of the campaign. As a result, individual subgroups' vote intention become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign and each subgroup acquires its own enlightened vote intention by the end of the campaign.

### **Changes in the Fundamental Variables during the Campaign**

This study posits that fluctuations in public opinion during the campaign are mainly in response to campaign events because the fundamental variables of the presidential election year do not change much during the campaign. To examine whether the fundamental variables do not vary much over the course of the campaign, this study tracks how much they changed during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

## Changes in Regionalism during the Campaign

Regionalism is not likely to vary much during a short time period of the presidential campaign. Taking into account that the regional cleavage has been the most salient social cleavage since 1987 (Kang and Jaung 1999), regionalism could be regarded as a long-term factor that has been placed in voters' minds. In the 1992 presidential election, regionalism, age, and retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration significantly influenced vote choice, but the influence of regionalism is much greater in explaining the voter choice than the sum of the effects of other factors (Kim 1994; Lee 1995).

As in Table 4.2, the influence of regionalism on vote choice varied across the presidential elections mainly because of the salience of other factors in the presidential election. In 1997, regionalism, party identification, and age significantly influenced vote choice. Meanwhile, regionalism, party identification, age, and presidential approval affected vote choice in the 2002 presidential election. In the 2007 presidential election, regionalism, party identification, and presidential approval influenced vote choice although the regional cleavage was not as salient as in the preceding presidential election. These findings suggest that regionalism has had a consistent impact on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections, and that it is a long-term factor that has continued to place itself in voters' minds.

Accordingly, it is unlikely that regionalism changed much *during* the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns although its influence might change election to election. Instead, regionalism was likely to function as part of the information that voters relied on to decide their vote intention throughout the election year. In addition, regionalism was likely to play an important role in explaining changes in vote choice across the presidential elections because, as in Table 4.2, its effect varied from one election to the next.

## Changes in Presidential Approval during the Campaign

Changes in presidential approval during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns are examined in order to see whether presidential approval changed much during the campaign. Figure 4.1 presents how much presidential approval changed during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

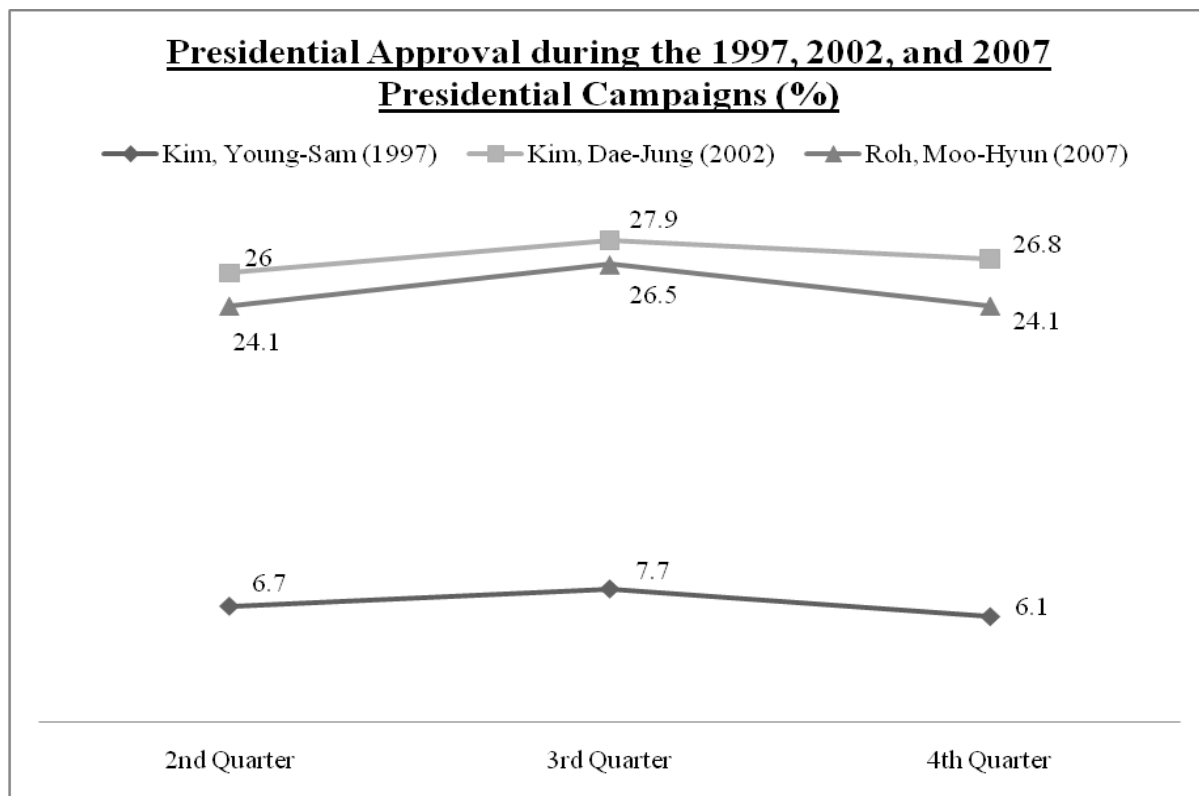


Figure 4.1 Presidential Approval during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Presidential Campaigns

Source: Trial-Heats of the 2007 Presidential Election (Gallup Korea 2008).

As in Figure 4.1, presidential approval did not change much during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns. This study defines a Korean presidential campaign season as a time period from a date when two major parties decide their nominees to election day. For the three presidential elections, two major political parties decided their nominees some time between

April and September of the election year.<sup>17</sup> Presidential approval changed by 1.6% during the 1997 presidential campaign (7.7% to 6.1%), 0.8% during the 2002 presidential campaign (26% to 26.8%), and 2.4% during the 2007 presidential campaign (26.5% to 24.1%).<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, changes in presidential approval across the elections are noticeable. The 1997 presidential campaign started with 6.7% of presidential approval, the 2002 presidential election with 26%, and the 2007 presidential election with 24.1%. The difference in presidential approval (in the second quarter) between 1997 and 2007 is 19.3% and 1.9% between 2002 and 2007. These findings suggest that an incumbent party candidate was likely to have a less favorable electoral environment in 1997 than in 2002 and 2007, and that retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration could significantly influence changes in vote choice across the presidential elections.

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<sup>17</sup> Chapter 5 deals with how to define a Korean presidential campaign season in detail.

<sup>18</sup> President of Korea can have only one five-year term since 1987. Presidential approval ratings for the three Presidents fluctuated much during their terms. Each of them started his term with a higher approval rating. President Kim, Young-Sam started his term with 70.9%, Kim, Dae-Jung with 70.7%, and Roh, Moo-Hyun with 59.6%. However, they steadily lost popular support over time although there were some spikes during their terms. The first quarter of their second year in office showed that the approval rating of President Kim, Young-Sam was 55%, Kim, Dae-Jung 59.6%, and Roh, Moo-Hyun 25%. In addition, the public approved the job of President Kim, Young-Sam by 36.7%, Kim, Dae-Jung by 48.5%, and Roh, Moo-Hyun by 32.5% in the first quarter of their third year in office. Finally, the first quarter of their fifth year in office showed that the approval rating of President Kim, Young-Sam was 13.9%, Kim, Dae-Jung 33%, and Roh, Moo-Hyun 16.2% (Gallup Korea 2008). These findings suggest that president of Korea usually experiences decline in popular support over time as he faces the realities of government. It is also suggestive that the pattern of changes in presidential popularity in Korea is different from the United States. In the United States, presidential approval follows a cyclical pattern over time. All presidents begin their terms with great popularity, experience parabolic declines, steadily lose popular support for about three years, and then recover some at the ends of their terms. A second term repeats the cycle and the decay, bringing hopes up once more and down again (Mueller 1970; Stimson 1976; Brace and Hinckley 1993). The main reason why the two countries show the different patterns in presidential popularity could be that president of Korea has only one five-year term, while president of the United States can have two four-year terms.

## Changes in Party Identification during the Campaign

This study examines changes in party identification during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns to see whether party identification varied much over the course of the campaign. Figure 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 present how much party identification changed over the course of the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

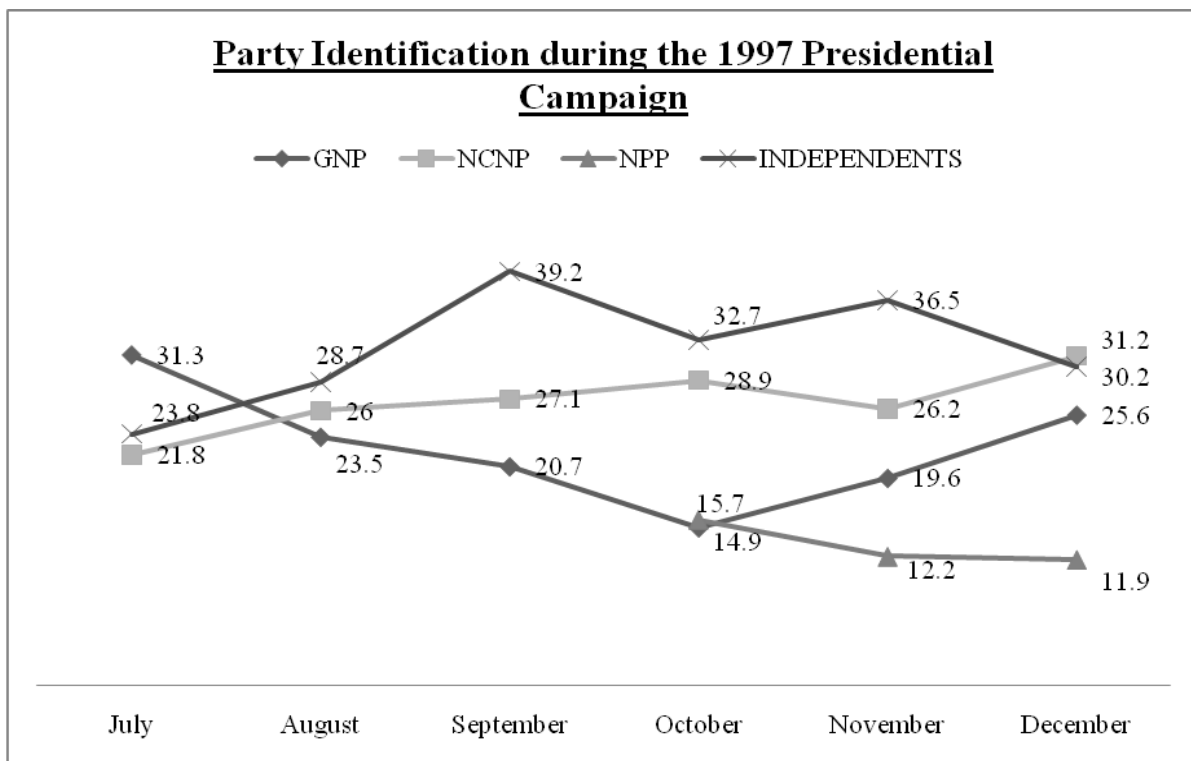


Figure 4.2 Party Identification during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Trial-Heats of the 1997 Korean Presidential Elections (Gallup Korea 1998).

GNP: Grand National Party; NCNP: National Congress for New Politics; NPP: New Party by the People.

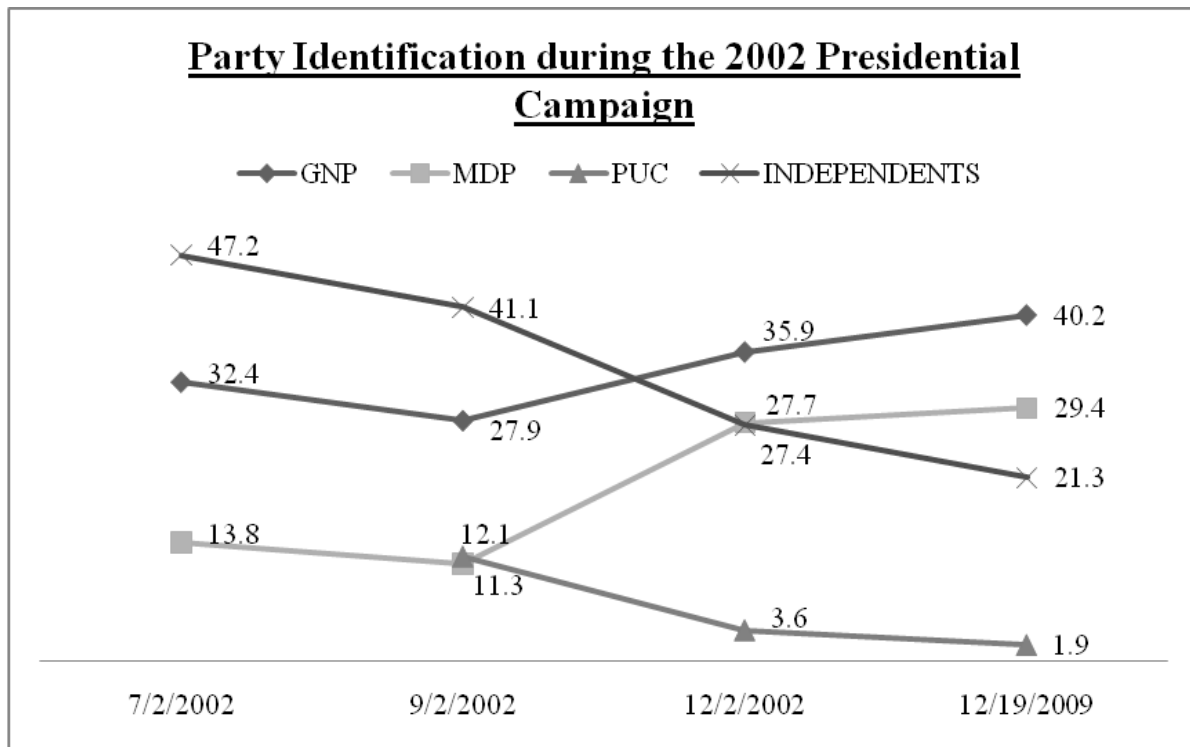


Figure 4.3 Party Identification during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Trial-heats of the 2002 Korean Presidential Election (Gallup Korea 2003).

GNP: Grand National Party; MDP: Millennium Democratic Party; PUC: People's Unity of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.



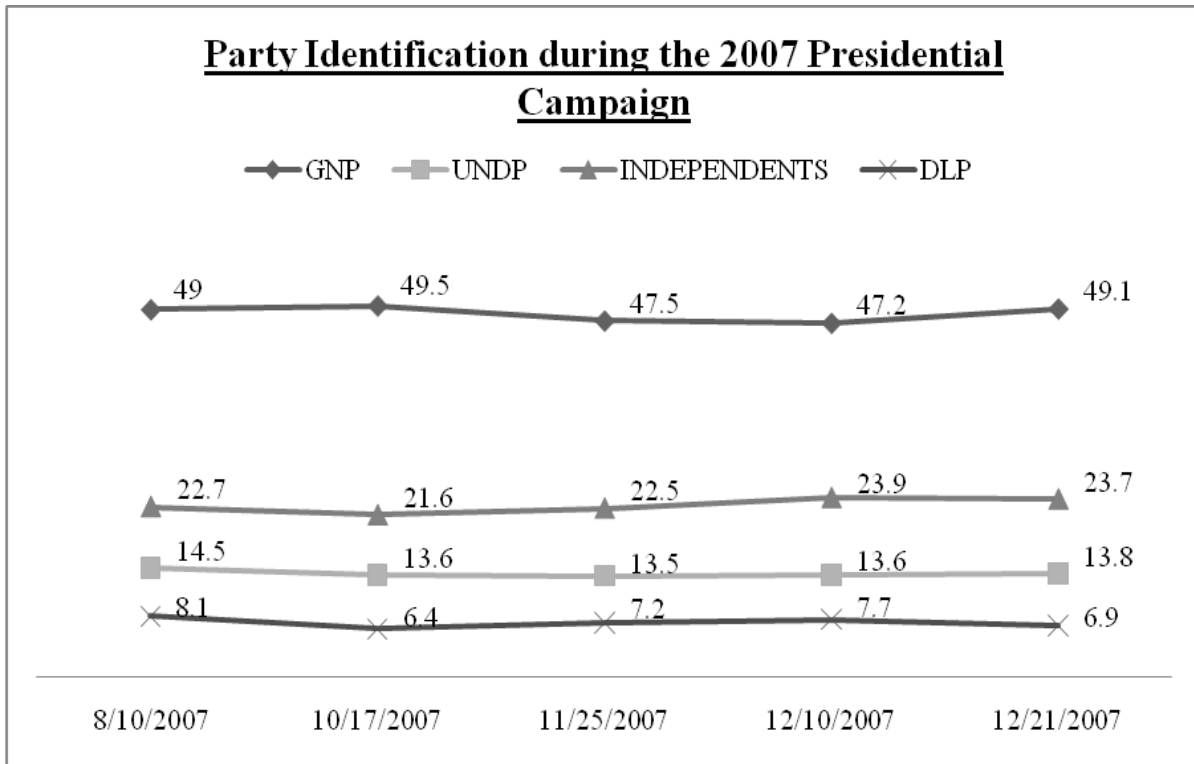


Figure 4.4 Party Identification during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: 2007 Presidential Panel Studies (East Asia Institute 2007).

GNP: Grand National Party; UNDP: United New Democratic Party; DLP: Democratic Labor Party.

As in Figure 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, party identification of Korean presidential voters did not vary a lot during the campaign. Partisans generally maintained their party affiliation without significant variations although party identification experienced some changes during the 1997 and 2002 presidential campaigns. Such changes can be explained by the emergence of a third party candidate during the campaign.<sup>19</sup> Rhee, In-Je officially declared his presidency in September 1997, created New Party of the People (NPP) with his supporters, and jumped into the presidential race.<sup>20</sup> Based on his conservative ideology and his remaining popularity in GNP,

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that changes in partisanship in Korean presidential campaigns are bigger than in American presidential campaigns. In U.S. presidential campaigns, partisanship usually stays stable (but vote intention varies) even when a third party candidate emerges.

<sup>20</sup> Rhee, In-Je, former governor of Gyeonggi Province, joined the presidential race late in the campaign season. At

he could take some GNP supporters and conservative independents. When NPP joined in the race in October, partisan support for GNP dropped by 5.8% and so did independents' support for GNP by 6.5%. However, GNP recovered voter support in November and December. Likewise, Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) lost some of voter support by the emergence of People's Unity of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (PUC) in September 2002. Chung, Mong-Joon officially declared his presidency in September 2002, created PUC with his followers, and joined the presidential race.<sup>21</sup> However, MDP could absorb PUC supporters by succeeding in forming the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun of MDP and Chung, Mong-Joon of PUC in late November.

Meanwhile, the number of independents fluctuated during the 1997 and 2002 presidential campaigns. Such fluctuations can also be explained by the emergence of the third party candidate and can also account for some changes in party identification during the campaign. It suggests that independents were more likely to respond to campaign events during the campaign and, hence, some of them were likely to move in one of the political parties during the campaign. However, the shift was likely to be evenly split between two major parties, as in Figure 4.2, and, therefore, was not likely to have much influence on changes in party identification during the campaign.

Finally, changes in party identification across the presidential elections are noticeable. For example, while GNP started the campaign season with 31.3 % support in 1997, it began the

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first, he had sought the nomination of the ruling GNP, but when he failed in winning the nomination, he left the party to run for president on his own. The refusal to accept the legitimate defeat and the defiant decision to stand in the presidential election on his own was widely considered as anti-democratic (Kang and Jaung 1999).

<sup>21</sup> Chung, Mong-Joon, a member of one of South Korea's important families, Hyundai Conglomerate, played a key role in organizing successful hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, which sent Chung's popularity skyrocketing and inspired him to run for president. He skillfully exploited his popularity to form his own party, People's Unity of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, positioned himself as a presidential candidate with a public image as a relatively young, highly educated, moderate reformist (Lee 2003).

campaign season with 47.2% support in 2002 and with 49% support in 2007. It suggests that a GNP candidate was likely to have a more favorable electoral condition in 2002 and 2007 than in 1997, and that party identification can play an important role in explaining changes in vote choice across the presidential elections.

The overall findings suggest that party identification did not vary a lot during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns although there were some changes in party identification in 1997 and 2002 largely because of the emergence of the third party candidate during the campaign. The unique feature of Korean party politics that a popular political figure can easily create a third party during the campaign and it can receive noticeable voter support reflects the weak institutionalization of Korean political parties.

In sum, the examinations of changes in the fundamental variables of the presidential election year show that the fundamental variables did not vary much during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns. It suggests that fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign are mainly influenced by campaign events. Meanwhile, it is also suggestive that prevailing fundamental variables of the presidential election year can explain changes in vote choice across Korean presidential elections because the fundamental variables mainly determine the eventual vote choice. In other words, the influence of the fundamental variables on vote choice in the presidential elections varies from one election to the next and it can explain why vote decisions are different election by election.

## **Chapter 5: Models of Korean Presidential Campaigns**

### **Defining Campaign Events in Korean Presidential Elections**

It is necessary to define campaign events of Korean presidential elections to develop models of analyzing the influence of campaign events in Korean presidential elections. In this study, campaign events are defined as events or issues that occur during the campaign season (Holbrook 1996, 1994; Shaw and Robert 2000). By this definition, campaign events include structured events of the campaign, such as presidential debates, campaign ads, and campaign speeches. Other types of events include events that come out during the campaign, such as campaign gaffes or scandals, an electoral alliance, campaign staff shake-ups, and international crisis. This definition of campaign events is appropriate to measure the overall influence of campaign events because they can occur throughout the campaign season and can influence candidate support at the time of their occurrence (Holbrook 1994, 980-981).

As campaign events are always occurring during the campaign, however, it is impractical to attempt to include every campaign event for the analysis. Instead, this study takes an approach to account for the influence of what appear to be important events during the campaign (Holbrook 1996, 126). To select important campaign events, this study sets a threshold for the choice of campaign events by referring to the findings of previous research about campaign events in Korean presidential elections, and by relying on the surveys showing voter perceptions of which campaign events they think to be important for their vote decisions. This study attempts to sort out important campaign events that could affect fluctuations in the polls during the campaign, and, hence, this approach is appropriate in the selection of campaign events.

## **Campaign Events in the 1997 Korean Presidential Election**

The 1997 presidential election experienced fluctuations in public opinion and voters' candidate preferences responded to campaign events during the campaign (Gallup Korea 1998). This study selects important campaign events that occurred during the 1997 presidential campaign as follows: the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons, the DJP alliance, and presidential debates.<sup>22</sup>

### ***The Scandal of Evading Military Service***

Lee, Hoi-Chang, the candidate of the ruling Grand National Party (GNP), had served as Supreme Court Justice, chairman of the Board of Audit and Inspection, and Prime Minister, before he ran for president in 1997. He had developed a reputation for standing up against arbitrary practices and as a “man of principle” (Kang and Jaung 1999). However, allegations that his two sons deliberately evaded mandatory military service, which were revealed to the public on July 25, greatly tarnished his image over the course of the campaign (Kang and Jaung 1999, 600). A July 31 survey showed that 63.8% of respondents did not accept Lee's explanation about the scandal that the exemption of military service for his sons was made by appropriate legal procedures (Gallup Korea 1998). Voters' negative evaluations of the scandal led voter support for Lee to significantly decrease after the scandal, showing that most voters thought his two sons evaded the military service deliberately (Gallup Korea 1998). There is no doubt, therefore, that the scandal was an important campaign event during the 1997 presidential campaign.

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<sup>22</sup> Other campaign events that took place during the 1997 campaign include economic crisis, ‘North Wind’, and Kim, Dae-Jung's campaign money. Although they were paid attention to by the media when they occurred, they did not have much influence on changes in vote intention during the campaign (Gallup Korea 1998; Kang and Jaung 1999; Lee 1999). Accordingly, they are not regarded as important campaign events in this study.

### ***The DJP Alliance***

The DJP alliance was the campaign event that changed the flow of the race dramatically (Gallup Korea 1998) and contributed to Kim, Dae-Jung's victory over Lee, Hoi-Chang (Kang and Jaung 1999). Kim, Dae-Jung's National Congress for New Politics (NCNP) succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil's United Liberal Democrats (ULD), the second largest opposition party, on November 3. In accordance with the agreement, the ULD's presidential nominee and party leader, Kim, Jong-Pil, who maintained a charismatic leadership over Chungchong Province, dropped out of the race and began to support Kim, Dae-Jung's campaign. It was called the "DJP" alliance after the English initials of their first names.

The formation of the electoral alliance between Kim, Dae-Jung and Kim, Jong-Pil was widely considered as a surprise. Given the differences in ideology and careers, the electoral alliance seemed highly unlikely. Kim, Jong-Pil, the former chief of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, was a strong conservative and one of the leaders of the 1961 military coup, while Kim, Dae-Jung was a prominent pro-democracy leader (Kang and Jaung 1999, 603). Despite the differences in ideology and careers, Kim Dae-Jung pursued the electoral alliance largely because he hoped to increase his support in Chungchong Province to win the presidential election by the help of Kim, Jong-Pil, a local favorite of the Chungchong region. Kim, Dae-Jung's failure in the 1987 and 1992 presidential elections clearly taught him that regional support was not enough for him to win presidency and, hence, making a cross-regional coalition was inevitable for him to win the 1997 presidential election. However, the public responded to the electoral alliance negatively. According to a November 4 survey, 56.6% of respondents answered that they did not support the electoral alliance largely because of quite different ideological orientations of the two parties (Gallup Korea 1998).

In contrast to the public's negative perceptions of the DJP alliance, a November 8 survey showed that voter support for Kim, Dae-Jung increased by 1.3% after the electoral alliance (Gallup Korea 1998). In addition, the 1997 presidential election outcomes suggest that the DJP alliance was a successful campaign strategy. Electoral support for Kim, Dae-Jung from Chungchong Province increased by 16.3% compared to the preceding presidential election. Considering the small margin of votes between the winner (40.3%) and the runner-up (38.7%), the increase of support in Chungchong region played an important role in Kim Dae-Jung's electoral victory over Lee, Hoi-Chang in the 1997 presidential election (Kang and Jaung 1999, 604).

### ***Presidential Debates in 1997***

A significant characteristic of the 1997 presidential election is that media politics emerged as a critical factor to wage a presidential campaign. In previous presidential elections, candidates tended to rely on public speeches in grand public squares. To exaggerate popularity, they bought a large audience with tremendous amounts of campaign money (Kang and Jaung 1999). However, the new election law prohibited outdoor mass rallies during the campaign and, hence, the 1997 presidential election became a fundamentally different game with the rise of media politics. Most candidates had to rely more on media-oriented campaigns. They took part in presidential debates several times that were watched by millions of voters. The debates were highly effective. The 1997 Korean Election Study reported that over 80% of respondents answered that presidential debates had some influence on their vote decisions. In addition, 43% of them said that the debates significantly influenced their vote choice.

## **Campaign Events in the 2002 Korean Presidential Election**

Voters' candidate preferences fluctuated much during the 2002 presidential campaign and Roh, Moo-Hyun of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) won the election with a small margin of votes after going through the neck and neck competition with Lee, Hoi-Chang of the conservative Grand National Party (GNP) over the course of the campaign. The important campaign events of the 2002 presidential election include the scandal involving President Kim Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants, Roh, Moo-Hyun's electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon, and presidential debates.<sup>23</sup>

### ***The Scandal of President Kim, Dae-Jung's Sons and Close Confidants***

Roh, Moo-Hyun won the nomination of MDP in April and his popularity in public opinion polls rose from less than 30% to about 55% by April, leading Lee, Hoi-Chang by a margin of 17% (Lee 2003). In contrast to Roh's rising popularity, Lee's popularity suffered a major setback in April when the ruling party revealed that Lee lived in a luxury apartment belonging to his relatives without paying rent, and that Lee had occupied four luxury apartments within the apartment building, in sharp contrast to the poor housing conditions of ordinary Seoul citizens. These revelations aggravated his image as one of the privileged elites in Korean society. In addition, it was reported that his daughter-in-law went to Hawaii to give birth in order to make

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<sup>23</sup> Other campaign events that occurred during the 2002 campaign include wiretapping of National Intelligence Service, deaths of two middle school girls by a U.S. military vehicle, and Roh's election promise of moving the administrative capital city to Chungchong Province. The wiretapping issue did not influence voters' preferences for the candidates at all (Gallup Korea 2003). Although the issues of moving the administrative capital city and deaths of middle school girls could have some influence on the eventual vote choice (Lee 2006), they did not have much influence on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign (Gallup Korea 2003). Therefore, they are not considered as important campaign events in this study.



her new daughter an American citizen. This was viewed as a special privilege of the Korean establishment, thereby weakening Lee's image of political integrity (Lee 2003, 67).

By early summer of the election year, however, public opinion polls showed that Roh's popularity dropped dramatically, while Lee's popularity gradually rose. Roh's declining popularity was related to the scandal involving President Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants. With the Kim administration's policy of financially supporting venture entrepreneurialism, drastic booms of venture and the inevitable busts revealed many cases of irregular activities by those managing financial and venture enterprises. Thorough investigations of some cases of cheating and manipulation of stock prices led to suspicions that some influential politicians close to the president had used inside information, peddled influence, and taken bribes. The investigations ended up with the jailing of President Kim's two sons and several key aides.

Since manipulation of stock prices, using inside information, and embezzling company funds meant that many individuals lost money on their investment, public anger grew over this type of corruption, critically damaging the image of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) as well as President Kim. The Korean public expressed its anger through voting, leading to disastrous defeats of the ruling party in the local elections, June 2002 (Lee 2003, 68-69). Roh, Moo-Hyun, the presidential candidate of the ruling MDP, could not free from the scandal. A July 6 poll reported that Lee, Hoi-Chang came to lead Roh, Moo-Hyun by a margin of 15% (Gallup Korea 2003).

### ***Roh, Moo-Hyun's Electoral Alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon***

After having had the lead of the race away by Lee, Hoi-Chang, an anti-Roh faction rose in the ruling MDP and it searched for an alternative to Roh who could defeat Lee in the

presidential election. They thought that the dark horse capable of competing with Lee was Chung, Mong-Joon, the youngest son of the late Chung, Ju-Young, the founder of Hyundai group. Chung, Mong-Joon played a key role in organizing successful hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup Korea-Japan and, as a result, his popularity skyrocketed and inspired him to run for president. He skillfully exploited his popularity to form his own party, People's Unity of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and positioned himself as a presidential candidate with a public image as a relatively young, highly educated, moderate reformist (Lee 2003). According to a July 4 poll, Chung's popularity (21.9%) soared to the level of Roh's (24.2%). August and September polls found that Chung's popularity exceeded Roh's and it approached Lee's popularity (Gallup Korea 2003).

Chung, Mong-Joon and Roh, Moo-Hyun came from opposite social classes. Chung is the richest National Assemblyman, while Roh is from a poor family background. In addition, they also had contrasting policy preferences. Chung claimed to be a moderate middle-roader, whereas Roh represented a progressive reformist camp. Although they were apart in class origin and ideological standing, both of them represented the new younger generation of Korean political leaders. Moreover, they shared one common objective: to stop Lee's bid for presidency. This led them to negotiate just a few days before the deadline for registering as a presidential candidate. Eventually, both agreed that they would hold one television debate, and the one who scored higher in a public opinion poll would run as the united candidate. The poll result favored Roh by a slight margin over Chung and, as a result, Roh became the united candidate and Chung promised to support Roh's campaign (Lee 2003).

The electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on November 24 had a significant impact on vote choice in the 2002 presidential election (Lee 2006; Lee 2003; Walker and Kang 2004). A November 25 survey reported that Roh took the position of the front-runner back from Lee, Hoi-

Chang right after the success of the electoral alliance (Gallup Korea 2003). In addition, a November 22-23 survey showed that Roh could come back to the front-runner after he just agreed to form an electoral alliance with Chung on November 15 (Gallup Korea 2003). The November 25 survey also found that the difference in candidate support between Roh and Lee increased to 6.5% after the success of the electoral alliance (Gallup Korea 2003). Finally, according to the 2002 Korean Election Study, 19.9% of respondents answered that the electoral alliance influenced most their vote decisions.

### ***Presidential Debates in 2002***

Three presidential debates were conducted during the 2002 presidential campaign and they influenced vote choice in the 2002 presidential election. According to Kang (2003), 67% of voters answered that campaign events, via the media, such as presidential debates, campaign speeches, and campaign advertising, influenced their vote decisions in the 2002 presidential election. However, the influence of presidential debates was lower than in the preceding presidential election. Election surveys conducted right after election day reported that 71% of respondents were influenced by presidential debates in the 2002 presidential election (Gallup Korea 2003), while over 80% of respondents reported that presidential debates had some influence on their vote decisions in the 1997 presidential election (Gallup Korea 1998). Although the influence of presidential debates decreased in the 2002 presidential election compared to the preceding presidential election, the findings suggest that presidential debates were important campaign events that influenced voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign.

## **Campaign Events in the 2007 Korean Presidential Election**

Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition Grand National Party (GNP) defeated Chung, Dong-Young of the ruling United New Democratic Party (UNDP) with a big margin of votes after leading the presidential race safely over the runner-up. Lee won 48.7% of the vote, while Chung captured 26.2% of the vote. Lee, Hoi-Chang, who was the unsuccessful GNP candidate in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections and stood as an independent this time, finished third with 15.1% of the vote. The 2007 presidential election did not have as many noticeable campaign events as the preceding two presidential elections. The important campaign events of the 2007 presidential election include the BBK scandal and presidential debates.

### ***The BBK Scandal***

The most important campaign event during the 2007 presidential campaign was the “BBK” scandal (Gallup Korea 2008; Jung and Oh 2008). Jeong and Oh (2008) even pointed out that the 2007 presidential campaign started with the BBK scandal and ended up with the same issue. An August 23-25 survey, conducted after Lee, Myung-Bak won the opposition GNP nomination on August 20, reported that Lee held a large lead over his potential rivals by receiving 61% of voter support in the survey (Gallup Korea 2008).

However, doubts began to emerge after his former business partner, Kim, Kyung-Jun, accused Lee, Myung-Bak of being involved in a scandal surrounding the BBK investment firm in late October. According to an October 29 survey, conducted right after the scandal was revealed to the public, voter support for Lee dropped by 1.8% compared to the preceding survey. More importantly, 26.5% of his supporters answered that they would change their vote intention if prosecutors confirmed his involvement in the scandal. It means that voter support for Lee

might decrease by over 10% in terms of the scandal (Gallup Korea 2008). Investigations on the scandal continued throughout the campaign and prosecutors finally cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the scandal on December 5. A December 6 survey reported that voter support for Lee increased by 2.2% (Gallup Korea 2008). However, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. According to a December 17 survey, voter support for Lee dropped by 4.1% compared to the preceding survey (Gallup Korea 2008).

The 2007 Korean Election Study reported that about 40% of respondents considered the BBK scandal as the campaign event that influenced their vote decisions most. There is no doubt, accordingly, that the BBK scandal was the most important campaign event during the 2007 presidential campaign.

### ***Presidential Debates in 2007***

Three presidential debates were conducted in December. According to the 2007 presidential election survey, 33% of respondents answered that presidential debates were the primary source of information for their vote decisions (Gallup Korea 2008). In addition, the 2007 Korean Election Study reported that 65% of respondents picked presidential debates as the primary factor that informed them about the candidates. Compared with the 1997 presidential election where over 80% of respondents answered that presidential debates influenced their vote decisions (Gallup Korea 1998), however, the influence of presidential debates on vote choice dropped by 15% in 2007. These overall findings suggest that presidential debates influenced vote choice in the 2007 presidential election although their effect in 2007 was less influential than in the preceding presidential elections.

### **Defining a Korean Presidential Campaign Season**

By the Korean election law, an official Korean presidential campaign lasts about three weeks before election day. However, the nation pays much attention to the presidential election throughout the election year. The media frequently report the results of trial-heat polls and campaign events throughout the election year and, hence, voters' preferences for the candidates are likely to be influenced by the polls and campaign events before the official campaign period begins. In addition, campaign events that take place during the official campaign period do not explain what motivates fluctuations in public opinion throughout the election year, as in Figure 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.

Taking into account these limitations, this study takes a middle ground in defining a Korean presidential campaign season: a time period from when both of two major political parties decide their presidential nominees to election day. This approach does not cover changes in public opinion during the entire election year. Trial heat polls, conducted before two major parties decide their presidential nominees, ask respondents their candidate preferences with the pool of presidential candidates who potentially join the presidential race. However, some candidates drop out of the race during the nomination campaign and some of them do not win the nomination. It means that trial heat polls, conducted before two major parties decide their nominees, do not reflect well vote intention in the presidential election. Accordingly, defining a Korean campaign season as a time period from the date when two major parties establish presidential candidates to election day is appropriate in analyzing campaign effects in Korean presidential elections.

The two major contenders of the 1997 presidential election were decided in July 1997. Kim, Dae-Jung won the nomination of the opposition National Congress for New Politics

(NCNP) in May and then Lee, Hoi-Chang became the candidate of the ruling Grand National Party (GNP) on July 21. Therefore, the campaign season of the 1997 presidential election last about five months from late July to election day (December 18, 1997). Meanwhile, the two main competitors of the 2002 presidential election were decided in May 2002. Roh, Moo-Hyun became the nominee of the ruling Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) on April 27, and Lee, Hoi-Chang won the nomination of the opposition Grand National Party (GNP) on May 9. Accordingly, the campaign season of the 2002 presidential election is defined as the time period between May and election day (December 19, 2002). Finally, the two major contenders of the 2007 presidential election were decided in October 2007. Lee, Myung-Bak won the nomination of the opposition Grand National Party (GNP) on August 20 and then Chung, Dong-Young became the in-party candidate of the United New Democratic Party (UNDP) on October 15. The campaign season of the 2007 presidential election last about three months from October to election day (December 19, 2007).

### **Models of Campaign Events and the Fundamental Variables**

#### **Campaign Events & Voter Support for the Candidates**

This study posits that both the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and presidential campaigns influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. The fundamental variables influence vote intention before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. Meanwhile, fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events since the fundamental variables do not vary much over the course of the campaign. Voters have less information about the fundamental variables at the start of the campaign. Presidential campaigns provide them with information about the

candidates' quality, values, and issue positions during the campaign. When campaign events offer information about the candidates, voters learn more about the fundamental variables and adjust their candidate preferences through their assessment of the campaign information. Thus, voters' candidate preferences are likely to fluctuate when campaign events occur during the campaign.

Specifically, it is expected that when a scandal is revealed to the public during the campaign, a candidate involved in the scandal is likely to experience some loss in voter support because voters' evaluations of the candidate involved in the scandal go negative and their updated evaluations of the candidates translate into their candidate preferences. Meanwhile, a candidate who succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate is likely to receive an electoral benefit from the electoral alliance because the electoral alliance can be seen as a sign of his electoral strength. Finally, after watching presidential debates, most voters are likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences because they tend to evaluate that their candidate did a better job than other candidates in the debates (Lang and Lang 1984; Yawn and Beatty 2000).<sup>24</sup> In addition, some late deciders are likely to decide their candidate preferences after watching the debates. It is expected, therefore, that voter support for the candidates will go up slightly after the debates. The theoretical assumptions about the influence of campaign events on voter support during the campaign suggest the following hypothesis:

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<sup>24</sup> The fifth wave panel survey of the 2007 presidential election reported, for instance, that the majority of respondents evaluated that their candidate did better than other candidates in the debates. 91% of Lee, Myung-Bak's supporters reported that Lee defeated his contenders in the debates, while 55% of Chung, Dong-Young's supporters answered that their candidate won the debates. The data are available at [www.eai.or.kr](http://www.eai.or.kr).



