

**Chapter 13. "Inequality, Identity, and the Structure of Political Cleavages in South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, 1996-2016"**

**Carmen DURRER DE LA SOTA, Amory GETHIN**

**Appendix A - South Korea**

**Key figures**

Figure A1	Legislative election results in South Korea, 1985-2020
Figure A2	Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by age group
Figure A3	The regional cleavage in South Korea
Figure A4	Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among university graduates
Figure A5	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among low-income voters

**Appendix Figures - Structure of the South Korean population**

Figure A6	Presidential election results in South Korea, 1987-2017
Figure A7	The composition of the electorate by education level
Figure A8	The composition of the electorate by age group
Figure A9	The composition of the electorate by region
Figure A10	The composition of the electorate by religion
Figure A11	Composition of regions by religion, 2000
Figure A12	Composition of regions by religion, 2016
Figure A13	Composition of regions by age group, 2000
Figure A14	Composition of regions by age group, 2016
Figure A15	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2000
Figure A16	Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2016
Figure A17	Composition of income quintiles by age group, 2000
Figure A18	Composition of income quintiles by age group, 2016
Figure A19	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2000
Figure A20	Composition of income quintiles by region, 2016
Figure A21	Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2000
Figure A22	Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2016
Figure A23	Composition of age groups by education level, 2000
Figure A24	Composition of age groups by education level, 2016

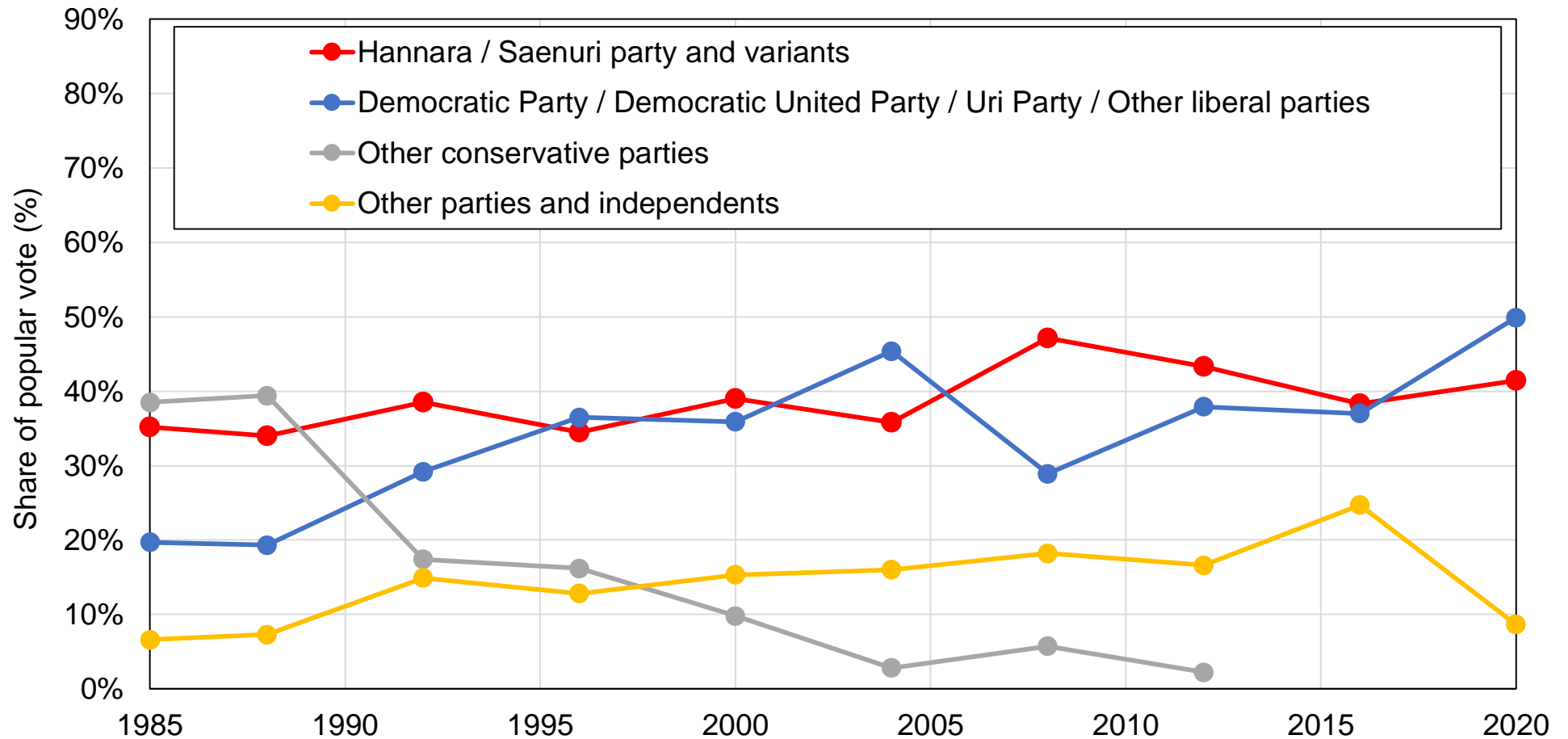
**Appendix Figures - Structure of the vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party**

Figure A25	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by region
Figure A26	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by education level
Figure A27	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by education group
Figure A28	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile
Figure A29	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile (line graph)
Figure A30	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by income group
Figure A31	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by gender
Figure A32	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by religion
Figure A33	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by employment status
Figure A34	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party by marital status
Figure A35	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters
Figure A36	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls
Figure A37	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among young voters
Figure A38	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among old voters
Figure A39	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated voters
Figure A40	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among lowest-educated voters
Figure A41	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among high-income voters
Figure A42	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among low-income voters
Figure A43	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among women
Figure A44	Vote for Hannara / Saenuri Party among Buddhists

**Appendix Tables**

Table A1	Survey data sources
Table A2	Complete descriptive statistics
Table A3	Determinants of the vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, 2000-2016

