2007

Internet Politics in South Korea: The Case of Rohsamo and Ohmynews

Daniel Jisuk Kang
Faculty of Information Technology PO Box 123 Broadway NSW 2007, danielkang@iinet.net.au

Laurel Evelyn Dyson
Faculty of Information Technology PO Box 123 Broadway NSW 2007, Laurel.E.Dyson@uts.edu.au

Internet Politics in South Korea:
The Case of Rohsamo and Ohmynews

Daniel Jisuk Kang, Laurel Evelyn Dyson
Department of Information Systems
Faculty of Information Technology
PO Box 123 Broadway NSW 2007
Email: danielkang@iinet.net.au, Laurel.E.Dyson@uts.edu.au

Abstract

This paper examines the impact of the Internet on politics in South Korea. Many have noted the Internet's political potential due to its versatile nature as a communication medium. However, recent studies are beginning to show the influence of the Internet to be more moderate than expected initially. South Korea represents a very interesting case because of its extremely high Internet penetration rate and its youthful democracy. Two specific cases – a political fan-club called 'Rohsamo' and the Internet news medium 'Ohmynews' – have attracted particular attention mainly because of their perceived pivotal role in the 2002 presidential election. In this paper the part played by Rohsamo and Ohmynews in Korean politics is examined. While the research does not support claims which place the Internet as a revolutionary political force, it shows that the Internet has the potential to be a major player in South Korean politics.

Keywords

e-politics, e-democracy, Internet, South Korea

Introduction

The potential of the Internet and its various technologies (websites, blogs, wikis, newsgroups, etc.) as agents for political change has been widely discussed for the last decade. Such interest comes as no surprise if we consider the impact of the Internet on other areas of society and culture, such as entertainment and e-commerce. Many early predictions were quite optimistic due to the multidirectional nature of the Internet and the potential for unrestricted flow of information (Negroponte 1995; Rheingold 1993). However, some authors have been sceptical, even from the early days, about the potential impact of the Internet. Some have even made suggestions that the Internet can be bad for democracy (Noam 2005).

The presidential election in South Korea in 2002 offers some very interesting insights into the interplay between the Internet and politics. President Roh Moo Hyun's historic victory in the 2002 elections resulted in his being named the 'First Internet President' (Kim 2003). South Korea's unique combination of being one of the most 'wired' countries in the world, coupled with its relatively short history of democracy, makes this developing country a very interesting case study (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004) This paper will examine the impact of the Internet on South Korean politics and the reality of digital democracy and its pitfalls.

Internet Politics

Early Predictions of e-Democracy

It is of no surprise that politicians and governments alike have focused on the potential of the Internet as a political platform since it became such an essential part of our everyday lives within a very short period of time. Early proponents such as Negroponte (1995), in his seminal book *Being Digital*, argued that the 'empowering nature of being digital' would bring about significant changes. He stressed that the Internet could act as an equalizing agent due to its openness and lack of hierarchy, removing barriers which have traditionally kept some sectors of society from participating fully. The 'anarchic' nature of the Internet was seen as an enabling factor which would support these predictions (Thornton 2002). Rheingold (1993) noticed the interactive, multidirectional nature of the Internet and envisaged that it would become a vehicle for citizen participation. His vision was that the Internet had the potential to bring into being the Athenian democratic ideal of community deliberation and participation. These views paint a very positive picture of the Internet's potential to influence politics and democracy.

However, even from very early in the history of the Internet, concerns were raised about the negative potential of this new technology. Even Rheingold (1993), while hoping for his 'cyber Acropolis' (Rhee 2003), saw the

possibility of another, less pleasant political reality online: 'virtual communities could help citizens revitalize democracy, or they could be luring us into an attractively packaged substitute for democratic discourse'. One of the problems often raised is the matter of the digital divide. This term refers to the division between those who are technologically equipped to fully exploit the opportunities presented by the vast amounts of information available on the Web, and those who are not (Selwyn 2004). It is argued that these inequalities will act to reinforce the existing social structures, rather than bringing freedom and equality to all individuals (Agre 2002). Another theory suggests that the Internet, instead of connecting individuals, will act as a fragmenting influence, destroying established communities which are the very basis for participatory democracy (Noam 2005).