Hypothesis 1: Voters' candidate preferences are likely to fluctuate when campaign events occur during the campaign.

To empirically test hypothesis 1, this study compares voters' candidate preferences before and after campaign events at the aggregate level to see how much campaign events influence vote intention during the campaign, using the trial-heat polls of the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections, made available by Gallup Korea (2008; 2003; 1998). Respondents were asked, "Which of the following candidate would you vote for if they run for president in this presidential election?" The 1997 presidential election surveys included Lee, Hoi-Chang, Kim, Dae-Jung, Kim, Jong-Pil, and Rhee, In-Je as presidential candidates. For the 2002 presidential election, Lee, Hoi-Chang, Roh, Moo-Hyun, and Chung, Mong-Joon were included as presidential candidates in the surveys. The 2007 presidential candidates in the surveys included Lee, Myung-Bak, Chung, Dong-Young, and Lee, Hoi-Chang.

This study includes the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons, the DJP alliance, and the presidential debates as campaign events of the 1997 presidential election. For the 2002 presidential election, the scandal involving president Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants, Roh, Moo-Hyun's electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon, and presidential debates are included as campaign events. This study includes the BBK scandal and the presidential debates as campaign events of the 2007 presidential election.

In addition, this study employs intervention models to test whether changes in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign were influenced by campaign events. An intervention model is used to examine whether and how much an external event, called an intervention, such as a policy change, a strike, and a natural disaster, affects the dependent variable in time series data (Box and Tiao 1975). The dependent variables of the intervention models in this study

include vote intention for Lee, Hoi-Chang and Kim, Dae-Jung in 1997, Lee, Hoi-Chang and Roh, Moo-Hyun in 2002, and Lee, Myung-Bak and Chung, Dong-Young in 2007. Dummy variables are employed to measure the influence of campaign events on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The variable is scored 0 before a campaign event occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day.<sup>25</sup> For example, the DJP alliance occurred on November 3, 1997. The variable is scored 0 in the surveys conducted before the DJP alliance, and scored 1 in the surveys conducted after it occurred. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of campaign events on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

Meanwhile, this study employs panel data for the 2007 presidential election, and, hence, it is possible to employ an integrated model to examine whether voters switched their vote intention, via the BBK scandal, at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. The model includes the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in vote intention at the individual level after controlling for other factors that can influence changes in vote intention during the campaign. The dependent variable of the model is

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<sup>25</sup> Some may question the way of coding campaign events because it may not be clear how long a campaign event influences voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. In other words, the influence of a campaign event on voters' candidate preferences may be temporary or short-lived rather than goes through the campaign season. It is true that it is not clear how long the influence of campaign events lasts during the campaign. However, survey data suggest that campaign events are likely to influence voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. For example, the 2002 Korean Election Study reported that 19.9% of respondents answered that the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon was the campaign event that influenced most their eventual vote decisions. In addition, the 2007 Korean Election Study showed that about 40% of respondents answered that the BBK scandal significantly influenced their eventual vote choice. Therefore, the way of coding campaign events adopted in this study is appropriate to measure the influence of campaign events on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

whether a respondent switched his/her vote intention during the campaign. It is scored 0 if a respondent did not switch his/her vote intention and 1 if a respondent switched his/her vote intention during the campaign.

A dummy variable is employed to measure the influence of the BBK scandal, which was revealed to the public in late October, on changes in vote intention during the campaign.<sup>26</sup> The variable is scored 0 for the third wave panel survey, conducted before the BBK scandal occurred, and the fifth wave panel survey, conducted after the investigations report on the BBK scandal came out. It is scored 1 for the fourth wave panel survey, conducted after the BBK scandal was revealed to the public, and the sixth wave panel survey, conducted right after the election day.<sup>27</sup>

The fundamental variables include regionalism (Honam and Youngnam), party identification, and presidential approval. Two dichotomous variables are included to measure regionalism. There is a question in the data asking, “Where is your hometown?” Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent’s hometown is Honam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party

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<sup>26</sup> This study does not employ dummy variables for the 2007 presidential debates because the panel surveys were not conducted before and after each debate.

<sup>27</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred (3<sup>rd</sup> wave panel survey) and 1 after its occurrence through election day (4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys), the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, ‘BBK Video’ was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that Lee’s comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

candidates of Honam Province are Kim, Dae-Jung of the opposition National Congress for New Politics (NCNP) in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of the incumbent MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of the incumbent UNDP in 2007. Meanwhile, it is scored 1 if a respondent's hometown is Youngnam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Youngnam Province are Lee, Hoi-Chang of the incumbent GNP in 1997, Lee, Hoi-Chang of the opposition GNP in 2002, and Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition GNP in 2007.

For party identification, a dummy variable measures whether a respondent supported the incumbent party candidate. There is a question in the data, "Which party do you support?" It is coded as 1 if a respondent supported the incumbent party, 0 if others. GNP was the incumbent party in 1997, MDP in 2002, and UNDP in 2007. Meanwhile, retrospective evaluations of the performance of the incumbent administration are captured with presidential approval. There is a question in the data, "How do you evaluate the performance of the president?" Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent approved of the job of the president, while 0 is assigned if a respondent disapproved of the performance of the president.

For control variables, categorical variables are employed for age, education, and income: numerical values from 1 (29 or below) to 4 (50 or over) are assigned for age; 1 (middle school diploma or below) to 3 (college degree or over) for education; and 1 (149 million won or below) to 3 (250 million won or over) for income. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in vote intention at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in the model.

## **Campaign Events & Individual Subgroups' Candidate Preferences**

Campaign events assist Korean presidential voters to become enlightened over the course of the campaign by providing them with information about the candidates. However, the enlightenment has different influence on candidate preferences of subgroups of the electorate, such as partisans, independents, regional voters (Honam and Yeungnam voters), and voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration. It is because the fundamental variables have a distinctive impact on individual subgroups' candidate preferences before the campaign begins, as in Table 4.2. For instance, Honam voters have different candidate preferences from Yeungnam voters, and an in-party supporters show distinctive candidate preferences from an out-party supporters before the campaign gets under way. Individual subgroups are likely to develop distinctive enlightened candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign, based on the fundamental variables. Accordingly, the importance of the fundamental variables in the subgroup's candidate preferences is increasing over the course of the campaign, and as a result, individual subgroups' candidate preferences will become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the roles of the fundamental variables and campaign events in vote intention during the campaign, the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 2: Campaign events assist voters to develop their enlightened preferences by the end of the campaign. Based on their earlier candidate preferences, however, subgroups of the electorate are likely to develop distinctive candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign. As a result, individual subgroups' candidate preferences are likely to become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign.

To empirically test the hypothesis 2, this study will develop models to analyze the influence of campaign events on individual subgroups' candidate preferences in order to examine how differently the subgroups develop their enlightened preferences when campaign events provide them with information about the candidates during the campaign. Campaign events included in the analysis can be categorized as scandals, electoral alliances, and presidential debates.

### ***Scandal & Individual Subgroups' Candidate Preferences***

When a scandal is revealed to the public, voters at large are disappointed in a candidate involved in the scandal. However, changes in voters' candidate preferences after the scandal are likely to be distinctive by voters' party affiliation. When voters support a party whose candidate is involved in a scandal, some of them are expected to switch their support for their party candidate because of their disappointment in the candidate. Based on their loyalty to the party, however, they are likely to respond to the scandal more positively than other party supporters. Therefore, they are more likely to stay in their support for their party candidate than other party supporters after the scandal. In other words, when a scandal occurs, other party supporters who have supported the candidate involved in the scandal are more likely to change their vote intention than supporters of the party whose candidate is involved in the scandal because they do not have a loyalty to the party whose candidate is entangled in the scandal. Accordingly, their support for the candidate involved in the scandal is more likely to go down than supporters of the party whose candidate is entangled in the scandal.

Meanwhile, partisans who have supported other candidates who are not involved in a scandal are likely to evaluate the candidate involved in the scandal negatively and perceive that

their candidate is better qualified than the candidate suffering from the scandal.<sup>28</sup> It is expected, therefore, these opposing partisans are likely to maintain or moderately reinforce their earlier candidate preferences after the scandal. Last but not least, independents' preferences for the candidates are likely to be significantly influenced by a scandal. Independents do not have the loyalty to a party and they are likely to easily respond to short-term factors, such as campaign events, to make up their minds during the campaign (Lee 2001). When a scandal occurs, accordingly, their evaluations of the candidate involved in the scandal are likely to go negative and their updated evaluations of the candidates are expected to influence their candidate preferences. It is anticipated, accordingly, that independents' support for the candidate involved in the scandal is likely to be lowered significantly after the scandal. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the influence of a scandal on partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the campaign, the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 2-1: When a scandal occurs, supporters of the party whose candidate is involved in the scandal are less likely to decrease their support for their party candidate than other party supporters who have supported the candidate involved in the scandal. Meanwhile, partisans who have supported other candidates outside the scandal are likely to maintain their earlier vote intention after the scandal. Finally, independents' support for the candidate involved in the scandal is likely to decrease significantly after the scandal.

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<sup>28</sup> For example, when the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons was revealed during the 1997 presidential campaign, Lee's supporters responded to Lee's explanation about the scandal quite differently from Kim, Dae-Jung's supporters. A July 31 survey showed that 29% of Lee's supporters answered that his explanation was convincing, while 7% of Kim's supporters said that they were convinced by the explanation. Similarly, 49% of Lee's supporters said that his explanation was not convincing, whereas it did not make 81% of Kim's supporters convinced (Gallup Korea 1998).

When a scandal occurs during the campaign, voters' candidate preferences are also likely to be distinctive according to whether voters approve or disapprove of the way the incumbent administration is handling the job. Voters who support the incumbent administration tend to evaluate the performance of the incumbent administration relatively generously and they are likely to evaluate the incumbent party candidate positively (Jackson 1975; Lee 2006). When an in-party candidate is involved in the scandal, therefore, voters who approve of the job of the incumbent administration are more likely to evaluate the candidate positively than voters who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration. Considering that voters who approve of the job of the incumbent administration are more likely to support an in-party candidate than an out-party candidate, as in Table 4.2, the majority of voters who approve of the performance of the president are likely to maintain their support for the in-party candidate involved in the scandal although some of them are expected to change their vote intention after the scandal.

In contrast, when an in-party candidate is involved in the scandal, voters who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration are likely to evaluate the scandal negatively because the in-party candidate who runs for president with the party label is not free from voter perceptions of the job of the incumbent administration. Since voters who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration are more likely to support an out-party candidate than an in-party candidate, as in Table 4.2, those voters are likely to reinforce their earlier support for an out-party candidate after the scandal, based on their perception that their candidate is better qualified than the in-party candidate. The same theoretical assumptions can be applied to changes in candidate preferences of those who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration, but in the reversed direction, when an out-party candidate is involved in a scandal during the campaign. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the influence of a scandal on candidate



preferences of voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration, the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 2-2: When an in-party candidate is involved in a scandal, the majority of voters who approve the job of the incumbent administration are likely to remain in their support for the in-party candidate. Meanwhile, those who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration are expected to reinforce their support for an out-party candidate after the scandal.

Regional voters are expected to have distinctive candidate preferences when a scandal occurs during the campaign: Honam and Youngnam voters are expected to show distinctive evaluations of a scandal according to whether their regional party candidate is involved in the scandal. When a scandal entangles a candidate of Youngnam-based regional party, some of Youngnam voters are likely to defect from their regional party candidate because of their disappointment in the candidate. Considering that supporting their regional party candidate is a long-term factor that has been placed in regional voters' minds, however, the majority of Youngnam voters are likely to evaluate their regional party candidate generously after the scandal. Accordingly, the majority of Youngnam voters are expected to maintain their support for the regional party candidate after the scandal.

In contrast, when a candidate of Youngnam-based regional party is involved in a scandal, Honam voters' support for their regional party candidate is not likely to be influenced much by the scandal because their regional party candidate is not entangled in the scandal. In addition, the scandal provides them with information that their regional party candidate is better qualified than the candidate involved in the scandal. Therefore, Honam voters are likely to maintain or moderately increase their support for their regional party candidate after the scandal. Meanwhile, Honam voters who have supported their rival regional party candidate involved in the scandal are

likely to decrease their support for the candidate because of their disappointment in the candidate. The theoretical assumptions can be applied to fluctuations in regional voters' candidate preferences, but in the reversed direction, when a candidate of Honam-based regional party is involved in a scandal. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the influence of a scandal on regional voters' candidate preferences over the course the campaign, the following hypothesis is suggested:

Hypothesis 2-3: When their regional party candidate is involved in a scandal, the majority of the regional voters are likely to remain in their support for the regional party candidate, while their rival regional voters are likely to maintain their support for their regional party candidate.

### ***Electoral Alliance & Individual Subgroups' Candidate Preferences***

When a candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate during the campaign, voters' candidate preferences are expected to be distinctive according to their party affiliation. When voters support a party whose candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, based on their loyalty to the party, they are expected to evaluate the political accomplishment positively. Therefore, the electoral alliance is likely to reinforce their earlier support for their party candidate. Similarly, voters who have supported the third party in the electoral alliance are likely to evaluate the alliance positively, based on their loyalty to the third party. Accordingly, it is anticipated that when an electoral alliance occurs, the third party supporters in the alliance are likely to increase their support for the major party candidate who succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with their party.

However, partisans who have supported other candidates outside the electoral alliance are expected to evaluate the alliance negatively because they are likely to regard the alliance as a

cheap political bargain only to win the election.<sup>29</sup> In addition, they may think that their candidate is losing electoral strength because his competitor shows a sign of electoral strength through the alliance. Based on their loyalty to their party, therefore, they are likely to rally around their party candidate and reinforce their support for the candidate.<sup>30</sup> It is expected, therefore, that partisans who have supported other candidates outside the electoral alliance are likely to reinforce their support for their party candidate after the alliance.

Last but not least, when an electoral alliance occurs, independents' candidate preferences are likely to be influenced by whether they evaluate the alliance positively or negatively because they do not have a loyalty to a party. Independents who have supported the major party candidate in the alliance are likely to evaluate the alliance positively because their candidate shows a sign of electoral strength through the alliance. Accordingly, they are likely to maintain their support for the candidate. In addition, some independents are more likely to consider the positive aspect of the alliance, a sign of electoral strength, than its negative assessment, a cheap political bargain only to win the election, and, hence, they are likely to support the major party candidate in the alliance. It is expected, therefore, that independents' support for the major party candidate in the alliance is likely to increase after the electoral alliance. Meanwhile, independents who have

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<sup>29</sup> For example, Kim Dae-Jung succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, Kim Jon-Pil on November 3, 1997. According to November 4 survey, 51% of Kim's supporters assessed the alliance positively, while only 7% of Lee Hoi-Chang's supporters gave the positive evaluation on the alliance. Meanwhile, 31% of Kim's supporters evaluated the alliance negatively, whereas 81% of Lee's supporters assessed it negatively (Gallup Korea 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Mutz (1995) argued that the extent of media coverage suggesting a candidate is gaining or losing political support helps determine the frequency of campaign contributions. Loyalty-based contributors are motivated to donate to their candidates when the media coverage suggests that their strongly favored candidate is losing ground, while other candidates benefit from coverage suggesting increased viability. Although she analyzed campaign contribution in the 1988 Democratic presidential primary, her suggestion about strategic considerations to support political candidates can be applied to the way that voters decide their vote intention.

supported other candidates outside the alliance are likely to put more weight on the negative aspect of the alliance than its positive assessment, based on their earlier candidate preferences. Therefore, they are likely to stay in their support for the candidate outside the alliance. Moreover, some independents, who evaluate the alliance negatively, are expected to support other candidates outside the alliance. It is anticipated, therefore, that independents' preferences for the candidates who are not involved in the alliance are likely to increase after the electoral alliance. The theoretical assumptions about the influence of an electoral alliance on partisans and independents' candidate preferences suggest the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2-4: When an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign, both partisans and independents are likely to reinforce their earlier preferences for the candidates.

When an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign, voters' candidate preferences are also likely to be distinctive according to whether voters approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration. Considering that voters who support the incumbent administration are more likely to evaluate the incumbent party candidate positively than voters who disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration (Jackson 1975; Lee 2006), when an in-party candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, voters who approve of the job of the incumbent administration are expected to evaluate the electoral alliance positively. Accordingly, they are likely to reinforce their support for the in-party candidate after the electoral alliance occurred.

Meanwhile, when an in-party candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate during the campaign, voters who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are likely to evaluate the alliance negatively by regarding the alliance

as a cheap political bargain with the only purpose of extending the ruling of the incumbent party because they are more likely to support an out-party candidate than an in-party candidate, as in Table 4.2. Moreover, they are likely to engage in a strategic consideration that they need to send more support to their out-party candidate because their candidate is losing electoral strength by the in-party candidate's electoral alliance (Mutz 1995). It is anticipated, therefore, that they are likely to reinforce their support for the out-party candidate after the electoral alliance. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the influence of an electoral alliance on candidate preferences of voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration, the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 2-5: When an in-party candidate forms an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, voters who approve of the job of the incumbent administration are likely to increase their support for the in-party candidate after the electoral alliance. In the meantime, those who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are likely to reinforce their support for an out-party candidate after the electoral alliance.

It is expected that regional voters show distinctive candidate preferences when an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign. When their regional party candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate during the campaign, the regional voters are likely to support the electoral alliance because of the influence of regionalism on their vote intention. It is expected, accordingly, that they are likely to reinforce their support for their regional party candidate after their regional party candidate succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate.

In the meantime, when a regional party candidate forms an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, voters whose hometown is the regional base of the rival party are likely to think

of the alliance as a cheap political bargain with the only purpose of winning the election, based on the influence of their regional party support on their candidate preferences. In addition, the electoral alliance is likely to offer information about weakening electoral strength of their regional party candidate and, hence, the regional voters are likely to send more support to their regional party candidate (Mutz 1995). As a result, it is expected that they increase their support for their regional party candidate after the alliance. The theoretical assumptions about the influence of an electoral alliance on regional voters' candidate preferences suggest the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2-6: When an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign, regional voters are likely to increase their support for their regional party candidate, respectively, after the electoral alliance.

In order to empirically test the hypotheses that individual subgroups develop distinctive candidate preferences through campaign events during the campaign (hypothesis 2-1 to hypothesis 2-6), this study employs survey data and Korean Election Study data for the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, and panel survey data for the 2007 Korean presidential election. Randomly sampled Korean presidential voters were asked thirteen times during the 1997 presidential election year. The number of observations in the thirteen telephone surveys ranges from 1001 to 1596. The 1997 Korean Election Study was conducted right after election day and the number of observations in the data is 1055. Six nationwide surveys were conducted throughout the 2002 presidential election year and the number of observations in the survey data ranges from 1000 to 1002. The 2002 Korean Election Study was conducted right after election day and the data include 1314 observations. The 1997 and 2002 Survey data and Korean Election Study data are made available by Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC). In the meantime,

a six wave panel study was conducted throughout the 2007 presidential election year. The same respondents took part in the panel surveys and the number of observations in the data is 2524.

The panel study data are made available by East Asia Institute (EAI).

This study examines changes in individual subgroups' candidate preferences before and after each campaign event. Campaign events included in the analysis are as follows: The scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons and the DJP alliance in 1997; Roh, Moo-Hyun's electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon in 2002<sup>31</sup>; the BBK scandal in 2007. Individual subgroups include regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), partisans, independents, and voters who approve or disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration.

To operationalize regional voters, this study uses a question in the data, "Where is your hometown?" Honam voters include respondents whose hometown is Honam Province (Gwangju, Jeonnam, or Jeonbuk), while Youngnam voters include respondents whose hometown is Youngnam Province (Daegu, Busan, Gyeongnam, or Gyeongbuk). In the meantime, this study examines how differently non-regional voters change their candidate preferences than regional voters during the campaign. Non-regional voters include those whose hometown is neither Honam nor Youngnam Province: Seoul, Gyeonggi, Gangwon, Chungchong, and Jeju. Meanwhile, to measure voters' party affiliation, this study employs a question in the data, "Which political party do you support?" If a respondent is an independent, the respondent can choose "Independent" or "I do not support any of the political parties."<sup>32</sup> Finally, to operationalize voters who approve or

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<sup>31</sup> The scandal of President Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants is not included in the analysis because the 2002 survey data do not include surveys before the scandal occurred.

<sup>32</sup> Some of the survey data for the 2002 presidential election do not have a question for party identification.

Therefore, this study does not measure changes in partisans' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential

disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration, this study uses a question for presidential approval in the data, “How do you evaluate the job of the president?”<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, this study employs intervention models to examine whether individual subgroups’ candidate preferences were influenced by campaign events at the aggregate level during the 1997 and 2002 presidential campaigns. The dependent variable of the analysis is individual subgroup’s vote intention for Lee, Hoi-Chang and Kim, Dae-Jung in 1997, and Lee, Hoi-Chang and Roh, Moo-Hyun in 2002. Dummy variables are employed to measure the influence of campaign events on voters’ candidate preferences during the campaign. The variable is scored 0 before a campaign event occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of campaign events on individual subgroups’ candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the 1997 and 2002 presidential campaigns.

In the meantime, this study examines the influence of campaign events on changes in individual subgroups’ candidate preferences at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and control variables in the model. The dependent variable of the analysis is whether a respondent switched his/her vote intention over the course of the campaign. It is scored 0 if a respondent did not switch his/her vote intention and 1 if a respondent switched his/her vote intention during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to measure the influence of the BBK scandal on individual subgroups’ preferences for the candidates over the course of the

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campaign.

<sup>33</sup> The survey data for the 1997 presidential election do not include a question for presidential approval and, therefore, this study does not examine changes in candidate preferences of voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration during the 1997 presidential campaign.



campaign. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys, and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.<sup>34</sup>

The fundamental variables of the presidential election year include regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), party identification, and presidential approval. This study employs age, education, and income as control variables to capture the influence of sociodemographic characteristics on changes in individual subgroups' candidate preferences. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in individual subgroups' candidate preferences at the individual level after controlling for the influence of the fundamental and control variables on the subgroups' vote intention during the 2007 presidential campaign.

### ***Presidential Debates & Individual Subgroups' Candidate Preferences***

After watching presidential debates, subgroups of the electorate are likely to reinforce their earlier support for the candidates. It is because voters tend to evaluate that their candidate

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<sup>34</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day, the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that Lee's comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

did a better job than other candidates in the debates. For example, according to the fifth wave presidential election panel survey in 2007, the majority of respondents evaluated that their candidate did better than other candidates in the debates: 91% of Lee, Myung-Bak's supporters reported that Lee defeated his contenders in the debates, while 55% of Chung, Dong-Young's supporters answered that their candidate won the debates.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, Han and Kang (2008) found that presidential debates were more likely to reinforce voters' earlier candidate preferences than persuade voters to switch their earlier vote intention in the 2007 presidential election: only 8% of voters changed their vote intention after watching the debates. They also found that partisans were more likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences than independents after watching the debates. It is expected, therefore, that subgroups of the electorate, such as partisans, independents, voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration, and regional voters, are likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences after watching presidential debates. In addition, independents do not have a loyalty to a party and, therefore, they are more likely to switch their candidate preferences than partisans after watching presidential debates, based on their evaluations of the candidates' performances in the debates. The theoretical assumptions about the influence of presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences suggest the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2-7: Subgroups of the electorate are more likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences than to switch their earlier vote intention after watching presidential debates. Meanwhile, independents are more likely to switch their candidate preferences than partisans after watching presidential debates.

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<sup>35</sup> The data are available at [www.eai.or.kr](http://www.eai.or.kr).

To empirically test the influence of presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences, this study examines how presidential debates influenced the subgroups' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign.<sup>36</sup> Three presidential debates were conducted on December 6, 11, and 16 during the 2007 presidential campaign. To measure the influence of the 2007 presidential debates, this study employs the sixth wave panel of the 2007 presidential election panel study. The sixth panel survey includes two questions about the presidential debates. The first question asked if voters watched the debates and the second question asked the following question to those who watched the debates: "What did you think after watching the debates?" These questions are appropriate to measure how individual subgroups responded to the debates. With individual subgroups' answers to the questions, accordingly, this study compares how differently each individual subgroup responded to the 2007 presidential debates. Individual subgroups included in the analysis are partisans, independents, regional voters (Honam and Yeungnam voters), and voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh, Moo-Hyun administration.

### **Campaign Events & the Influence of the Fundamental Variables**

This study posits that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence voters' preferences for the candidates before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. The influence of campaign events is related to the degree to which vote intention early in the campaign is different from the eventual vote choice. Voters have less information about the fundamental variables at the start of the campaign. As campaign events

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<sup>36</sup> This study does not examine the influence of presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences during the 1997 and 2002 presidential campaigns because data are not available for measuring the influence of presidential debates on the subgroups' candidate preferences during the campaign.

provide voters with information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions over the course of the campaign, subgroups of the electorate learn more about the importance of the fundamental variables in their vote decisions toward the end of the campaign.

As the importance of the fundamental variables in individual subgroups' vote intention is increasing, the subgroups' candidate preferences are likely to become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. As a result, the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences is likely to become greater toward the end of the campaign and voters' candidate preferences are likely to move toward the eventual vote choice. The extent that campaign events provide subgroups of the electorate with information about the candidates determines the variations in the influence of the fundamental variables on voter support for the candidates over the course of the campaign. It suggests that campaign events assist voters to make 'informed' judgments by helping them learn more about the fundamental variables over the course of the campaign.

In this way, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and presidential campaigns influence the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential elections. Campaign events influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections by assisting voters to learn more about the fundamental variables and to move toward their eventual vote decisions. Based on the theoretical assumptions about the roles of campaign events and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year in producing vote choice in Korean presidential elections, the following hypothesis is offered:

Hypothesis 3: The influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences is likely to become greater, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign.

To empirically test hypothesis 3, this study examines the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns. The dependent variable of the analysis is vote intention. There is a question in the data, conducted during the campaign, "Which of the following candidate would you vote for if they run for president in this presidential election?" Meanwhile, there is a question in the data, conducted right after election day, asking "Who did you vote for in this presidential election?" It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate and scored 0 for those who voted for other candidate. Lee, Hoi-Chang of GNP was the incumbent candidate in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of UNDP in 2007.

The main independent variables include regionalism, party identification, and presidential approval. Two dichotomous variables are included to measure the impact of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences. There is a question in the data, "Where is your hometown?" Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent's hometown is Honam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Honam Province are Kim, Dae-Jung of the opposition NCNP in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of the incumbent MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of the incumbent UNDP in 2007. Meanwhile, it is scored 1 if a respondent's hometown is Youngnam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Youngnam Province are Lee, Hoi-Chang of the incumbent GNP in 1997, Lee, Hoi-Chang of the opposition GNP in 2002, and Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition GNP in 2007. It is expected that regional voters' candidate preferences were likely to be more homogeneous, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign and, hence, the influence of Honam and Youngnam variables was likely to increase toward the end of the campaign.

Party identification is captured with a dummy variable to identify whether a respondent is an incumbent party supporter or not. There is a question in the data, “Which party do you support?”<sup>37</sup> The variable is coded as 1 if a respondent supported the incumbent party, 0 if others. GNP was the incumbent party in 1997 and UNDP in 2007. It is expected that the influence of party identification on vote intention was likely to become greater toward the end of the campaign since the incumbent party supporters were likely to develop more homogeneous vote intention through campaign events over the course of the campaign.

Finally, to operationalize presidential approval, this study employs a question in the data, “How do you evaluate the way the president is handling the job?”<sup>38</sup> Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent approved of the way the president was handling the job, while 0 is assigned if a respondent disapproved of how the president was handling the job. It is expected that the influence of presidential approval was likely to become greater toward the end of the campaign because candidate preferences of those who approved of the job of the president were likely to be more homogeneous, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign.

Control variables are also employed in the model to capture the influence of sociodemographic characteristics on vote intention during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns. This study employs categorical variables for age, education, and income: numerical values from 1 (29 or below) to 4 (50 or over) are assigned for age; 1 (middle school diploma or below) to 3 (college degree or over) for education; and 1 (149 million won or below) to 3 (250

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<sup>37</sup> Some of the 2002 presidential election survey data do not include a question about party identification and, therefore, this study does not examine the influence of party identification on voters’ candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign.

<sup>38</sup> The 1997 presidential election survey data do not include a question for presidential approval and, hence, this study does not examine the influence of presidential approval on vote intention during the 1997 presidential campaign.

million won or over) for income. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

For the 1997 presidential election, five surveys conducted during the campaign and the 1997 Korean Election Study are employed. To capture the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began, June 14 and July 22 surveys are used. The sixth survey, conducted on August 12, is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences after the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons occurred. To analyze the impact of the fundamental variables on voter support for the candidates after the DJP alliance, a November 22 survey is used. Finally, the 1997 Korean Election Study is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice.

To examine the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention during the 2002 presidential campaign, this study employs five surveys conducted during the campaign and the 2002 Korean Election Study. A November 22-23 survey is used to capture the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention after Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon. The 2002 Korean Election Study is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice.<sup>39</sup>

For the 2007 presidential election, five panel surveys are employed to capture the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. August 10 and October 17 panel surveys are used to examine the impact of the

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<sup>39</sup> August 2 and November 22-23 surveys and the 2002 Korean Election Study are employed to examine the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign because presidential approval is not available in the other 2002 presidential election surveys.

fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign started. The fourth panel survey, conducted on November 25, is used to capture the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention after the BBK scandal was revealed to the public. The fifth panel survey on December 10 is also employed to examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences after the investigations report on the BBK scandal came out on December 5. Finally, the sixth panel survey on December 21, conducted right after election day, is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice in the 2007 presidential election.



## **Chapter 6: Analysis**

### **Changes in Voter Support for the Candidates**

This study posits that changes in voters' preferences for the candidates during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events. To empirically test whether voters' candidate preferences fluctuate after campaign events occur during the campaign (hypothesis 1), this study compares voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level before and after campaign events. The campaign events included in the analysis are scandals in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections, electoral alliances in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, and presidential debates in all the three presidential elections.

It is expected that when a scandal is revealed to the public during the campaign, voters are likely to decrease their support for the candidate involved in the scandal because voters' evaluations of the candidate go negative and their updated evaluations of the candidates translate into their candidate preferences. Meanwhile, voters are likely to increase their support for a candidate who succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate because the alliance can be seen as a sign of electoral strength. Finally, voter support for the candidates is expected to increase moderately after presidential debates because voters are likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences and some late deciders could decide their candidate preferences after watching the debates.

## The 1997 Presidential Election

The 1997 presidential election experienced fluctuations in public opinion throughout the election year and voters' candidate preferences responded to campaign events over the course of the campaign (Gallup Korea 1998). The 1997 presidential campaign events include the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons, the DJP alliance, and presidential debates. The 1997 presidential campaign season ranges from July to election day (December 18, 1997). Figure 6.1 presents changes in voter support for the candidates during the 1997 presidential campaign.

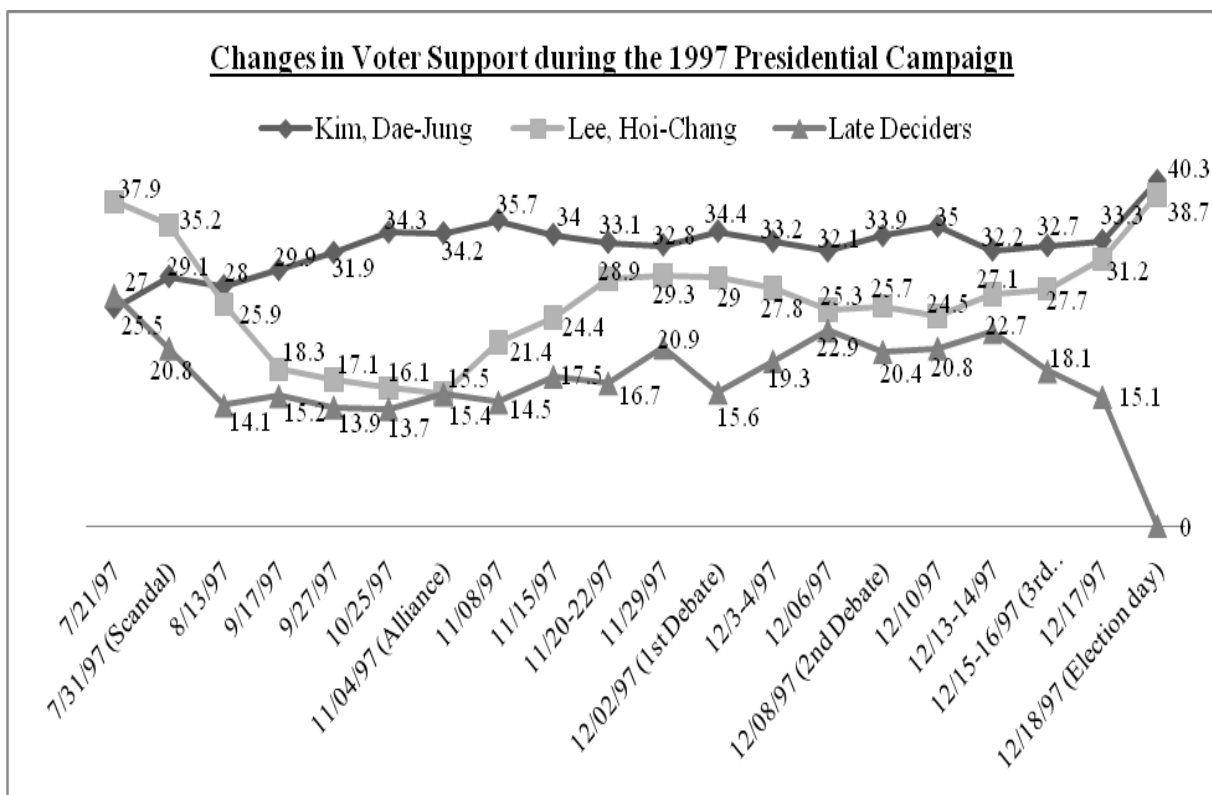


Figure 6.1 Changes in Voter Support during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Gallup Korea (1998).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is indicated.

### *The Scandal and the DJP Alliance & Voters' Candidate Preferences*

As in Figure 6.1, voters' preferences for the candidates fluctuated after the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons was revealed to the public on July 25. According to an August 13 survey, voter support for Lee dropped by 8 % after the scandal occurred, and Lee continued to lose voter support until the DJP alliance occurred in early November. Meanwhile, the August 13 survey showed that voter support for Kim, Dae-Jung did not vary much right after the scandal, but it continued to increase until the DJP alliance occurred. More importantly, Kim could take a front-runner position away from Lee after the scandal and did not lose the lead through election day. Finally, late deciders decreased by 4.7% after the scandal occurred. The findings suggest that the scandal influenced vote intention during the campaign and changed the flow of the race significantly.

In the meantime, the DJP alliance also influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. A November 8 poll, conducted after Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in the electoral alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil on November 3, reported that Kim benefited from the alliance by increasing voter support by 1.5%.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, polls suggest that Lee, Hoi-Chang received more benefit than Kim, Dae-Jung from the alliance. According to the November 8 survey, voter support for Lee, Hoi-Chang increased by 5.9% after the alliance, and it continued to go up until the first presidential debate was conducted. More importantly, the alliance seemed to play an important role in voter support for Lee turning around because the downturn in voter support for Lee stopped after the alliance occurred. Meanwhile, late deciders increased by 1.7% after the

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<sup>40</sup> Although the DJP alliance could not increase much voter support for Kim, Dae-Jung right after its occurrence, as in the November 8 poll, Chungchong voters' electoral support for Kim increased by 16.3% on election day compared to the preceding presidential election. Taking into account the small margin of victory (1.7%), the increase in Chungchong voters' electoral support for Kim played an important role in Kim's victory in the 1997 presidential election (Kang and Jaung 1999).

alliance occurred. The overall results suggest that the DJP alliance influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

Three intervention models are employed to test whether the scandal and the DJP alliance influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The dependent variable is vote intention. Two dummy variables are employed to measure the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the 1997 presidential campaign. Table 6.1 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.1 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Scandal and the DJP Alliance on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|              | Lee, Hoi-Chang      | Kim, Dae-Jung       | Late Deciders      |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Scandal      | -15.38**<br>(6.563) | 5.14**<br>(2.384)   | -11.46*<br>(5.664) |
| DJP alliance | 4.373<br>(3.121)    | 3.424***<br>(1.134) | 1.596<br>(2.694)   |
| Constant     | 37.9***<br>(5.991)  | 25.5***<br>(2.176)  | 27.0***<br>(5.170) |
| N            | 20                  | 20                  | 20                 |
| R-squared    | 0.257               | 0.551               | 0.195              |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis demonstrate, in Table 6.1, that the scandal and the DJP alliance influenced voters' candidate preferences during the 1997 presidential campaign. The coefficients of the scandal show that the scandal decreased voter support for Lee by 15.4% while the scandal

increased voter support for Kim by 5.1% during the campaign. The scandal also decreased late deciders by 11.5% during the campaign. The findings suggest that the scandal significantly influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the 1997 presidential campaign.

Meanwhile, the coefficients of the DJP alliance indicate that the DJP alliance influenced voter support for Kim over the course of the 1997 presidential campaign. The DJP alliance increased voter support for Kim by 3.4% during the campaign. Although they are not statistically significant, the coefficient of the DJP alliance for Lee suggests that the DJP alliance could give an electoral boost to Lee because the DJP alliance has the positive relationship with voter support for Lee. These findings suggest that the DJP alliance also influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

Finally, the R-squares of the models present that the scandal and the DJP alliance explain 55% of the variation in voter support for Kim, 26% of the variation in voter support for Lee, and 20% of the variation in late deciders. It suggests that voter support for Kim was more influenced by the campaign events than voter support for Lee and late deciders during the campaign. The overall results of the analysis on the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on voters' candidate preferences suggest that fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences during the 1997 presidential campaign were significantly influenced by the campaign events.

### ***Presidential Debates & Voters' Candidate Preferences***

Three presidential debates were conducted on December 1, 7, and 14 during the 1997 presidential campaign. Three surveys, conducted a day after each debate, show, in Figure 6.1, that the debates conferred a small boost for voter support for the candidates and contributed to late deciders' vote decisions. A December 2 survey, conducted a day after the first debate,

reported that Kim, Dae-Jung increased voter support by 1.6%, while Lee, Hoi-Chang experienced a small loss in voter support (-0.3%) and late deciders dropped by 5.3% after the debate. Meanwhile, according to December 8 survey, conducted a day after the second debate, voter support for Kim increased by 1.8% and so did voter support for Lee by 0.4%. Late deciders decreased by 2.5% after the second debate. Finally, a December 15-16 survey, conducted right after the third debate, showed that voter support for Kim increased slightly (+0.5%) and Lee also experienced a small increase in voter support (+0.6%). Late deciders dropped by 4.6% after the last debate. The overall results of the analysis suggest that the debates moderately influenced voter support for the candidates and late deciders were more influenced by the debates than voters who already made up their minds.