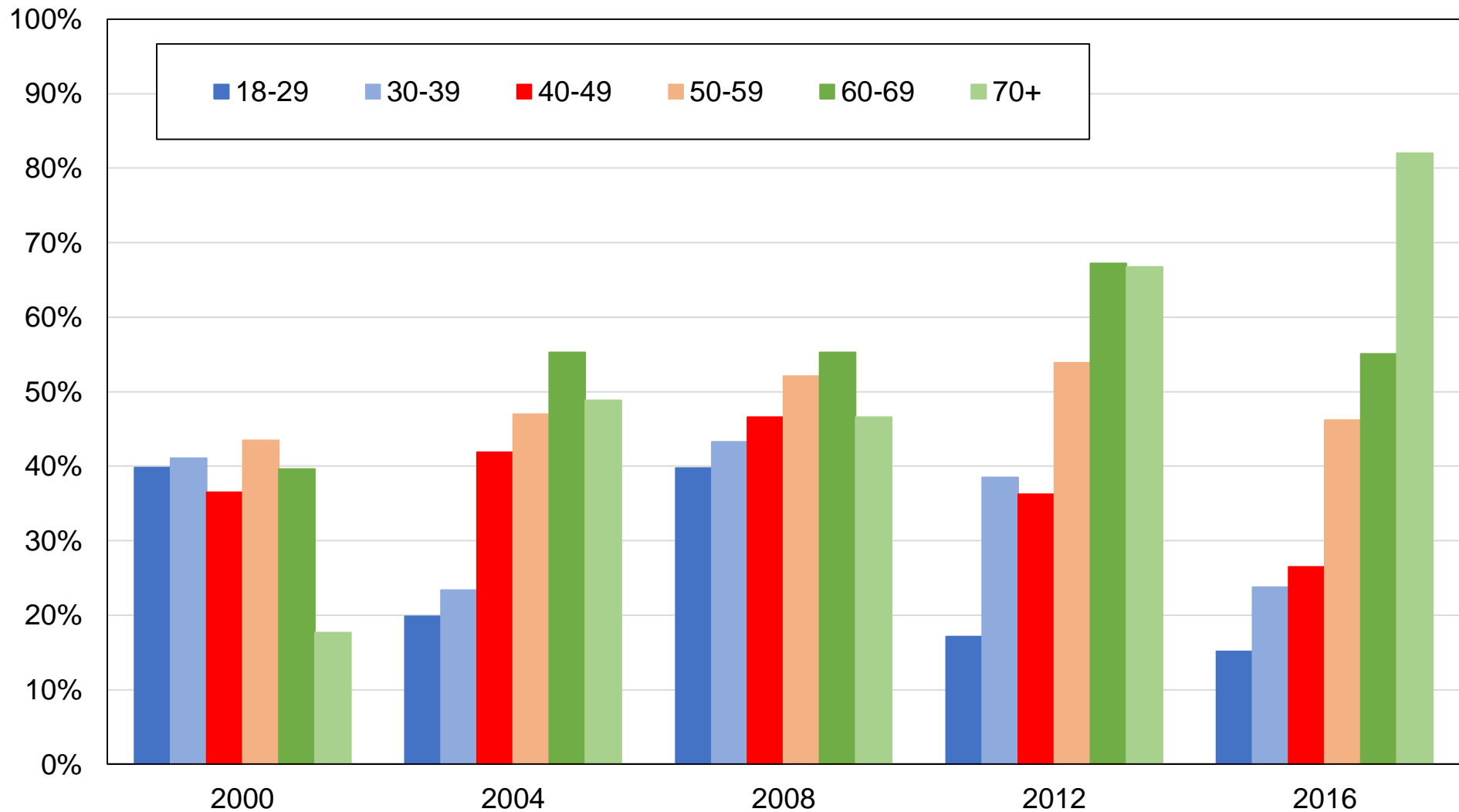
**Figure A1 - Legislative election results in South Korea, 1985-2020**



**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of South Korean political parties in legislative elections between 1985 and 2020. Vote shares correspond to single-member constituencies. Variants to the Hannara party include the United Future, Saenuri, Democratic Justice, Democratic Liberal, New Korea, and Liberty Korea.

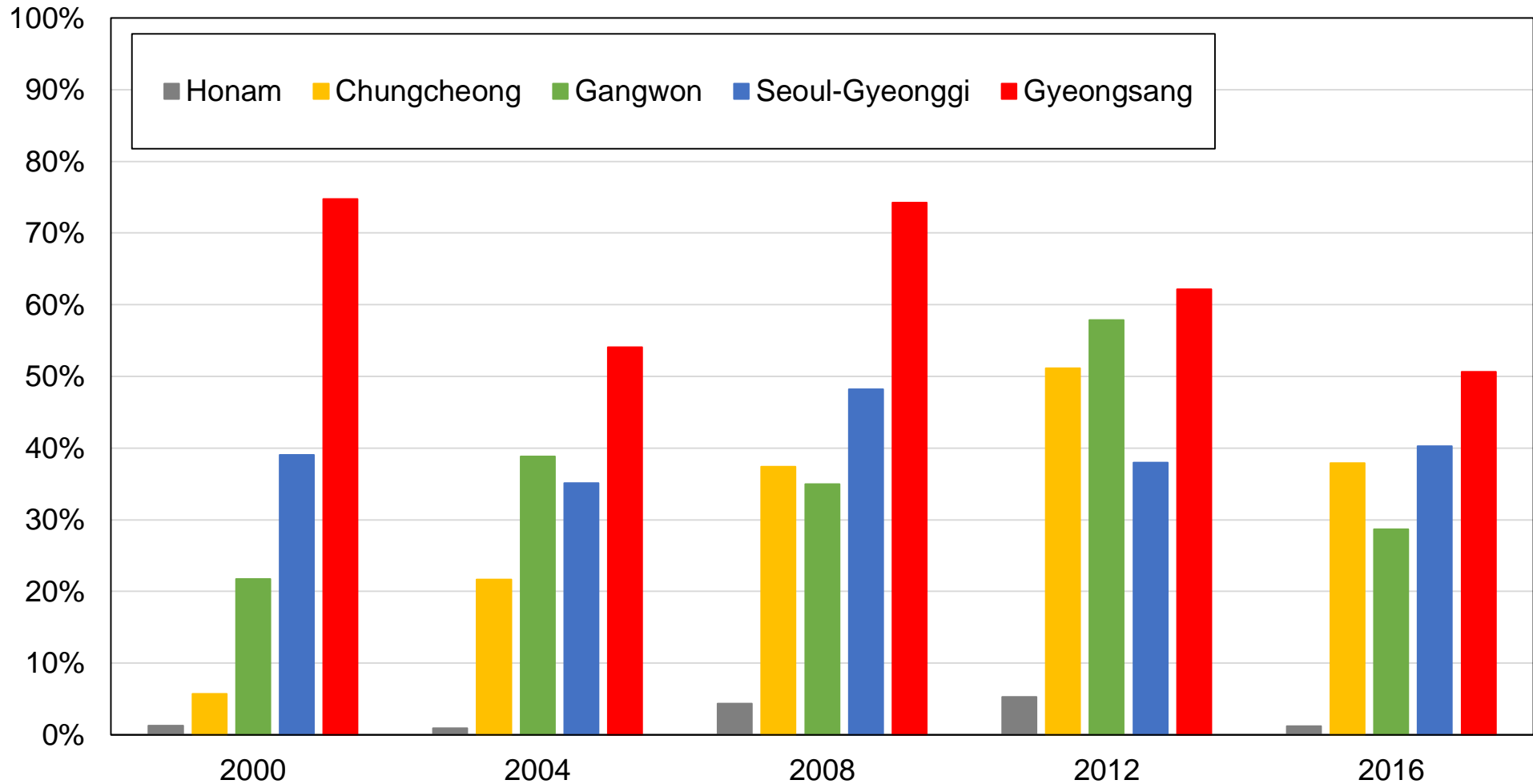
**Figure A2 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by age group.