The Reality of e-Democracy

Following these initial predictions, experiments in e-democracy began to appear in various parts of the world. Observations made from major elections in the US as well as EU countries have supplied some tangible data on the correlation between the Internet and its political impact.

The US elections of 1996 and 2000, in particular, were used as a test bed for some of the e-democracy theories. Some commentators predicted that the Internet would become a new media power. By providing an improved flow of information – especially concerning electoral policies and promises – it was suggested that the public would be able to make a more informed choice (Negroponte 1996). However, the reality of the political websites used in those elections showed quite quickly that the quality of the information was hardly more than propaganda. Also, although the amount of political information available on the Net increased dramatically, political participation by the masses did not seem to have changed much (Berghel 2000). This was disappointing, considering the potential of the Internet both as a delivery vehicle of political information and a mechanism for participation. Another potential – that by providing semi-permanent 'political memory', greater political transparency and accountability would be achieved – was only partially achieved by some private sites (Hal 1996). Moreover, the pace at which this was moving was seen as too slow.

e-Democracy Classification

Once the reality of online politics necessitated a re-examination of the democratic potential of the Internet, a more systematic approach was proposed (Agre 2002; Weare 2002). Here we present some approaches to understanding e-democracy. They fall within an over-riding understanding of the Internet as a platform for reinforcing 'democratic legitimacy', in other words searching for the answer to the question, 'what is the most important aspect in any democratic theory?' (Dahlberg 2001).

The Liberal Individualism camp assumes that the most important aspect of democracy is the provision for the expression of individual interest. One of the early attempts to model liberal individualism in a democratic information system was based on the Qube experiment, which used interactive cable-casting to simulate an electronic town meeting (Becker & Slaton 2000). Teledemocracy and Cyber-libertarianism are theories which follow a Liberal Individualism approach. With the Internet's capability of interactive participation, Teledemocracy supposes that the Internet can provide direct participation of the individual in the democratic process by providing both necessary information and a means of participation (Dahlberg 2001). Cyber-libertarianism espouses the notion that freedom of information without institutional interference will empower the individual to move freely within cyberspace and exercise their democratic rights as they wish.

On the other hand, the Communitarian camp stresses the value of communal spirit and values. The Internet is seen as an interactive medium for building community. Unlike previous communities bound by geography, these virtual communities can be global while maintaining a strong sense of belonging due to shared interests (Dahlberg 2001). However, many communitarians doubt whether such online communities can replace physical communities. They lack aspects of a shared life within a real community and can actually damage the sense of community by fragmenting existing communities.

The third camp is that of Deliberative Democracy. This position is similar to Communitarianism, but the difference comes from the idea of deliberation. While the Communitarian notion stresses the sharing of common ideals and goals, Deliberative Democracy emphasizes rational deliberation and discussion between people. Usenet groups and online forums are seen as an exemplary medium for facilitating such a virtual public sphere. They point out that many online deliberative activities, such as online forums and email lists, go "beyond mutual support of virtual communities and involve the type of rational-critical discourse" (Dahlberg 2001).

Internet Politics in South Korea

For people who study the interaction between the Internet and politics, South Korea offers some unique perspectives. Firstly, it is one of the world's most wired countries (Kim 2002). Another, perhaps more important, aspect is its relatively short democratic history. Until the early 1990s, South Korea was not a truly

democratic society. This changed when its rapid economic expansion provided a population with a thirst for democracy and a high level of interest in politics in general (Han 2002). For example, the turnout for the 1997 election was 80.7% (Yun 2003), which is comparatively much greater than that of the United States. This newfound interest in politics and the democratic process means that South Korea is still working out its own expression of political identity.

We will examine the election of a new president in 2002 and the political fan-club called Rohsamo which formed around him. We will also look at the role of the Internet as an alternative media power through the story of Ohmynews and its impact on Korean politics. But firstly, let us examine technology adoption in South Korea.