Intervention models are employed to examine the relationship between the 1997 presidential debates and voter support during the campaign. The dependent variable is vote intention. Three dummy variables are employed to measure the debates. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to test the influence of the debates on vote intention at the aggregate level during the 1997 presidential campaign. Table 6.2 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.2 Intervention Models for the Influence of Presidential Debates on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|               | Lee, Hoi-Chang      | Kim, Dae-Jung      | Late Deciders       |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| First Debate  | 4.010<br>(2.885)    | 2.440*<br>(1.298)  | -.034<br>(2.517)    |
| Constant      | 24.545**<br>(1.935) | 31.682**<br>(.870) | 17.245**<br>(1.688) |
| Second Debate | 4.000<br>(3.158)    | 2.552*<br>(1.419)  | -1.495<br>(2.709)   |
| Constant      | 25.15**<br>(1.730)  | 32.014**<br>(.777) | 17.679**<br>(1.484) |
| Third Debate  | 7.275*<br>(3.866)   | 3.122<br>(1.836)   | -7.251**<br>(3.061) |
| Constant      | 25.259**<br>(1.497) | 32.312**<br>(.711) | 32.312**<br>(.711)  |
| N             | 20                  | 20                 | 20                  |

\*\* : Statistically significant at .05 level.

\* : Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The findings show, in Table 6.2, that presidential debates influenced voter support for the candidates and late deciders during the campaign. Voter support for Kim increased by 2.5% and so did voter support for the Lee by 7.2% after the debates. Late deciders decreased by 7.3% after the debates.<sup>41</sup> The findings suggest that late deciders' vote intention was significantly influenced by the debates. In the meantime, the coefficients of the debates have the positive relationship

<sup>41</sup> The dummy variables of the debates are scored 0 before the debate occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. The first debate is scored 1 from a Dec. 2 survey to election day, the second debate is scored 1 from a Dec. 8 survey to election day, and the third debate is scored 1 from a Dec. 15-16 survey to election day. It means that the influence of the debates on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign is overlapped each other. The overlapping influence of the debates is found that the coefficients of the debates increase toward the last debate. Therefore, it is more appropriate to interpret the findings that the debates as a whole influenced vote intention than each debate affected separately voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The same way of interpreting the coefficients of the debates is applied to explaining the influence of presidential debates during the 2002 and 2007 presidential campaigns in Table 6.4 and Table 6.7.

with voter support for the candidates and their influence increased toward the third debate. It suggests that voters moderately increased their candidate support after watching the debates.

However, the increase in voter support for Lee after the debates shows discrepancy from changes in voter support for Lee at the polls, in Figure 6.1. Some may argue that the increase in voter support for Lee could be also influenced by conservative voters' strategic voting: some conservative voters whose most preferred candidate had been Rhee, In-Je switched their vote intention into Lee, Hoi-Chang, their second most preferred candidate, because Rhee had little chance to win the election (Kyung and Kim 1999). However, although voter support for Rhee is not in the Figure 6.1, the polls reported that voter support for Rhee did not decrease after the debates: voter support for Rhee was 19.8% (a December 15-16 survey), 18.5% (a December 17 survey), and 19.2% (election day). It suggests that voter support for Lee after the debates was not influenced by the strategic voting of Rhee's supporters. The overall findings suggest that the 2007 presidential debates reinforced voters' earlier candidate preferences and noticeably influenced late deciders' vote intention during the campaign.

### **The 2002 Presidential Election**

Voters' candidate preferences fluctuated much during the 2002 presidential campaign. This study includes the scandal of President Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants, Roh, Moo-Hyun's electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon, and presidential debates as the campaign events of the 2002 presidential election. The 2002 presidential campaign season ranges from May to election day (December 19, 2002). Figure 6.2 presents changes in voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign.



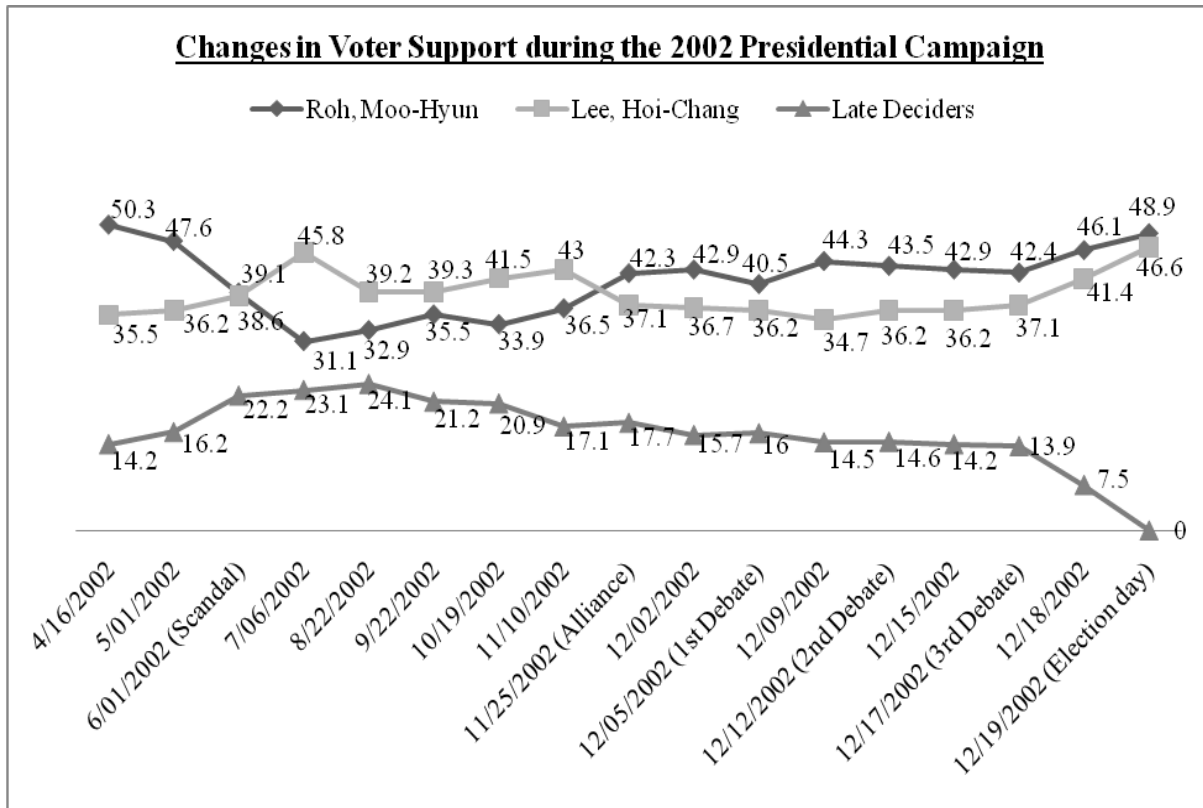


Figure 6.2 Changes in Voter Support during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Gallup Korea (2003).

Notes: (1) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the in-party candidate; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

### ***The Scandal and the Electoral Alliance & Voters' Candidate Preferences***

A May 1 survey showed, in Figure 6.2, that Roh, Moo-Hyun led Lee, Hoi-Chang by 11.4% after winning the nomination of MDP. However, Roh's popularity dropped dramatically, while Lee's popularity gradually rose after the scandal of president Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and his close confidants was revealed to the public in May.<sup>42</sup> A June 1 survey reported that voter support for Roh decreased by 9%, while voter support for Lee increased by 2.9% and late deciders also increased by 6% after the scandal. More importantly, Lee could become a front-runner after the

<sup>42</sup> President Kim's youngest son was convicted of the scandal on May 18. The public's disappointment in and anger at the incumbent administration reached highest in late May (Gallup Korea 1998).

scandal and maintained his lead over Roh until the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon occurred in November. The findings suggest that the scandal influenced voters' candidate preferences and also affected the flow of the race. It is also suggestive from the findings that an in-party candidate cannot be free from the performance of the incumbent administration although president of Korea can have only one five-year term.

Meanwhile, voters' candidate preferences significantly changed after Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in an electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon in November 24. According to a Nov. 25 survey, conducted one day after the formation of the alliance, voter support for Roh increased by 5.8%, while voter support for Lee dropped by 5.9%.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Roh could recover his lead over Lee after the alliance and maintained the lead through election day. These findings suggest that the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung significantly influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign and was an important campaign event that reversed the atmosphere of the race.

In order to test the influence of the scandal and the electoral alliance on voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign, three intervention models are employed. The dependent variable is vote intention. Two dummy variables are employed to measure the influence of the scandal and the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on vote intention during the campaign. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through

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<sup>43</sup> An electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon was the hottest campaign issue during November. Roh officially suggested an electoral alliance to Chung in early November. They started to negotiate with each other on an electoral alliance on November 5 and finally succeeded in forming the electoral alliance on November 24. Public opinion responded to the electoral alliance quickly throughout November. Surveys reported that Roh could come back to the front-runner after he just agreed to form an electoral alliance with Chung on November 15, and that the difference between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Lee, Hoi-Chang increased by 6.5% right after the success of the electoral alliance (Gallup Korea 2003).

election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the electoral alliance on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the 2002 presidential campaign. Table 6.3 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.3 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Scandal and the Electoral Alliance on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|           | Lee, Hoi-Chang      | Roh, Moo-Hyun         | Late Deciders        |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Scandal   | 5.383*<br>(2.660)   | -14.117***<br>(2.093) | 6.233<br>(3.621)     |
| Alliance  | -3.211*<br>(1.717)  | 8.922***<br>(1.351)   | -8.756***<br>(2.337) |
| Constant  | 35.85***<br>(5.991) | 48.95***<br>(1.812)   | 15.2***<br>(3.136)   |
| N         | 17                  | 17                    | 17                   |
| R-squared | 0.281               | 0.821                 | 0.502                |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis, in Table 6.3, demonstrate that the scandal and the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon significantly influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the 2002 presidential campaign. The coefficients of the scandal show that the scandal increased voter support for Lee, Hoi-Chang by 5.4% while the scandal decreased voter support for Roh, Moo-Hyun by 14.1% over the course of the campaign. Meanwhile, the coefficients of the electoral alliance indicate that the electoral alliance decreased voter support for Lee by 3.2% and late deciders by 8.8%, while it increased voter support for Roh by 8.9% over the course of the campaign. Finally, the R-squares of the models show that the scandal and the DJP alliance explain 82% of the variation in voter support for Roh, 28% of the

variation in voter support for Lee, and 50% variation in late deciders. It suggests that voter support for Roh was significantly influenced by the campaign events over the course of the campaign. The overall results of the analysis on the influence of the scandal and the electoral alliance on voters' candidate preferences suggest that the scandal and the electoral alliance played an important role in changing voters' candidate preferences over the course of the 2002 presidential campaign.

### ***Presidential Debates & Voters' Candidate Preferences***

Three 2002 presidential debates were conducted on December 3, 10, and 16. A December 5 survey, conducted two days after the first debate, reported, in Figure 6.2, that voter support for Roh, Moo-Hyun dropped by 2.4% and so did voter support for Lee, Hoi-Chang by 0.5% after the first debate. Meanwhile, late deciders increased by 0.3% after the first debate. Meanwhile, according to December 12 survey, conducted two days after the second debate, voter support for Roh decreased by 0.8%, while there was 1.5% increase in voter support for Lee and 0.1% increase in late deciders after the second debate. A December 17 survey, conducted a day after the third debate, reported that voter support for Roh (-0.5%) and late deciders (-0.3%) slightly decreased, while voter support for Lee increased by 0.9% after the third debate. These findings suggest that the 2002 presidential debates moderately influenced voters' candidate preferences.

Intervention models are employed to examine the influence of the 2002 presidential debates on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The dependent variable is vote intention. Three dummy variables are employed to measure the debates. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the 2002 presidential debates

on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the campaign. Table 6.4 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.4 Intervention Models for the Influence of Presidential Debates on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|               | Lee, Hoi-Chang      | Roh, Moo-Hyun        | Late Deciders         |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| First Debate  | -.947<br>(1.813)    | 4.876*<br>(2.596)    | -7.711***<br>(2.234)  |
| Constant      | 39.29***<br>(1.163) | 39.21***<br>(1.666)  | 19.24***<br>(1.433)   |
| Second Debate | .852<br>(1.964)     | 5.018*<br>(2.834)    | -8.535***<br>(2.364)  |
| Constant      | 38.65***<br>(1.065) | 39.742***<br>(1.537) | 18.575***<br>(1.282)  |
| Third Debate  | 3.399<br>(2.193)    | 5.564<br>(3.436)     | -10.845***<br>(2.661) |
| Constant      | 38.3***<br>(.921)   | 40.236***<br>(1.443) | 17.979***<br>(1.118)  |
| N             | 17                  | 17                   | 17                    |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The findings show, in Table 6.4, that the debates increased voter support for Roh, Moo-Hyun during the campaign, while Lee, Hoi-Chang did not receive an electoral benefit from the debates. The coefficients of the debates for Roh show that the debates increased voter support for Roh by 5% during the campaign. In addition, the coefficients of the debates for Lee and Roh indicate that the influence of the debates on vote intention became greater toward the third debate, although some of them are not statistically significant. It suggests that the debates

assisted voters to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile, the results of the analysis find that the debates significantly influenced late deciders' vote intention. The coefficients of the debates for late deciders show that the debates decreased late deciders by 10.8% during the campaign. It suggests that the debates significantly influenced late deciders to make up their minds. The overall results of the analysis on the influence of the debates on vote intention suggest that the 2002 presidential debates assisted voters to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences and influenced late deciders to make their vote decisions.

### **The 2007 Presidential Election**

Unlike the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition GNP defeated Chung, Dong-Young of the ruling UNDP with a big margin of victory (22.6%). It does not mean, however, that campaign events did not influence vote intention over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign because voters' candidate preferences fluctuated much after the BBK scandal was revealed to the public. This study examines the influence of the BBK scandal and presidential debates on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The 2007 presidential campaign season ranges from October to election day (December 19, 2007). Figure 6.3 presents changes in voter support during the 2007 presidential campaign.

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<sup>44</sup> Surveys conducted after the 2002 presidential debates reported that over 80% of respondents answered that they maintained their earlier candidate preferences after watching the debates (Gallup Korea 2003).

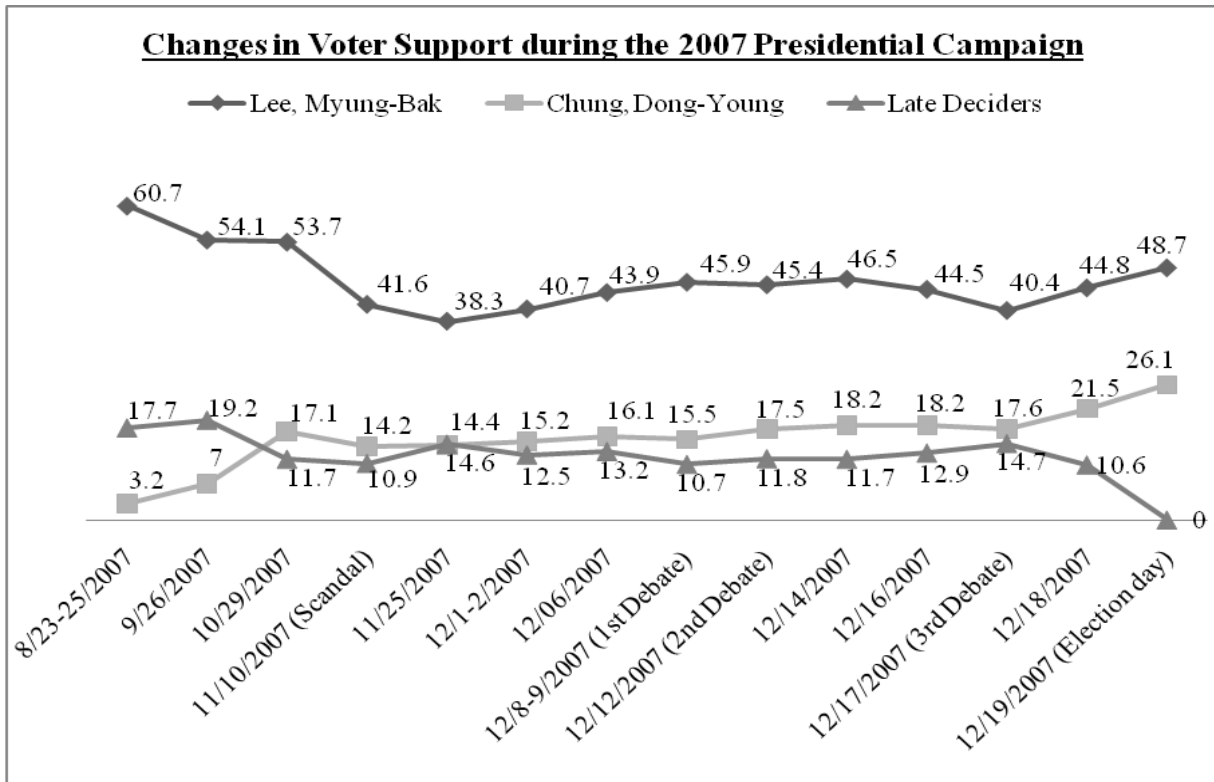


Figure 6.3 Changes in Voter Support during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: Gallup Korea (2008).

Notes: (1) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; and (2) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is indicated.

### ***The BBK Scandal & Voters' Candidate Preferences***

As in Figure 6.3, a November 10 survey reported that voter support for Lee, Myung-Bak significantly dropped (-12.1%) and voter support for Chung, Dong-Young also decreased (-2.9%) after the BBK scandal was revealed in late October. Likewise, late deciders decreased by 8.3% compared to a September 26 survey. Although voter support for Chung steadily increased after the scandal through election day, he did not receive an electoral benefit right after the scandal. The reason why voter support for Chung did not go up right after the scandal could be explained by the emergence of a conservative candidate into the race. Lee, Hoi-Chang, the unsuccessful GNP candidate in 1997 and 2002, officially declared his presidency on November 7

and jumped into the race. When GNP supporters and conservatives disappointed in Lee, Myung-Bak due to the scandal, Lee, Hoi-Chang could be an alternative to Lee, Myung-Bak for some of GNP supporters and conservatives, based on his conservative ideology and his remaining popularity in GNP (Gallup Korea 2008). Although voter support for Lee, Hoi-Chang is not shown in Figure 6.3, the November 10 survey reported that Lee, Hoi-Chang received 21.9% of voter support. Overall, the findings suggest that the BBK scandal influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign mainly by leading voter support for Lee, Myung-Bak to significantly decrease after the scandal.

Three intervention models are employed to examine whether the BBK scandal influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The dependent variable is vote intention. A dummy variable is employed to measure the influence of the BBK scandal on voters' candidate preferences. It is scored 0 before it occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level over the course of the campaign. Table 6.5 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.5 Intervention Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|             | Lee, Myung-Bak        | Chung, Dong-Young   | Late Deciders      |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| BBK Scandal | -12.467***<br>(2.117) | 8.582***<br>(2.824) | -4.964*<br>(2.596) |
| Constant    | 56.167***<br>(1.877)  | 9.1***<br>(2.503)   | 16.2***<br>(2.301) |
| N           | 14                    | 14                  | 14                 |
| R-squared   | 0.743                 | 0.435               | 0.234              |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.



The results of the analysis, in Table 6.5, demonstrate that the BBK scandal significantly influenced voters' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign. The coefficients of the BBK scandal show that the scandal decreased voter support for Lee, Myung-Bak by 12.5%, while it increased voter support for Chung, Dong-Young by 8.6% over the course of the campaign. The BBK scandal decreased late deciders by 5% during the campaign. Meanwhile, the R-squares of the models indicate that the BBK scandal explains 74% of the variation in voter support for Lee, 44% of the variation in voter support for Chung, and 23% of the variation in late deciders during the campaign. It suggests that voter support for Lee was significantly influenced by the BBK scandal during the campaign. The overall results of the analysis on the relationship between the BBK scandal and voters' candidate preferences suggest that the BBK scandal played an important role in changing voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

Meanwhile, this study examines the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the campaign, using panel data for the 2007 presidential election. This study employs an integrated model, including the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables, to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in voters' candidate preferences at the individual level after controlling for the influence of the fundamental and sociodemographic variables. The dependent variable of the integrated model is whether a respondent changed his/her vote intention over the course of the campaign. It is scored 0 if a respondent did not change his/her vote intention and 1 if a respondent changed his/her intention during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred and 1 after its occurrence through

The fundamental variables include regionalism (Honam and Youngnam voters), party identification, and presidential approval. Three control variables, age, income, and education, are employed to capture the influence of sociodemographic variables on changes in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analysis in Chapter 4. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables, and sociodemographic variables on changes in voters' preferences for the candidates at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. Table 6.6 presents the results of the analysis.

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election day, the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that Lee's comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

Table 6.6 An Intergrated Model for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Changes in Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                       | b        | Odds Ratio |
|-----------------------|----------|------------|
| Scandal               | 1.111**  | 3.037      |
| Honam                 | -0.075*  | 0.928      |
| Youngnam              | 0.071    | 1.074      |
| Party Identification  | -0.537** | 0.584      |
| Presidential Approval | 0.004    | 1.004      |
| Age                   | -0.168** | 0.845      |
| Income                | 0.001    | 1.001      |
| Education             | -0.166** | 0.847      |
| Constant              | -.891**  | -          |
| Percentage Correct    |          | 79.4       |
| Model chi-square      |          | 488.2      |
| N                     |          | 7736       |

\*\* : Statistically significant at .05 level.

\* : Statistically significant at .1 level.

The results of the analysis demonstrate, in Table 6.6, that the BBK scandal significantly influenced changes in voters' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign. The odds ratio of the BBK scandal in the model indicates that the ratio of the odds of a respondent switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of a respondent switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 3.037. It means that the odds of a respondent switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal were about three times higher than those of the respondent switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign. In addition, the findings show that the BBK scandal significantly influenced changes in voters' candidate preferences after controlling for the influence of the fundamental and control variables on changes in voter support in the model.

The findings also show that the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in voters' candidate preferences is greater than the fundamental variables: the coefficient of the BBK

scandal is about twice bigger than party identification and much bigger than Honam and Youngnam variables.<sup>46</sup> It suggests that changes in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign were primarily influenced by the BBK scandal. It is also suggestive that the fundamental variables would be expected to influence vote choice, but they do not necessarily affect changes in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

In addition, the results of the analysis find that some of the fundamental and control variables influenced changes in voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign: voters whose hometown is in Honam Province, GNP supporters, voters in old generations, and voters with higher education are less likely to switch their vote intention during the campaign. For example, the ratio of the odds of a GNP support switching his/her vote intention to the odds of a voter who does not support GNP is .584 to 1; therefore, the odds of a GNP supporter changing his/her vote intention are about three-fifths as high as those of a voter, who does not support GNP, changing his/her vote intention during the campaign. However, the influence of those fundamental and control variables on changes in voters' candidate preferences is smaller than the BBK scandal.

### ***Presidential Debates & Voters' Candidate Preferences***

Three presidential debates were conducted on December 6, 11, and 16. Three surveys, conducted a day after each debate, respectively, reported, in Figure 6.3, that the debates influenced voters' candidate preferences moderately. A December 8-9 survey, conducted two days after the first debate, reported that voter support for Lee, Myung-Bak increased by 2%, while voter support for Chung, Dong-Young dropped by 0.6% and late deciders by 2.5%

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<sup>46</sup> The BBK scandal and the fundamental variables are dichotomous and, hence, the relative magnitude of their effects can be assessed by comparing the size of the coefficients.

compared to the preceding survey. According to December 12 survey, conducted a day after the second debate, voter support for Lee dropped by 0.5%, while voter support for Chung increased by 2% and late deciders by 1.1% compared to the preceding survey. A December 17 survey, conducted a day after the third debate, showed that voter support for Lee decreased by 4.1% and so did voter support for Lee by 0.6%, while late deciders increased by 1.8% compared to the preceding survey. These overall findings suggest that the 2007 presidential debates moderately influenced voters' candidate preferences.

Intervention models are employed in order to examine the influence of the 2007 presidential debates on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.<sup>47</sup> The dependent variable is vote intention. Three dummy variables are employed to measure the influence of the three presidential debates on vote intention during the campaign. They are scored 0 before the debates occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to test the influence of the 2007 presidential debates on voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the campaign. Table 6.7 presents the results of the analysis.

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<sup>47</sup> The 2007 presidential election panel data were not conducted before and after each debate and, hence, it is not possible to measure the influence of the debates at the individual level.

Table 6.7 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Presidential Debates on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|               | Lee, Myung-Bak       | Chung, Dong-Young    | Late Deciders        |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| First Debate  | -2.313<br>(3.397)    | 6.771**<br>(2.384)   | -3.914*<br>(2.155)   |
| Constant      | 47.571***<br>(2.373) | 12.457***<br>(1.686) | 14.257***<br>(1.524) |
| Second Debate | -2.313<br>(3.397)    | 7.013**<br>(2.367)   | -3.529<br>(2.238)    |
| Constant      | 47.363***<br>(2.224) | 12.838***<br>(1.550) | 13.813***<br>(1.465) |
| Third Debate  | -2.212<br>(4.126)    | 7.497**<br>(3.070)   | -4.921*<br>(2.603)   |
| Constant      | 46.845***<br>(1.910) | 14.236***<br>(1.421) | 13.355***<br>(1.205) |
| N             | 14                   | 14                   | 14                   |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The findings show, in Table 6.7, that the 2007 presidential debates influenced voter support for Chung, Dong-Young: the debates increased voter support for Chung by 7.5% during the campaign. Although the BBK video, which was revealed to the public on December 16, negatively influenced voters' evaluations of Lee, Myung-Bak and could affect the increase in voter support for Chung toward the end of the campaign (Gallup Korea 2008), the results of the analysis clearly show that the debates had influence on voter support for Chung during the campaign. The debates also influenced late deciders by assisting 4.9% of them to make up their minds during the campaign. Meanwhile, the negative direction in the coefficients of the debates for Lee suggests that Lee did not receive benefit from the debates although they are not statistically significant.

In sum, the overall findings of the analysis about the influence of campaign events on voters' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns demonstrate that campaign events influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. The scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons significantly influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign and the flow of the 1997 presidential race by offering Kim, Dae-Jung an opportunity to take a lead over Lee, Hoi-Chang. Likewise, the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon significantly influenced voter support for the candidates over the course of the campaign and played a significant role in producing the eventual 2002 presidential election outcome by assisting Roh to recover his lead over Lee, Hoi-Chang. Finally, although it did not reverse the front-runner over the course of the campaign, the BBK scandal played a more important role than the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in explaining changes in voters' candidate preferences over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. These findings suggest that fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events.

### **Changes in Individual Subgroups' Candidate Preferences**

This study posits that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year mainly determine the eventual vote choice and campaign events assist voters to learn more about the fundamental variables to develop their enlightened preferences by the end of the campaign. When campaign events provide voters with information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions during the campaign, however, subgroups of the electorate are likely to develop distinctive candidate preferences over the course of the campaign because the fundamental

variables influence individual subgroup's candidate preferences distinctively. As individual subgroups develop distinctive candidate preferences through campaign events, the influence of the fundamental variables on their vote intention is increasing over the course of the campaign. As a result, individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign.

To empirically test whether subgroups of the electorate develop distinctive candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign, and, as a result, whether individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous toward the end of the campaign (hypothesis 2), this study analyzes how differently subgroups of the electorate enlighten their candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign. Individual subgroups included in the analysis are partisans, independents, regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), and voters who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration. Campaign events included in the analysis are the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons and the DJP alliance in 1997; Roh, Moo-Hyun's electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon in 2002; and the BBK scandal and presidential debates in 2007.

### **Party Identification & Electoral Support for the Candidates**

This study hypothesizes that when a scandal is revealed to the public, partisans and independents develop distinctive candidate preferences after the scandal. Supporters of the party whose candidate is involved in the scandal are less likely to decrease their support for their party candidate than other party supporters who have supported the candidate involved in the scandal. Meanwhile, partisans who have supported other candidates outside the scandal are likely to



maintain their earlier candidate preferences after the scandal. Finally, independents' support for the candidate involved in the scandal is likely to significantly decrease after the scandal (hypothesis 2-1). Meanwhile, it is expected that when an electoral alliance occurs, partisans and independents are likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences (hypothesis 2-4). Figure 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 present changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the 1997 and 2007 presidential campaigns.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> This study does not examine changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign because data are not available.

## The 1997 Presidential Election

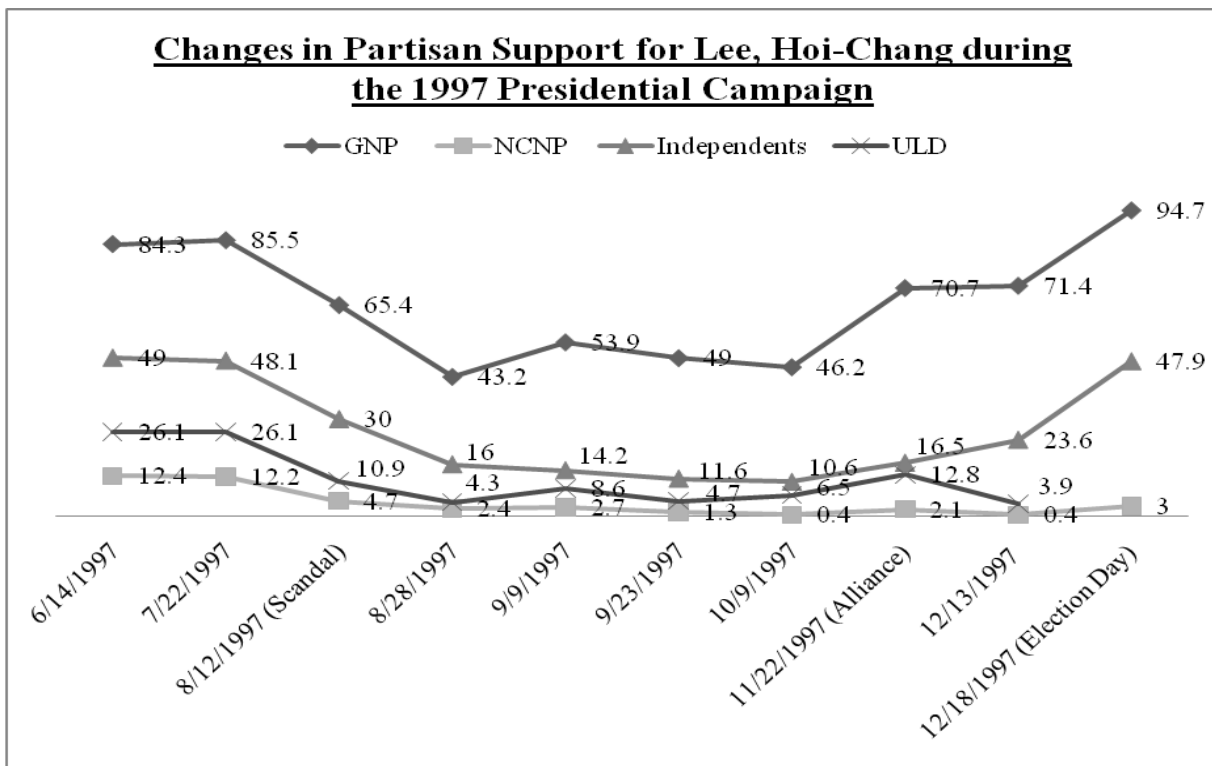


Figure 6.4 Changes in Partisan Support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (1997).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is indicated.

As in Figure 6.4, partisans and independents maintained their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang without a big change before the scandal was revealed to the public. June 14 and July 22 surveys reported that partisans and independents' support for Lee was stable. However, an August 12 survey, conducted after the scandal was revealed to the public in late July, showed that their support for Lee significantly dropped after the scandal. GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee by 20.1%, NCNP supporters by 7.5%, ULD supporters by 15.2%, and independents by 18.1%. These changes suggest that Lee's supporters evaluated the scandal negatively and their

updated evaluations translated into their declining support for Lee. However, a closer look at the survey reveals that GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee less than other partisans and independents. 23.5% of GNP supporters (85.5 % to 65.4%) decreased their support for Lee after the scandal, while 58.2% of ULD supporters (26.1% to 10.9%), 61.5% of NCNP supporters (12.2 to 4.7), and 37.6% of independents (48.1% to 30%) dropped their support for Lee after the scandal. In addition, the downturn trend in other partisans and independents' supporter for Lee was maintained until the DJP alliance occurred in November, while GNP supporters' support for Lee turned around in September and fluctuated a bit until the alliance occurred. The findings suggest that supporters of a party whose candidate is involved in a scandal, based on their loyalty to the party, evaluate their candidate more positively than other partisans and independents and, therefore, they decrease their support for their party candidate less than other partisans and independents.

In the meantime, the DJP alliance conferred a significant electoral benefit to Lee, Hoi-Chang. A Nov. 22 survey reported that GNP supporters increased their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang by 24.5%, NCNP supporters by 1.7%, ULD supporters by 6.3%, and independents by 5.9% after the DJP alliance. More importantly, the alliance played an important role in partisans and independents' support for Lee turning around. The findings suggest that partisans and independents who have supported Lee evaluated the alliance negatively. In addition, they were likely to think that the electoral strength of their candidate was decreasing because Kim showed a sign of electoral strength through the alliance. Accordingly, they rallied around Lee and reinforced their support for Lee after the alliance.

Intervention models are employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisans and independents' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the campaign. GNP

supporters, NCNP supporters, ULD supporters, and independents are included in the models. The dependent variable is partisans and independents' support for Lee. Two dummy variables are employed to measure the scandal and the DJP alliance. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to test the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisans and independents' support for Lee at the aggregate level over the course of the 1997 presidential campaign. Table 6.8 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.8 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Scandal and the DJP Alliance on Partisans and Independents' Support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|              | GNP                   | NCNP                  | INDEP.                | ULD                   |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Scandal      | -33.360***<br>(8.222) | -10.000***<br>(1.185) | -32.070***<br>(8.884) | -19.100***<br>(2.862) |
| DJP Alliance | 27.393***<br>(7.177)  | -.467<br>(1.035)      | 12.853<br>(7.755)     | 1.350<br>(2.862)      |
| Constant     | 84.900***<br>(6.949)  | 12.300***<br>(1.002)  | 48.550***<br>(7.509)  | 26.100***<br>(2.419)  |
| N            | 10                    | 10                    | 10                    | 10                    |
| R-squared    | 0.770                 | 0.922                 | 0.655                 | 0.886                 |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis, in Table 6.8, demonstrate that the scandal significantly influenced partisans and independents' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the campaign. The coefficients of the scandal show that the scandal decreased GNP supporters' preference for Lee by 33.4%, NCNP supporters' preference for Lee by 10%, independents' preference for Lee by 32.1%, and ULD supporters' preference for Lee by 19.1% during the campaign. However, the findings suggest that GNP supporters dropped their support for Lee less than other partisans and

independents who had supported Lee. Compared to their support for Lee before the scandal occurred, GNP supporters' preference for Lee dropped by 39% because of the scandal during the campaign.<sup>49</sup> It suggests that the majority of GNP supporters maintained their support for Lee after the scandal. Meanwhile, NCNP supporters decreased their support for Lee by 82%, ULD supporters by 73%, and independents by 67% by the scandal during the campaign. It suggests that other party supporters and independents significantly decreased their support for Lee after the scandal because they did not have a loyalty to GNP.

Meanwhile, the findings indicate that the DJP alliance played a major role in changing GNP supporters' preference for Lee during the campaign. The coefficient of the DJP alliance for GNP shows that GNP supporters increased their support for Lee by 27.4% after the DJP alliance occurred. It suggests that the DJP alliance was an important campaign event that led GNP supporters to send more support to their party candidate. In addition, the coefficients of the DJP alliance for independents and ULD supporters suggest that the alliance could influence independents and ULD supporters to increase their support for Lee although they are not statistically significant.

Finally, the R-squares of the models present that the scandal and the DJP alliance explain 77% of the variation in GNP supporters' support for Lee, 92% in NCNP supporters, and 66% in independents, and 89% in ULD supporters during the campaign. These findings suggest that the scandal and the DJP alliance primarily influenced partisans and independents' support for Lee over the course of the campaign.

The overall findings about the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisan support for Lee, Hoi-Chang demonstrate that the scandal and the DJP alliance significantly

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<sup>49</sup> The coefficient of 33.4 for GNP is 39% of GNP supporters' preference for Lee before the scandal occurred (85.5%, a July 22 survey, in Figure 6.4).

influenced partisan support for Lee over the course of the campaign. It is suggestive from the findings that when the scandal and the DJP alliance provided information about the candidates, partisans developed distinctive support for Lee by learning more about the importance of party identification in their candidate preferences. As a result, partisan support for Lee became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups by the end of the campaign. As in Figure 6.4, 95% of GNP supporters eventually picked Lee on election day, while only 3% of NCNP supporters ended up with supporting Lee on election day.

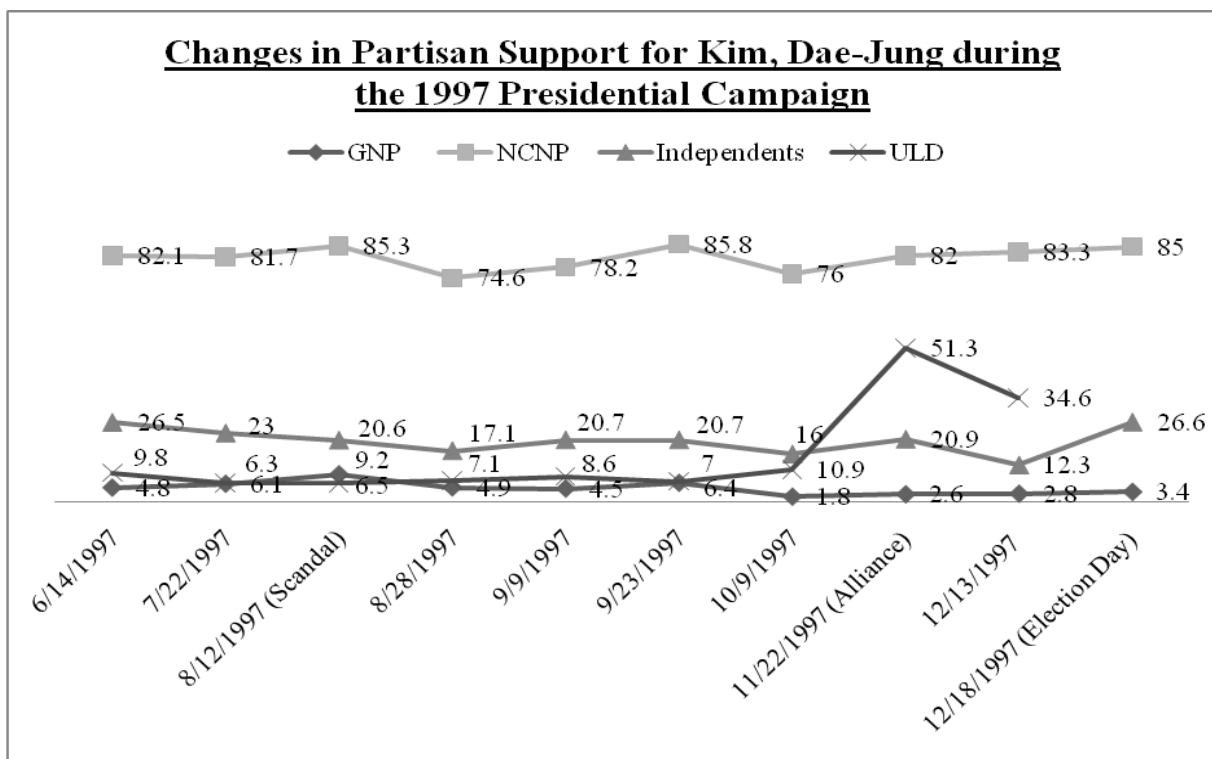


Figure 6.5 Changes in Partisan Support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (1997).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

Meanwhile, as in Figure 6.5, June 14, July 22, and August 12 surveys reported that partisans and independents' support for Kim, Dae-Jung was quite stable before and after the scandal. The August 12 survey reported that NCNP supporters increased their support for Kim by 3.6%, GNP supporters by 0.2%, and ULD supporters by 2.9%, while independents dropped their support for Kim by 2.4% after the scandal. These findings show that partisans and independents' support for Kim was not influenced much by the scandal. It is suggestive from the findings that partisans who had supported Kim perceived that their candidate was better qualified than the candidate in the scandal and, hence, they moderately reinforced their support for Kim after the scandal.