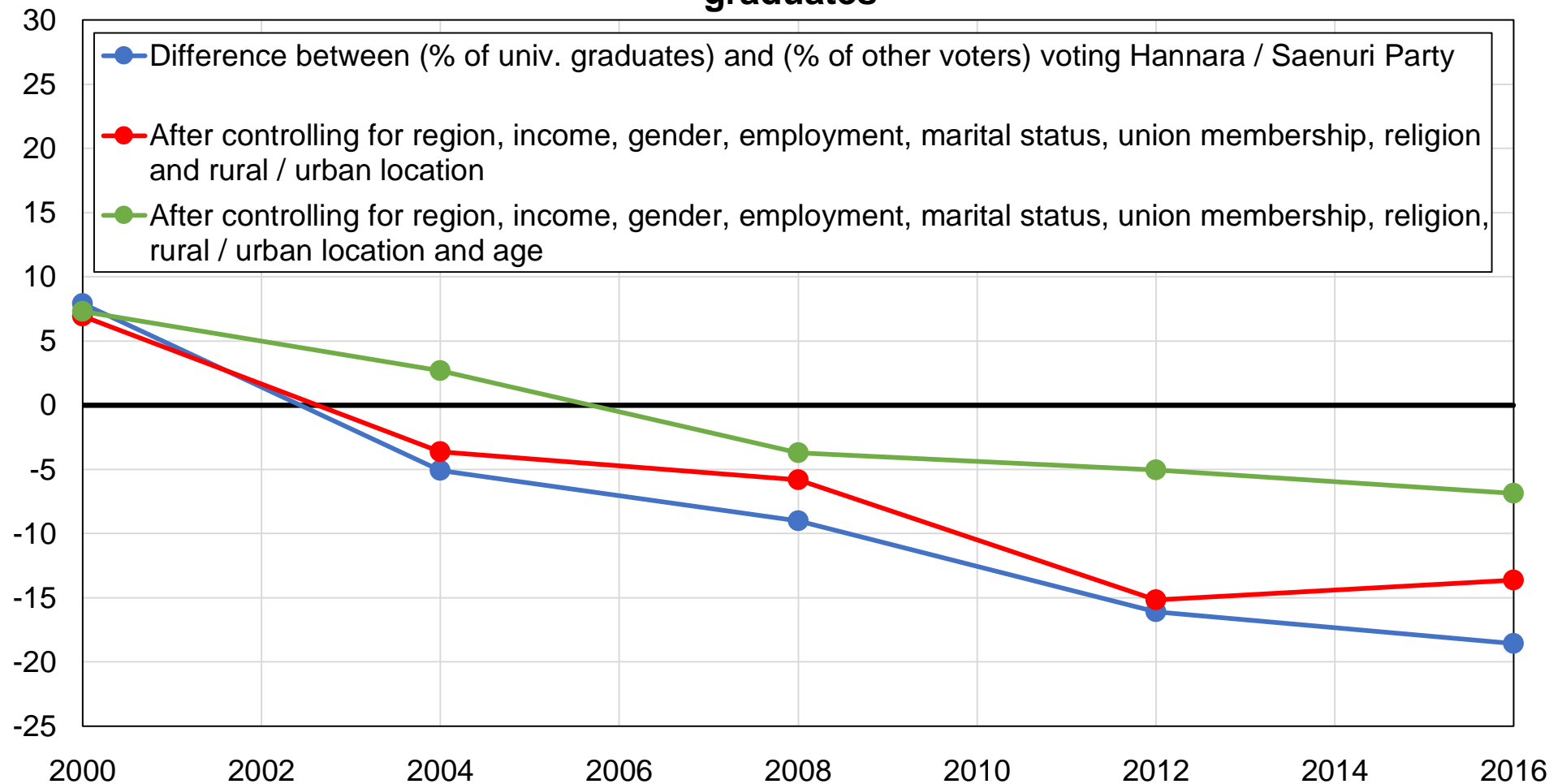
**Figure A3 - The regional cleavage in South Korea**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by region. In 2016 Honam represented approximately 10% the electorate, Chungcheong 10%, Gangwon 4%, Seoul-Gyeonggi 49%, and Gyeongsang 26%.

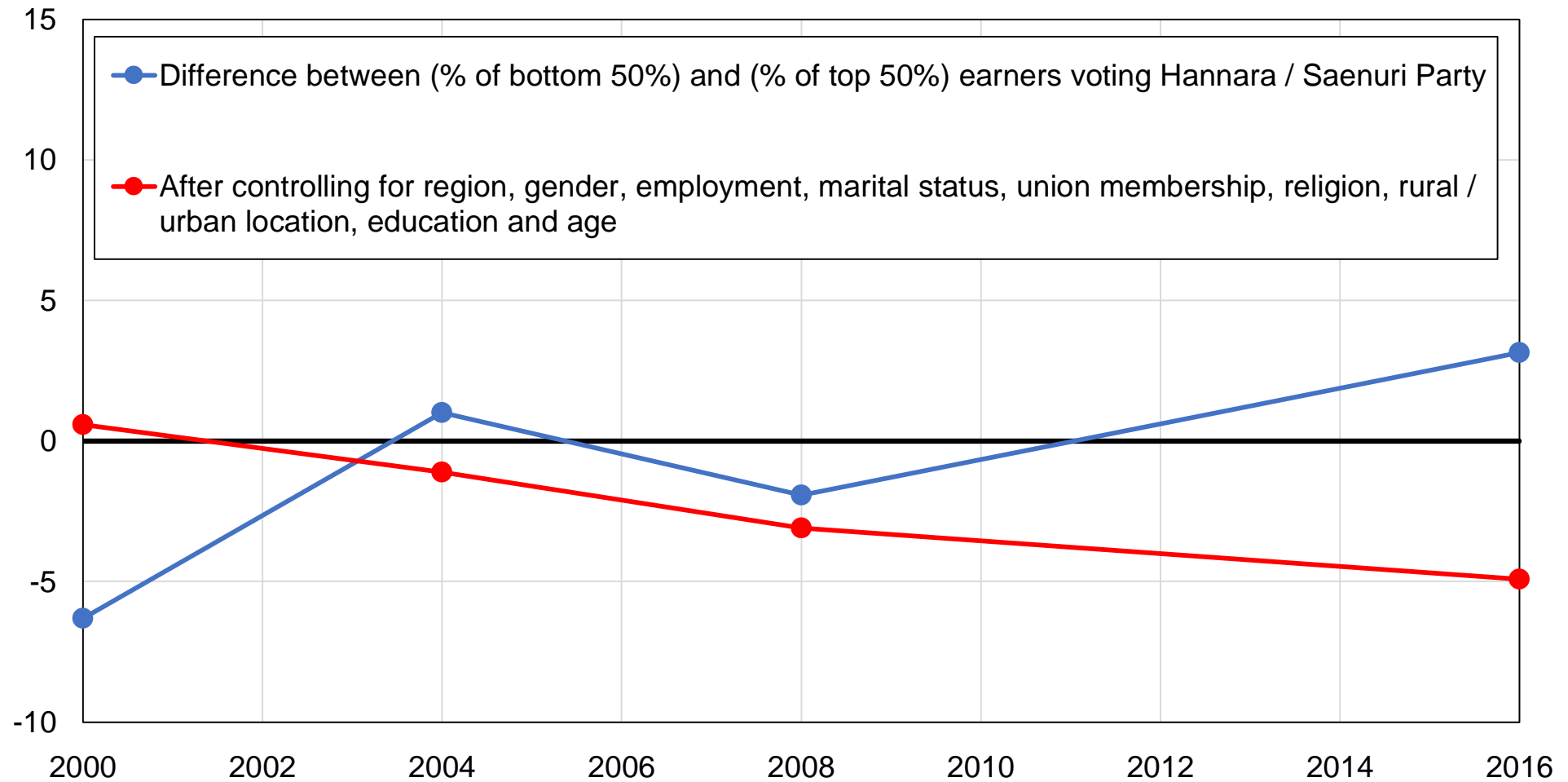
**Figure A4 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among university graduates**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