Korea as the Internet Republic

By its own admission, South Korea is an 'Internet republic'. It has one of the highest rates of Internet connectivity among OECD nations. South Korea's broadband take-up at the time of the election was nearly 55%, almost twice as high as the third nation, Canada (Kelly, Gray & Minges 2002). In some residential areas, fibre optic connection with 100 Mbps is becoming commonplace. It also has very high adoption of mobile phones and other ICTs.

This amazing growth in information and communication technology (ICT) infrastructure is partly the result of the Korean government's ICT policy. Following the aftermath of the Asian economic crisis of 1997, the Korean government aggressively pushed the ICT industry as a vehicle for new economic growth. It invested more than 0.25% of GDP to build the national backbone structure alone. At the same time, it deregulated the tightly controlled telecommunications market, resulting in fierce competition which led to low broadband access fees. Not only did the government provide the necessary conditions for the Internet's rapid spread, but it also actively promoted the Internet and broadband usage through various policy implementations. Its vision was to convert Korean society from an industrial economy to an information economy (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004; Yun 2003).

Despite huge investments in infrastructure, in terms of ICT usage patterns, Korea did not belong to the top group of nations at the time of the election. While it has progressively improved over the years, it ranked only 17th in the year 2000, putting it into the middle group (Han 2002). However, the time people spent in front of a PC per week dramatically increased in the years leading up to 2000: it almost tripled compared to the year 1997. Also, many Koreans equate PC usage with Internet use – 40% of Koreans in 2000 were connected to the Internet, an increase of 5 times during the 1997-2000 period (Han 2002). The prevalence of broadband Internet access over slower connections also seems to have a great effect on usage. Broadband enables a richer online experience, and people with broadband access tend to use it much more often (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004; Yun 2003).

However, there still exists a digital divide within Korean society. The most obvious and important factor is the age division. If we look at the demographic data, it shows a concentration of Internet use among the younger generation. This is expected and conforms to the worldwide trend. For people aged from 10 to 30, the Internet usage rate is close to 100%, and among 30- to 40-year olds, it is close to 80%. There is a sharp division in Internet usage from age 40 (Kim 2002). It seems that the so-called '386' generation – people in their thirties who were university students during the 1980s and born in the 1960s – was able to integrate ICT into their practices, but the older 'Civil War' generation is still lagging far behind in Internet usage . This is quite a significant result since it means that Internet access is now seen as an essential part of everyday life only for people under 40 but older people are often excluded. Another fault line lies between rural and urban dwellers. This dividing line represents more than just differences in occupation between city and country (Kim 2002). Distinctions in ICT infrastructure and attitude contribute to this.

The Korean 2002 Presidential Election

It is commonly recognized that the Internet played a crucial role in the South Korean presidential election of 2002. Many foreign media reported the remarkable victory of President Roh Moo-Hyun:

> 'South Korea will stake a claim to be the most advanced on-line democracy on the planet tomorrow with the inauguration of a president who styles himself as the first leader fully in tune with the Internet.' (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004)

President Roh Moo-Hyun was originally seen as a political novice and maverick, and his ascendancy to become a presidential candidate was marked with difficulty and hardship. Even his own party expressed doubts as to whether he was a viable candidate (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004; Kim 2003). However, for the younger generation, Roh was seen as an anti-establishment, political revolutionary. In this election a lot of attention was paid to the so called 'generational split' between the age group of 20-40 and those who were older. Some even maintained that the younger generation had come to the fore of Korean society, effectively replacing the older generation as the major actor in this new era (Kim 2003). The fact that the most distinguishing feature of this 386 generation

is their obvious affinity to the Internet and mobile communications suggests that ICT has potentially become a major factor in Korean politics (Han 2002).