When a major party candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a third party candidate during the campaign, partisans and independents are expected to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences after the alliance. Kim, Dae-Jung's NCNP succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil's ULD, the second largest opposition party, on November 3, 1997. A November 22 survey reported that partisans and independents' support for Kim, Dae-Jung increased after the DJP alliance. NCNP supporters increased their support for Kim, Dae-Jung by 6%, ULD supporters by 40.4%, GNP supporters by 0.8%, and independents by 4.9%. These findings suggest that NCNP supporters whose candidate succeeded in forming the electoral alliance with ULD, based on their loyalty to the party, reinforced their support for their party candidate. In addition, ULD supporters significantly increased their support for Kim, Dae-Jung after the DJP alliance based on their loyalty to their third party. Finally, independents also increased their support for Kim, Dae-Jung after the scandal. They evaluated the political accomplishment positively because Kim, Dae-Jung showed a sign of electoral strength and, hence, they sent more support for Kim after the scandal.

In order to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisans and independents' support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the campaign, intervention models are employed. The dependent variable is partisans and independents' support for Kim. To measure the scandal and the DJP alliance, two dummy variables are employed. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisans and independents' support for Kim at the aggregate level during the 1997 presidential campaign. Table 6.9 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.9 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Scandal and the DJP Alliance on Partisans and Independents' Support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the 1997 Campaign

|              | GNP                 | NCNP                 | INDEP.               | ULD                  |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Scandal      | -.090<br>(1.751)    | -1.920<br>(3.387)    | -5.730<br>(3.616)    | -.030<br>(4.299)     |
| DJP Alliance | -2.427<br>(1.528)   | 3.453<br>(2.957)     | .913<br>(3.156)      | 34.930***<br>(4.299) |
| Constant     | 5.450***<br>(1.614) | 81.900***<br>(2.863) | 24.750***<br>(3.056) | 8.050*<br>(3.633)    |
| N            | 10                  | 10                   | 10                   | 10                   |
| R-squared    | 0.292               | 0.167                | 0.269                | 0.006                |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.9, that the scandal did not influence much partisans and independents' support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the campaign. Meanwhile, the DJP alliance significantly influenced ULD supporters to increase their support for Kim, Dae-Jung. The coefficient of the DJP alliance for ULD indicates that the DJP alliance increased ULD supporters' preferences for Kim by 34.9% during the campaign. Considering that the main



purpose of the alliance was to increase Chungchong voters' support for Kim to win the election by the help of ULD, whose regional base is Chungchong Province, it is suggestive that Kim's electoral strategy of forming the DJP alliance was successful because ULD supporters significantly increased their support for Kim after the alliance.

In the meantime, the findings show that except the increase in ULD supporters' support for Kim, the DJP alliance did not influence much other partisans and independents' support for Kim during the campaign. However, the results suggest that the DJP alliance could influence positively NCNP supporters' preference for Kim, while it could affect negatively GNP supporters' preference for Kim. It suggests that their party affiliation could influence how they evaluated the DJP alliance. Based on their loyalty to their party, NCNP supporters were likely to evaluate the alliance positively by perceiving it as a political accomplishment to show his party candidate's electoral strength. In contrast, GNP supporters were likely to assess the alliance negatively by perceiving it as a cheap political bargain only to win the election.

The overall findings about the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on partisans and independents' support for Kim suggest that their support for Kim was not influenced much by the scandal because Kim was not involved in the scandal, and, therefore, they maintained their support for Kim after the scandal. Meanwhile, ULD supporters' preference for Kim dramatically increased after the DJP alliance, while UNDP supporters and independents' support for Kim was maintained or slightly increased after the alliance. It suggests that supporters of a third party whose candidate succeeds in forming an electoral alliance with a major party candidate are likely to increase their support for the major party candidate, based on their loyalty to the third party.

It is suggestive from the findings that partisans develop distinctive preference for Kim, via the scandal and the DJP alliance, during the campaign. When the scandal and the DJP alliance provided information about the candidates, partisans developed distinctive support for Kim mainly based on their party identification. Accordingly, partisan support for Kim became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups by the end of the campaign. As in Figure 6.5, 85% of UNDP supporters eventually supported Kim on election day, while only 3.4% of GNP supporters picked Kim as their eventual vote choice.

### ***The 2007 Presidential Election***

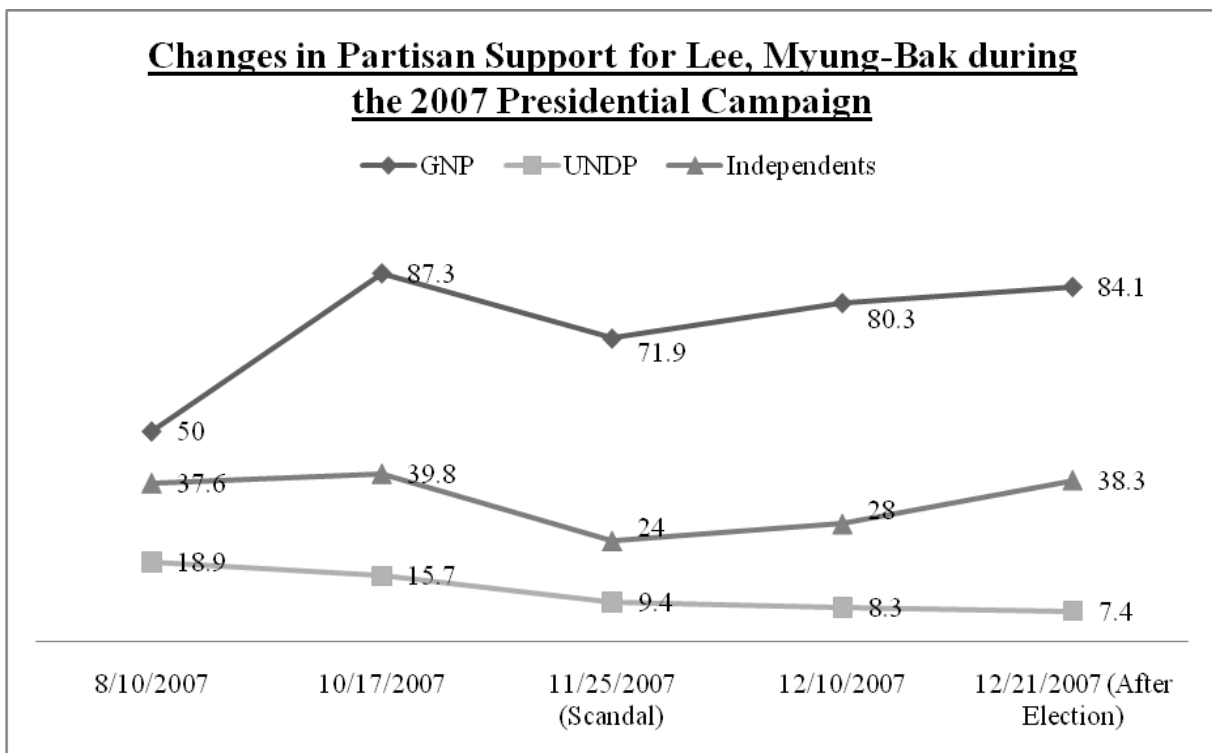


Figure 6.6 Changes in Partisan Support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked; and (3) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

As in Figure 6.6, partisans and independents' support for Lee, Myung-Bak significantly decreased after the BBK scandal occurred. A November 25 survey, conducted after the scandal was revealed to the public in late October, reported that their support for Lee significantly dropped after the scandal. GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee by 15.4%, UNDP supporters by 15.8%, and independents by 6.3%. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal damaged Lee's integrity significantly and led Lee's supporters to move away from him.

However, the results find that GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee smaller than UNDP supporters and independents. A change in GNP supporters' preference for Lee before and after the scandal was 17.6% (87.3 % to 71.9%), while changes in UNDP supporters and independents' support for Lee before and after the scandal were 40.1% for UNDP supporters (15.7% to 6.3%), 39.7% for independents (39.7 to 24). These findings suggest that, based on their loyalty to their party, GNP supporters evaluated their party candidate more positively than UNDP supporters and independents after the BBK scandal occurred. Accordingly, they decreased their support for their party candidate smaller than UNDP supporters and independents. In addition, independents' support for Lee dramatically decreased after the scandal. It suggests that independents did not have loyalty to a party and, hence, they showed an immediate response to the scandal and their negative assessment of the scandal translated into their declining support for Lee.

Meanwhile, a December 10 survey reported that GNP supporters' preference for Lee increased by 8.4% and so did independents' support for Lee by 4%, while UNDP supporters' preference for Lee dropped by 1.1% compared to the preceding survey. The distinctive changes in support for Lee between GNP supporters and independents and UNDP supporters could be explained by how they responded to the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December

5. Investigations on the scandal continued throughout the campaign and prosecutors finally cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the scandal. However, a December 6 survey showed that voter evaluations of the report were almost evenly divided: 49% of the respondents did not trust the investigations report on the scandal (Gallup Korea 2008). It suggests that partisans' support for Lee was likely to be adjusted distinctively after the report according to their party affiliation. Based on their loyalty to their party, GNP supporters were likely to evaluate the report positively and, therefore, they increased their support for Lee after the report. In contrast, UNDP supporters were likely to distrust the report by the influence of their loyalty to their party, and, hence, they decreased their support for Lee after the report. Meanwhile, independents who evaluated the report positively were likely to increase their support for Lee after the report because they perceived that Lee enhanced his electoral strength through the report.

The overall findings about the influence of the BBK scandal on partisans and independents' support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign demonstrate that the BBK scandal significantly influenced partisans and independents' support for Lee during the campaign. It is suggestive from the findings that when the BBK scandal provided partisans with information about the candidates, they learned more about the importance of party affiliation for their vote intention. Accordingly, GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee smaller than UNDP supporters after the BBK scandal. As partisans became more aware of the importance of party affiliation, via the BBK scandal, over the course of the campaign, they developed distinctive candidate preferences and, as a result, their candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. As in Figure 6.6, 84% of GNP supporters ended up with supporting Lee, while only 7% of UNDP supporters decided Lee as their eventual vote choice.

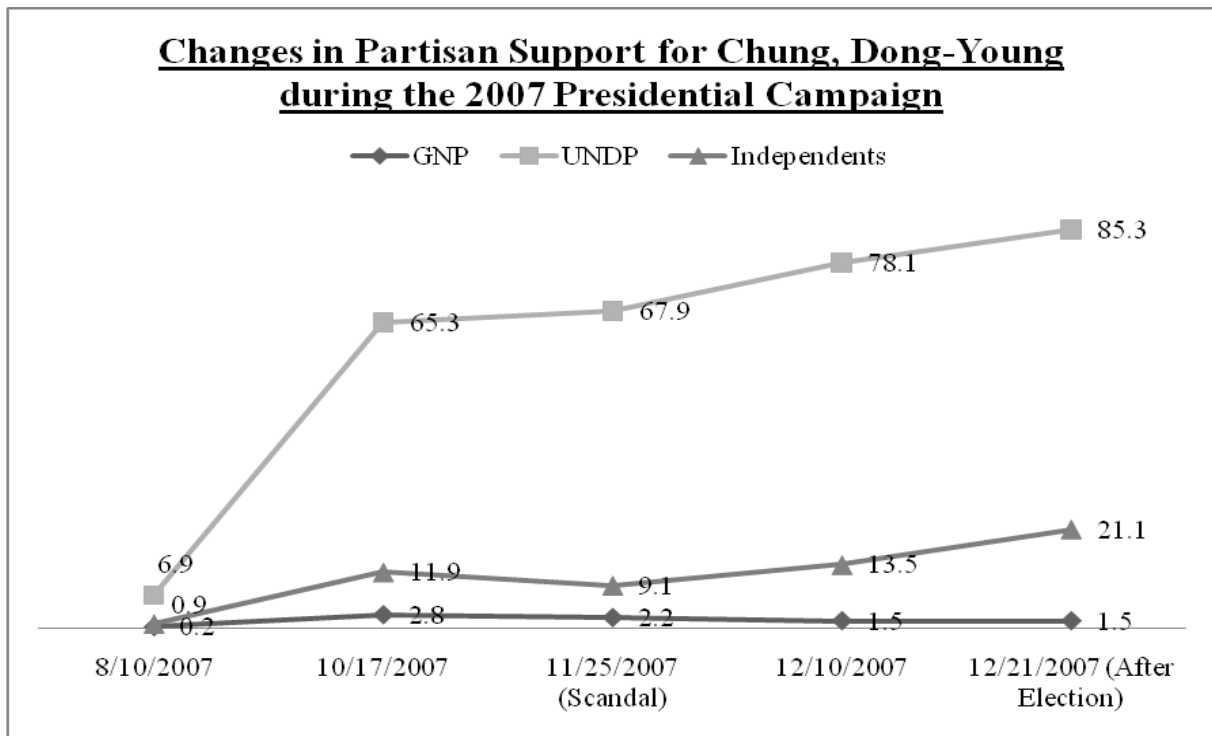


Figure 6.7 Changes in Partisan Support for Chung, Dong-Young during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked; and (3) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

In the meantime, as in Figure 6.7, partisans and independents' support Chung, Dong-Young was quite stable before and after the BBK scandal. The November 25 survey reported that UNDP supporters increased their support for Chung by 2.6% after the scandal, while GNP supporters decreased their support for Chung by 0.6% and independents' support for Chung dropped by 2.8% after the scandal. However, according to a December 10 survey, UNDP supporters' preference for Chung increased by 10.2% and independents' support for Chung by 4.4% compared to the preceding survey. Meanwhile, GNP supporters' preference for Chung decreased by 0.7% compared to the preceding survey.

As we examined earlier, the difference in changes in support for Chung between UNDP supporters and independents and GNP supporters could be accounted for by their evaluations of the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December 5. Based on their loyalty to their party, UNDP supporters were likely to distrust the report and, therefore, they reinforced their support for Chung after the report. In contrast, GNP supporters were likely to trust the report, based on their loyalty to their party, and, hence, they decreased their support for Chung after the report. Meanwhile, independents who evaluated the report negatively were likely to increase their support for Chung after the report because they perceived that Lee still had a problem with his integrity despite the report.

The overall findings about the influence of the BBK scandal on partisans and independents' support for Chung, Dong-Young show that the BBK scandal influenced partisans and independents' support for Chung during the campaign by leading them to maintain or moderately reinforce their support for Chung. The findings suggest that partisans developed their support for Chung distinctively through the BBK scandal based on their loyalty to their party. As a result, partisans' support for Chung became very distinctive by the end of the campaign. As in Figure 6.7, 85% of UNDP supporters chose Chung as their eventual vote choice, while only 1.5% of GNP supporters picked Chung on election day.

This study employs an integrated model including the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences at the individual level after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in the model. The dependent variable of the analysis is whether a partisan or independent switched his/her vote intention over the course of the campaign. It is scored 0 if a respondent did not

switch his/her vote intention and 1 if a respondent switched his/her vote intention during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.<sup>50</sup> The fundamental variables include regionalism (Honam and Youngnam voters) and presidential approval and age, education, and income are employed as sociodemographic variables.<sup>51</sup> The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables on changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.10.

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<sup>50</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day, the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that Lee's comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

<sup>51</sup> The model is designed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in partisans and independents during the campaign. Accordingly, party identification is not included in the model because of a collinearity problem.

Table 6.10 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Changes in Partisans and Independents' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                    | <u>GNP</u> |            | <u>UNDP</u> |            | <u>INDEP.</u> |            |
|--------------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|
|                    | b          | Odds Ratio | b           | Odds Ratio | b             | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal            | .965***    | 2.626      | .838***     | 2.313      | 1.342***      | 3.827      |
| Honam              | -.051      | .950       | .003        | 1.003      | -.215***      | .807       |
| Youngnam           | .013       | 1.013      | .274        | 1.316      | .211***       | 1.235      |
| Approval           | .336***    | 1.400      | -.546***    | .579       | -.096         | .908       |
| Age                | -.247***   | .782       | -.073       | .929       | -.124**       | .883       |
| Income             | -.001      | .999       | .007        | 1.007      | .009          | 1.009      |
| Education          | -.242***   | .785       | -.106       | 0.900      | -.023         | .977       |
| Constant           | -1.076***  | -          | -1.245**    | -          | -1.298***     | -          |
| N                  | 3830       |            | 1060        |            | 1679          |            |
| Percentage Correct | 85.2       |            | 81.3        |            | 71.1          |            |
| Model Chi-square   | 148.8      |            | 44.4        |            | 157.7         |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

The results of the analysis demonstrate, in Table 6.10, that the BBK scandal significantly influenced changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental variables and sociodemographic characteristics. The odds ratio of the BBK scandal for GNP supporters indicate that the ratio of the odds of a GNP supporter switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the supporter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 2.626. It means that the odds of a GNP supporter changing his/her vote intention because of the BBK scandal were approximately 2.6 times higher than those of the GNP supporter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign.

Similarly, the odds ratio of the BBK scandal for UNDP supporters show that the ratio of the odds of a UNDP supporter changing his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the supporter changing his/her vote intention without the scandal is 2.313. It means that the odds



of a UNDP supporter switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal were about 2.3 times higher than those of the UNDP supporter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign. In the meantime, the odds ratio of the BBK scandal for independents present that the ratio of the odds of a independent switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the independent switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 3.827. It means that the odds of an independent changing his/her vote intention because of the BBK scandal were about 3.8 times higher than those of the independent changing his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign.

Meanwhile, the results of the analysis show that some of the fundamental and control variables influenced whether partisans and independents switched their vote intention during the campaign. Presidential approval, age, and education affected changes in GNP supporters' vote intention during the campaign. For UNDP supporters, only presidential approval influenced whether they switched their vote intention during the campaign. Regionalism (both Honam and Youngnam), and age influenced changes in independents' candidate preferences during the campaign. Although some of the fundamental and control variables influenced changes in partisans and independents' vote intention during the campaign, the odds ratio of the fundamental and control variables show that their influence was much smaller than the BBK scandal. This finding suggests that changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences was primarily responsive to the BBK scandal over the course of the campaign.

Did the BBK scandal influence vote intention of partisans and independents over the course of the campaign as it affected changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the campaign? In other words, is there any difference in the influence of the BBK scandal between on changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences and on

their vote intention during the campaign? To examine whether the BBK scandal influenced partisans and independents' vote intention during the 2007 presidential campaign, this study employs three integrated models for GNP supporters, UNDP supporters, and independents, respectively, at the individual level after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in the models. The dependent variable is partisans and independents' support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign. It is scored 1 if a partisan or independent supported Lee and 0 if other candidate. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. Based on the same theoretical assumptions on the BBK scandal as in the previous analyses, the variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.

The fundamental variables included in the analysis are regionalism (Honam and Youngnam voters) and presidential approval.<sup>52</sup> Three sociodemographic variables (age, education, and income) are employed as control variables. The way that the fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized is the same as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables on partisans and independents' vote intention at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign. Table 6.11 present the results of the analysis.

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<sup>52</sup> The models examine the influence of the BBK scandal on partisans and independents' vote intention during the campaign. Therefore, party identification is not included in the models because of a collinearity problem.

Table 6.11 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Partisans and Independents' Vote Intention during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                  | <u>GNP</u> |            | <u>UNDP</u> |            | <u>INDEP.</u> |            |
|------------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|
|                  | b          | Odds Ratio | b           | Odds Ratio | b             | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal          | -.586***   | .557       | -.404**     | .668       | -.291***      | .748       |
| Honam            | -.010      | .991       | -.707***    | .493       | -.130*        | .878       |
| Youngnam         | .044       | 1.045      | -.164       | .849       | .144*         | 1.155      |
| Approval         | -.336***   | .715       | -.236       | .790       | -.652***      | .521       |
| Age              | .315***    | 1.370      | -.266**     | .767       | .276***       | 1.318      |
| Income           | .003       | 1.003      | .001        | 1.001      | .014          | 1.014      |
| Education        | .203***    | 1.225      | -.285*      | .752       | .327***       | 1.387      |
| Constant         | .631**     | -          | .039        | -          | -1.694***     | -          |
| N                | 3830       |            | 1060        |            | 1679          |            |
| Model Chi-square | 112.1      |            | 28.3        |            | 91.6          |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.11, that the BBK scandal influenced partisans and independents' vote intention during the campaign. The coefficients of the BBK scandal indicate that the BBK scandal influenced negatively all the partisans and independents' support for Lee, Myung-Bak. Unlike the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in partisans and independents' candidate preferences during the campaign, however, the BBK scandal does not show greater influence on vote intention of partisans and independents than the fundamental variables during the campaign. It suggests that the BBK scandal was one of the factors that influenced partisans and independents' support for Lee during the campaign. For GNP supporters, the BBK scandal, presidential approval, age, and education influenced their support for Lee during the campaign. The BBK scandal, Honam, age, and education affected UNDP supporters' preference for Lee during the campaign. For independents, the BBK scandal, Honam, Youngnam, presidential approval, age, and education influenced their support for Lee during the campaign.

The overall findings about the influence of the scandals (in 1997 and 2007) and the DJP alliance (in 1997) on changes in partisans' candidate preferences during the campaign demonstrate that partisans developed distinctive candidate preferences, via the campaign events, over the course of the campaign. The findings suggest that as the campaign events provided information about the candidates during the campaign, partisans learned more about the importance of party identification in their candidate preferences. In 1997, GNP supporters' preference for Lee, Hoi-Chang fluctuated during the campaign when the scandal and the DJP alliance provided them with information about the candidates. Based on their loyalty to their party, however, GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee smaller than other party supporters and independents. In addition, when Kim, Dae-Jung, a major competitor of their party candidate, showed a sign of his electoral strength through the DJP alliance, GNP supporters rallied around Lee and increased their support for him. Likewise, when the BBK scandal provided voters with information about the candidates in 2007, GNP supporters' preference for Lee, Myung-Bak fluctuated. However, GNP supporters decreased their support for Lee smaller than UNDP supporters and independents based on their loyalty to their party. Moreover, when prosecutors finally cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the scandal on December 5, GNP supporters increased their support for Lee greater than UNDP supporters.

It is also suggestive from the findings that campaign events assisted partisans to be more aware of the fundamental variables and to develop distinctive enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign. As a result of the enlightenment, partisans' candidate preferences became very homogeneous within the groups and very heterogeneous across the groups by the end of the campaign. 95% of GNP supporters picked Lee, Hoi-Chang on as their eventual vote choice, while 85% of NCNP supporters ended up with supporting Kim, Dae-Jung in 1997. 84%

of GNP supporters supported Lee, Myung-Bak on election day, while 85% of UNDP supporters decided Chung, Dong-Young as their eventual vote choice in 2007.

Finally, the findings show that independents' candidate preferences were significantly influenced by the scandals and the DJP alliance during the campaign. It is suggestive from the findings that independents were more likely to be influenced by campaign events than strong partisans because independents did not have loyalty to a party. However, the findings also suggest that independents developed their candidate preferences, via campaign events, based on their earlier candidate preferences, which was influenced by the fundamental variables and sociodemographic characteristics, such as regionalism, presidential approval, age, and education, in Table 6.11. For example, the majority of independents maintained their support for Lee after the scandal in 1997 although the scandal decreased independents' support for Lee by 38%. In addition, independents increased their support for Lee and Kim, respectively, after the DJP alliance according to their earlier candidate preferences. Independents who had supported Lee were likely to evaluate the DJP alliance negatively and increase their support for Lee, while independents who had supported Kim were likely to assess the alliance positively and reinforce their support for Kim. These overall findings about changes in independents' vote intention during the campaign suggest that although independents' vote intention is more likely to be influenced by campaign events during the campaign, independents are likely to develop their candidate preferences based on their earlier candidate preferences.

### **Regionalism & Electoral Support for the Candidates**

This study hypothesizes that when their regional party candidate is involved in a scandal, the majority of regional voters are likely to maintain their support for the regional party

candidate while their rival regional voters are likely to remain in their support for their regional party candidate after the scandal (hypothesis 2-3).<sup>53</sup> In the meantime, it is expected that when an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign, regional voters are likely to increase their support for their regional party candidate, respectively (hypothesis 2-6). Figure 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, and 6.16 present changes in regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

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<sup>53</sup> The analysis does not examine regional voters' candidate preferences after the scandal of President Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants in the 2002 presidential election because the 2002 presidential election data do not cover regional voters' candidate preferences before the scandal occurred.

## *The 1997 Presidential Election*

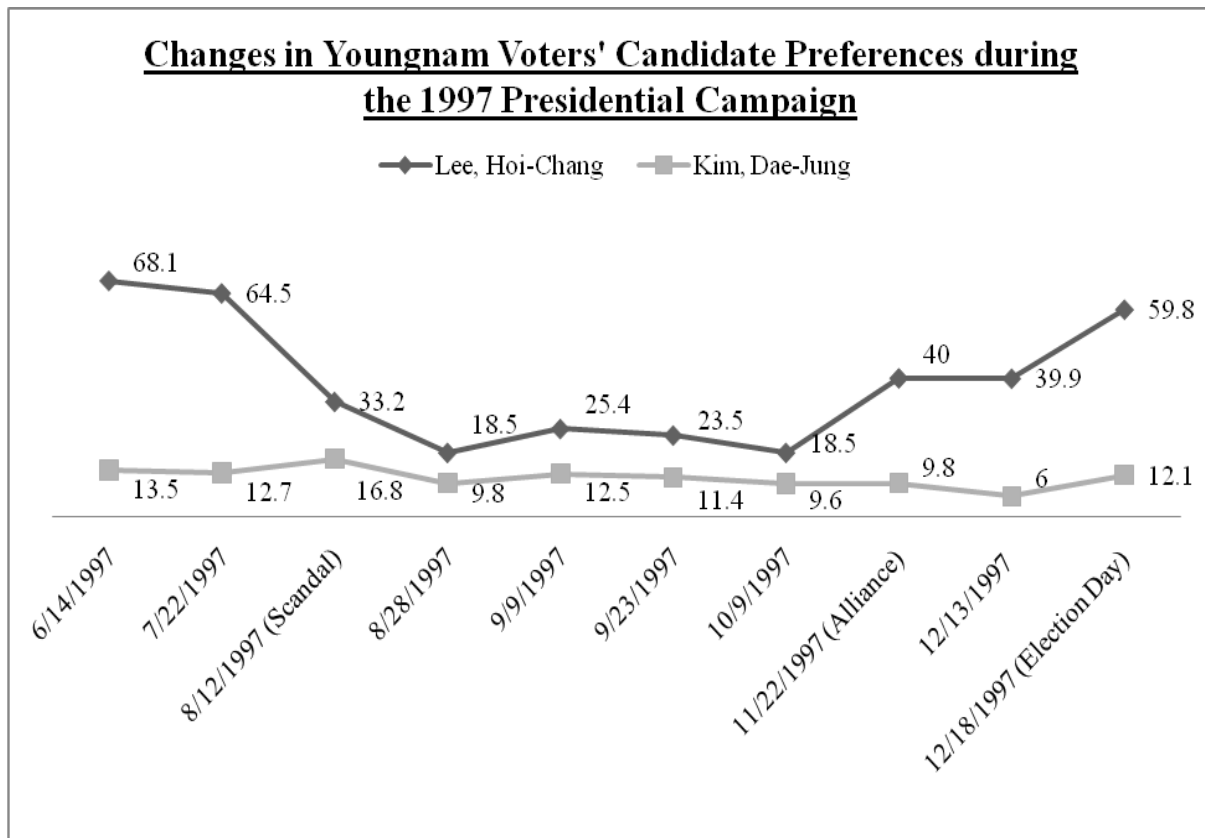


Figure 6.8 Changes in Youngnam Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (1997).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the regional party candidate of Youngnam Province; (2) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil; and (4) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

When the scandal of evading military service of his two sons were revealed to the public in late July, regional voters' candidate preferences were distinctive according to whether their regional party candidate was involved in the scandal. An August 12 survey, conducted after the scandal occurred, showed, in Figure 6.8, that candidate preferences of Youngnam voters, whose regional candidate was involved in the scandal, significantly fluctuated after the scandal.

Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang significantly decreased (-31.3%) after the scandal.

In addition, the downturn trend in Youngnam voters' support for Lee was maintained until the DJP alliance occurred in November. These results show that the scandal significantly influenced Youngnam voters' support for Lee and led his regional voters to move away from him.

Although the scandal had significant influence on changes in Youngnam voters' support for Lee after the scandal, however, it is suggestive that the majority of Youngnam voters remained in their support for Lee after the scandal. According to July 22 and August 12 surveys, 48.5% of Youngnam voters (64.5% to 33.2%) dropped their support for Lee after the scandal. It means that 51.5% of Youngnam voters still maintained their support for Lee after the scandal. Meanwhile, Youngnam voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung slightly increased after the scandal. The August 12 survey reported that Youngnam voters' support for Kim increased by 4.1% after the scandal. It suggests that Kim benefited from the scandal moderately.

In the meantime, Youngnam voters significantly increased their support for Lee after the DJP alliance. A November 22 survey, conducted after the DJP alliance was formed on November 3, reported, in Figure 6.8, that Youngnam voters' support for Lee significantly increased (+21.5%) compared to the preceding survey. It suggests that the DJP alliance played an important role in the regional voters' support for Lee turning around. When Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance, based on their preference of their regional party candidate, Youngnam voters were likely to evaluate the DJP alliance negatively with the perception that the alliance was a cheap political bargain only to win the election. In addition, the DJP alliance was likely to provide Youngnam voters with information that their regional party candidate was losing electoral strength because of the alliance. Accordingly, Youngnam voters were likely to rally around Lee and increase their support for him after the alliance. Meanwhile, Youngnam voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung was stable before and after the DJP alliance. The November 22



survey reported that Youngnam voters' support for Kim increased by 0.2% after the DJP alliance. It is suggestive from the finding that the DJP alliance did not influence much Youngnam voters' support for Kim.

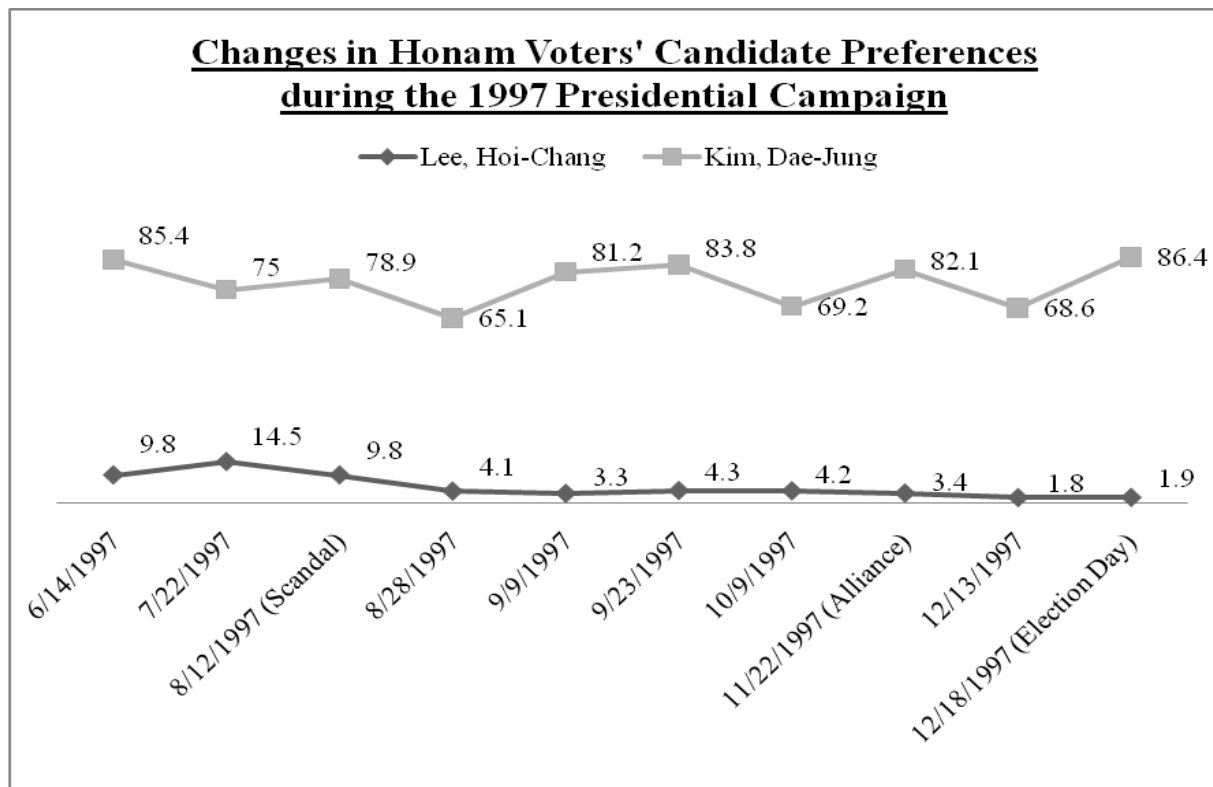


Figure 6.9 Changes in Honan Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (1997).

Notes: (1) Kim, Dae-Jung was the regional party candidate of Honam Province; (2) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance; and (4) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

July 22 and August 12 surveys showed, in Figure 6.9, that Honam voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung was quite stable before and after the scandal. The August 12 survey reported that Honam voters increased their support for Kim by 3.9%, while their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang dropped by 4.7% compared to the preceding survey. These findings suggest that Honam voters'

support for Kim was not influenced much by the scandal because he was not involved in the scandal. In addition, they were likely to evaluate that their regional party candidate was better qualified than the candidate of their rival regional party. Accordingly, they maintained or slightly increased their support for Kim after the scandal. Meanwhile, Honam voters decreased their support for Lee after the scandal and it reflects their disappointment in the candidate by the scandal.

Meanwhile, after their regional party candidate formed the DJP electoral alliance, Honam voters increased their support for their regional party candidate. A November 22 survey, conducted after the DJP alliance occurred, reported, in Figure 6.9, that Honam voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung increased by 12.9% while their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang dropped by 0.8% compared to the preceding survey. These findings suggest that Honam voters were likely to evaluate the DJP alliance positively by the influence of their regional party support on their vote intention. Accordingly, they increased their support for their regional party candidate and dropped their support for their rival regional party candidate after the DJP alliance.

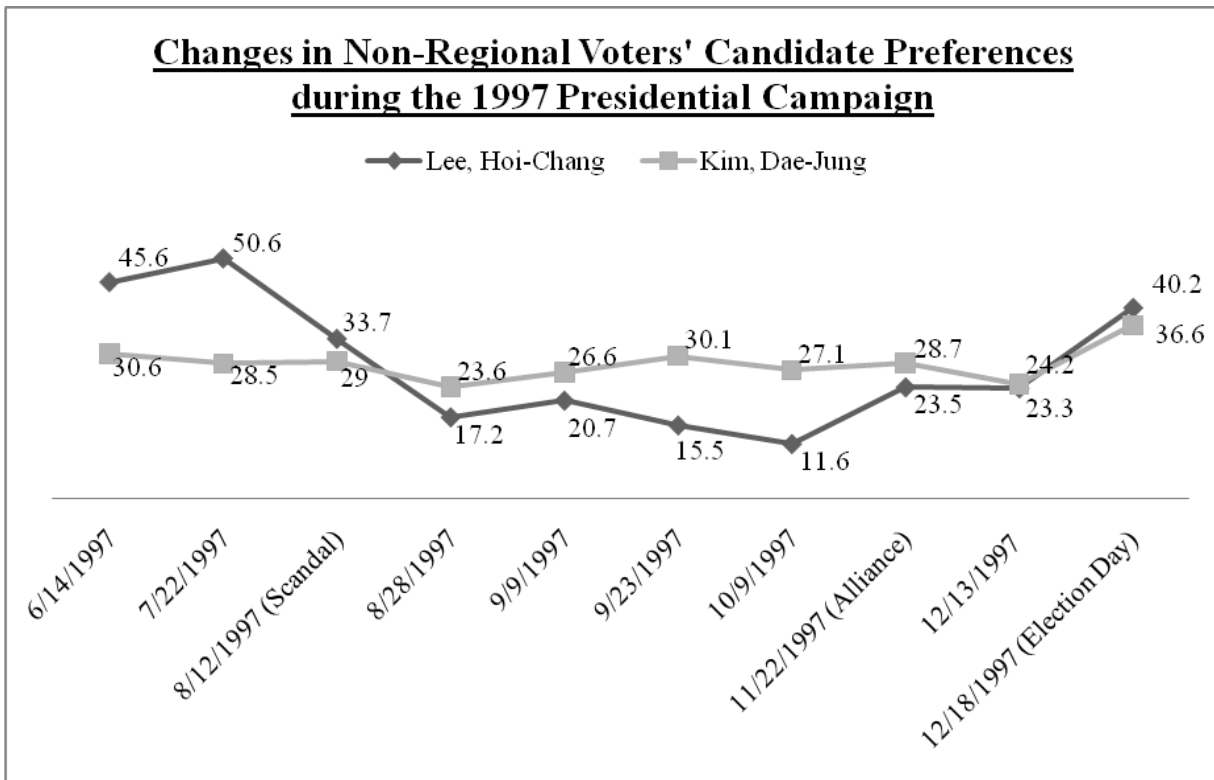


Figure 6.10 Changes in Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (1997).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) Kim, Dae-Jung succeeded in forming the DJP alliance with Kim, Jong-Pil; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

Non-regional voters decreased their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang, while their support for Kim, Dae-Jung did not change much after the scandal occurred. As in Figure 6.10, An August 12 survey showed that non-regional voters' support for Lee dropped by 16.9% and the downturn trend was maintained until the DJP alliance occurred in November. Meanwhile, their support for Kim did not vary much after the scandal occurred. According to the August 12 survey, non-regional voters' support for Kim increased by 0.5% compared to the preceding survey. These findings suggest that the scandal significantly influenced non-regional voters' support for Lee, while their support for Kim was not influenced much by the scandal.