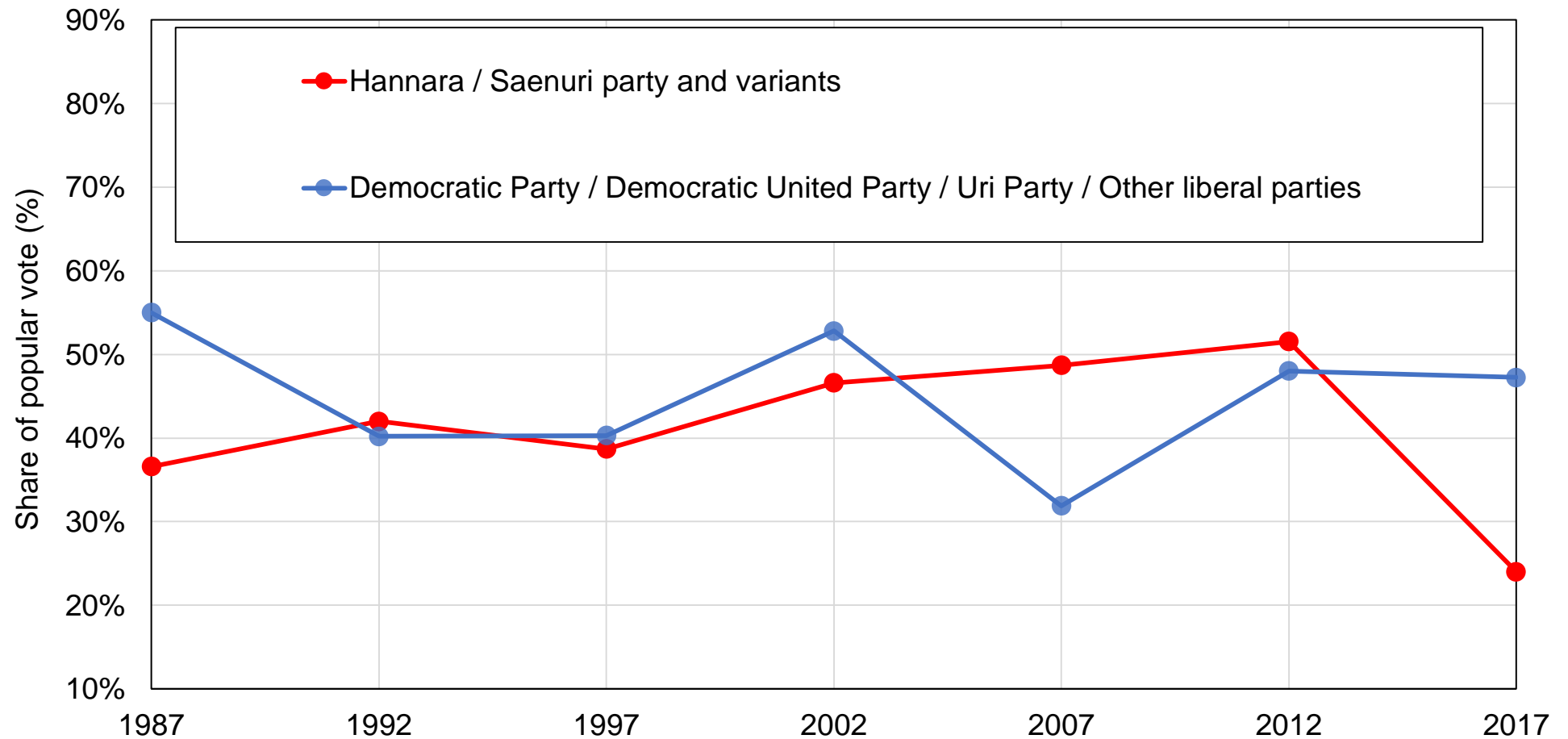
**Figure A42 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among low-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% income voters and the share of top 50% income earners voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure A6 - Presidential election results in South Korea, 1987-2017**