Rohsamo and Its Role in the 2002 Election

One of the most instrumental factors in Roh's victory is the political fan club and support movement called Rohsamo (literally meaning 'people who love Roh'). This group formed as a result of his shock defeat in the National Assembly election campaign in 2000, where he strategically ran for parliament in the traditionally conservative Pusan province. It started as a simple forum discussion supporting Roh's attempt at political reform, but soon grew to be an independent organization with the aim of supporting Roh's political vision (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004). One characteristic of this group was that it was a movement based on an online presence. In time it grew to have an offline presence as well, but many of its operations remained online. While it did not start out with outright goal of electing Roh as president, it provided crucial support for him in times of crisis. After its initial inception, the group stayed relatively inactive for a while, but when the open primaries started, a flurry of activity began. Since Roh was still a relatively unknown political player, without a traditional party structure or factional backup, support from Rohsamo proved to be an invaluable resource to Roh (Shin 2005). From its initial membership of about 7,000, the number of members grew to be more than 49,000 by July 2002 (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004). During the primaries, Rohsamo provided organized support normally reserved for a candidate well connected with the party factions. Rohsamo utilized the Internet and the group's forum as a communication network among its members and rallied its members to encourage people to participate in the primaries (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004; Shin 2005). In addition, some members of Rohsamo participated in off-line rallies and meetings and helped organize them. Some Rohsamo members authored hand-written notes – the only allowed means of political campaigning allowed to Electoral College members.

This level of voluntarism was perhaps only possible because of the sense that they were achieving the ideal of participatory democracy through the vehicle of the Internet. The level of enthusiasm expressed by its members was quite evident in their messages on the public forums on the website: their sense of 'self-efficacy and cognitive liberation' was one of their driving motives (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004). This online group also acted as a fundraising machine, which was another great support for a candidate such as Roh, who did not have much money to carry out an election campaign himself. At one stage, Rohsamo managed to raise approximately $700,000 in seven days, when the financial viability of his candidacy was threatened due to internal party politics (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004).

One of the most dramatic events of the 2002 election was the alliance, and its subsequent breakdown, between Roh and another prominent candidate, Chung Mong Joon. Chung, who played an instrumental role in hosting a very successful 2002 Japan-Korea World Cup, announced his alliance with Roh on 15th November 2002, and decided to put forward Roh as a single candidate. By then they were trailing the top candidate Lee Hoi Chang by a significant margin. As a result of the alliance, Roh was able to seriously compete in the presidential race. However, this historic alliance broke down just a few hours before Election Day by Chung withdrawing his endorsement due to internal friction between the two candidates (Han 2002; Yun 2003). Normally, this could have been a fatal blow to Roh, but perhaps, in the end, it actually helped Roh to clinch victory (Shin 2005).

If we look at the day of the election, it was obvious that Rohsamo and other Roh supporters went into overdrive to give last minute support. The news of the breakdown of the alliance spread quickly among Roh's supporters. They began to rally other members of Rohsamo and quickly organized a last minute mobilization of voters. They used a message board, email and Internet news media in this, and sent thousands of SMS text messages and telephone calls so people would turn out to vote and support Roh (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004; Shin 2005). They also actively monitored exit polls and real-time polling results as well as organizing a quite effective last minute mobilization campaign. Rohsamo themselves reckoned that they had played a key role in Roh's dramatic comeback (Kim, Moon & Yang 2004).

Yet some commentators think that voters made their decision probably before the actual day of the election, and the breakdown of the alliance happened too late to have any significant impact on the election result (Shin 2005). Roh's lead over the rival candidate Lee before the day of the election (that is, before the breakdown of the alliance) was about the same as his winning margin at the actual time of the election. Also, considering the record low voter turnout for the presidential election, it is hard to conclude whether the active Internet-based campaign of Roh camp had any real impact (Yun 2003).

Against this, it is possible to assume that Rohsamo and Roh supporters' quick action served as very effective damage control to counter a potentially very disastrous situation. This kind of rapid response could not have been possible without modern ICT (Shin 2005).

The Role of Ohmynews in the 2002 Election

Another very important aspect of the Internet's influence on Korean politics and the presidential election is the role of Internet news media, exemplified by sites such as Ohmynews (www.ohmynews.com). Traditionally, the media has been a key player in South Korean politics. During the era of the authoritarian military regime, the media – especially print media – stood against the regime and its undemocratic practices. However, during recent times, the major newspapers became very powerful in their own right and began to represent their own interests more (Shin 2005). This was a big issue, especially in presidential election since major newspapers showed a biased attitude against liberal and minority parties, which put Roh Moo Hyun's campaign at a huge disadvantage (Rhee 2003). As a result of this ongoing power struggle between the political parties and the power of the media, the younger generation became quite disillusioned and began to seek alternative sources of information. The Internet quickly filled this gap and became a viable alternative source of news, especially for the net-savvy 386 generation (Rhee 2003).