In the meantime, non-regional voters' support for Lee significantly increased after the DJP alliance occurred in November. A November 22 survey, conducted after the DJP alliance occurred, reported that non-regional voters' support for Lee significantly increased by 11.9 % and their support for Kim also rose by 1.6% compared to the preceding survey. The results show that the DJP alliance played a significant role in non-regional voters' support for Lee turning around. The reason why Lee received more benefit from non-regional voters than Kim through the DJP alliance could be explained by their perceptions of the DJP alliance. In line with the majority of voters' negative evaluations of the alliance because of quite different ideological orientations between NCNP and ULD (Gallup Korea 1998), non-regional voters were likely to perceive the alliance as a cheap political bargain only to win the election and, hence, they sent more support to Lee after the alliance.

Intervention models are employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the campaign. Honam, Youngnam, and non-regional voters are included in the analysis. The dependent variable is vote intention of regional and non-regional voters. Two dummy variables are employed to measure the scandal and the DJP alliance. They are scored 0 before they occurred and 1 after their occurrence through election day, respectively. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level over the course of the 1997 presidential campaign. Table 6.12 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.12 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Scandal and the DJP Alliance on Regional and Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|              | <u>Honam</u>        |                    | <u>Youngnam</u>      |                    | <u>Non-Regional</u>  |                    |
|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
|              | Lee                 | Kim                | Lee                  | Kim                | Lee                  | Kim                |
| Scandal      | -7.01**<br>(2.011)  | -4.560<br>(6.981)  | -42.48***<br>(6.453) | -1.08<br>(2.314)   | -28.36***<br>(6.980) | -2.27<br>(3.255)   |
| DJP alliance | -2.003<br>(1.755)   | 3.393<br>(6.093)   | 22.747***<br>(5.632) | -2.72<br>(2.019)   | 9.260<br>(6.092)     | 2.553<br>(2.841)   |
| Constant     | 12.15***<br>(1.699) | 80.2***<br>(5.900) | 66.3***<br>(5.453)   | 13.1***<br>(1.956) | 48.1***<br>(5.899)   | 29.55**<br>(2.751) |
| N            | 10                  | 10                 | 10                   | 10                 | 10                   | 10                 |
| R-squared    | 0.745               | 0.074              | 0.871                | 0.281              | 0.703                | 0.630              |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis, in Table 6.12, show that the scandal and the DJP alliance significantly influenced regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the campaign. The coefficients of the scandal for Lee indicate that the scandal decreased Honam voters' support for Lee by 7%, Youngnam voters' support for Lee by 42.5%, and non-regional voters' support for Lee by 32.1% over the course of the campaign. Meanwhile, the findings show that the scandal did not have much influence on regional and non-regional voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the campaign. None of the coefficients of the scandal for Kim is statistically significant. The findings suggest that the scandal played a significant role in changes in regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang over the course of the campaign.

The DJP alliance played a significant role in changes in Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the campaign. The coefficient of the DJP alliance shows that the DJP alliance increased Youngnam voters' support for Lee by 22.7% during the campaign. This finding suggests that the DJP alliance played an important role in leading Youngnam voters to

rally around Lee and increase their support for him during the campaign. Although it is not statistically significant, the coefficient of the DJP alliance for non-regional voters suggests that the DJP alliance could assist non-regional voters to increase their support for Lee during the campaign. Similarly, it is suggestive that Kim could benefit from Honam and non-regional voters through the DJP alliance during the campaign although they are not statistically significant.

The R-squares of the models for regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee present that the scandal and the DJP alliance explain 75% of the variation of Honam voters' support for Lee, 87% of the variation of Youngnam voters' support for Lee, and 70% of the variation of non-regional voters' support for Lee during the campaign. It is suggestive from the findings that regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee during the campaign was significantly influenced by the scandal and the DJP alliance.

The overall findings about the influence of the scandal and the DJP alliance on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences demonstrate that those campaign events significantly influenced regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang during the 1997 presidential campaign. The scandal significantly damaged Youngnam and non-regional voters' support for Lee during the campaign. Meanwhile, the DJP alliance led Youngnam voters to send more support for Lee and could motivate non-regional voters to increase their support for Lee during the campaign. In contrast, the scandal and the DJP alliance did not have much influence on regional and non-regional voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung during the campaign. It suggests that regional voters' support for a candidate who is not involved in a scandal is not affected much by the scandal.

It is suggestive from the findings that the scandal and the DJP alliance assisted regional voters to learn more about the importance of regionalism in their vote intention, and, therefore,

they developed distinctive candidate preferences during the campaign. As a result, their candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. 60% of Youngnam voters decided Lee, Hoi-Chang as their eventual vote choice, while 12% of them ended up with supporting Kim, Dae-Jung on election day. In contrast, 86% of Honam voters supported Kim, Dae-Jung on election day, while only 2% of them picked Lee, Hoi-Chang as their eventual vote choice.

### *The 2002 Presidential Election*

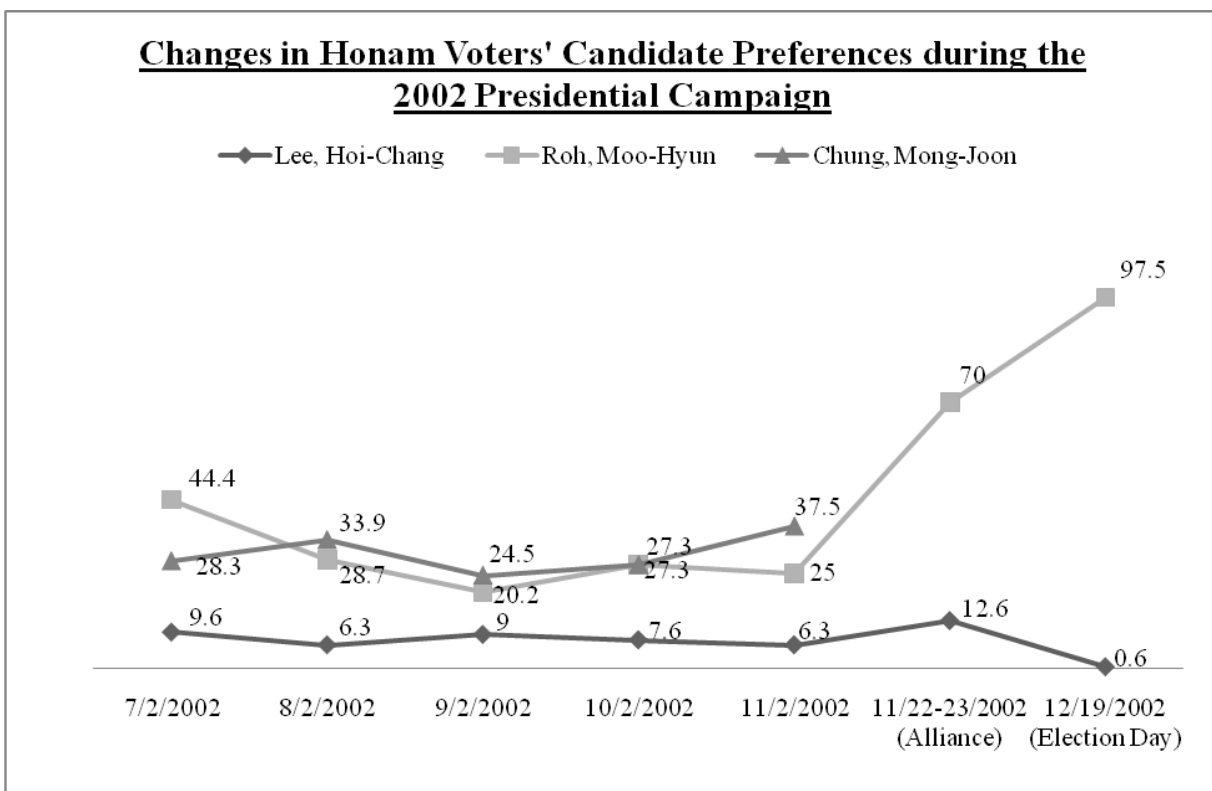


Figure 6.11 Changes in Honam Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (2002).

Notes: (1) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the regional party candidate of Honam Province; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Roh finally succeed in the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon on Nov. 24.

When Roh, Moo-Hyun formed an electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon in late November, Honam voters increased their support for their regional party candidate. As in Figure 6.11, a November 22-23 survey reported that Honam voters' support for Roh increased by 45% through the alliance. In addition, the increase in Honam voters' support for Roh continued through election day. These findings suggest that Roh could increase his support from the regional voters mainly by absorbing Chung's supporters after the alliance. A November 2 survey reported that 37.5% of Honam voters supported Chung. The Nov. 22-23 survey suggests that Chung's supporters switched their support to Roh through the electoral alliance. It is suggestive from the findings that the electoral alliance played an important role in Honam voters' support for Roh during the campaign. Meanwhile, accordingly to the November 22-23 survey, Honam voters' support for Lee increased by 6.3% after the electoral alliance. However, the increase in Honam voters' support for Lee did not last long because only 0.6% of Honam voters ended up with supporting Lee on election day.

The overall findings suggest that the electoral alliance was an important campaign event that brought Honam voters back to their regional party candidate. Based on their preference of their regional party candidate, the regional voters welcomed the electoral alliance because the alliance showed a sign of their regional party candidate's electoral strength. Accordingly, Honam voters rallied around their regional party candidate and increased their support for Roh after the electoral alliance.



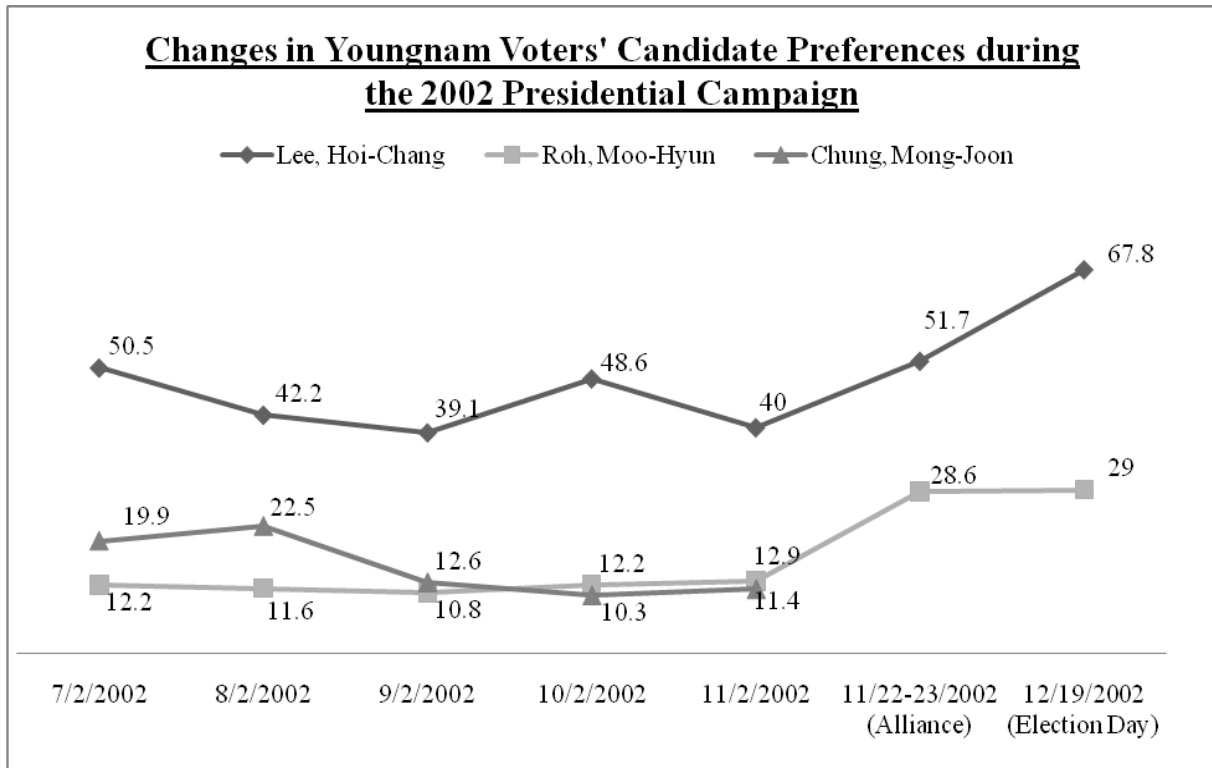


Figure 6.12 Changes in Youngnam Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (2002).

Notes: (1) Lee, Hoi-Chang was the regional party candidate of Youngnam Province; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon; and (3) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Roh finally succeed in the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon on Nov. 24.

Youngnam voters increased their support for Lee, Hoi-Chang through the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon in November. As in Figure 6.12, a Nov. 22-23 survey reported that Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang increased by 11.7% compared to the preceding survey. The increase in Youngnam voters' support for Lee could be explained by the decrease in undecided Youngnam voters through the alliance. Although it is not in Figure 6.12, the Nov. 22-23 survey reported that undecided Youngnam voters dropped by 14.4% (28.6% to 14.2%) compared to the preceding survey. It suggests that Lee could increase Youngnam voters' support mainly by absorbing undecided voters who made up their minds through the alliance. These findings suggest that the electoral alliance provided

Youngnam voters with information that their regional party candidate was losing electoral strength because their rival regional party candidate showed a sign of electoral strength through the alliance. Therefore, the regional voters increased their support for their regional party candidate after the alliance.

Meanwhile, Youngnam voters increased their support for Roh, Moo-Hyun by 15.7% through the alliance and their increased support for Roh was maintained through election day. The findings suggest that Roh could increase Youngnam voters' support after the electoral alliance mainly by absorbing Chung's supporters in that region through the alliance. A November 2 survey reported that 11.4% of Youngnam voters supported Chung. A Nov. 22-23 survey suggests that Chung's supporters in Youngnam Province were absorbed by Roh through the electoral alliance.

The overall findings suggest that the electoral alliance significantly influenced Youngnam voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. Lee could increase support from the regional base of his party, while Roh could secure considerable support from the regional base of his main competitor through the electoral alliance. Considering that 12% of Youngnam voters supported Roh's predecessor in 1997 and Roh could defeat Lee with a small margin of the vote (2.3%), Roh's strategy to form the electoral alliance turned out to work successfully and contributed to his victory in the 2002 presidential election.

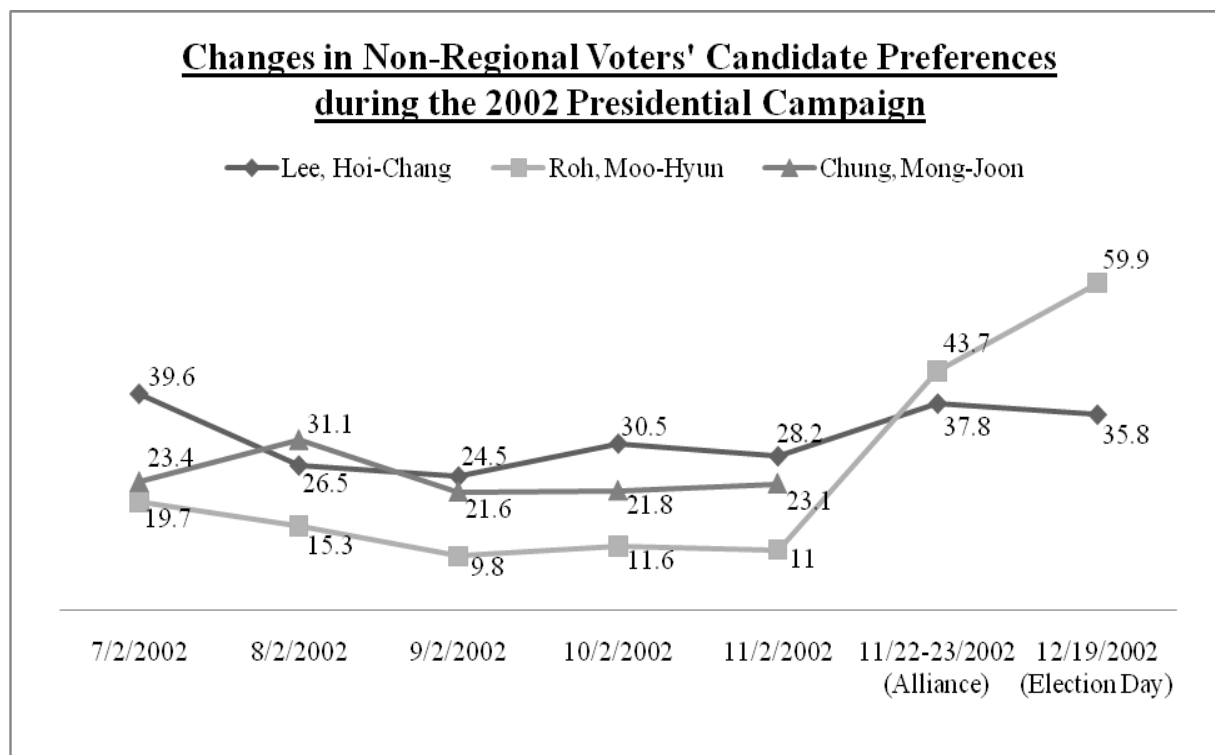


Figure 6.13 Changes in Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (2002).

Notes: (1) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon; (2) except election day, dates on the figure indicate survey dates. Roh finally succeeded in the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon on Nov. 24.

Non-regional voters' candidate preferences significantly influenced by the electoral alliance with Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon. As in Figure 6.13, a November 22-23 survey reported that non-regional voters' support for Roh increased by 32.7% and the increase in non-regional voters' support for Roh was continued through election day. The findings suggest that Roh could increase non-regional voters' support after the electoral alliance mainly by taking Chung's supporters and some of undecided voters. A November 2 survey reported that 23.1% of non-regional voters supported Chung and the Nov. 22-23 survey suggests that Chung's supporters were absorbed by Roh through the electoral alliance. Meanwhile, although it is not in Figure 6.13, the Nov. 22-23 survey found that undecided voters dropped by 21.3% compared to the preceding survey. It suggests that about the half of undecided voters who made up their

minds through the alliance supported Roh. In addition, Roh recovered his lead over Lee in non-regional voters' candidate preferences after the alliance.

Meanwhile, according to the November 22-23 survey, non-regional voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang increased by 9.6% through the alliance, but their support for Lee slightly decreased by 2% on election day. The increase in non-regional voters' support for Lee through the alliance could be explained by the decrease in undecided voters through the alliance. According to the Nov. 22-23 survey, undecided voters dropped by 21.3% compared to the preceding survey, although it is not in Figure 6.13. It suggests that about the half of undecided voters who made up their minds through the alliance supported Lee.

These findings suggest that the electoral alliance played an important role in increasing non-regional voters' support for Roh during the campaign. Unlike to the influence of the DJP alliance on non-regional voters' support for Kim, Dae-Jung in 1997, non-regional voters significantly increased their support for Roh through the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung in 2002. Non-regional voters' support for Kim dropped by 4.5% after the DJP alliance, while their support for Roh increased by 32.7% through the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung. It suggests that the influence of an electoral alliance on voters' candidate preferences depends on how voters evaluate the alliance. As mentioned earlier, the majority of voters evaluated the DJP alliance negatively because of quite different ideological orientations of the two parties in the alliance, while the majority of voters supported the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung by evaluating it as coalition for political innovation. By receiving positive evaluations from non-regional voters, the electoral alliance led non-regional voters' support for Roh to move up and contributed to Roh's victory in the 2002 presidential election.

In order to examine the influence of the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign, intervention models are employed. Honam, Youngnam, and non-regional voters are included in the analysis. The dependent variable is vote intention of regional and non-regional voters. A dummy variable is employed to measure the electoral alliance. It is scored 0 before the alliance occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the aggregate level during the 2002 presidential campaign. Table 6.13 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.13 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Electoral Alliance on Regional and Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|           | <u>Honam</u>      |                     | <u>Youngnam</u>     |                    | <u>Non-Regional</u> |                     |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|           | Lee               | Roh                 | Lee                 | Roh                | Lee                 | Roh                 |
| Alliance  | -1.16<br>(3.372)  | 54.63***<br>(9.981) | 15.67**<br>(5.751)  | 16.86***<br>(.598) | 6.940<br>(4.428)    | 38.32***<br>(5.244) |
| Constant  | 7.76**<br>(1.802) | 29.12***<br>(5.335) | 44.08***<br>(3.074) | 11.94***<br>(.319) | 29.86***<br>(2.367) | 13.48***<br>(2.803) |
| N         | 7                 | 7                   | 7                   | 7                  | 7                   | 7                   |
| R-squared | 0.023             | 0.857               | 0.598               | 0.994              | 0.329               | 0.914               |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis, in Table 6.13, show that the electoral alliance significantly influenced regional and non-regional voters' support for Roh, Moo-Hyun during the campaign. The coefficients of the electoral alliance for Roh indicate that the electoral alliance increased Honam voters' support for Roh by 54.6%, Youngnam voters' support for Roh by 16.9%, and

non-regional voters' support for Roh by 38.3% during the campaign. In addition, the R-squares of the models present that the electoral alliance explains 86% of the variation in Honam voters' support for Roh, 99% in Youngnam voters' support for Roh, and 91% in non-regional voters' support for Roh. These findings suggest that the electoral alliance played an important role in changes in regional and non-regional voters' support for Roh during the campaign by significantly increasing Honam and non-regional voters' support for Roh.

Meanwhile, the findings indicate that the electoral alliance increased Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang by 15.7% during the campaign. In addition, the R-square of the model for Youngnam voters' support for Lee shows that the electoral alliance explains 60% of the variation in Youngnam voters' support for Lee. These findings suggest that the electoral alliance significantly influenced changes in Youngnam voters' support for Lee during the campaign.

The overall findings about the influence of the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign suggest that regional voters learned more about the importance of regionalism in their vote intention, via the electoral alliance, and developed distinctive candidate preferences during the campaign. As a result, regional voters' support for their regional party candidate became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. 98% of Honam voters decided Roh, Moo-Hyun as their eventual vote choice, while only 0.6% of them ended up with supporting Lee, Hoi-Chang on election day. In contrast, 68% of Youngnam voters picked Lee, Hoi-Chang on election day, while 29% of them decided Roh, Moo-Hyun as their eventual vote choice.

## *The 2007 Presidential Election*

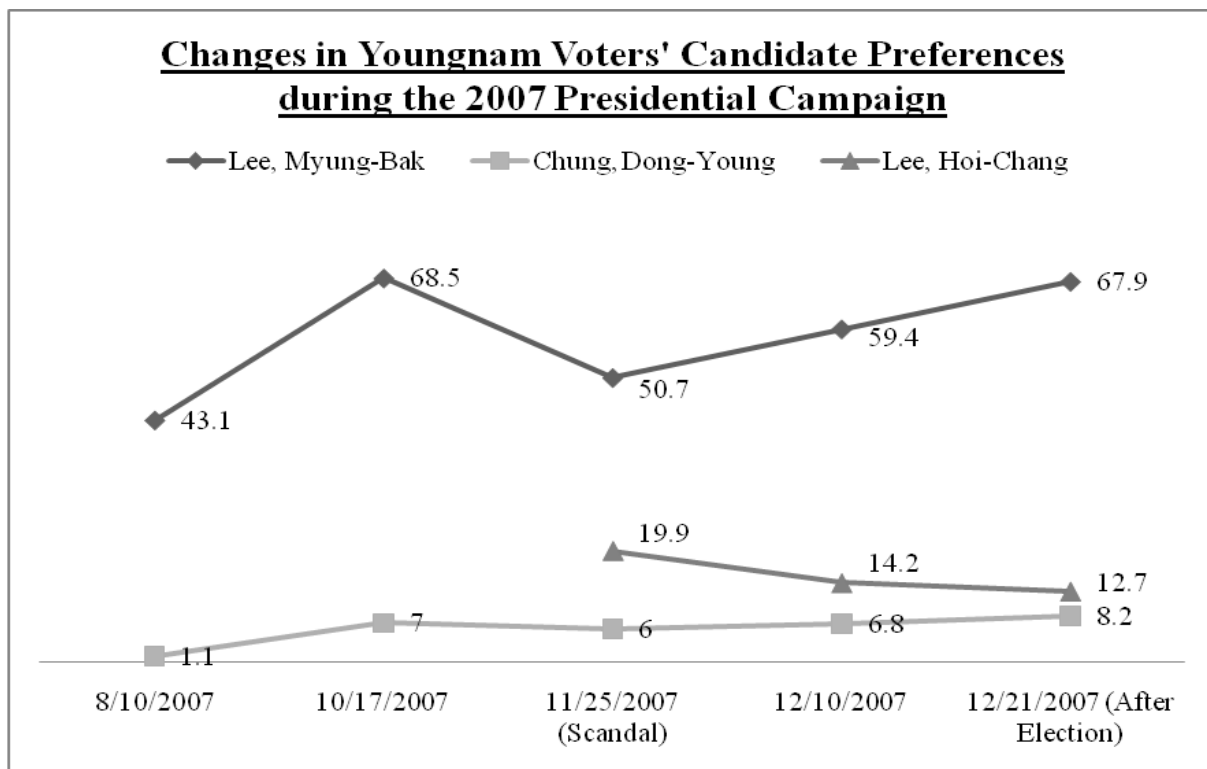


Figure 6.14 Changes in Youngnam Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Lee, Myung-Bak was the regional party candidate of Youngnam Province; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (3) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

When the BBK scandal was revealed to the public in late October, regional voters' candidate preferences were distinctive according to their regional party candidate was involved in the scandal. As in Figure 6.14, a Nov. 25 survey, conducted after the scandal, reported that Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Myung-Bak decreased by 17.8%. The result suggests that the scandal influenced Youngnam voters' support for Lee and led them to move away from their regional party candidate. Although the scandal motivated some of Youngnam voters to stay away

from their regional party candidate, however, it also suggests that the majority of Youngnam voters remained in their support for Lee after the scandal. Accordingly to October 17 and November 25 surveys, 26% of Youngnam voters (68.5% to 50.7%) dropped their support for Lee after the scandal. It means that 74% of Youngnam voters still maintained their support for Lee after the scandal.

However, according to a December 10 survey, Youngnam voters' support for Lee increased by 8.7% compared to the preceding survey. The increase in Youngnam voters' support for Lee could be accounted for by the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December 5. Prosecutors finally cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the scandal. Based on the influence of their regional party support on their vote intention, Youngnam voters were likely to trust the report and, hence, they increased their support for Lee after the report. It suggests that the BBK scandal played an important role in changes in Youngnam voters' support for their regional party candidate during the campaign.

Meanwhile, according to the November 25 survey, Youngnam voters' support for Chung, Dong-Young did not vary much (-0.9%) after the scandal. It suggests that a scandal does not influence much regional voters' support for a candidate who is not involved in the scandal. Meanwhile, the finding shows that Chung could not absorb Youngnam voters who stayed away from Lee, Myung-Bak after the scandal. The reason why Chung could not absorb those defecting voters could be explained by the emergence of a conservative candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang, into the race during the campaign. The Nov. 25 survey reported that 19.9% of Youngnam voters supported Lee, Hoi-Chang. Lee, Hoi-Chang could absorb those defecting voters based on his remaining popularity in GNP.<sup>54</sup> It suggests that when regional voters are disappointed in their

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<sup>54</sup> Lee, Hoi-Chang ran for president as a GNP candidate in the 1997 and 2002 presidential election. Although he



regional party candidate because of a scandal, they are likely to find an alternative candidate who can be acceptable for their preference of their regional party candidate rather than switch their support to their regional rival party candidate.

The overall findings suggest that Younghan voters' support for Chung was not influenced much by the BBK scandal because he was not involved in the scandal. In addition, Younghan voters who were disappointed in and defected from Lee, Myung-Bak due to the BBK scandal chose Lee, Hoi-Chang as an alternative because of the influence of regionalism on their vote intention rather than rallied around their regional rival party candidate, Chung, Dong-Young.

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defected from GNP for running for president in 2007 and, hence, Younghan voters were generally disappointed in his defection, he was much more popular than Chung, Dong-Young in Younghan Province (Gallup Korea 2008).

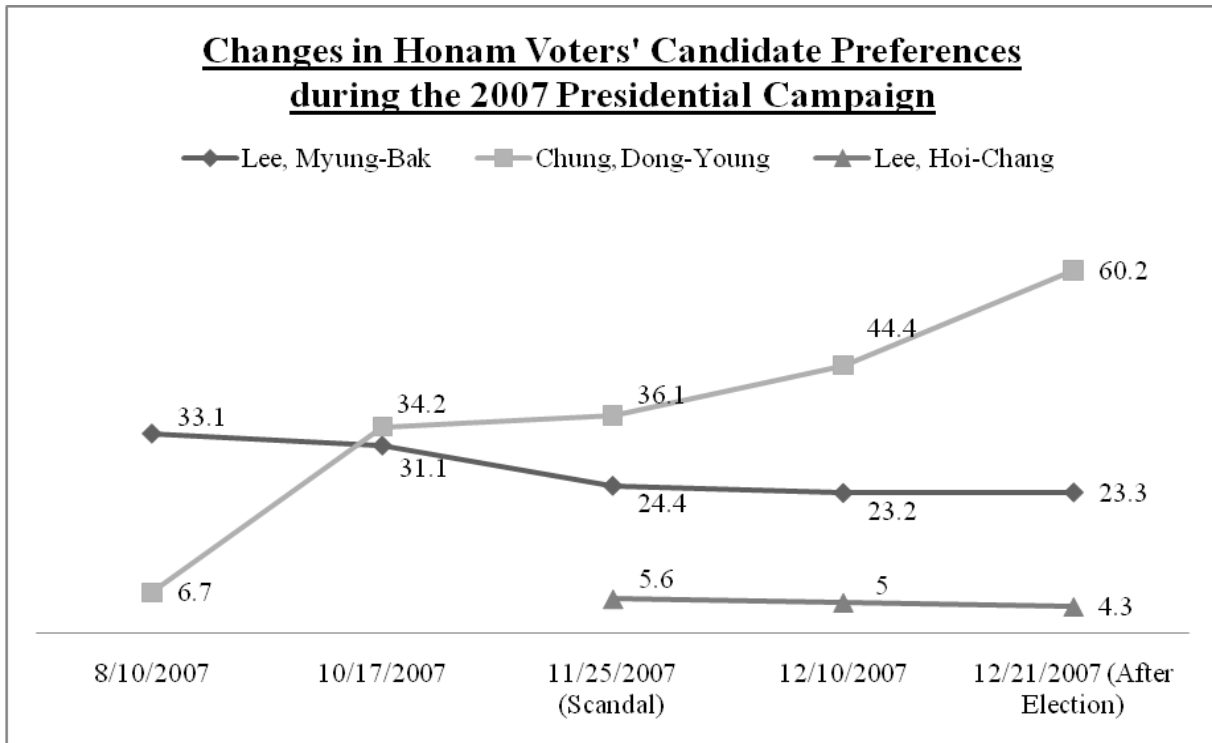


Figure 6.15 Changes in Honam Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Chung, Dong-Young was the regional party candidate of Honam Province; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (4) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

As in Figure 6.15, October 17 and November 25 surveys showed that Honam voters' support for Chung, Dong-Young was stable before and after the scandal. The November 25 survey reported that Honam voters increased their support for Chung by 1.9%, while their support for Lee, Myung-Bak dropped by 6.7% after the scandal. It is suggestive from the findings that Chung could not take Honam voters who moved away from Lee, Myung-Bak after the scandal because of the emergence of Lee, Hoi-Chang into the race. The Nov. 25 survey showed that 5.6% of Honam voters supported Lee, Hoi-Chang. It suggests that Honam voters who defected from Lee, Myung-Bak due to the scandal chose Lee, Hoi-Chang as an alternative considering Lee, Hoi-Chang's conservative ideology and remaining popularity in GNP. The

overall findings suggest that Chung did not receive an electoral boost right after the scandal because he was not involved in the scandal and Lee, Hoi-Chang took Lee, Myung-Bak's supporters who moved away from him after the scandal. Accordingly, Honam voters' support for Chung was maintained stably right after the scandal.

However, a December 10 survey reported that Honam voters' support for Chung increased by 8.3% compared to the preceding survey. The increase in Honam voters' support for Lee could be accounted for by Honam voters' distrust on the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December 5. Based on their preference of their regional party candidate, Honam voters were likely to distrust the report. In addition, they were likely to send more support for their regional party candidate because their rival regional party candidate recovered his electoral strength through the report. Therefore, Honam voters rallied around their regional party candidate and increased their support for Chung after the report. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal played an important role in changes in Honam voters' support for their regional party candidate during the campaign.

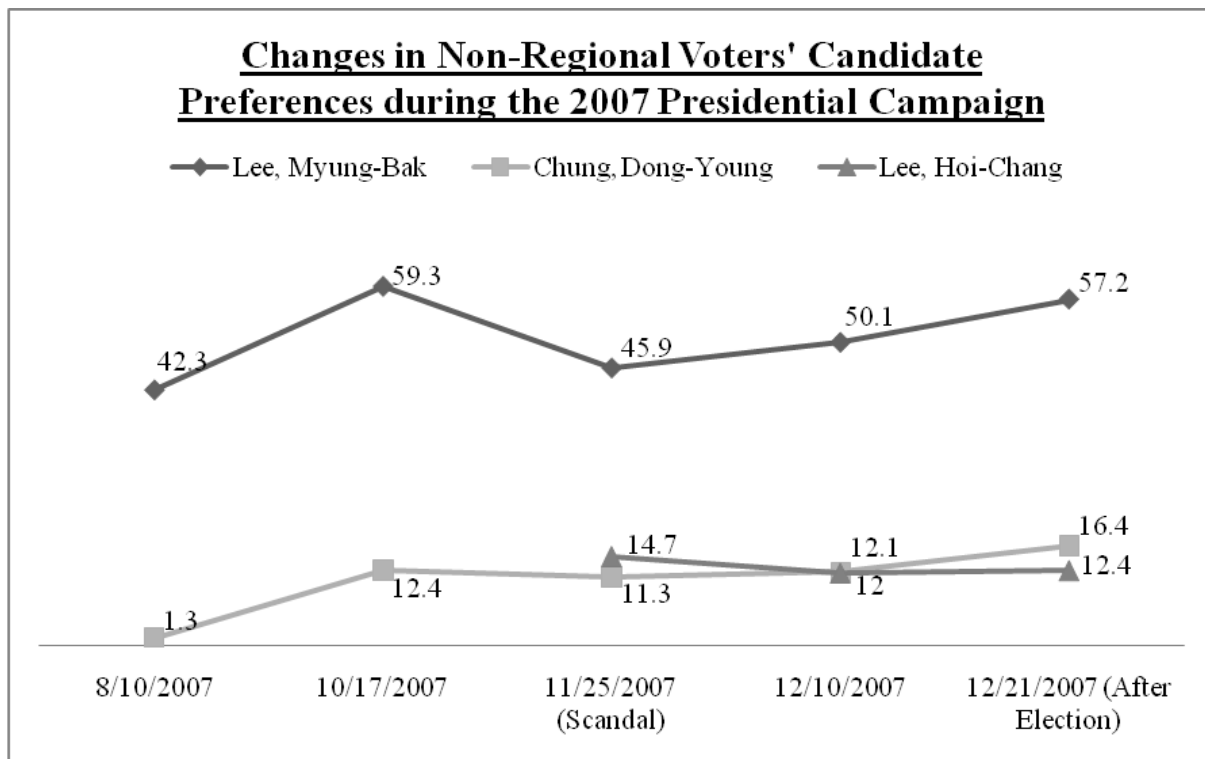


Figure 6.16 Changes in Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (2) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (3) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

As in Figure 6.16, non-regional voters' support for Lee fluctuated after the BBK scandal occurred. A Nov. 25 survey reported that non-regional voters' support for Lee dropped by 13.4% after the scandal. However, as in a December 10 survey, their support for Lee increased by 4.2% after prosecutors cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the BBK scandal on November 5. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal significantly influenced non-regional voters' support for Lee during the campaign.

Meanwhile, non-regional voters' support for Chung, Dong-Young was not influenced much by the BBK scandal. The Nov. 25 survey showed that non-regional voters' support for Chung slightly decreased by 1.1% compared to the preceding survey and 14.7% of non-regional

voters supported Lee, Hoi-Chang. It suggests that Lee, Hoi-Chang took non-regional voters who defected from Lee, Myung-Bak because of the scandal. In addition, non-regional voters' support for Chung did not change much (+0.8%) after the investigations report on the BBK scandal came out. The findings suggest that Chung could not benefit much from the BBK scandal during the campaign.

This study employs integrated models including the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables. The dependent variable of the analysis is whether a regional or non-regional voter switched his/her vote intention during the campaign. It is scored 0 if a regional or non-regional voter did not switch his/her vote intention and 1 if a regional or non-regional voter switched his/her intention during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day, the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that Lee's comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

The fundamental variables include party identification and presidential approval.<sup>56</sup> Three control variables, age, education, and income, are employed to capture the influence of sociodemographic variables on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables on changes in regional and non-regional voters' preferences for the candidates at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign. Table 6.14 present the results of the analysis.

Table 6.14 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Regional and Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                    | <u>Honam</u> |            | <u>Youngnam</u> |            | <u>Non-Regional</u> |            |
|--------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
|                    | b            | Odds Ratio | b               | Odds Ratio | b                   | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal            | 1.016***     | 2.761      | 1.145***        | 3.144      | 1.137***            | 3.119      |
| Party ID           | -.028        | .973       | -.739***        | .478       | -.584***            | .558       |
| Approval           | -.073        | .930       | .011            | 1.012      | .011                | 1.011      |
| Age                | -.167**      | .847       | -.115**         | .891       | -.178***            | .837       |
| Income             | .003         | 1.003      | -.001           | .999       | -.0005              | .9995      |
| Education          | -.034        | .967       | -.128           | .880       | -.253***            | .777       |
| Constant           | -1.324***    | -          | -.991***        | -          | -.597***            | -          |
| N                  | 1468         |            | 2580            |            | 3712                |            |
| Percentage Correct | 78.7         |            | 80.5            |            | 78.8                |            |
| Model Chi-square   | 67.5         |            | 176.9           |            | 267.9               |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

<sup>56</sup> The model is designed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. Therefore, regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters) are not included in the model considering a collinearity problem.