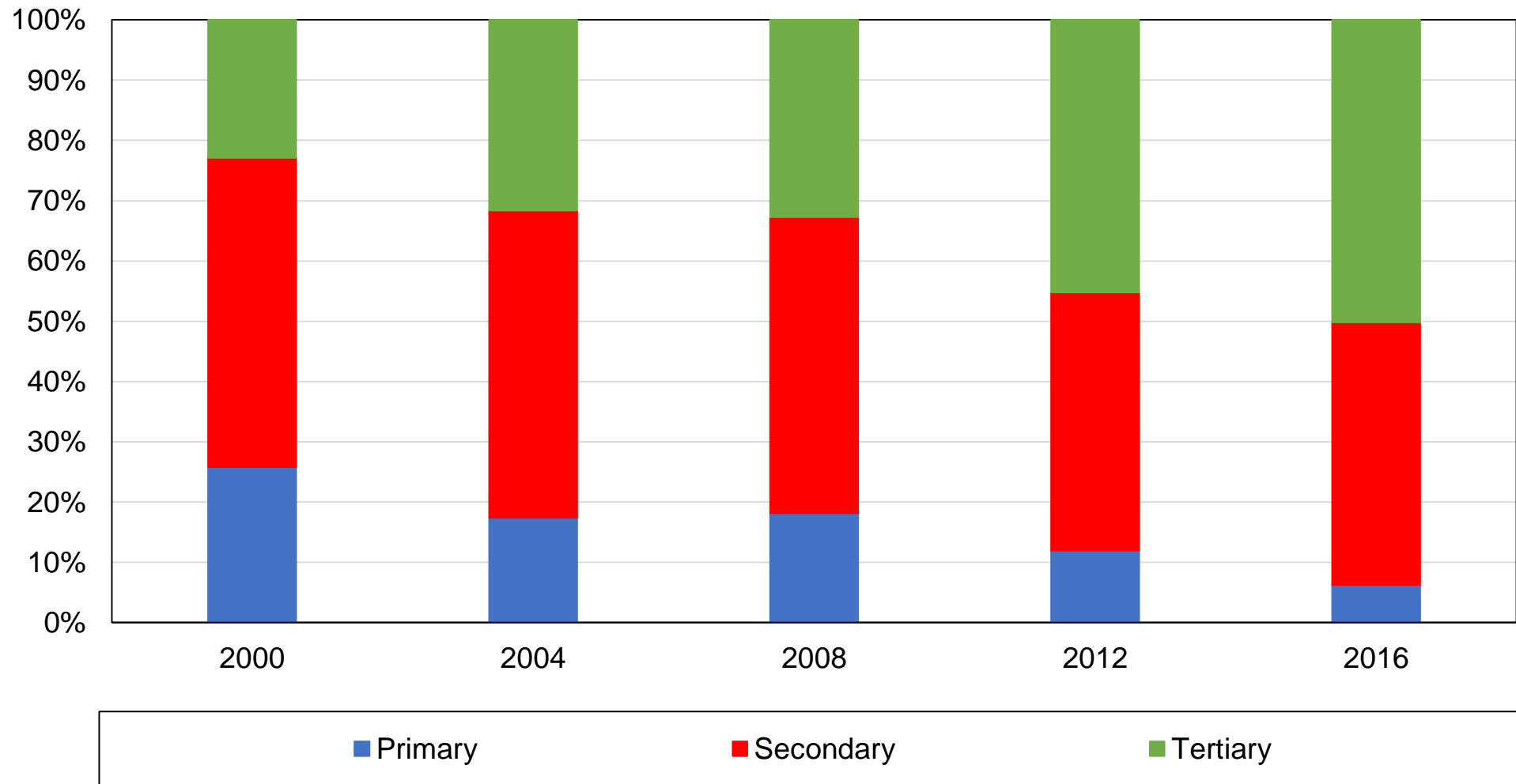


**Source:** authors' computations using official election results.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of South Korean political parties in presidential elections between 1987 and 2017. Variants to the Hannara party include United Future, Saenuri, Democratic Justice, Democratic Liberal, New Korea, and Liberty Korea.



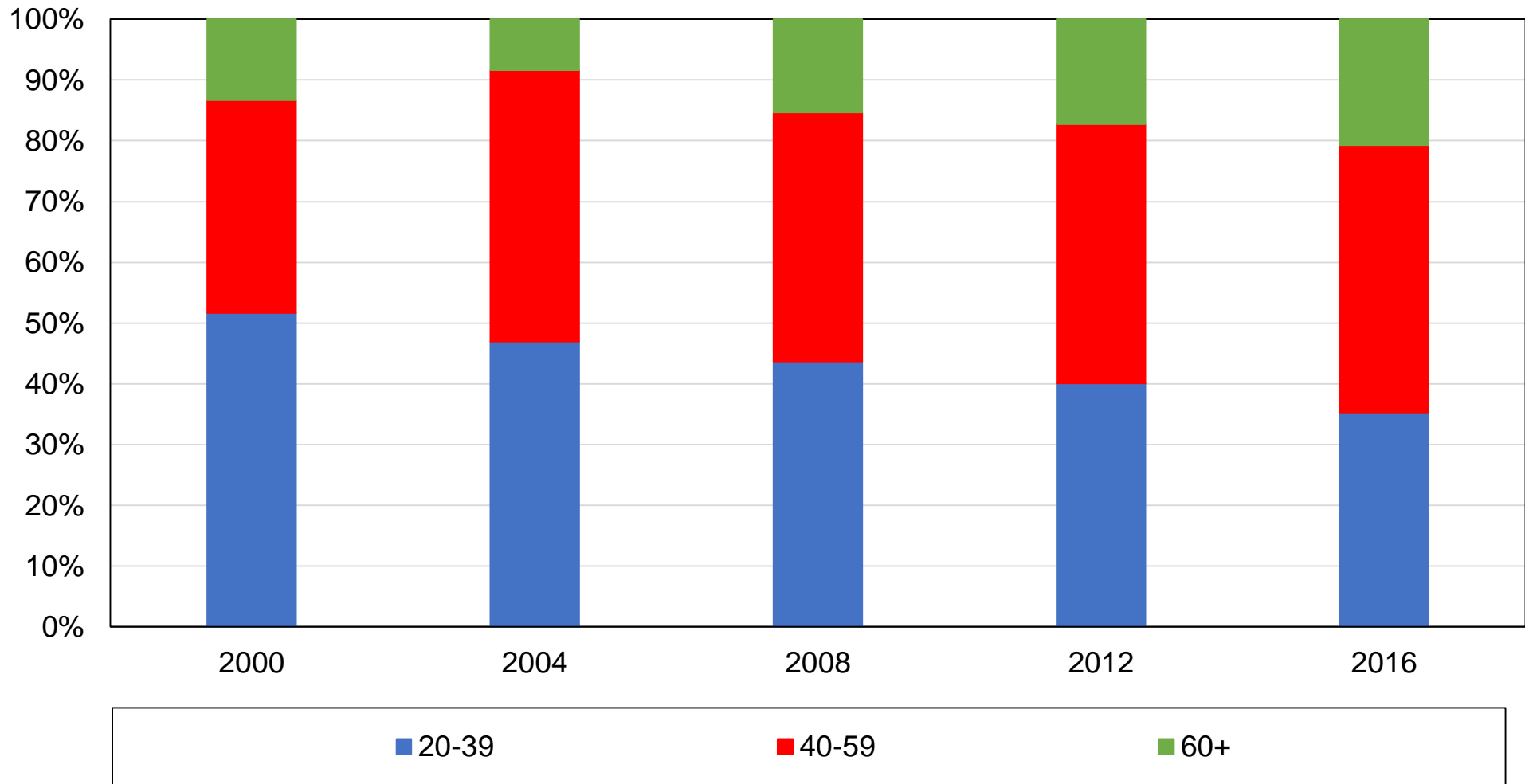
**Figure A7 - The composition of the electorate by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