One of the most recognized and influential Internet news media is Ohmynews. The name 'Ohmynews' a parody of the common English phrase 'Oh my God!', started as an independent news site in 2000 by ex-journalist Oh Yeon Ho (French 2003). His idea was originally to provide an alternative viewpoint for Korean people and bring a more liberal way of reporting news into the overly conservative news media (French 2003). What sets apart Ohmynews from its traditional rivals is its reliance on 'citizen reporters'. About 80% of their stories are contributed by these reporters, who are just ordinary citizens, once their contributions are graded and checked by the editors for accuracy. Writers are then paid small amounts of money, based on readers' donations. (One particularly good story managed to get $30,000 over a 5 days period, but this was unusual (Economist 2006).) As of February 2003, Ohmynews employed 45 full-time staff and more than 23,000 citizen reporters. According to some polls, Ohmynews was ranked among the six most influential mass media, overtaking some TV networks (Kim & Kim 2006).

Ohmynews has impacted Korean politics in several ways. It has provided an alternative news source for the younger generation who were disillusioned with the biased reporting of traditional media (French 2003; Shin 2003). Ohmynews was also able to report on the issues which the traditional news media largely ignored because of its citizen reporters. One of the biggest events Ohmynews reported was the killing of two schoolgirls by a US Military vehicle in June 2002. Ohmynews' coverage of the events, and follow-up reports on the subsequent mass protest and candlelight vigil attended by more than 10,000 people, had a great impact on the Korean political scene (French 2003; Han 2002). Ohmynews also provided ordinary people with a platform for online deliberation, by providing active feedback and interaction with its readers (Economist 2006). The power of the online news service demonstrated itself fully on the 2002 Election Day. Unlike traditional media, which only provided spotty coverage of the events of the day, internet media such as Ohmynews provided non-stop video and text coverage of the events, and its readers closely monitored the election result and promptly acted on it, mustering last minute mobilization using email and SMS text messages (Shin 2005). Ohmynews' reporting of Election Day essentially put Roh Moo-Hyun onto centre stage.

Analysis of the Role of the Internet and other ICTs in the Election

So far we have looked at how the Internet has impacted on Korean politics. There have been many claims made by domestic and foreign media on how the Internet and the younger generation profoundly changed Korean society and politics, and elected its first 'Internet President' (Shin 2005) But if we look at the actual statistics, we find a somewhat different picture. The real situation is much more complex.

First of all, the turnout for the 2002 election was very low, only 70.8% – indeed a record low for a presidential election in Korea (Kim 2003; Yun 2003). This becomes particularly problematic when we look at the fact that the turnout rate for voters in their twenties was only 47.5%, a decrease of 20.7% from the previous election (Yun 2003). In spite of the amount of on-line campaigning, it did not seem to attract younger voters to the ballot.

This is counter to the claims made by the media that the prevalence of Internet usage in Korea has fuelled new political interest. This is consistent with other findings that Internet users are generally indifferent to the political use of the medium. Visits to the most prominent political websites in Korea, such as those of the major parties and the presidential office, are relatively scarce, and people's on-line activities are mostly non-political (Yun 2003). Surveys also suggested that, while online media is becoming increasingly important, it is still the traditional media which exerts most influence on people's decisions in presidential elections: 40% said that television was still the major source of their information, while only 5.6% said that it was the Internet (Yun 2003). Traditionally one of the main divisions in Korean politics has been regional – the eastern side of the country versus the western province. This dividing line has always been exploited by previous generations of politicians. Despite Roh's identification as the candidate who set out to abolish this deep-seated division in Korean society, regionalism was still a major factor in the 2002 presidential election (Kim 2003).