The results of the analysis demonstrate, in Table 6.14, that the BBK scandal significantly influenced whether regional and non-regional voters switched their vote intention during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental variables and sociodemographic characteristics. The odds ratio of the BBK scandal for Honam voters indicate that the ratio of the odds of a Honam voter switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the regional voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 2.761. It means that the odds of a Honam voter switching his/her vote intention because of the BBK scandal were approximately 2.7 times higher than those of the Honam voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign. Similarly, the odds ratio of the BBK scandal for Youngnam voters show that the ratio of the odds of a Youngnam voter changing his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the regional voter changing his/her vote intention without the scandal is 3.144. It means that the odds of a Youngnam voter changing his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal were about 3.1 times higher than those of the Youngnam voter changing his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign. In addition, the odds ratio of the BBK scandal for non-regional voters indicate that the ratio of the odds of a non-regional voter switching his/her vote intention because of the BBK scandal to the odds of the voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 3.119. It means that the odds of a non-regional voter switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal were about 3.1 times higher than those of the non-regional voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign.

Meanwhile, the results of the analysis show that party identification, age, and education influenced whether regional and non-regional voters switched their vote intention during the campaign. Party identification influenced changes in Youngnam and non-regional voters'

candidate preferences during the campaign: Youngnam and non-regional voters who supported GNP were less likely to change their vote intention than other party supporters and independents during the campaign. Age also affected changes in regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign: younger generations of regional and non-regional voters were more likely to change their vote intention during the campaign. Finally, education influenced whether non-regional voters changed their vote intention during the campaign: non-regional voters with higher education were less likely to switch their vote intention during the campaign. However, the findings show that the influence of the BBK scandal is much greater than the fundamental and control variables in explaining changes in regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. It suggests that changes in vote intention of regional and non-regional voters were primarily in response to the BBK scandal during the campaign.

Finally, this study employs three integrated models for Honam voters, Youngnam voters, and non-regional voters to examine whether the BBK scandal influenced regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in the models. The dependent variable is regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign. It is scored 1 if a respondent supported Lee and 0 if other candidate. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys, based on the same theoretical assumptions on the BBK scandal as in the previous analyses.



The fundamental variables included in the analysis are party identification and presidential approval.<sup>57</sup> Three control variables, age, income, and education, are employed to capture the influence of sociodemographic variables on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The way that defines and operationalizes the fundamental and control variables is the same as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Regional and Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                  | <u>Honam</u> |            | <u>Youngnam</u> |            | <u>Non-Regional</u> |            |
|------------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
|                  | b            | Odds Ratio | b               | Odds Ratio | b                   | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal          | -.255***     | .775       | -.468***        | .626       | -.356***            | .700       |
| Party ID         | 1.888***     | 6.609      | 2.193***        | 8.961      | 1.975***            | 7.208      |
| Approval         | -.805***     | .447       | -.525***        | .592       | -.701***            | .496       |
| Age              | .206***      | 1.229      | .170***         | 1.185      | .270***             | 1.310      |
| Income           | .014***      | 1.015      | .009**          | 1.009      | .013***             | 1.013      |
| Education        | .227***      | 1.255      | -.045           | .956       | .175**              | 1.192      |
| Constant         | -2.025***    | -          | -.695**         | -          | -1.421***           | -          |
| N                | 1468         |            | 2580            |            | 3712                |            |
| Model Chi-square | 249.2        |            | 754.2           |            | 1118.7              |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.15, that the BBK scandal influenced regional and non-regional voters' preferences for the candidates over the course of the campaign. The

<sup>57</sup> Regional voters are not included in the models because of a collinearity problem.

coefficients of the BBK scandal indicate that the BBK scandal affected negatively regional and non-regional voters' support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign. In contrast to the greater effect of the BBK scandal than the fundamental variables on changes in regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign, however, the BBK scandal does not show greater influence than party identification and presidential approval in explaining regional and non-regional voters' preferences for the candidates over the course of the campaign. Party identification and presidential approval significantly influenced regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. Regional and non-regional voters who supported GNP and disapproved the job of Roh, Moo-Hyun administration were more likely to support Lee, Myung-Bak than other party supporters and those who approved of the job of Roh administration. In addition, income and age also consistently influenced regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. Regional and non-regional voters with higher income and in older generations were more likely to support Lee, Myung-Bak than those who had lower income and were in younger generations. These findings suggest that the fundamental variables consistently influenced regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences throughout the campaign although those voters also considered the BBK scandal as one of the factors for their vote intention.

In sum, the findings on the influence of the scandals (in 1997 and 2007) and the electoral alliances (in 1997 and 2002) on changes in regional voters' preferences for the candidates during the campaign demonstrate that changes in regional voters' candidate preferences were mainly influenced by the campaign events during the campaign, and that they developed distinctive candidate preferences through the campaign events over the course of the campaign. Their candidate preferences were distinctive according to whether their regional party candidate was

involved in the scandal. In addition, regional voters increased their support for their regional party candidate after the electoral alliance. It is suggestive from the findings that as the campaign events provided information about the candidates, regional voters learned more about the importance of their regional party candidate support in their candidate preferences during the campaign. As a result, their candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign: 86%, 98%, and 60% of Honam voters decided their regional party candidates as their eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections; 60%, 68%, and 68% of Youngnam voters picked their regional party candidates as their eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections.

Although Honam voters increased their support for their regional party candidate by 25% (34.2% to 60.2%) during the 2007 presidential campaign, it is much lower than the preceding presidential election. In 2002, Honam voters increased their support for their regional party candidate by 53% (44.4% to 97.5%) during the campaign. The difference in Honam voters' support for their regional party candidate in 2002 and 2007 is too big to be explained only by the less favorable electoral condition to an in-party candidate in 2007 than in 2002. Instead, it suggests the important role of campaign events in producing the eventual vote choice. Campaign events assist voters to learn more about the importance of the fundamental variables in their vote intention and to move toward their eventual vote decisions by the end of the campaign. However, the extent that voters are aware of the fundamental variables depends on how much campaign events make changes in information about the candidates over the course of the campaign.

In 2002, Roo, Moo-Hyun provided voters with information about his electoral strength through the electoral alliance and the campaign information assisted Honam voters to be more

sensitive to their regional party candidate support in their vote decisions. However, in 2007, Chung, Dong-Young did not provide Honam voters with as much appealing campaign information as the electoral alliance in 2002. Chung attempted to form an electoral alliance with Moon, Kook-Hyun, a liberal third party candidate, during the 2007 presidential campaign, but he could not make it because of their contrasting interests in the alliance (Gallup Korea 2008). By failing to offer campaign information to draw Honam voters' more attention to supporting their regional party candidate, Chung ended up with receiving 60% of Honam voters' support and allowed Lee, Myung-Bak to acquire 23% of his regional voters' support. It suggests that campaign events play an important role in producing the eventual vote decisions by significantly influencing the degree to which voters become sensitive to the fundamental variables during the campaign.

Meanwhile, non-regional voters' candidate preferences were also significantly influenced by those campaign events during the campaign. Non-regional voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang fluctuated after the scandal occurred during the 1997 presidential campaign and so did their support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the 2007 presidential campaign. Roh, Moo-Hyun could take the front-runner away from Lee, Hoi-Chang through the electoral alliance during the 2002 presidential campaign. These findings suggest that fluctuations in changes in non-regional voters' candidate preferences were also primarily in response to the campaign events during the campaign.

### **Presidential Approval & Electoral Support for the Candidates**

This study hypothesizes that when an in-party candidate is involved in a scandal, voters who approve the job of the incumbent administration are likely to maintain their support for the

in-party candidate, while those who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are expected to increase their support for an out-party candidate after the scandal (hypothesis 2-2). Meanwhile, when an in-party candidate forms an electoral alliance with a third party candidate, voters who approve of the job of the incumbent administration are likely to increase their support for the in-party candidate, while those who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are likely to reinforce their support for an out-party candidate after the electoral alliance (hypothesis 2-5).

This study examines how differently voters developed their candidate preferences according to whether they approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration during the 2002 and 2007 presidential campaigns. Figure 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, and 6.20 present changes in candidate preferences of those who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration during the 2002 and 2007 presidential campaigns.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> The 1997 presidential election survey data do not include a question for presidential approval and, hence, this study does not examine changes in candidate preferences of voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration during the 1997 presidential campaign.

## *The 2002 Presidential Election*

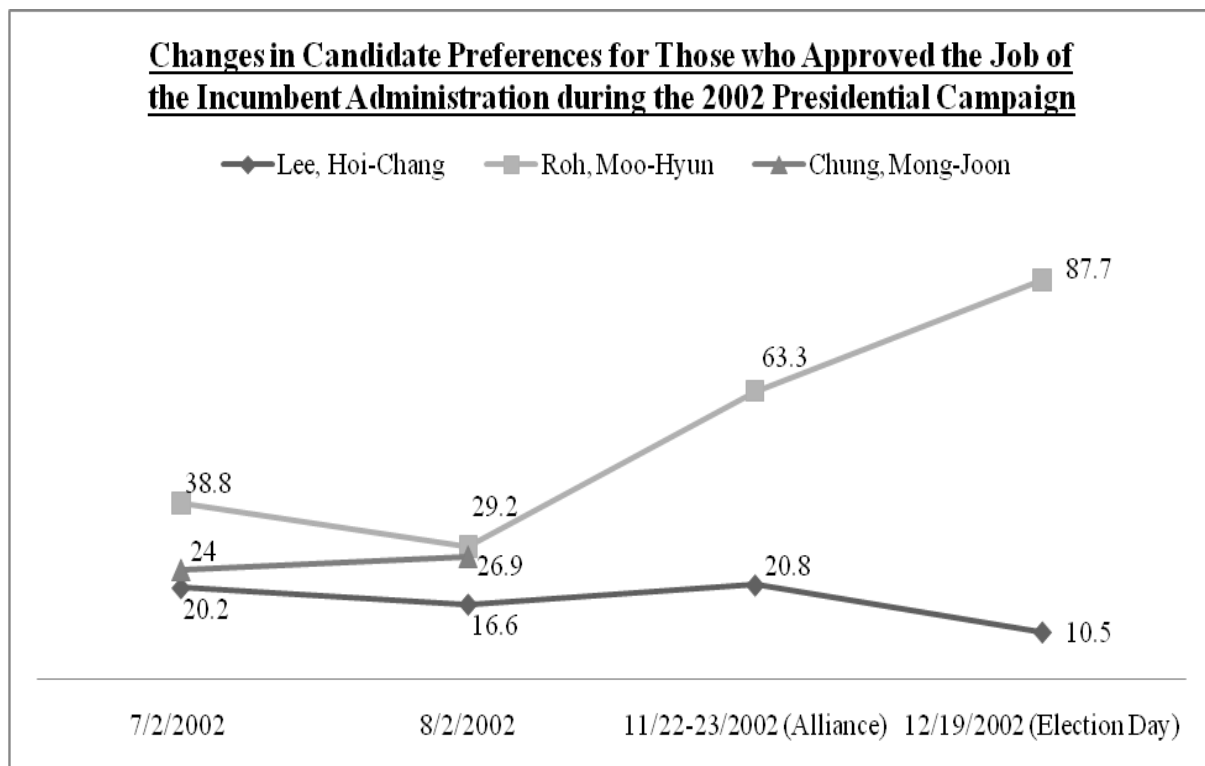


Figure 6.17 Changes in Candidate Preferences for Those who Approved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (2002).

Notes: (1) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the in-party candidate; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon on Nov. 24; and (3) except election day, dates on the figure indicate survey dates.

When an electoral alliance occurs during the campaign, voters' candidate preferences are distinctive after the electoral alliance according to whether voters approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration. When Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon in late November, voters who approved of the job of Kim, Dae-Jung administration increased their support for the in-party candidate. As in Figure 6.17, a November 22-23 survey showed that they increased their support for Roh by 34.1%. Roh could receive such a huge electoral benefit mainly by absorbing Chung's supporters through the

alliance. According to an August 2 survey, 26.9% of respondents supported Chung. It suggests that Roh extended his lead over Lee, Hoi-Chang for voters who approved the job of Kim administration by taking Chung's supporters through the electoral alliance. In addition, their support for Roh continued to increase through election day. They increased their support for Roh by 24.4% on election day compared to the preceding survey. Meanwhile, according to November 22-23 survey, voters who approved of the job of Kim administration increased their support for Lee (+4.2%) through the alliance. However, their support for Lee decreased by 10.3% on election day compared to the preceding survey. The overall findings suggest that the electoral alliance significantly influenced that voters who approved of the job of Kim administration increased their support for the in-party candidate.

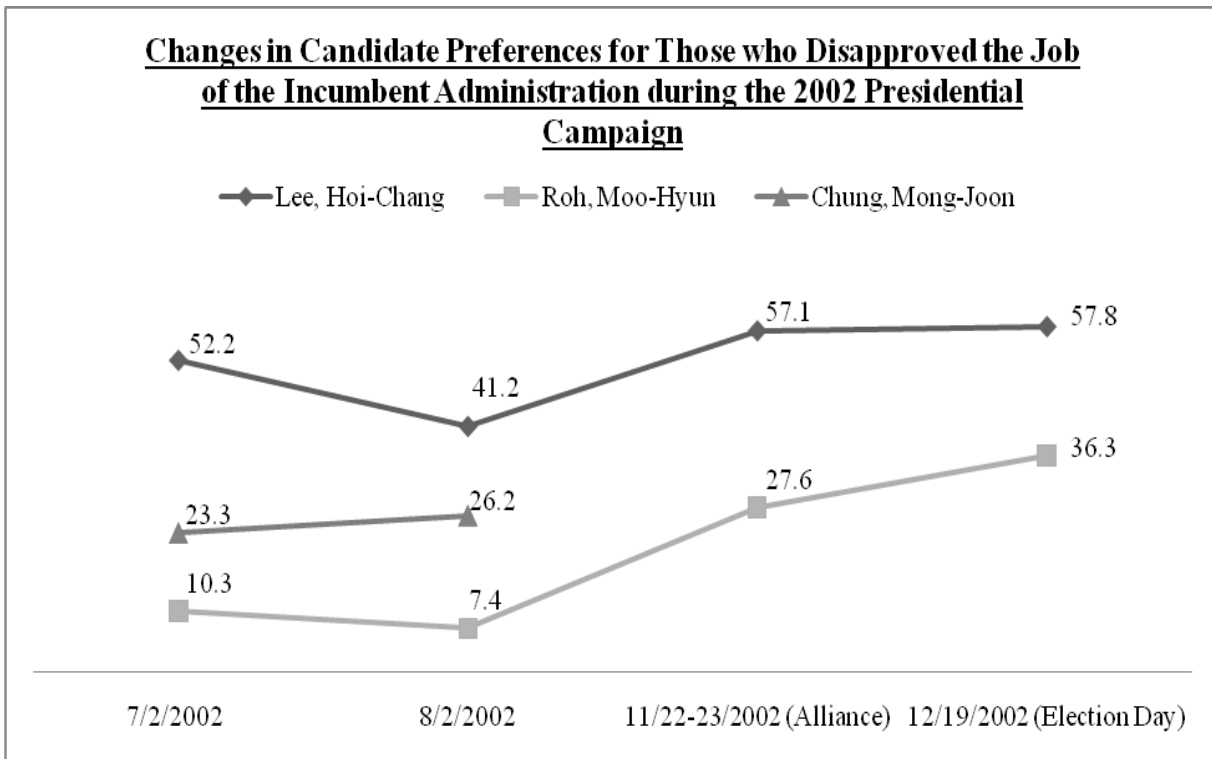


Figure 6.18 Changes in Candidate Preferences for Those who Disapproved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (2002).

Notes: (1) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the in-party candidate; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming the alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon on Nov. 24; and (3) except election day, dates on the figure indicate survey dates.

Voters who disapproved of the performance of Kim, Dae-Jung administration increased their support for the candidates through the alliance. As in Figure 6.18, a Nov. 22-23 survey reported that their support for Roh, Moo-Hyun increased by 20.2% and Lee, Hoi-Chang by 15.9% through the electoral alliance. In addition, the increase in their support for Roh was maintained through election day. Compared to Roh's electoral boost from those who approved the job of Kim administration through the alliance, however, voters who disapproved of the job of Kim administration did not confer on Roh as much electoral benefit as their counterpart did. Instead, voters who disapproved of the job of Kim administration conferred on Lee more electoral benefit than their counterpart did. It is suggestive from the finding that Lee could increase his support by 15.9% by taking some of Chung's supporters and of late deciders. The



November 22-23 survey reported that late deciders decreased by 15.7% compared to the preceding survey although they are not indicated in Figure 6.18.

These findings suggest that voters who disapproved of the Job of Kim administration supported the electoral alliance less than those who approved of the job of Kim administration based on their preference of the out-party candidate over the in-party candidate. Moreover, they were likely to engage in a strategic consideration that they needed to send more support to their out-party candidate because he was losing electoral strength by the in-party candidate's electoral alliance. Therefore, they increased their support for the out-party candidate through the electoral alliance.

Intervention models are employed to examine the influence of the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung on vote intention of voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Kim, Dae-Jung administration at the aggregate level during the 2002 presidential campaign. The dependent variable is vote intention of those who approved or disapproved the job of Kim administration during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to the electoral alliance. It is scored 0 before the alliance occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is employed to examine the influence of the electoral alliance on vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the performance of Kim administration at the aggregate level during the 2002 presidential campaign. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16 Intervention Models for the Influence of the Electoral Alliance on Vote Intention of Those who Approved or Disapproved of the Job of Kim Administration during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|           | <u>Approval</u>   |                   | <u>Disapproval</u> |                   |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
|           | Lee               | Roh               | Lee                | Roh               |
| Alliance  | -2.750<br>(.664)  | 41.5*<br>(13.110) | 10.75<br>(5.511)   | 23.1**<br>(4.585) |
| Constant  | 18.4**<br>(3.858) | 34*<br>(9.270)    | 46.7**<br>(3.897)  | 8.85**<br>(3.242) |
| N         | 4                 | 4                 | 4                  | 4                 |
| R-squared | 0.113             | 0.834             | 0.656              | 0.927             |

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Standard error is presented in parentheses.

The results of the analysis, in Table 6.16, show that those who both approved and disapproved of the job of Kim administration increased their support for Roh, Moo-Hyun after the electoral alliance. The coefficients of the alliance for Roh indicate that voters who approved of the job of Kim administration increased their support for Roh by 41.5% and those who disapproved of the job of Kim administration also increased their support for Roh by 23.1% after the alliance. These findings suggest that the alliance had more influence to vote intention of those who approved of the job of Kim administration than voters who disapproved of the performance of Kim administration. Meanwhile, the coefficients of the alliance for Lee suggest that those who approved of the job of Kim administration could decrease their support for Lee after the alliance, while Lee could benefit from voters who disapproved of the job of Kim administration after the alliance, although they are not statistically significant. These findings suggest that voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Kim administration developed distinctively their support for the candidates after the electoral alliance occurred. Finally, the R-squares of the models present that the electoral alliance explains 83.4% of the variation in Roh's

support from those who approved of the job of Kim administration and 92.7% of the variation in Roh's support from those who disapproved of the job of Kim administration. It is suggestive from the findings that the electoral alliance significantly influenced whether voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Kim administration supported Roh, Moo-Hyun during the 2002 presidential campaign.

### *The 2007 Presidential Election*

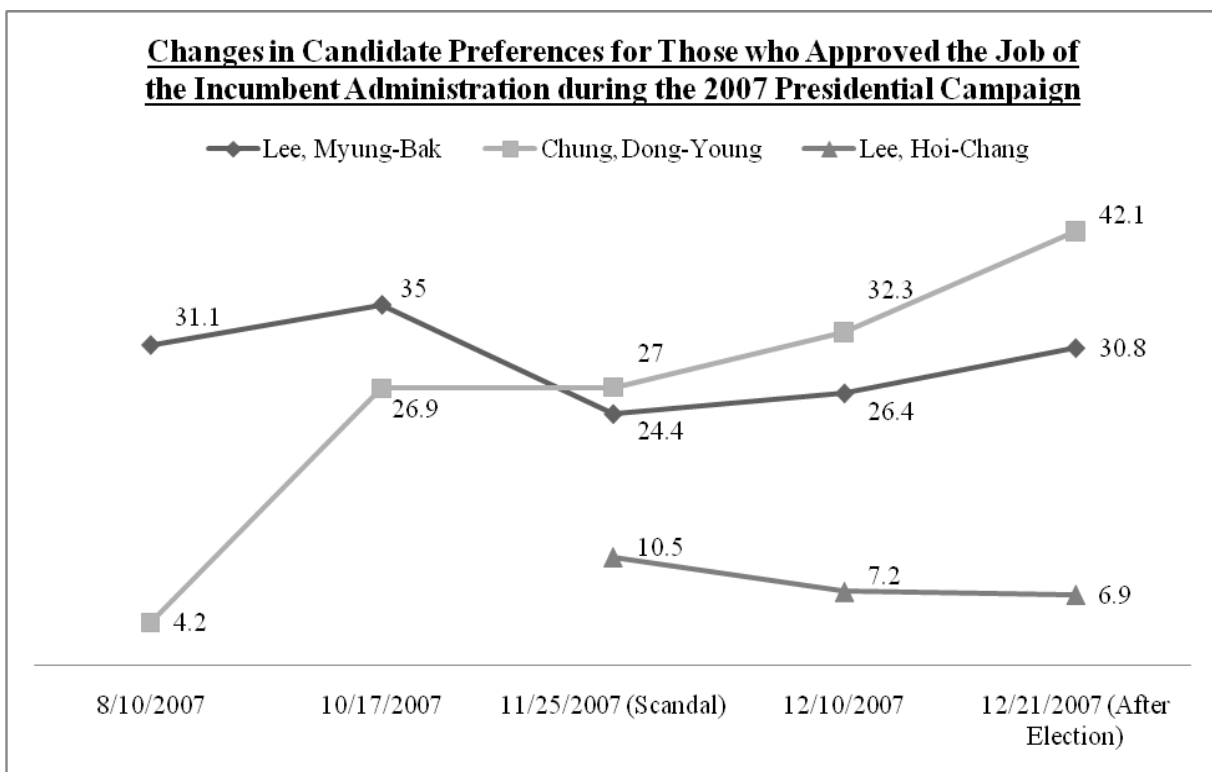


Figure 6.19 Changes in Candidate Preferences for Those who Approved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Chung, Dong-Young was the in-party candidate; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (4) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

When the BBK scandal was revealed to the public in late October, voters' candidate preferences were distinctive according to whether voters approved or disapproved of the job of Roh, Moo-Hyun administration. As in Figure 6.19, a Nov. 25 survey, conducted after the scandal, showed that voters who approved of the performance of Roh administration decreased their support for Lee, Myung-Bak by 10.6% after the scandal. It suggests that those voters evaluated the BBK scandal negatively and, therefore, they decreased their support for Lee after the scandal. Meanwhile, the Nov. 25 survey reported that their support for Chung, Dong-Young did not change much (+0.1%) after the scandal and Lee, Hoi-Chang received 10.5% of support from those who approved the job of Roh administration. The findings suggest that Chung's support was not influenced by the scandal because he was not involved in the scandal and that Lee, Hoi-Chang took voters who defected from Lee, Myung-Bak because of the scandal. Accordingly, Chung maintained support from voters who approved of the job of Roh administration after the scandal.

However, a December 10 survey reported that voters who approved of the performance of Roh administration increased their support for Chung by 4.7% compared to the preceding survey. In addition, their support for Chung continued to increase through election day. The increase in those voters' support for Chung could be explained by their distrust on the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December 5. The report cleared Lee of any wrongdoing for the scandal. Based on their preference of the in-party candidate over the out-party candidate, however, voters who approved of the job of Roh administration were likely to distrust the report. Therefore, they reinforced their support for Chung after the report. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal influenced that voters who approved of the performance of Roh administration increased their support for the in-party candidate during the campaign.

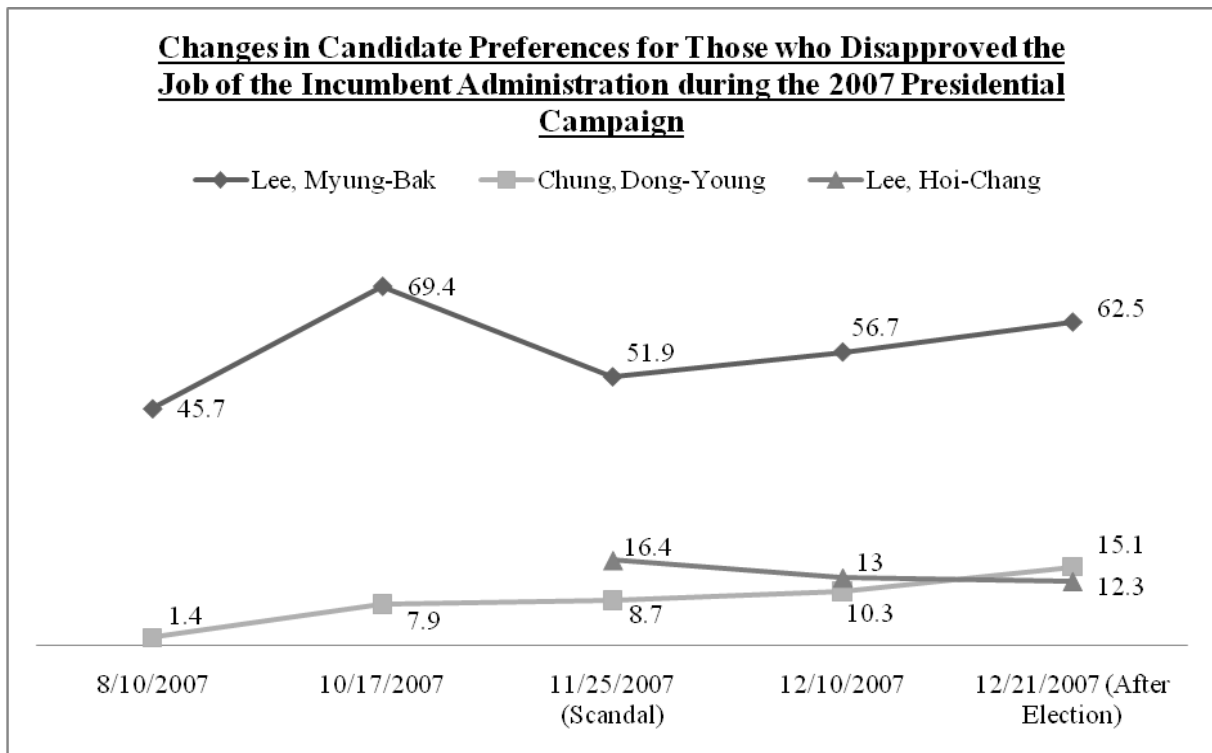


Figure 6.20 Changes in Candidate Preferences for Those who Disapproved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

Notes: (1) Chung, Dong-Young was the in-party candidate; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (4) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

According to a November 25 survey, in Figure 6.20, voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration decreased their support for Lee, Myung-Bak by 17.5% after the scandal occurred. However, a December 10 survey showed that they increased their support for Lee by 4.8% compared to the preceding survey. The increase in those voters' support for Lee could be accounted for by their positive evaluations of the investigations report on the BBK scandal on December 5. Based on their preference of the out-party candidate over the in-party candidate, voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration were likely to evaluate the report positively. Accordingly, they increased their support for Lee after the report. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal influenced whether voters who disapproved of the job of Roh

administration changed their support for the out-party candidate during the campaign. Meanwhile, the Nov. 25 survey found that voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration increased their support for Chung by 0.8% compared to the preceding survey and they supported Lee, Hoi-Chang by 16.4%. It is suggestive from the findings that Chung could not benefit from the scandal because he was not involved in the scandal and Lee, Hoi-Chang absorbed Lee, Myung-Bak's supporters who defected from him after the scandal.

This study employs an integrated model including the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables to examine the influence of the BBK scandal on changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration at the individual level after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables. The dependent variable is whether a voter who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration switched his/her vote intention during the campaign. It is scored 0 if a respondent did not switch his/her vote intention and 1 if a respondent switched his/her intention during the campaign. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> When coding the dummy variable as 0 before the BBK scandal occurred and 1 after its occurrence through election day, the result of the analysis shows a perfect collinearity problem between the BBK scandal and the dependent variable. It is because respondents who switched their vote intention after the BBK scandal occurred (4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> wave panel surveys) all fall into the category of value of 1 for the BBK scandal. Considering the collinearity problem, this study employs another way of coding the BBK scandal. There were two major events for the BBK scandal during the campaign. On December 5, prosecutors cleared Lee, Myung-Bak of any wrongdoing for the scandal after their investigations on the scandal and, hence, the respondents of the fifth wave panel survey could respond to the report by increasing their support for Lee. Therefore, this study codes the dummy variable as 0 in the fifth wave panel survey. Meanwhile, 'BBK Video' was revealed to the public on December 16. In the video, Lee mentioned that he had established the BBK firm while he was delivering a lecture at a university. Considering that

Regionalism and party identification are included as the fundamental variables.<sup>60</sup> Age, income, and education are employed to measure the influence of sociodemographic variables on changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables, and sociodemographic variables on changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.17.

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Lee's comment about the BBK firm in the video could influence negatively voter support for Lee in the sixth wave panel survey, this study codes the dummy variable as 1 in the sixth wave panel survey.

<sup>60</sup> Presidential approval is not included in the analysis because of a collinearity problem.

Table 6.17 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Changes in Vote Intention of Those who Approved or Disapproved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                    | <u>Approval</u> |            | <u>Disapproval</u> |            |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
|                    | b               | Odds Ratio | b                  | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal            | 1.278***        | 3.589      | 1.045***           | 2.845      |
| Honam              | -.088           | .916       | -.110**            | .896       |
| Youngnam           | .084            | 1.088      | .107*              | 1.113      |
| Party ID           | .035            | 1.035      | -.857***           | .424       |
| Age                | -.016           | .984       | -.214***           | .807       |
| Education          | -.125           | .883       | -.147**            | .864       |
| Income             | .001            | 1.001      | .001               | 1.001      |
| Constant           | -1.600***       | -          | -.623***           | -          |
| N                  | 2308            |            | 5428               |            |
| Percentage Correct | 77.3            |            | 80.2               |            |
| Model Chi-square   | 157.6           |            | 406.8              |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

The results of the analysis demonstrate, in Table 6.17, that the BBK scandal significantly influenced changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables. The odds ratio of the BBK scandal for voters who approved of the job of Roh administration shows that the ratio of the odds of a voter who approved of the job of Roh administration switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal is 3.589. It means that the odds of a voter, who approved of the job of Roh administration, switching his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal were approximately 3.6 times higher than those of the voter switching his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign. Similarly, the odds ratio of the BBK scandal for those who disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration presents that the ratio of



the odds of a voter who disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration changing his/her vote intention by the BBK scandal to the odds of the voter changing his/her vote intention without the scandal is 2.845. It means that the odds of a voter, who disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration, changing his/her vote intention because of the BBK scandal were about 2.8 times higher than those of the voter changing his/her vote intention without the scandal during the campaign.

In addition, it is suggestive from the findings that whether those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration switched their vote intention during the campaign was primarily influenced by the BBK scandal because the coefficients of the fundamental and control variables for those who approved of the job of Roh administration are not statistically significant, and because the coefficient of the BBK scandal for voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration is much greater than the coefficients of the fundamental and control variables.

Two integrated models are also employed to examine whether the BBK scandal influenced vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration at the individual level during the 2007 presidential campaign after controlling for the fundamental and sociodemographic variables in the models. The dependent variable is whether a voter who approved or disapproved of the performance of Roh administration supported Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign. It is scored 1 if a respondent supported Lee and 0 if other candidate. A dummy variable is employed to measure the BBK scandal. The variable is scored 0 for the third and fifth wave panel surveys and 1 for the fourth and sixth wave panel surveys, based on the same theoretical assumptions on the BBK scandal as in the previous analyses.

The fundamental variables included in the analysis are regionalism (Honam and Youngnam voters) and party identification.<sup>61</sup> Three control variables, age, income, and education, are employed to capture the influence of sociodemographic variables on vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration during the campaign. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine the influence of the BBK scandal, the fundamental variables of the presidential election year, and sociodemographic variables on candidate preferences of those who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. Table 6.18 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.18 Integrated Models for the Influence of the BBK Scandal on Candidate Preferences of Those who Approved or Disapproved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|                  | <u>Approval</u> |            | <u>Disapproval</u> |            |
|------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
|                  | b               | Odds Ratio | b                  | Odds Ratio |
| Scandal          | -.276***        | .759       | -.421***           | .656       |
| Honam            | -.437***        | .646       | -.168***           | .845       |
| Youngnam         | .453***         | 1.573      | .187***            | 1.206      |
| Party ID         | 1.682***        | 5.376      | 2.193***           | 8.965      |
| Age              | -.005           | .995       | .310***            | 1.363      |
| Education        | -.136           | .872       | .220***            | 1.246      |
| Income           | .008            | 1.008      | .002               | 1.002      |
| Constant         | -.826***        | -          | -1.806***          | -          |
| N                | 2308            |            | 5428               |            |
| Model Chi-square | 428.5           |            | 1593.9             |            |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

<sup>61</sup> Presidential approval is not included in the models considering a collinearity problem.

The results of the analysis present, in Table 6.18, that the BBK scandal influenced candidate preferences of voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration during the campaign. The coefficients of the BBK scandal indicate that the BBK scandal influenced negatively those voters' support for Lee, Myung-Bak during the campaign. In contrast to the greater influence of the BBK scandal than the fundamental variables on changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration during the campaign, however, the BBK scandal does not show a greater influence than party identification and regionalism in explaining candidate preferences of those who approved or disapproved of the performance of Roh administration during the campaign. Party identification and regionalism significantly influenced those voters' candidate preferences during the campaign: those who supported GNP and whose hometown is Youngnam Province were more likely to support Lee, Myung-Bak over the course of the campaign. In addition, age and education also influenced candidate preferences of those who disapproved of the job of Roh administration during the campaign. These findings suggest that the fundamental variables consistently influenced vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the performance of Roh administration throughout the campaign although those voters also referred to the BBK scandal as one of the factors for their vote intention.

In sum, the overall findings about the influence of the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung in 2002 and the BBK scandal in 2007 on changes in vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration demonstrate that the campaign events significantly influenced changes in those voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. It is suggestive from the findings that changes in those voters' candidate preferences were primarily in response to the campaign events during the campaign.

In addition, the findings suggest that they developed distinctive candidate preferences, via the campaign events, over the course of the campaign. As the campaign events provided them with information about the candidates, they became more aware of the importance of presidential approval in their candidate preferences toward the end of the campaign. As a result, their candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign: In 2002, 88% of voters who approved of the job of Kim administration supported Roh, Moo-Hyun (the in-party candidate) on election day, while 58% of voters who disapproved of the performance of Kim administration decided Lee, Hoi-Chang (an out-party candidate) as their eventual vote choice. Likewise, in 2007, 42% of voters who approved of the job of Roh administration decided Chung, Dong-Young (the in-party candidate) as their eventual vote choice, while 63% of voters who disapproved of the performance of Roh administration picked Lee, Myung-Bak (an out-party candidate) on election day.

The disparity in the in-party candidate support of those who approved of the job of the incumbent administration in 2002 and 2007 suggests that campaign events play a significant role in producing the eventual vote choice. In 2002, vote intention of those who approved of the job of Kim administration became very homogeneous, via the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung, during the campaign (38.8% to 87.7%). Although candidate preferences of voters who approved of the job of Roh administration supported the in-party candidate became homogeneous, via the BBK scandal, by the end of the 2007 presidential campaign (26.9% to 42.1%), their vote intention did not reach the level of homogeneity in 2002 because Chung did not offer them as much appealing information as the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung did in 2002. It suggests that how much campaign events make changes in information about

candidate can make a difference in developing voters' enlightened candidate preferences during the campaign and in producing their eventual vote decisions.

### **Presidential Debates & Electoral Support for the Candidates**

This study hypothesizes that subgroups of the electorate are more likely to reinforce their earlier candidate preferences than to switch their earlier vote intention after watching presidential debates, and that independents are more likely to switch their vote intention than partisans after watching presidential debates (hypothesis 2-7). To examine the influence of presidential debates on individual subgroups' vote intention, this study analyzes how presidential debates influenced individual subgroups' candidate preferences after they watched the 2007 presidential debates.<sup>62</sup>

Three presidential debates were conducted on December 6, 11, and 16 during the 2007 presidential campaign. This study employs the sixth wave panel of the 2007 presidential election panel study data, conducted right after election day, to measure the influence of the 2007 presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences. The sixth panel survey includes two questions about the presidential debates. The first question asked "Did you watch the presidential debates?" and the second question asked "How did the debates affect your vote intention?"<sup>63</sup> With individual subgroups' answers to the questions, this study compares how differently each individual subgroup responded to the 2007 presidential debates. The subgroups

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<sup>62</sup> This study does not examine the influence of presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections because data are not available.

<sup>63</sup> For the second question, respondents could pick one of the following choices: (1) After watching the debates, I became more supportive of the candidate whom I had supported; (2) After watching the debates, I became less supportive of the candidate whom I had supported although I did not switch my candidate preference; (3) The debates did not influence my candidate preference; (4) After watching the debates, I decided to stop supporting the candidate who I had supported; (5) After watching the debates, I came to have a new candidate preference; and (6) I do not know well/no answer.

included in the analysis are partisans, independents, regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), and voters who approved or disapproved the job of the incumbent administration.

### ***Party Identification & Presidential Debates***

To examine how presidential debates influence vote intention of partisans and independents, this study compares how partisans and independents responded to the 2007 presidential debates. This study includes GNP supporters, UNDP supporters, and independents in the analysis. Table 6.19 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.19 The Influence of the 2007 Presidential Debates on Partisans and Independents' Vote Intention

|                   | GNP (%) | UNDP (%) | INDEP. (%) |
|-------------------|---------|----------|------------|
| More Support      | 38.98   | 30.73    | 23.53      |
| No Change         | 42.29   | 42.20    | 52.57      |
| Less Support      | 13.50   | 16.97    | 12.50      |
| No Longer Support | 2.68    | 6.42     | 5.15       |
| New Preference    | 2.17    | 2.75     | 5.88       |
| N                 | 785     | 218      | 272        |

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.19, that most partisans and independents did not change their vote intention after watching the 2007 presidential debates. 94.8% of GNP supporters, 89.9% of UNDP supporters, and 88.6% of independents responded that they did not switch their earlier vote intention after watching the debates. 39% of GNP supporters, 30.7% of UNDP supporters, and 23.5% of independents became more supportive of their earlier candidate after watching the debates. Meanwhile, 4.9% of GNP supporters, 9.2% of UNDP supporters, and 11% of independents answered that they changed their vote intention by either stop supporting

their earlier candidate or having a new candidate preference after watching the debates. These findings show that the 2007 presidential debates mainly reinforced partisans and independents' earlier vote intention.

In addition, UNDP supporters experienced more fluctuations in their vote intention than GNP supporters. It suggests that GNP supporters had stronger candidate preference than UNDP supporters under the electoral situation where Lee, Myung-Bak of GNP was leading the race safely over the runner-up, Chung, Dong-Young of UNDP. Finally, independents switched their earlier vote intention more than GNP and UNDP supporters after the debates. It suggests that independents rely more on campaign information than do strong partisans to make up their minds during the campaign.