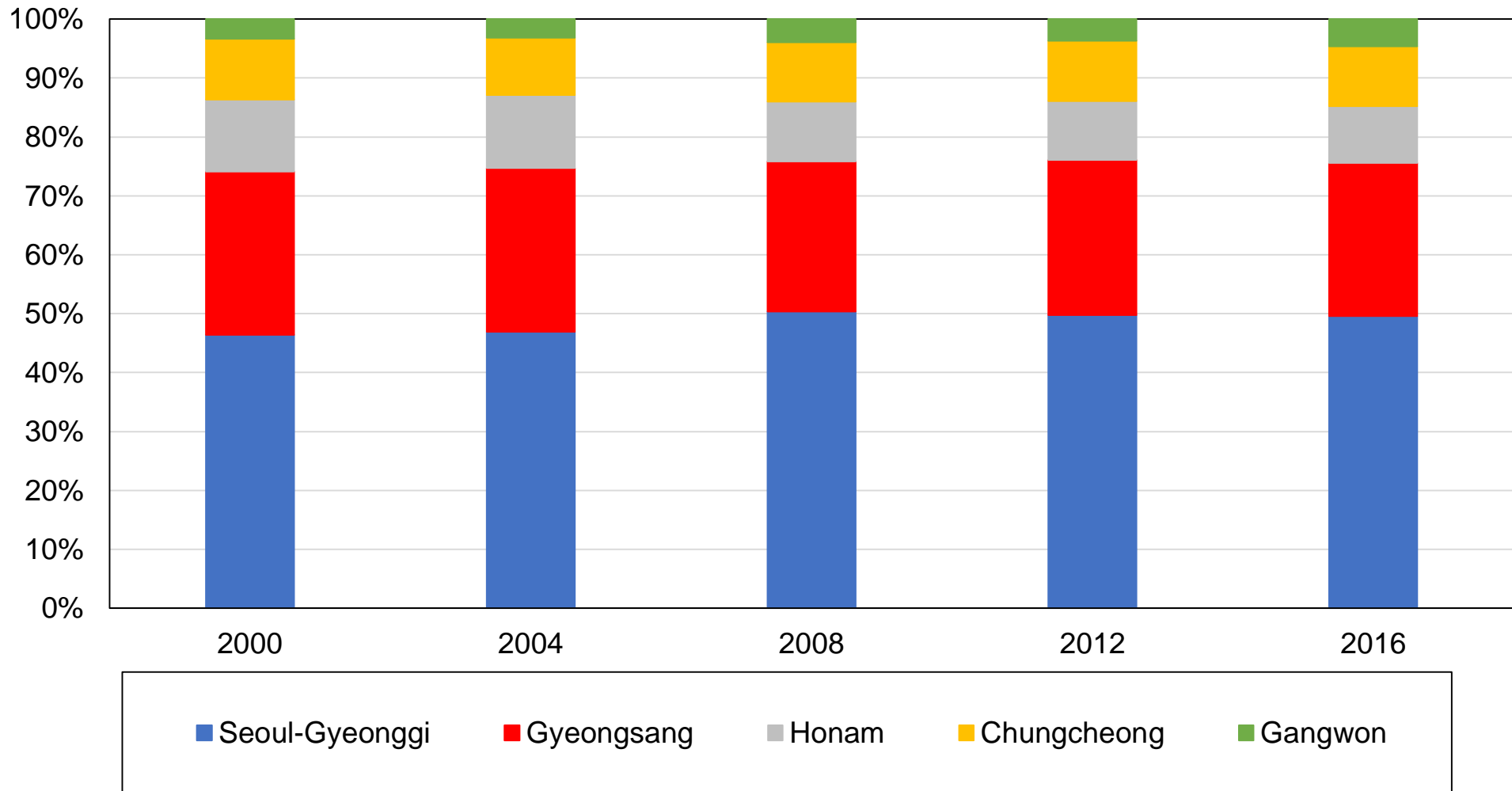
**Figure A8 - The composition of the electorate by age group**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

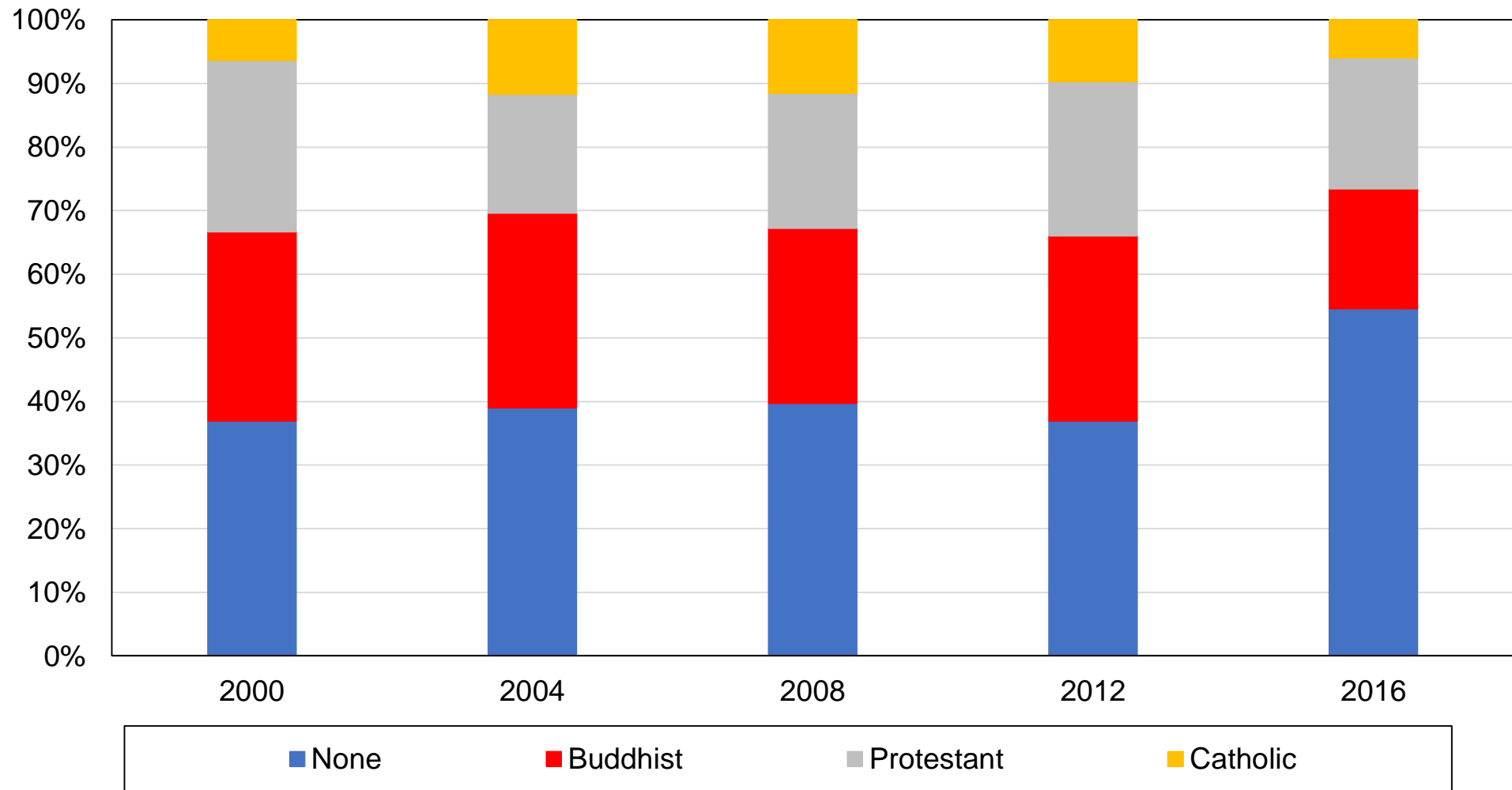
**Figure A9 - The composition of the electorate by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region.