Notwithstanding this, it was true that, among the younger 386 generation, significantly more voted for Roh than rival candidate Lee (Kim 2003). Though the regional division played a role in the 2002 election, the younger vote, influenced by the Internet, may have ultimately tipped the balance in Roh's favour (Kim 2003). The immediacy and lightning quick responses afforded by the Internet during this election, as well as the online deliberations and discussion generated by Rohsamo and Ohmynews, seem to have produced significant political influence on the young which overflowed into off-line behaviour and played a huge role in the actual elections (Shin 2005). In the case of Rohsamo, the Internet provided a new type of political campaign vehicle quite different to traditional modes of campaigning. For Rohsamo, it started as a voluntary grass-roots organization supporting the political idealism expressed by Roh (Shin 2005). While Rohsamo was prevented by Korean law from directly carrying out an election campaign during the actual election period, it still provided important background support for Roh Moo-Hyun. It should be noted, though, that other presidential candidates had similar support organizations (Shin 2005). However, they were not as effective as Rohsamo mainly because the political image of their candidates was not consistent to the ideals of the younger generation and they probably could not match the Net know-how of Rohsamo members.

Conclusion

As we have seen so far, many of the claims made by various media about the Internet's effect on Korean politics and the presidential election are often ambiguous or based on a surface impression. Looking at the statistics of voter turnout and analysing the events in depth suggest that the actual impact of the Internet is much less than what was reported. For example, the impact of generational differences, fuelled by the Internet during the 2002 Korean election, may not have been as important as the traditional regional differences.

Yet, it is probably too early to conclude that the Internet is not a significant force in politics. The impact of television on politics is usually seen as profound and, if we consider the short history of the Internet, its potential cannot be overlooked. As the older generation is replaced by those who operate comfortably with modern technology, the influence of the Internet on politics is likely to increase. Moreover, the examples we have examined above – Rohsamo and Ohmynews – clearly show the potential of this new medium, particularly in terms of mobilization, quick communication and up-to-date reporting of elections while they actually happen, something newspapers, because of the lead time between news gathering and printing, are usually unable to match.

In terms of the discussion of e-democracy earlier, the Korean case supports the possibility of the Internet being used to further the ideals of democratic legitimacy, although it does not clearly preference one theory over another. At least for the younger generation the citizen reporters of Ohmynews exhibited direct participation in the democratic process, supporting the Liberal Individualism view of e-democracy. On the other hand, the mobilization of young voters by Rohsamo using email, text messages and mobile phone calls all point to the Internet as a powerful tool for political community building and therefore gives credence to the view of the Communitarians. While the active online discussions that were such a prominent feature of the 2002 campaign show the capacity of the Internet for Deliberative Democracy. It therefore appears that the Internet has been used by different groups in various ways to foster democratic legitimacy but no single use is pre-eminent over others.

It is in no doubt that the Internet has impacted our politics in a very short period of time. However, whether such changes are merely evolutionary or revolutionary is still not clear. Recent observations and studies of Internet politics are of the opinion that the Internet's political influence is not as great as some early research suggested. This is somewhat disappointing considering the potential of this new technology. The political use of the Internet in Korea has been an interesting case. This is mainly due to its young democracy and high levels of Internet penetration. The case of Rohsamo and Ohmynews demonstrates the potential of Internet politics, even if this potential has not been fully realized yet.

Further political events will shed more light on the power of the Internet in South Korean politics. No doubt, following the past success of Rohsamo, future presidential candidates in Korea will put far more effort into exploiting the Internet in late 2007, when the next presidential election is scheduled. President Roh's political fan-club Rohsamo will itself be forced to undergo a drastic alteration since Korean law allows only a single term for any president. Therefore, either Rohsamo will not be involved in the next election or will, most likely, go through a major transformation in order to continue the reform agenda the group has been pursing: disillusionment over the failure of Roh's government to deliver its reform programs (Choe 2006) has necessitated a re-evaluation of Rohsamo's role in Korean politics. It will also be interesting to study the changes in online news media especially now that most offline newspapers and news channels have established their own online presence. Additionally, there seems to be some level of backlash against the liberal and progressive agenda of sites such as Ohmynews by South Koreans who respect the older conservatives for rebuilding the economy after the Korean War (Choe 2006). Another phenomenon that requires examination is that of opinion manipulation in online forums. This has been a hot topic of debate in recent years but evidence is scarce. It will

be worthwhile to see whether this type of manipulation is significant in changing public opinion. So research into how these different factors will change the ideological makeup of Internet politics in Korea will be interesting to pursue and will, in turn, help South Koreans to formulate a strategy to use the Internet for the advancement of their democracy.