### ***Regionalism & Presidential Debates***

This study compares how regional and non-regional voters responded to the 2007 presidential debates to examine the influence of presidential debates on regional and non-regional voters' preferences for the candidates. Honam voters, Youngnam voters, and non-regional voters are included in the analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20 The Influence of the 2007 Presidential Debates on Regional and Non-Regional Voters' Candidate Preferences

|                   | Honam (%) | Youngnam (%) | Non-Regional (%) |
|-------------------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| More Support      | 28.83     | 36.76        | 30.22            |
| No Change         | 45.99     | 41.68        | 48.06            |
| Less Support      | 15.69     | 14.58        | 14.39            |
| No Longer Support | 6.57      | 3.70         | 3.02             |
| New Preference    | 2.55      | 2.87         | 3.74             |
| N                 | 274       | 487          | 695              |

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

The results of the analysis present, in Table 6.20, that most regional and non-regional voters did not switch their candidate preferences after watching the debates. 90.9% of Honam voters, 93.4% of Youngnam voters, and 93.2% of non-regional voters answered that they did not switch their earlier vote intention after the debates. 28.8% of Honam voters, 36.8% of Youngnam voters, and 30.2% of non-regional voters became more supportive of their earlier candidate after the debates. In the meantime, 9.1% of Honam voters, 6.6% of Youngnam voters, and 6.8% of non-regional voters reported that their vote intention changed by either stop supporting their earlier candidate or having a new candidate preference after the debates. These findings show that the main function of the 2007 presidential debates was to reinforce regional and non-regional voters' candidate preferences rather than switch their candidate preferences.

In addition, Honam voters' candidate preferences were more fluctuating than Youngnam voters and non-regional voters after the debates. It suggests that Honam voters did not have as strong support for their regional party candidate as Youngnam voters when the debates were conducted. The sixth wave panel of the 2007 presidential election panel study data reported that 60% of Honam voters supported their regional party candidate on election day, while 68% of Youngnam voters picked their regional party candidate as their eventual vote choice. Moreover,



Honam voters expressed much lower support for their regional party candidate in 2007 than in the two preceding presidential elections: 86.4% and 97.5% of Honam voters picked their regional party candidate as their eventual vote choice in 1997 and 2002, respectively. Under the electoral situation where their regional party candidate was being led by their rival regional party candidate with a big margin of the vote, Honam voters could not reinforce their support for their regional party candidate as much as Youngnam voters could in 2007. Accordingly, vote intention of Honam voters fluctuated more than Youngnam voters after the debates conducted.

### ***Presidential Approval & Presidential Debates***

To examine how presidential debates influence vote intention of those who approve or disapprove of the job of the incumbent administration, this study compares how those voters responded to the 2007 presidential debates. Table 6.21 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.21 The Influence of the 2007 Presidential Debates on Vote Intention of Those who Approved or Disapproved of the Job of the Incumbent Administration

|                   | Approval (%) | Disapproval (%) |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| More Support      | 27.61        | 32.78           |
| No Change         | 50.25        | 44.58           |
| Less Support      | 14.43        | 15.30           |
| No Longer Support | 4.48         | 3.41            |
| New Preference    | 2.99         | 3.32            |
| N                 | 402          | 1144            |

Source: East Asia Institute (2007).

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.21, that most voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration did not change their candidate preferences after watching the debates. 92.5% of those who approved of the job of Roh administration and 93.3%

of voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration reported that they did not switch their vote intention after the debates. 27.6% of those who approved of the job of Roh administration and 32.8% of voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration became more supportive of their earlier candidate after watching the debates. Meanwhile, 7.5% of voters who approved of the job of Roh administration and 6.7% of those who disapproved of the job of Roh administration experienced changes in their vote intention by either stop supporting their earlier candidate or having a new candidate preference after watching the debates.

These findings show that voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration mainly reinforced their earlier vote intention rather than switched it after watching the debates. In addition, voters who disapproved of the performance of Roh administration reinforced their vote intention more than those who approved the job of Roh administration after watching the debates. It reflects that the opposition party candidate (Lee, Myung-Bak) had better electoral fortune than the in-party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) because Lee was leading the race safely over Chung during the campaign. Since voters who disapprove of the performance of the incumbent administration are more likely to support an opposition party candidate than an in-party candidate, Lee could secure more stable support from those voters after the debates based on his electoral strength.

In sum, the overall results of the analysis about the influence of the 2007 presidential debates on individual subgroups' candidate preferences suggest that the main function of presidential debates is to reinforce the subgroups' earlier vote intention rather than persuade them to switch it. However, it is suggestive from the findings that the reinforcement in the subgroups' candidate preferences depends on their preferred candidate's electoral strength when the debates are conducted. When their preferred candidate shows stronger electoral strength than his main

competitor, individual subgroups are likely to confer on their candidate more stable support after the debates. Finally, independents are more likely to switch their earlier vote intention than strong partisans after watching presidential debates although most independents also reinforce their earlier vote intention after watching the debates.

### **Changes in the Influence of the Fundamental Variables**

This study hypothesizes that the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences is likely to become greater, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign (hypothesis 3). To empirically test hypothesis 3, this study examines changes in the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns. The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate and scored 0 for those who voted for some other candidate. Lee, Hoi-Chang of GNP was the incumbent candidate in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of UNDP in 2007.

The main independent variables are regionalism, party identification, and presidential approval. Honam and Youngnam variables are employed to measure the impact of regionalism on vote intention during the campaign. Numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent's hometown is Honam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Honam Province are Kim, Dae-Jung of the opposition NCNP in 1997, Roh, Moo-Hyun of the incumbent MDP in 2002, and Chung, Dong-Young of the incumbent UNDP in 2007. Meanwhile, it is scored 1 if a respondent's hometown is Youngnam Province, 0 otherwise. The regional party candidates of Youngnam Province are Lee, Hoi-Chang of the incumbent GNP in 1997, Lee, Hoi-Chang of the

opposition GNP in 2002, and Lee, Myung-Bak of the opposition GNP in 2007. Since regional voters' candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups, via the campaign events, toward the end of the campaign,<sup>64</sup> it is expected that the influence of Honam and Youngnam variables was likely to increase toward the end of the campaign.

For party identification, a dummy variable is coded as 1 if a respondent supported the incumbent party, 0 if others. GNP was the incumbent party in 1997 and UNDP in 2007.<sup>65</sup> It is anticipated that the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences was likely to become greater toward the end of the campaign because partisans developed more homogeneous candidate preferences within the groups, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign.

Finally, to measure presidential approval, numerical value 1 is assigned if a respondent approved of the job of the president, while 0 is assigned if a respondent disapproved of the performance of the president. It is anticipated that the influence of presidential approval was likely to increase toward the end of the campaign since candidate preferences of those who approved or disapproved of the job of the president became more homogeneous within the groups, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign.

Control variables are also employed in the model to capture the influence of sociodemographic characteristics on vote intention during the campaign. This study employs

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<sup>64</sup> The results of the analysis about changes in individual subgroups' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns find that the subgroups' vote intention was primarily influenced by the campaign events during the campaign and, as a result of the enlightenment, individual subgroups' candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign.

<sup>65</sup> This study does not examine the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences in the 2002 presidential election because some of the survey data for the 2002 presidential election do not include a question about party identification.

categorical variables for age, education, and income. The control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed in order to examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences at the individual level over the course of the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaign. Instead of presenting all the results of the analysis, this study will report only the odds ratios of the fundamental variables using line graphs in this chapter. Tables showing all the results of logistic regression analysis are reported in Appendix.

### ***The 1997 Presidential Election***

To empirically test whether the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on vote intention became greater, via campaign events, toward the end of the 1997 presidential campaign, this study employs five surveys and the 1997 Korean Election Study. To capture the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began, June 14 and July 22 surveys are used. An August 12 survey is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' preferences for the candidates after the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons occurred. To analyze the impact of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences after the DJP alliance occurred, a November 22 survey is used. Finally, the 1997 Korean Election Study is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice on election day.

The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang of GNP, and scored 0 for those who voted for some other candidate. Party identification and regionalism

are employed to measure changes in the influence of the fundamental variables during the campaign.<sup>66</sup> Three control variables, age, income, and education, are used to capture the influence of sociodemographic variables on vote intention during the campaign. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences at the individual level during the 1997 presidential campaign. Figure 6.21 and 6.22 present the influence of party identification and regionalism on voters' candidate preferences over the course of the 1997 presidential campaign.

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<sup>66</sup> The 1997 presidential election survey data do not include a question about presidential approval and, therefore, this study does not examine the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences during the 1997 presidential campaign.

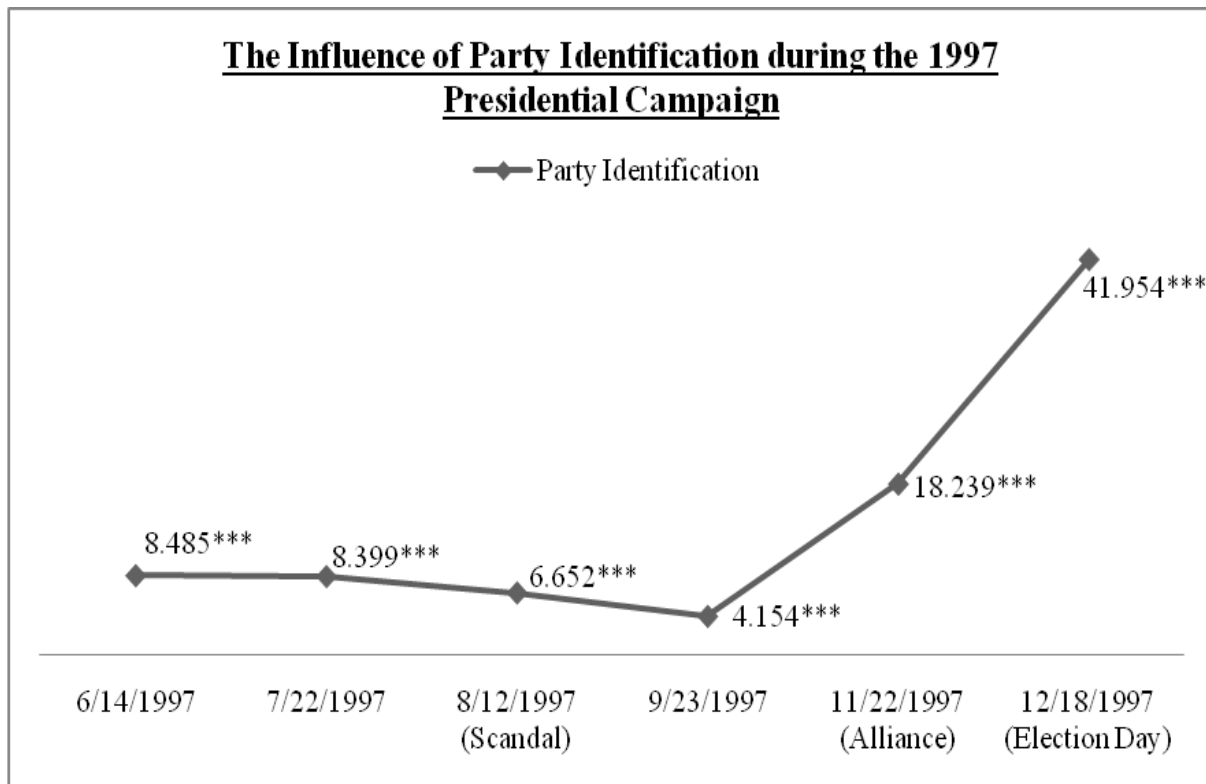


Figure 6.21 The Influence of Party Identification on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

Note: (1) the odds ratios of party identification are presented on the graph; (2) GNP was the incumbent party in the 1997 presidential election; (3) the in-party candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang, was involved in the scandal; (4) an out-party candidate, Kim, Dae-Jung, formed the DJP alliance; and (5) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked.

The results of the analysis show, in Figure 6.21, that the influence of party identification on vote intention became greater toward the end of the campaign. The findings show that party identification is statistically significant in every survey. The odds ratios of party identification indicate that party identification is consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. The odds ratio of party identification on election day indicates that the ratio of the odds of a GNP supporter supporting the incumbent party candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang, to the odds of a voter, who did not support GNP, supporting Lee is 41.954. It means that the odds of a GNP supporter voting for Lee were approximately 42 times higher than those of a voter,

who did not support GNP, voting for Lee on election day. It suggests that party identification significantly influenced the eventual vote choice in the 1997 presidential election.

In addition, the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences increased toward the end of the campaign. The odds ratio of party identification was 8.485 before the campaign began and came to an end with 41.954 on election day. It means that the odds ratio of party identification was increased by 33.47 over the course of the campaign. It suggests that party identification consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign and GNP supporters' candidate preferences became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign by significantly increasing their support for Lee.

Meanwhile, the results of the analysis suggest that the influence of party identification significantly changed after campaign events occurred during the campaign. Before the scandal occurred, the odds ratio of party identification was stable. The odds ratios of party identification on June 14 and July 22 surveys indicate that it slightly changed by 0.086 during the period of time. However, the odds ratio of party identification significantly dropped after the scandal occurred. The odds ratio of party identification on an August 12 survey dropped by 1.747. It means that the influence of party identification decreased by 21% (8.399 to 6.652) after the scandal. In addition, the odds ratio of party identification further decreased by 2.498 in September. It suggests that the scandal consistently influenced the effect of party identification after its occurrence through September. In the meantime, the influence of party identification dramatically increased after the DJP alliance occurred. The odds ratio of party identification on November 22 survey significantly increased (+14.085) compared to the preceding survey. It suggests that the DJP alliance played a significant role in increasing the influence of party identification on GNP supporters' vote intention.



The overall findings about the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences during the 1997 presidential campaign suggest that the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences became greater toward the end of the campaign. In addition, changes in the influence of party identification during the campaign were primarily responsive to the scandal and the DJP alliance. As a result, partisans' candidate preferences became very homogeneous by the end of the 1997 presidential campaign: 95% of GNP supporters supported Lee, Hoi-Chang on election day, while 85% of UNDP supporters decided Kim, Dae-Jung as their eventual vote choice.

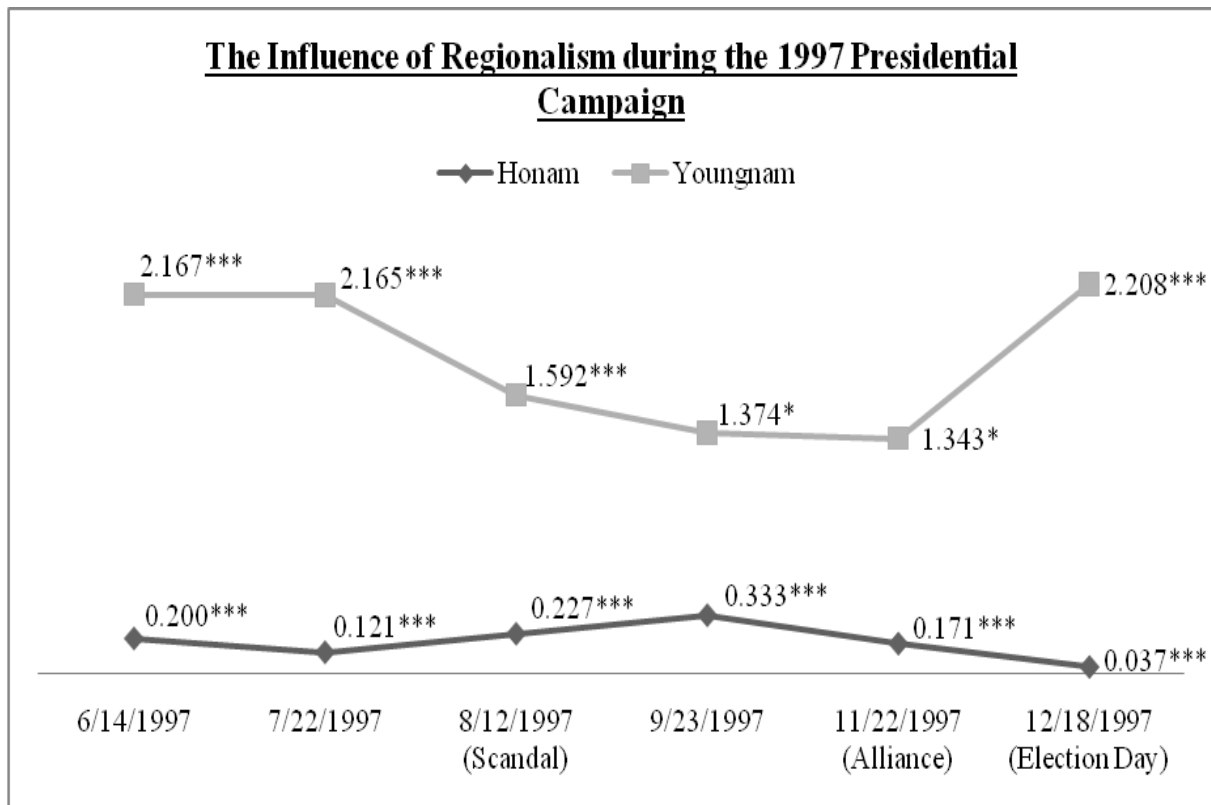


Figure 6.22 The Influence of Regionalism on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Note: (1) the odds ratios of regionalism are presented on the graphs; (2) GNP, whose candidate was involved in the scandal, was the regional party of Youngnam voters; (3) NCNP, whose candidate formed the DJP alliance, was the regional party of Honam voters; and (4) except election day, dates in the figure indicate survey dates. Each campaign event occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is indicated.

The results of the analysis present, in Figure 6.22, that the influence of regionalism on vote intention became greater toward the end of the campaign. The odds ratios of Honam and Youngnam variables show that regionalism consistently influenced regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The odds ratio of Youngnam variable on election day indicates that the ratio of the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting the incumbent party candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang, to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Youngnam Province is 2.208. It means that the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting Lee were 2.2 times higher than those of a voter, whose hometown is not Youngnam Province, supporting Lee on election day. Meanwhile, the

odds ratio of Honam variable on election day indicates that the ratio of the odds of a Honam voter supporting Lee to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Honam Province is 0.037 to 1. Therefore, the odds of a Honam voter supporting Lee were a twenty-seventh as high as those of a voter, whose hometown is not Honam Province, supporting Lee on election day. It means that Honam voters' support for Lee was very small on election day.

In addition, the results of the analysis suggest that the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences significantly changed after campaign events occurred during the campaign. Before the scandal occurred, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable was stable. The odds ratio of Youngnam variable did not vary much (-0.002) between June 14 and July 22. However, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable significantly decreased after the scandal occurred. The odds ratio of Youngnam variable on an August 12 survey dropped by 0.573 compared to the preceding survey. It means that the influence of regionalism on Youngnam voters' support for Lee, Hoi-Chang dropped by 26% (2.165 to 1.592) after the scandal. Moreover, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable further dropped by 0.218 in September. It suggests that the influence of scandal on Youngnam voters' candidate preferences was maintained until September.

Meanwhile, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable significantly increased after the DJP alliance occurred. The odds ratio of Youngnam variables on a November 22 survey rose by 14.085. In contrast, the odds ratio of Honam voters dropped after the DJP alliance occurred. The odds ratio of Honam variable on the November 22 survey decreased by 0.162 compared to the preceding survey. These findings suggest that the DJP alliance played an important role in changing the influence of regionalism on regional voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

Overall, the findings about the influence of regionalism on vote intention during the 1997 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of regionalism during the campaign were mainly influenced by the scandal and the DJP alliance, and that the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences became greater toward the end of the campaign. As a result, regional voters' candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign: 86% of Honam voters decided their regional party candidate (Kim, Dae-Jung) as their eventual vote choice, while 60% of Youngnam voters supported their regional party candidate (Lee, Hoi-Chang) on election day.

In order to test if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 1997 presidential campaign is statistically significant, this study employs models, including the fundamental variables, control variables, and interaction terms. Two surveys are pooled together in each model. One survey was conducted before the election and the other survey was conducted right after the election. The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang of GNP, and scored 0 for those who voted for some other candidate.

This survey employs "Sequence," which is a dummy variable for which survey each case belongs to. It is scored 0 for a survey conducted before the election and scored 1 for a survey conducted after the election. The variable is interacted with the fundamental variables to test if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant. If the interaction terms are statistically significant, the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically different across the different surveys and, hence, it suggests that the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant.

The fundamental variables include Honam voters, Youngnam voters, and party identification.<sup>67</sup> Age, income, and education are employed as control variables. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed in order to examine if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 1997 presidential campaign is statistically significant. Table 6.22 presents the results of the analysis.

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<sup>67</sup> Presidential approval is not included in the models because it is not available in the survey data for the 1997 presidential election.

Table 6.22 Models for the Statistical Significance of the Influence of the Fundamental Variables during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|   | Model1    | Model2    | Model3    | Model4    | Model5    |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Honam                                     | -1.604*** | -2.034*** | -1.482*** | -1.074*** | -1.746*** |
| Youngnam                                  | .776***   | .769***   | .464***   | .331**    | .304*     |
| Party ID                                  | 2.162***  | 2.140***  | 1.908***  | 1.426***  | 2.884***  |
| Age                                       | .223***   | .307***   | .251***   | .356***   | .229***   |
| Education                                 | .225**    | .181*     | .251***   | .324***   | -.038     |
| Income                                    | .101*     | -.008     | .083      | -.044     | .031      |
| Sequence                                  | -.552***  | -1.088*** | -.875***  | .325*     | -.678***  |
| Interaction 1<br>(Sequence *<br>Honam)    | -1.672*** | -1.296**  | -1.801*** | -2.246*** | -1.612*** |
| Interaction 2<br>(Sequence *<br>Youngnam) | .005      | .006      | .320      | .465*     | .444*     |
| Interaction 3<br>(Sequence *<br>Party ID) | 1.591***  | 1.591***  | 1.845***  | 2.331***  | .827**    |
| Constant                                  | -1.677*** | -1.068*** | -1.454*** | -2.876*** | -.852***  |
| N   | 2062      | 2061      | 2060      | 2059      | 2652      |
| Chi-square                                | 859.3     | 1010.7    | 801.8     | 692.8     | 1048.7    |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Model 1 includes 3<sup>rd</sup> survey (6/14/97) and the 1997 Korean Election Study.

Model 2 includes 5<sup>th</sup> survey (7/22/97) and the 1997 Korean Election Study.

Model3 includes 6<sup>th</sup> survey (8/12/97) and the 1997 Korean Election Study.

Model4 includes 9<sup>th</sup> survey (9/23/97) and the 1997 Korean Election Study.

Model 5 includes 13<sup>th</sup> survey (11/22/97) and the 1997 Korean Election Study.

The results of the analysis show, in Table 6.22, that the difference in the influence of Honam variable and party identification during the campaign is statistically significant across the surveys. The negative direction of Interaction 1 (Sequence \* Honam) across the surveys indicates that Honam voters were less likely to support their rival regional party candidate (Lee, Hoi-Chang) on election day than before the election. It suggests that Honam voters' regional party

candidate support was increasing over the course of the campaign and, therefore, their vote intention became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign. Meanwhile, the positive direction of Interaction 3 (Sequence \* Party ID) across the surveys shows that the incumbent party (GNP) supporters were more likely to support Lee, Hoi-Chang on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that the influence of party identification became greater during the campaign and, hence, GNP supporters' vote intention became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign. Finally, the findings show that the difference in the influence of Youngnam variable is not all statistically significant: two of the models indicate that the difference in the influence of Youngnam variable before and after the election is statistically significant. However, the positive direction of Interaction 2 (Sequence \* Youngnam) across the surveys suggests that Youngnam voters were more likely to support their regional party candidate (Lee, Hoi-Chang) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that Youngnam voters' regional party candidate support was likely to increase over the course of the campaign and, hence, their vote intention was likely to be more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign.

### ***The 2002 Presidential Election***

To examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year during the 2002 presidential campaign, this study employs five surveys and the 2002 Korean Election Study. A November 22-23 survey is used to capture the changes in the impact of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences after Roh, Moo-Hyun succeeded in forming an electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon.<sup>68</sup> The dependent variable of

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<sup>68</sup> August 2 and November 22-23 surveys and the 2002 Korean Election Study are employed to examine the

the model is vote intention. It is scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Roh, Moo-Hyun of MDP, and 0 for those who voted for other candidate. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine changes in the influence of regionalism and presidential approval on voters' preferences for the candidates at the individual level over the course of the 2002 presidential campaign.<sup>69</sup> Figure 6.23 and 6.24 present the results of the analysis.

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influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences because presidential approval is not available in the other 2002 presidential election surveys.

<sup>69</sup> In terms of data limitation, this study does not examine the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign.



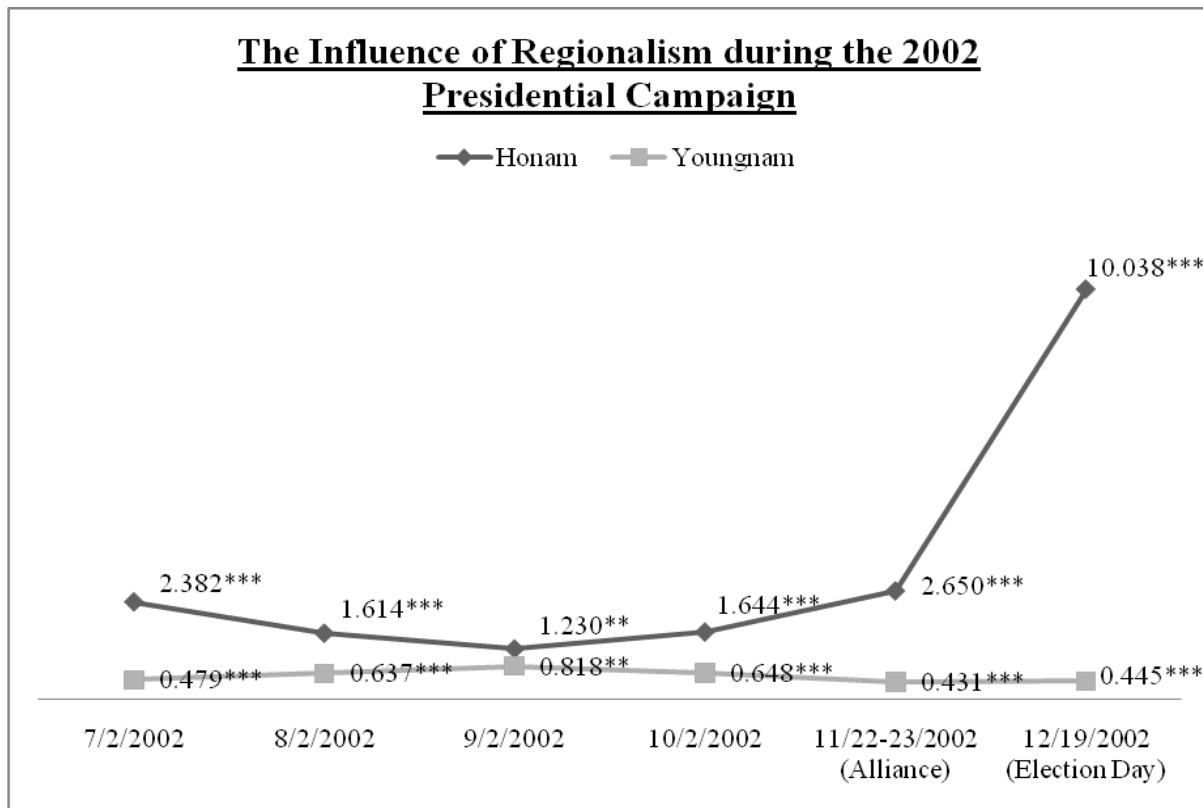


Figure 6.23 The Influence of Regionalism on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: statistically significant at .05 level.

Notes: (1) the odds ratios of regionalism are presented on the graphs; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the incumbent party candidate and Honam Province was the regional base of his party; (3) Roh, Moo-Hyun formed the electoral alliance; (3) except election day, dates on the figure indicate survey dates. Roh formed the electoral alliance on Nov. 24.

The results of the analysis present, in Figure 6.23, that the influence of regionalism on vote intention became greater toward the end of the 2002 presidential campaign. The findings show that Honam and Youngnam variables are statistically significant in every survey. The odds ratios of Honam and Youngnam variables indicate that regionalism consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The odds ratio of Honam variable on election day shows that the ratio of the odds of a Honam voter supporting the incumbent party candidate, Roh, Moo-Hyun, to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Honam Province is 10.038. It means that the odds of a Honam voter supporting Roh were approximately 10 times higher than

those of a voter, whose hometown is not Honam Province, supporting Roh on election day. Meanwhile, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable on election day presents that the ratio of the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting Roh to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Youngnam Province is 0.445 to 1. Therefore, the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting Roh were about a half as high as those of a voter, whose hometown is not Youngnam Province, supporting Roh on election day. These findings suggest that regional voters expressed very different candidate preferences during the campaign based on the influence of regionalism on their vote intention.

In addition, the results of the analysis indicate that the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences significantly changed after the electoral alliance occurred. Before the alliance occurred, the odds ratio of Honam variable did not change much. However, the odds ratio of Honam variable significantly increased after the alliance occurred. The odds ratio of Honam variable on a November 22-23 survey rose by 1.006 compared to the preceding survey. It means that the influence of regionalism on Honam voters' support for Roh increased by 61% (1.644 to 2.650) after the alliance. In addition, the odds ratio of Honam variable dramatically increased on election day. These findings suggest that the electoral alliance played an important role in increasing the influence of regionalism on Honam voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. Meanwhile, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable also changed after the electoral alliance occurred, but the change was smaller than Honam variable. The odds ratio of Youngnam variable on the November 22 survey dropped by 0.217 compared to the preceding survey. It suggests that the influence of regionalism on Youngnam voters' candidate preferences was affected by the electoral alliance.

The overall findings about the influence of regionalism on vote intention during the 2002 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of regionalism during the campaign were primarily influenced by the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung. It is also suggestive from the findings that the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences became greater toward the end of the campaign. As a result of the increase in the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences, regional voters' candidate preferences became very distinctive each other by the end of the campaign: 98% of Honam voters decided their regional party candidate (Roh, Moo-Hyun) as their eventual vote choice, while 68% of Youngnam voters supported their regional party candidate (Lee, Hoi-Chang) on election day.

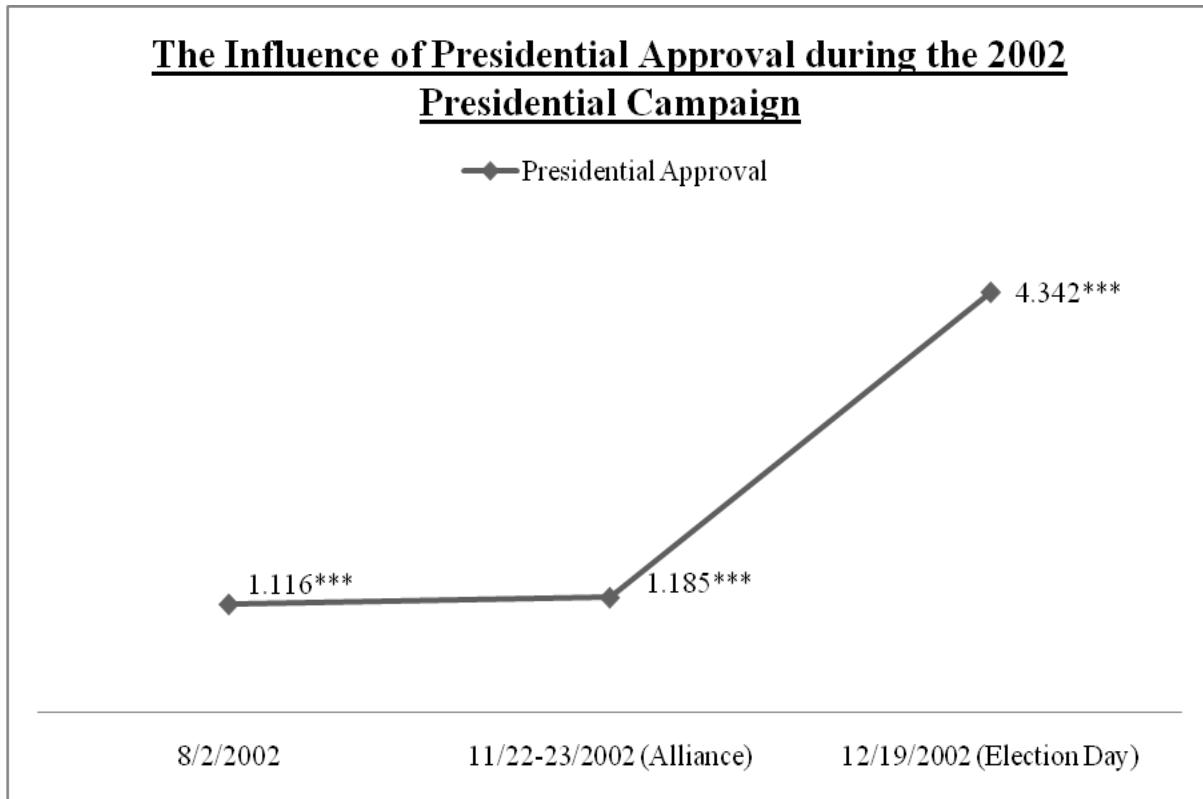


Figure 6.24 The Influence of Presidential Approval on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

Notes: (1) the odds ratios of presidential approval are presented on the graph; (2) Roh, Moo-Hyun was the incumbent party candidate and he formed the electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon; (3) except election day, dates on the figure indicate survey dates. Roh formed the alliance on Nov. 24.

The results of the analysis show, in Figure 6.24, that the influence of presidential approval on vote intention became greater toward the end of the 2002 presidential campaign. The findings indicate that presidential approval is statistically significant in all the three surveys. The odds ratio of presidential approval presents that presidential approval consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The odds ratio of presidential approval on election day shows that the ratio of the odds of a voter who approved of the job of Kim, Dae-Jung administration supporting the incumbent party candidate, Roh, Moo-Hyun, to the odds of a voter who did not approve of the job of Kim administration supporting Roh is 4.342. It means that the odds of a voter, who approved of the job of Kim administration, supporting Roh were

approximately 4.3 times higher than those of a voter, who did not approve of the job of Kim administration, supporting Roh on election day.

In addition, the results of the analysis suggest that changes in the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences were significantly influenced by the electoral alliance. The odds ratio of presidential approval significantly increased after the alliance occurred: it increased by 3.157 from a November 22-23 survey to election day. It means that voters who approved of the job of Kim administration dramatically increased their support for Roh after the alliance occurred. It suggests that the electoral alliance played a significant role in changing the influence of presidential approval on vote intention of those who approved of the job of Kim administration during the campaign.

Overall, the findings about the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences during the 2002 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences were primarily influenced by the electoral alliance between Roh and Chung during the campaign. The findings also suggest that as the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences increased, via the electoral alliance, toward the end of the campaign, vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Kim administration became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign: 88% of voters who approved of the job of Kim administration supported the in-party candidate (Roh, Moo-Hyun) on election day, while 58% of those who disapproved of the performance of Kim administration picked the opposition party candidate (Lee, Hoi-Chang) as their eventual vote choice.

So as to examine if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 2002 presidential campaign is statistically significant, this study employs models, including the

fundamental variables, control variables, and interaction terms. Two surveys are pooled together in each model. One survey was conducted before the election and the other survey was conducted right after the election. The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Roh, Moo-Hyun of MDP, and scored 0 for those who voted for some other candidate.

A dummy variable, “Sequence”, is employed to measure for which survey each case belongs to. It is scored 0 for a survey conducted before the election and scored 1 for a survey conducted after the election. The variable is interacted with the fundamental variables to test if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant. If the interaction terms are statistically significant, the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically different across the surveys and, therefore, it suggests that the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant.

The fundamental variables include Honam voters, Youngnam voters, and presidential approval.<sup>70</sup> Age, income, and education are employed as control variables. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed in order to examine if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 2002 presidential campaign is statistically significant. Table 6.23 presents the results of the analysis.

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<sup>70</sup> An interaction term for party identification is not included in the models because party identification is only available in two of the survey data for the 2002 presidential election.

Table 6.23 Models for the Statistical Significance of the Influence of the Fundamental Variables during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|   | Model1   | Model2   | Model3   | Model4   | Model5   |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Honam                                     | .858***  | .487***  | .299     | .491***  | 1.426*** |
| Youngnam                                  | -.727*** | -.460*** | -.093    | -.422*** | -.603*** |
| Party ID                                  | 2.413*** | -        | 2.403*** | -        | -        |
| Approval                                  | .623***  | .116***  | -        | -        | .185***  |
| Age                                       | -.371*** | -.249*** | -.285*** | -.230*** | -.362*** |
| Education                                 | -.122*   | -.147**  | -.175*** | -.163*** | -.118*   |
| Income                                    | .022     | -.013    | .043     | .039     | .040     |
| Sequence                                  | -.294**  | .157     | -.225*   | .195**   | -.345*** |
| Interaction 1<br>(Sequence *<br>Honam)    | 1.524*** | 2.656*** | 2.270*** | 3.004*** | 1.716*** |
| Interaction 2<br>(Sequence *<br>Youngnam) | -.096    | -.508**  | -.810*** | -.668*** | -.331    |
| Interaction 3<br>(Sequence *<br>Approval) | .842***  | 1.711*** | -        | -        | 1.670*** |
| Constant                                  | .988***  | .682***  | 1.005*** | .847***  | 1.288*** |
| N   | 2314     | 2316     | 2316     | 2315     | 2314     |
| Chi-square                                | 753.0    | 423.1    | 523.9    | 271.4    | 495.0    |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Model 1 includes 2<sup>nd</sup> survey (7/7/02) and the 2002 Korean Election Study.

Model 2 includes 3<sup>rd</sup> survey (8/2/02) and the 2002 Korean Election Study.

Model3 includes 4<sup>th</sup> survey (9/2/02) and the 2002 Korean Election Study.

Model4 includes 5<sup>th</sup> survey (10/2/02) and the 2002 Korean Election Study.

Model 5 includes 7<sup>th</sup> survey (11/22-23/02) and the 2002 Korean Election Study.

The findings of the analysis show, in Table 6.23, that the difference in the influence of Honam variable and presidential approval is statistically significant across the surveys. The positive direction of Interaction 1 (Sequence \* Honam) across the surveys indicates that Honam voters were more likely to support their regional party candidate (Roh, Moo-Hyun) on election

day than before the election. It suggests that the influence of Honam voters' regional party candidate support on their vote intention became greater over the course of the campaign and, hence, their vote intention became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign. Meanwhile, the positive direction of Interaction 3 (Sequence \* Presidential Approval) across the surveys shows that those who approved of the job of Kim, Dae-Jung administration were more likely to support the incumbent party candidate (Roh, Moo-Hyun) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that the influence of presidential approval became greater over the course of the campaign and, therefore, vote intention of those who approved of the job of Kim administration became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign. Finally, the findings show that the difference in the influence of Youngnam variable is not all statistically significant: three of the models show that the difference in the influence of Youngnam variable before and after the election is statistically significant. However, the negative direction of Interaction 2 (Sequence \* Youngnam) suggests that Youngnam voters were less likely to support their rival regional party candidate (Roh, Moo-Hyun) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that the influence of Youngnam voters' regional party candidate support on their vote intention was likely to increase during the campaign and, therefore, their vote intention was likely to be more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign.