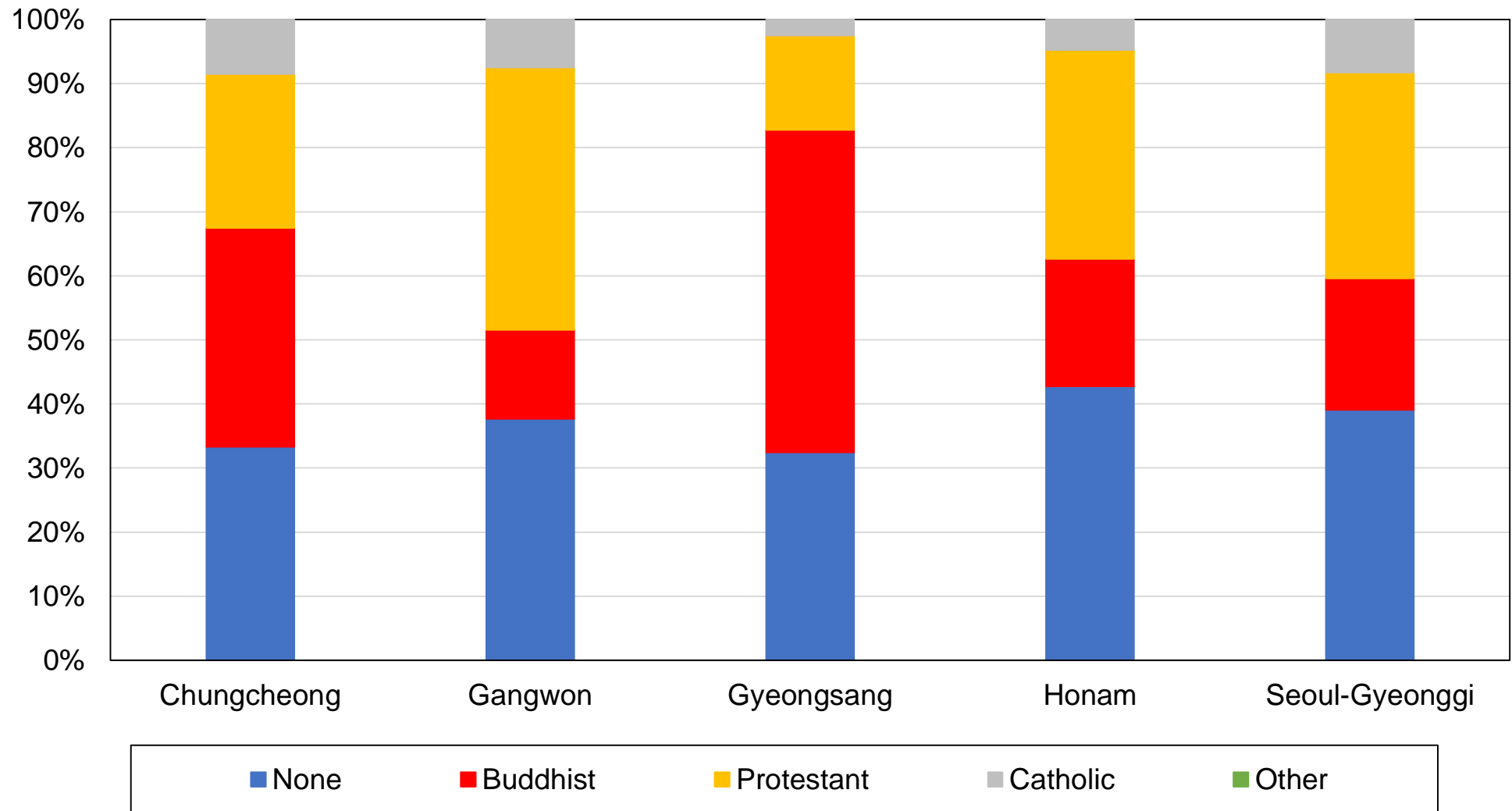
**Figure A10 - The composition of the electorate by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of the electorate by religious affiliation.