References

Agre, PE 2002, 'Real-Time Politics: The Internet and the Political Process', *The Information Society*, vol. 18, pp. 311-331.

Anon 'Compose Yourself', *Economist (Special)*, 22 April 2006, p. 9.

Becker, TL & Slaton, CD 2000, *The Future of Teledemocracy*, Praeger/Greenwood, Westport CT.

Berghel, H 1996, 'Digital politics', *Communications of the ACM*, vol. 39, no. 10, pp. 19-25.

Berghel, H 2000, 'Digital politics 2000', *Communications of the ACM*, vol. 43, no. 11, pp. 17-22.

Chao, S-H 2006, 'South Korean election a massive defeat for Roh', *International Herald Tribune*, June 2nd.

Dahlberg, L 2001, 'Democracy via Cyberspace: Mapping the Rhetorics and Practices of Three Prominent Camps', *New Media & Society*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 157-177.

French, HW 2003, 'Online Newspaper Shakes Up Korean Politics', *New York Times (A)*, 6 Mar 2003, p. 3.

Han, J. 2002, 'Internet, Social Capital, and Democracy in the Information Age: Korea's Defeat Movement, the Red Devils, Candle Light Anti-U.S. Demonstration, and Presidential Election during 2000-2002', viewed 18 June 2007, <http://vita.pbwiki.com>.

Hopper, N 1996, 'Politics on the web: making political candidates flies instead of spiders', *Computers and Society*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 23-26.

Kelly, T, Gray, V & Minges, M 2003, *Broadband Korea: Internet Case Study*, International Telecommunication Union, March, viewed 18 June 2007, <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/cs/korea/material/CS_KOR.pdf>.

Kim, HH, Moon, JY & Yang, S 2004, 'Broadband Penetration and Participatory Politics: South Korea Case', paper presented to the 37th Annual Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS'04), vol. 5, pp. 1-10.

Kim, H-S 2002, 'Sociological Analysis of 2002 Digital Formation of South Korea', paper presented to the 2002 International Conference on the Digital Divide: Technology & Politics in the Information Age, David C Lam Institute for East-West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, Aug 2002, pp. 1-21.

Kim, K-D 2003, 'Presidential Election and Social Change In Korea', *Development and Society*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 293-314.

Kim, Y-C & Kim, K-S 2006, 'Online Storytellers: Blogging in South Korea', *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 7, No. 1, p. 9.

Negroponte, N 1995, *Being Digital*, Random House, New York.

Noam, EM 2005, 'Why the Internet is Bad for Democracy', *Communications of the ACM*, vol. 48, no. 10, pp. 57-58.

Rhee, I-Y 2003, 'The Korean Election Shows a Shift in Media Power, Nieman Reports, vol. 57, no. 1, p. 95.

Rheingold, H 1993, *The Virtual Community*, Addison Wesley, Reading, MA.

Selwyn, N. 2004, 'Reconsidering Political and Popular Understandings of the Digital Divide', *New Media & Society*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 341-362.

Shin, E-H 2005, 'Presidential Elections, Internet Politics, and Citizens' Organizations in South Korea', *Development and Society*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 25-47.

Shin, W 2003, 'Democracy and the Internet: Will the Internet Foster Democracy?' University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill.

Thornton, A 2002, 'Does Internet Create Democracy', *Ecquid Novi*, vol. 22, no. 2, p. 126.

Weare, C 2002, 'The Internet and Democracy: The Causal Links between Technology and Politics', *International Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 25, no. 5, pp. 659-691.

Yun, S 2003, 'The Internet and the 2002 Presidential Election in South Korea', *Korea Journal*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 209-229.

Copyright