### ***The 2007 Presidential Election***

Five panel surveys are employed to capture changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on vote intention over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. August 10 and October 17 panel data are used to examine the impact of



the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences before the campaign got under way. November 25 and December 10 panel data are used to capture the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences after the BBK scandal was revealed to the public. Finally, the sixth panel survey, conducted right after election day, is employed to examine the influence of the fundamental variables on the eventual vote choice in the 2007 presidential election.

The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Chung, Dong-Young of United New Democratic Party (UNDP), and scored 0 for those who voted for other candidate. Logistic regression analysis is employed to examine changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' candidate preferences at the individual level over the course of the 2007 presidential campaign. Figure 6.25, 6.26, and 6.27 present the results of the analysis.

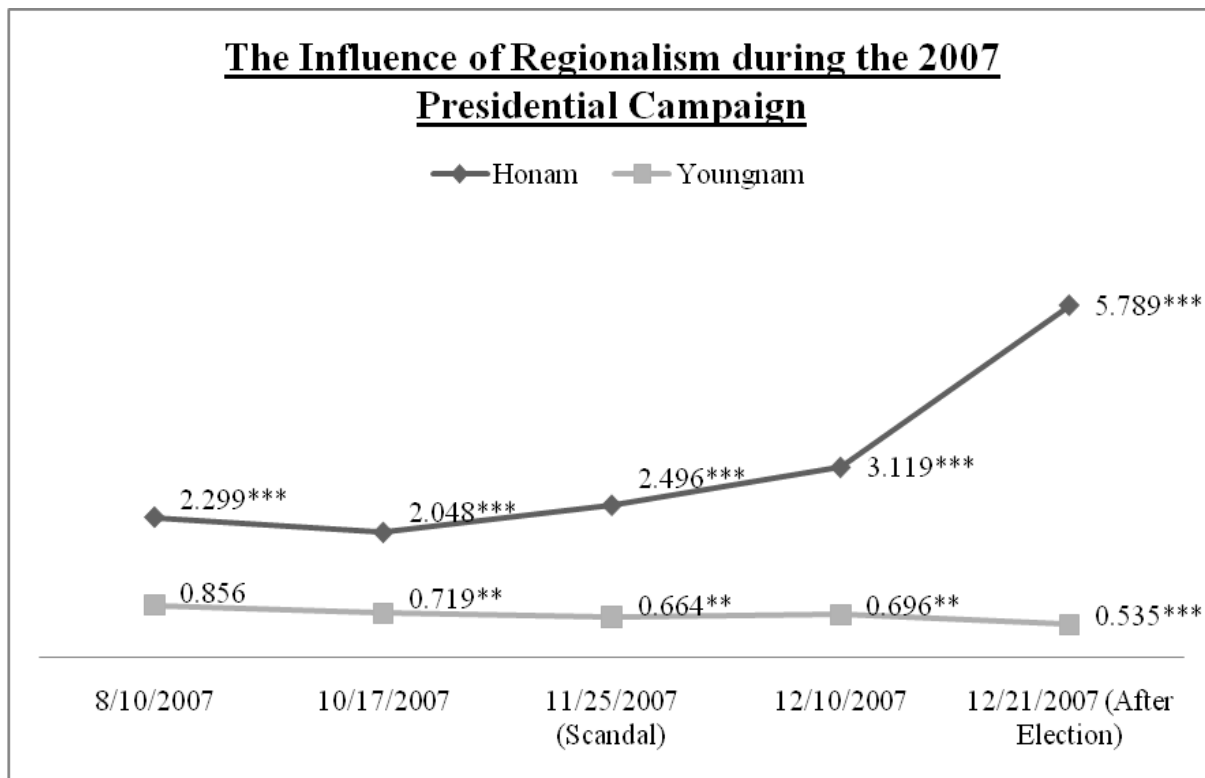


Figure 6.25 The Influence of Regionalism on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: statistically significant at .05 level.

Notes: (1) the odds ratios of regionalism are presented on the graphs; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal and Youngnam Province was the regional base of his party; (3) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked; and (4) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

The results of the analysis show, in Figure 6.25, that the influence of regionalism on vote intention became greater toward the end of the 2007 presidential campaign. The findings show that Honam and Youngnam variables are statistically significant in every survey during the campaign. The odds ratio of Honam variable increased by 3.49 (2.299 to 5.789) and the odds ratio of Youngnam variable decreased by .321 (.856 to .535) during the campaign. It suggests that Honam voters increased their support for their regional party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young), while Youngnam voters decreased their support for their rival regional party candidate over the course of the campaign. Meanwhile, the odds ratios of Honam and Youngnam variables

indicate that regionalism consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences during the campaign. The odds ratio of Honam variable on election day shows that the ratio of the odds of a Honam voter supporting Chung to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Honam Province voting for Chung is 5.789. It means that the odds of a Honam voter supporting Chung were about 5.8 times higher than those of a voter, whose hometown is not Honam Province, supporting Chung on election day. Meanwhile, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable on election day presents that the ratio of the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting Chung to the odds of a voter whose hometown is not Youngnam Province voting for Chung is 0.535 to 1. Therefore, the odds of a Youngnam voter supporting Chung were about a half as high as those of a voter, whose hometown is not Youngnam Province, supporting Chung on election day.

Moreover, the results of the analysis show that the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences significantly changed after the BBK scandal occurred. Before the BBK occurred, the odds ratio of Honam variable did not change much. However, the odds ratio of Honam variable continued to increase after the alliance occurred. The odds ratio of Honam variable on a November 25 survey increased by .448 compared to the preceding survey. It means that the influence of regionalism on Honam voters' candidate preferences increased by 22% (2.048 to 2.496) after the BBK scandal occurred. In addition, the increase in the odds ratio of Honam variable was continued until election day. These findings suggest that the BBK scandal played an important role in increasing the influence of regionalism on Honam voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

Meanwhile, the odds ratio of Youngnam variable also changed after the BBK scandal occurred, but the change was smaller than Honam variable. The odds ratio of Youngnam variable on the November 22 survey dropped by .055 compared to the preceding survey. It means that the

influence of regionalism on Youngnam voters' candidate preferences increased by 7.6% (0.719 to 0.664) after the BBK scandal occurred. It suggests that the influence of regionalism on the regional voters' candidate preferences was maintained even after their regional party candidate was involved in a scandal. As examined earlier, Chung could not absorb Youngnam voters who defected from Lee, Myung-Bak after the BBK scandal because Lee, Hoi-Chang, who had run for president as the regional party candidate of Youngnam Province in the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, took those defecting voters. It is suggestive from the findings that those defecting regional voters did not rally around their rival regional party candidate when they were disappointed in their regional party candidate by the scandal because of the influence of regionalism on their vote intention during the campaign. Instead, they rallied around Lee, Hoi-Chang because he was an acceptable alternative who could be in line with their preference of their regional party.

Overall, the findings about the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences were primarily in response to the BBK scandal during the campaign. In addition, the influence of regionalism on vote intention became greater toward the end of the campaign. As a result of the increase in the influence of regionalism on voters' candidate preferences, regional voters' candidate preferences became very distinctive each other by the end of the campaign: 68% of Youngnam voters decided their regional party candidate (Lee, Myung-Bak) as their eventual vote choice, while 60% of Honam voters supported their regional party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day.

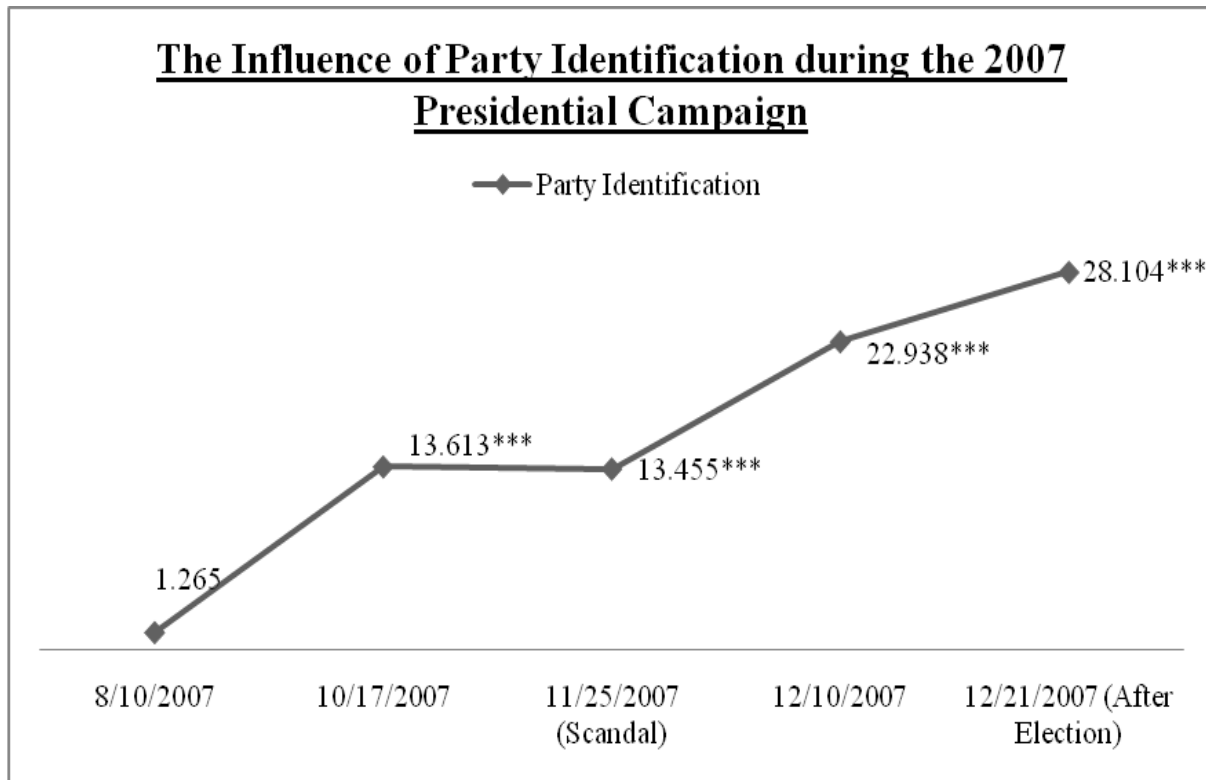


Figure 6.26 The Influence of Party Identification on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

Notes: (1) the odds ratios of party identification are presented on the graph; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) Chung,Dong-Young was the incumbent pary (UNDP) candidate; (4) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked beside on the figure; and (5) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

The results of the analysis show, in Figure 6.26, that the influence of party identification on vote intention became greater toward the end of the 2007 presidential campaign. The findings indicate that party identification is statistically significant in every survey during the campaign. The odds ratio of party identification increased by 14.5 (13. 6 to 28.1) over the course of the campaign. It suggests that the influence of party identification significantly increased during the campaign. Meanwhile, the odds ratios of party identification during the campaign indicate that party identification consistently influenced voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. The odds ratio of party identification on election day shows that the ratio of the odds

of a UNDP supporter voting for the incumbent party candidate, Chung, Dong-Young, to the odds of a voter, who did not support UNDP, voting for Chung is 28.104. It means that the odds of a UNDP supporter voting for Chung were about 28 times higher than those of a voter, who did not support UNDP, voting for Chung on election day. These findings suggest that UNDP supporters' candidate preferences became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign by increasing their support for their party candidate over the course of the campaign.

In addition, the results of the analysis suggest that the influence of party identification significantly changed after the BBK scandal occurred. The odds ratio of party identification significantly increased by 9.483 between November 25 and December 12, and the increase in the influence of party identification was maintained until election day. It suggests that the BBK scandal played an important role in increasing the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

The overall findings about the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of party identification on vote intention were primarily influenced by the BBK scandal during the campaign. In addition, the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences increased toward the end of the campaign. As a result of the increase in the influence of party identification on voters' candidate preferences, partisans' candidate preferences became very homogeneous within the groups and heterogeneous across the groups by the end of the campaign: 84% of GNP supporters voted for their party candidate (Lee, Myung-Bak) on election day, while 85% of UNDP supporters picked their party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) as their eventual vote choice.

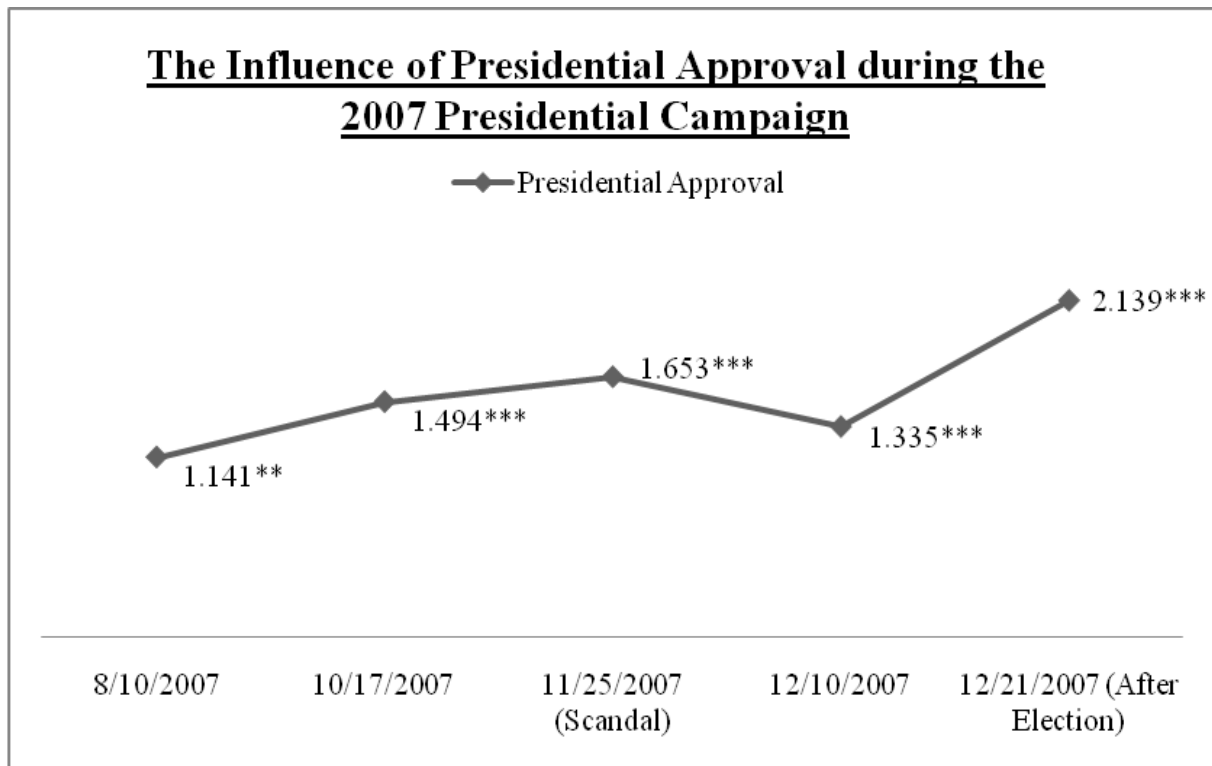


Figure 6.27 The Influence of Presidential Approval on Voters' Candidate Preferences during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

\*\*\*: statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: statistically significant at .05 level.

Notes: (1) the odds ratios of presidential approval are presented on the graph; (2) Lee, Myung-Bak was the candidate who was involved in the scandal; (3) Chung, Dong-Young was the incumbent party (UNDP) candidate; (4) dates in the figure indicate survey dates. The BBK scandal occurred between its preceding survey and the survey date where it is marked; and (5) the 2007 presidential campaign season is defined as the time period between October to election day.

The results of the analysis present, in Figure 6.27, that the influence of presidential approval on vote intention became greater toward the end of the 2007 presidential campaign. The findings show that presidential approval is statistically significant in all the surveys. The difference in the odds ratio of party identification before and after the campaign is 0.486 (1.494 to 2.139). It suggests that the influence of presidential approval increased over the course of the campaign. In the meantime, the odds ratio of presidential approval indicates that how voters evaluated the job of Roh, Moo-Hyun administration consistently influenced their vote intention during the campaign. The odds ratio of presidential approval on election day shows that the ratio

of the odds of a voter who approved of the job of Roh administration supporting the incumbent party candidate, Chung, Dong-Young, to the odds of a voter who did not approve of the job of Roh administration voting for Chung is 2.139. It means that the odds of a voter, who approved of the job of Roh administration, voting for Chung were about 2.1 times higher than those of a voter, who did not approve of the job of Kim administration, voting for Chung on election day.

In addition, the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences increased after the BBK scandal occurred. The odds ratio of presidential approval on a November 25 survey increased by .159 compared to the preceding survey. It means that the influence of presidential approval on voter support for Chung increased by 10.6% (1.494 to 1.653) after the BBK scandal occurred. In addition, the difference in the odds ratio of presidential approval between November 25 and election day is .486. It means that voters who approved of the job of Roh administration increased their support for Chung by 29.4% (1.653 to 2.139) during the time period. It suggests that the BBK scandal played an important role in changing the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences during the campaign.

The overall findings about changes in the influence of presidential approval on voters' candidate preferences during the 2007 presidential campaign suggest that vote intention of voters who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration was mainly responsive to the BBK scandal during the campaign. The findings also suggest that vote intention of those who approved or disapproved of the job of Roh administration became distinctive by the end of the campaign because the influence of presidential approval on their vote intention became greater toward the end of the campaign: 63% of voters who disapproved of the job of Roh administration decided the opposition party candidate (Lee, Myung-Bak) as their eventual vote choice, while



42% of those who approved of the performance of Roh administration supported the in-party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day.

In order to test if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 2007 presidential campaign is statistically significant, this study employs models, including the fundamental variables, control variables, and interaction terms. Two surveys are pooled together in each model. One survey was conducted before the election and the other survey was conducted right after the election. The dependent variable of the model is vote intention. It is measured with a dichotomous variable scored 1 for those who voted for the incumbent party candidate, Chung, Dong-Young of UNDP, and scored 0 for those who voted for some other candidate.

This survey employs “Sequence,” which is a dummy variable for which wave of the panel surveys each case belongs to. It is scored 0 for a survey conducted before the election and scored 1 for a survey conducted after the election. The variable is interacted with the fundamental variables to test if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant. If the interaction terms are statistically significant, the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically different across the surveys and, therefore, it suggests that the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables is statistically significant.

The fundamental variables include Honam voters, Youngnam voters, party identification, and presidential approval. Age, income, and education are employed as control variables. The fundamental and control variables are defined and operationalized in the same way as the previous analyses. Logistic regression analysis is employed in order to examine if the difference in the influence of the fundamental variables during the 2007 presidential campaign is statistically significant. Table 6.24 presents the results of the analysis.

Table 6.24 Models for the Statistical Significance of the Influence of the Fundamental Variables during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|   | Model1    | Model2    | Model3    | Model4    |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Honam                                     | .856***   | .737***   | .936***   | 1.129***  |
| Youngnam                                  | -.135     | -.321**   | -.399**   | -.369**   |
| Party ID                                  | .237      | 2.586***  | 2.586***  | 3.123***  |
| Approval                                  | .146**    | .403***   | .500***   | .287***   |
| Age                                       | -.0004    | -.067     | -.067     | -.150***  |
| Education                                 | -.141     | -.233***  | -.186**   | -.137     |
| Income                                    | -.002     | -.007     | -.010*    | -.011*    |
| Sequence                                  | .525***   | -.068     | -.003     | -.131     |
| Interaction 1<br>(Sequence *<br>Honam)    | .847***   | .979***   | .785***   | .619***   |
| Interaction 2<br>(Sequence *<br>Youngnam) | -.516*    | -.324     | -.245     | -.261     |
| Interaction 3<br>(Sequence *<br>Party ID) | 2.783***  | .431*     | .426*     | -.121     |
| Interaction 4<br>(Sequence *<br>Approval) | .674***   | .399**    | .302      | .488***   |
| Constant                                  | -2.522*** | -1.502*** | -1.674*** | -1.448*** |
| N   | 4855      | 4468      | 4326      | 4152      |
| Chi-square                                | 1078.1    | 1383.5    | 1388.4    | 1488.9    |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Model 1 includes 2<sup>nd</sup> survey (8/10/07) and 6<sup>th</sup> survey (12/21/07).

Model 2 includes 3<sup>rd</sup> survey (10/17/07) and 6<sup>th</sup> survey (12/21/07).

Model3 includes 4<sup>th</sup> survey (11/25/07) and 6<sup>th</sup> survey (12/21/07).

Model4 includes 5<sup>th</sup> survey (12/10/07) and 6<sup>th</sup> survey (12/21/07).

The findings of the analysis show, in Table 6.24, that the difference in the influence of Honam variable is statistically significant across the surveys. The positive direction of Interaction 1 (Sequence \* Honam) across the surveys indicates that Honam voters were more

likely to support their regional party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day than before the election. It suggests that Honam voters' regional party candidate support increased over the course of the campaign and, therefore, their vote intention became more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign. In the meantime, the findings show that the difference in the influence of Youngnam variable is statistically significant in one of the models. However, the negative direction of Interaction 2 (Sequence \* Youngnam) suggests that Youngnam voters were less likely to support their rival regional party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that Youngnam voters' regional party candidate support was likely to increase over the course of the campaign and, hence, their vote intention was likely to be more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign.

In addition, the findings indicate that the difference in the influence of party identification is not all statistically significant: three of the models show that the difference in the influence of party identification is statistically significant before and after the election. However, the positive direction of Interaction 3 (Sequence \* Party Identification) in three of the four models suggests that UNDP supporters were more likely to support their party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that the influence of party identification was likely to become greater over the course of the campaign and, therefore, UNDP supporters' vote intention was likely to become more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign.

Similarly, the findings show that the difference in the influence of presidential approval is not all statistically significant: three of the models indicate that the difference in the influence of presidential approval is statistically significant before and after the election. However, the positive direction of Interaction 4 (Sequence \* Presidential Approval) suggests that those who

approved of the job of Roh, Moo-Hyun administration were more likely to support the incumbent party candidate (Chung, Dong-Young) on election day than before the election. It is suggestive from the finding that the influence of presidential approval was likely to become greater during the campaign and, hence, vote intention of those who approved of the job of Roh administration was likely to become more homogeneous toward the end of the campaign.

In sum, the findings about changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on voters' preferences for the candidates over the course of the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaign suggest that changes in the influence of the fundamental variables on vote intention were influenced by the campaign events over the course of the campaign. In addition, the influence of the fundamental variables on voters' candidate preferences became greater, via the campaign events, toward the end of the campaign. As the fundamental variables increased their influence on vote intention through campaign events over the course of the campaign, subgroups of the electorate developed distinctive candidate preferences toward the end of the campaign. In other words, individual subgroups became more sensitive to the fundamental variables for their vote intention through the campaign events over the course of the campaign and, hence, their candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign.

In this way, campaign events and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influenced the eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections. Campaign events assisted subgroups of the electorate to develop their enlightened preferences toward the end of the campaign by assisting them to learn more about the fundamental variables during the campaign. Campaign events played an important role in producing the eventual vote choice because individual subgroups' enlightened preferences relied on how much campaign

events made changes in information about the candidates during the campaign. As a result of the enlightenment, the subgroups' candidate preferences moved toward their eventual vote decisions toward the end of the campaign.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

The main purpose of this study was to develop and test a theoretical framework to analyze campaign effects on vote choice in Korean presidential elections. This study applied Holbrook's (1996; 1994) equilibrium theory and Gelman and Kings' (1993) enlightenment theory to Korean presidential elections to develop a theory to account for the roles of both presidential campaigns and the fundamental variables of the presidential election year in the electoral process.

Holbrook (1996) developed a forecasting model of American presidential election outcomes from 1952 to 1992. He hypothesized that the national conditions of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of candidate support. He found that presidential campaigns impel the eventual election outcome toward the expected equilibrium level of candidate support. However, this study could not demonstrate that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of candidate support in Korean presidential elections because Korea has conducted only five democratic presidential elections since its democratization of 1987. In other words, it is not plausible to obtain a statistically valid forecasting model for measuring an equilibrium level of candidate support with the small sample. In addition, the equilibrium theory does not show clearly how individual voters respond to campaign events and move toward their eventual vote decisions over the course of the campaign.

To get around those obstacles, this study analyzed changes in vote intention of subgroups of the electorate over the course of the campaign, based on Gelman and King's (1993) "enlightenment" theory. Gelman and King argued that subgroups of the electorate develop

distinctive enlightened preferences during the campaign and cast their ballots based on such enlightened preferences. To examine how campaign events influenced voters' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential campaign, this study attempted to measure the direction of movement of vote intention of subgroups of the electorate over the course of the campaign rather than estimate changes in vote intention of the entire electorate toward a specific equilibrium point during the campaign. The empirical analysis on changes in individual subgroups' candidate preferences during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns demonstrated that as individual subgroups learned more about the fundamental variables through campaign events during the campaign, their candidate preferences moved in the expected direction and became more homogeneous within the groups toward the end of the campaign. The findings of the analysis support the theory of this study and indicate that a version of Holbrook's theory applies to Korean presidential elections.

In chapter 3, a theory of campaign effects in Korean presidential elections was developed based on the equilibrium and enlightenment theories. This study argued that both the fundamental variables of the presidential election year and presidential campaigns influence the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential elections. The fundamental variables influence voters' candidate preferences before the campaign begins and mainly determine the eventual vote choice. Meanwhile, fluctuations in voters' candidate preferences over the course of the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events because the fundamental variables do not change much during the campaign. An important role of presidential campaigns is to enlighten voters by assisting them to learn more about the fundamental variables over the course of the campaign. When campaign events provide voters with information about the candidates' quality, values, and issue positions, voters develop their enlightened preferences over the course of the campaign.

At the start of the campaign, subgroups of the electorate have somewhat different candidate preferences because of the distinctive influence of the fundamental variables on each subgroup's vote intention. For instance, Honam voters have different candidate preferences from Youngnam voters due to the influence of regionalism on their candidate preferences. When campaign events provide the subgroups with information about the candidates, individual subgroups develop increasingly distinctive candidate preferences over the course of the campaign, based on the fundamental variables.

As the subgroups develop distinctive candidate preferences through campaign events, the influence of the fundamental variables on the subgroups' vote intention become greater toward the end of the campaign. As a result, individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. In other words, as a result of the increasing influence of the fundamental variables on the subgroups' candidate preferences, individual subgroups' vote intention become very distinct from each other by the end of the campaign. This process shows how campaign events interact with the fundamental variables of the presidential election year over the course of the campaign: campaign events assist subgroups of the electorate to learn more about the fundamental variables by providing them with information about the candidates so that they develop their enlightened candidate preferences.

Campaign events play an important role in producing voters' enlightened candidate preferences over the course of the campaign because the degree to which voters acquire their enlightened preferences relies on how much campaign events can increase information about the candidates during the campaign. As a result of the enlightenment, they move toward their eventual vote decisions toward the end of the campaign. In this way, presidential campaigns and



the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influence the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential elections.

In chapter 4, this study empirically tested whether the fundamental variables of the presidential election year influenced voters' candidate preferences before the campaign began and the extent to which they influenced the eventual vote choice in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Korean presidential elections. The results of the analysis supported the notion that the fundamental variables significantly influence voting behavior of Korean presidential elections. In addition, this study examined whether the fundamental variables changed much during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns to investigate the possibility that the fundamental variables could influence changes in vote intention during the campaign. The results of the examinations suggested that the fundamental variables do not vary much during the campaign.

In chapter 5, this study defined campaign events and presidential campaign seasons in the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential elections. This study defined campaign events as events or issues that occur during the campaign season. Campaign events included in this study were the scandal of evading military service of Lee, Hoi-Chang's two sons, the DJP alliance, and presidential debates in 1997; the scandal involving president Kim, Dae-Jung's sons and close confidants, the electoral alliance between Roh, Moo-Hyun and Chung, Mong-Joon, and presidential debates in 2002; and the BBK scandal and presidential debates in 2007. Meanwhile, this study defined a Korean presidential campaign season as a time period from when both of major parties decide their presidential nominees and election day. Finally, the models of campaign events in Korean presidential elections, the hypotheses, and the test methods were developed to empirically test the influence of campaign events and the fundamental variables on vote intention during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 presidential campaigns.

The results of the analysis were presented in chapter 6. The findings of the analysis on changes in voter support for the candidates (hypothesis 1) demonstrated that voters' candidate preferences fluctuated after campaign events occurred. The findings suggested that fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign are primarily in response to campaign events. Meanwhile, the results of the analysis about the influence of campaign events on individual subgroups' candidate preferences (hypothesis 2) showed that individual subgroups, such as regional voters (Honam and Youngnam voters), partisans, independents, voters who approved or disapproved of the job of the incumbent administration, developed distinctive candidate preferences, via campaign events, over the course of the campaign. As a result, the subgroups' candidate preferences became more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups toward the end of the campaign. These findings suggested that a major function of campaign events is to assist individual subgroups to learn more about the fundamental variables to acquire their enlightened preferences by the end of the campaign. Accordingly, individual subgroups' candidate preferences become very distinct from each other by the end of the campaign.

Finally, the findings of the analysis on changes in the influence of the fundamental variables of the presidential election year on individual subgroups' vote intention during the campaign (hypothesis 3) demonstrated that the influence of the fundamental variables became greater, via campaign events, toward the end of the campaign. The findings suggested that individual subgroups' candidate preferences become more homogeneous within the groups and more heterogeneous across the groups because of the increasing influence of the fundamental variables on the subgroups' vote intention toward the end of the campaign.

This study can contribute to the academic literature in that the theoretical framework of this study can be a foundation on analyzing campaign effects in Korean presidential elections for future research. Considering that there has been little research to develop a model of campaign effects in Korean presidential elections, the theoretical framework and findings of this study make an implication on future research to investigate the influence of campaign events and the fundamental variables on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections.

In addition, this study makes an implication about the applicability of the theories of American presidential campaigns to a foreign electoral setting. By applying two theories of American presidential campaigns to Korean presidential elections, this study demonstrated that theories of American presidential campaigns have general theoretical import in explaining vote choice in presidential elections held outside the United States. Accordingly, the theoretical framework and findings of this study suggest avenues for future research to examine campaign effects in other countries. If an electoral setting of a foreign country has established the fundamental variables of the election year and possesses reasonably well-developed campaigns and media organizations, and the electorate that has widespread access to campaign communications, the theoretical framework of this study can be applied to various national electoral settings. Of course, different countries may have distinctive fundamental variables or types of campaign events during the campaign.

Last but not least, analyzing changes in vote intention of subgroups of the electorate to examine campaign effects makes an implication on the studies of American presidential campaigns. This study found that presidential campaigns play an important role in individual subgroups' developing candidate preferences over the course of the campaign. As Holbrook (1996) mentioned, it is necessary to bring more attention to the function of presidential

campaigns in the electoral process rather than simply estimate how much percentages campaign events take in producing electoral outcomes. This way of analyzing campaign effects can contribute to broadening our understanding of whether campaigns matter.

Future research on Korean presidential campaigns has a number of promising areas of inquiry for scholars because there have been a few studies taken place in the area. Holbrook (1996) developed a forecasting model of American presidential election outcomes from 1952 to 1992. He hypothesized that the national conditions of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of the eventual election outcomes. However, this study could not demonstrate that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year set the equilibrium level of the eventual election outcomes in Korean presidential elections. This is mainly because a forecasting model of Korean presidential elections could not be estimated because of the small number of Korean presidential elections conducted after the democratization of 1987. Instead, this study hypothesized that the fundamental variables of the presidential election year mainly determine the eventual vote choice in Korean presidential elections, based on the findings of previous research on voting behavior of Korean presidential elections that the fundamental variables significantly influence vote choice in Korean presidential elections. Considering the small sample, it will take time to develop a forecasting model of Korean presidential election outcomes at the aggregate level. However, future research may attempt to make a forecasting model of Korean presidential elections at the individual level. That could make a significant contribution to the study of Korean presidential campaigns.

In addition, campaign events included in this study were scandals, electoral alliances, and presidential debates. Various campaign events occur continuously during a presidential campaign season. For example, economic crisis in 1997, deaths of two middle school girls by a U.S.

military vehicle in 2002, and Roh, Moo-Hyun's election promise of moving the administrative capital city into Chungchong Province in 2002, were paid attention to by the media during the campaign. In addition, campaign ads and campaign speeches were conducted during the campaign. Taking into account that Korean presidential voters consider presidential candidates' capability important for their vote decisions, campaign ads and campaign speeches can provide them with information about the candidates' capability and, hence, they could influence vote choice. Future research can capture these campaign events to examine the overall influence of campaign events on vote intention during the campaign.

Meanwhile, the analysis of the influence of campaign events on regional voters' candidate support suggested that campaign events assist regional voters to be more sensitive to their regional party candidate support in their vote decisions. The extent that regional voters support their regional party candidate depends on how much campaign events can increase information about the candidates over the course of the campaign. In 2002, Roh, Moo-Hyun provided voters with information about his electoral strength through the electoral alliance with Chung, Mong-Joon and the campaign information assisted Honam voters to be more sensitive to their regional party candidate support in their vote decisions. Honam voters increased their support for Roh by 53% (44.4% to 97.5%) during the campaign. However, Honam voters increased their support for Chung, Dong-Young by only 25% (34.2% to 60.2%) during the 2007 presidential campaign and the increase is much lower than the preceding presidential election. This could be because Chung did not provide Honam voters with as much appealing campaign information as the electoral alliance in 2002. Future research can examine the influence of campaign events on voting behavior of regional voters more thoroughly. Regionalism has been one of important factors of explaining vote choice in the contemporary Korean presidential

elections. Previous studies found that the influence of regionalism varied election by election although regionalism influenced vote choice in all the elections. Conducting research on the influence of campaign events on regional voters' candidate support could broaden our understanding of the way that regionalism influences vote decisions and make a significant contribution to the study of Korean presidential elections.

Finally, future research can examine whether campaign events can interact with strategic voting of presidential election voters during the campaign. Some voters do not vote for their most preferred candidate when the candidate has little chance of winning. Previous studies have found that Korean presidential election voters engage in strategic voting (Choi 2003; Jhee 2008; Kyung and Kim 1999). They show that a candidate's electability, strength of party identification, regional cleavage, and age influence whether a voter engages in strategic voting. However, they do not show whether and how campaign events can affect voter decision of going strategic. In addition, an investigation about the relationship between campaign events and strategic voting could be extended to American and other countries' electoral settings because the existing studies have paid little attention to the potential connection between campaign events and strategic voting during the campaign (Abramowitz et al. 1992; Alvarez et al. 2000). This study found that fluctuations in vote intention during the campaign are primarily influenced by campaign events. When a candidate shows a sign of electoral strength, via campaign events, during the campaign, voters update their candidate preferences through the assessment of the campaign information. Their updated candidate preferences may be included in voters' information set when they engage in strategic voting. The future research on the relationship between campaign events and strategic voting can contribute to extending our understanding on voter choice.

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**Appendix A: Tables for Changes in the Influence of the Fundamental Variables on Vote Intention during the 1997, 2002, and 2007 Presidential Campaigns**

Table 1 Logistic Regression Analysis of Changes in the Influence of the Fundamental Variables on Vote Intention during the 1997 Presidential Campaign

|            | <u>6/14</u> | <u>7/22</u> | <u>8/12</u> | <u>9/23</u> | <u>11/22</u> | <u>12/18</u> |
|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
|            | Coef.       | Coef.       | Coef.       | Coef.       | Coef.        | Coef.        |
| Honam      | -1.607***   | -2.117***   | -1.484***   | -1.099***   | -1.766***    | -3.303***    |
| Youngnam   | .773***     | .772***     | .465***     | .318*       | .295*        | .792***      |
| Party ID   | 2.138***    | 2.128***    | 1.895***    | 1.424***    | 2.904***     | 3.737***     |
| Age        | .140*       | .026***     | .015**      | .380***     | .016***      | .027***      |
| Education  | .190        | .090        | .230*       | .355***     | -.202**      | .288**       |
| Income     | .095        | -.020       | .078        | -.100       | .050         | .110         |
| Constant   | -1.383***   | -1.139**    | -1.392***   | -2.847***   | -1.361*      | -2.939***    |
| N          | 1005        | 1004        | 1003        | 1002        | 1595         | 1055         |
| Chi-Square | 272.7       | 330.2       | 193.2       | 131.7       | 450.6        | 540.4        |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Table 2 Logistic Regression Analysis of Changes in the Influence of the Fundamental Variables on Vote Intention during the 2002 Presidential Campaign

|            | <u>7/2</u> | <u>8/2</u> | <u>9/2</u> | <u>10/2</u> | <u>11/22-23</u> | <u>12/19</u> |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
|            | Coef.      | Coef.      | Coef.      | Coef.       | Coef.           | Coef.        |
| Honam      | .868***    | .479***    | .207**     | .497***     | .974***         | 2.306***     |
| Youngnam   | -.736***   | -.451***   | -.201**    | -.434***    | -.843***        | -.809***     |
| Party ID   | 1.880***   | -          | 1.571***   | -           | -               | 2.711***     |
| Approval   | .646***    | .109***    | -          | -           | .170***         | 1.468***     |
| Age        | -.337***   | -.075      | -.168**    | -.028       | -.315***        | -.030***     |
| Education  | -.139      | -.110      | -.306***   | -.205**     | -.119           | -.119        |
| Income     | .013       | -.080      | .145*      | .133*       | .097            | .039         |
| Constant   | .963**     | .269       | .833**     | .158*       | 1.187***        | .933**       |
| N          | 1000       | 1002       | 1002       | 1001        | 1000            | 1314         |
| Chi-Square | 222.1      | 41.1       | 71.9       | 37.3        | 135.5           | 530.2        |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.

Table 3 Logistic Regression Analysis of Changes in the Influence of the Fundamental Variables on Vote Intention during the 2007 Presidential Campaign

|            | <u>8/10</u> | <u>10/17</u> | <u>11/25</u> | <u>12/10</u> | <u>12/21</u> |
|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
|            | Coef.       | Coef.        | Coef.        | Coef.        | Coef.        |
| Honam      | .833***     | .717***      | .915***      | 1.137***     | 1.756***     |
| Youngnam   | -.155       | -.330**      | -.410**      | -.362**      | -.626***     |
| Party ID   | .235        | 2.611***     | 2.560***     | 3.133***     | 3.336***     |
| Approval   | .132**      | .402***      | .503***      | .289***      | .760***      |
| Age        | .101        | -.004        | -.003        | -.019***     | -.012*       |
| Education  | -.194       | -.349***     | -.271**      | -.236**      | -.095        |
| Income     | .005        | -.002        | -.005        | -.005        | -.019*       |
| Constant   | -2.691***   | -1.222***    | -1.507***    | -.809*       | -1.597***    |
| N          | 2911        | 2524         | 2382         | 2208         | 1944         |
| Chi-Square | 52.1        | 596.5        | 596.7        | 706.4        | 823.1        |

\*\*\*: Statistically significant at .01 level.

\*\*: Statistically significant at .05 level.

\*: Statistically significant at .1 level.