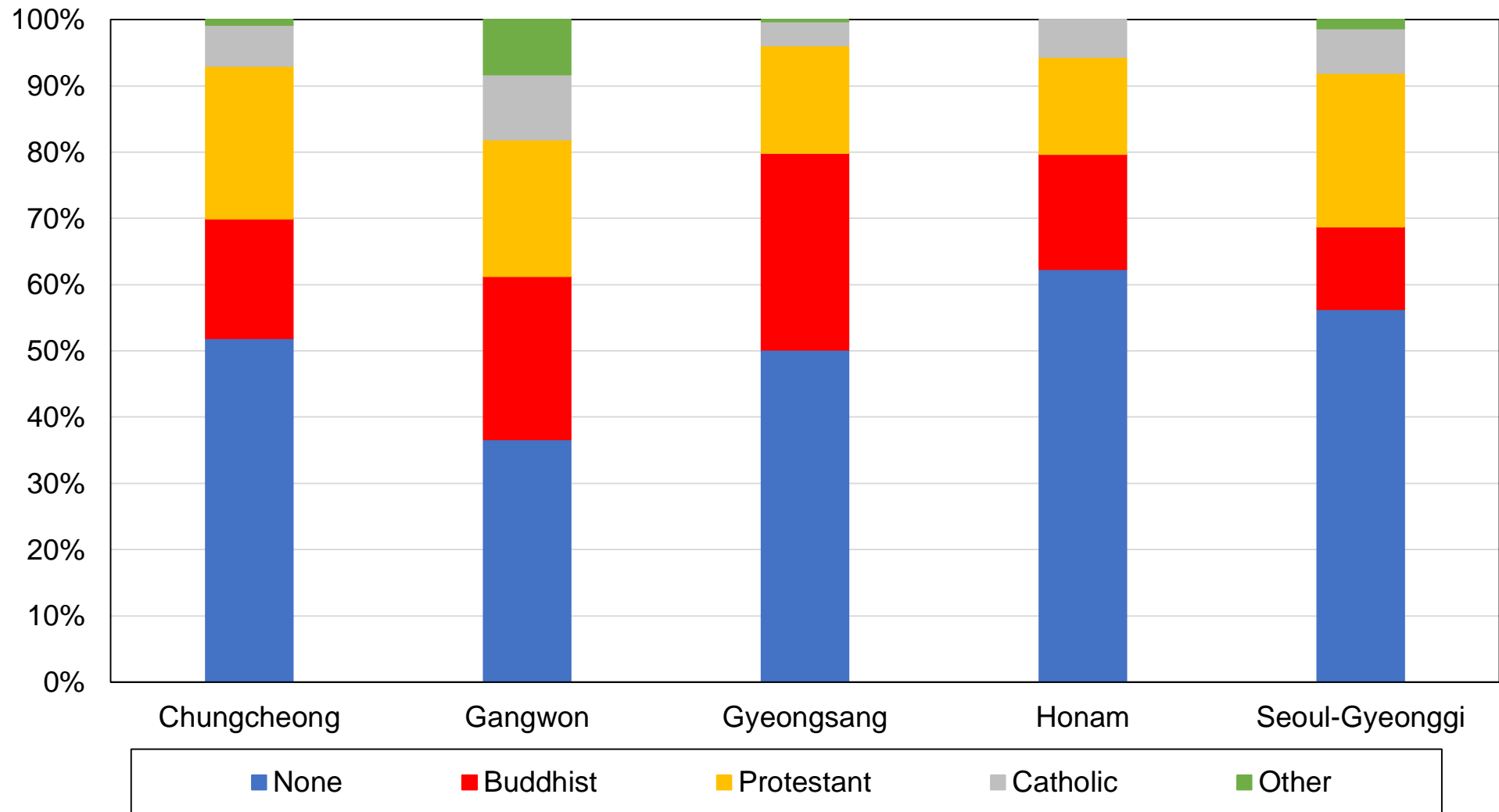
**Figure A11 - Composition of regions by religion, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows composition of regions by religious affiliation in 2000.

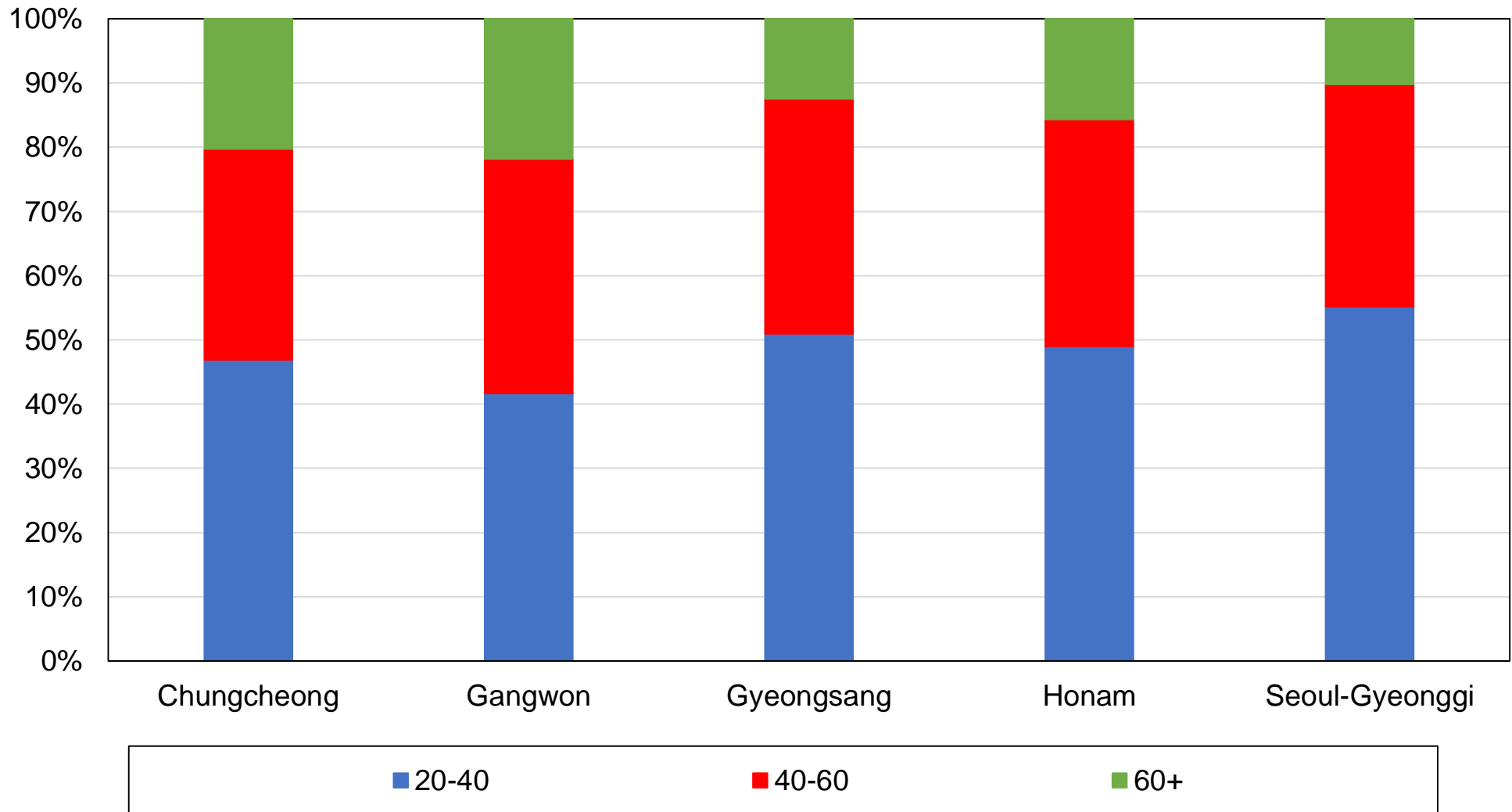
**Figure A12 - Composition of regions by religion, 2016**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of regions by religious affiliation in 2016.

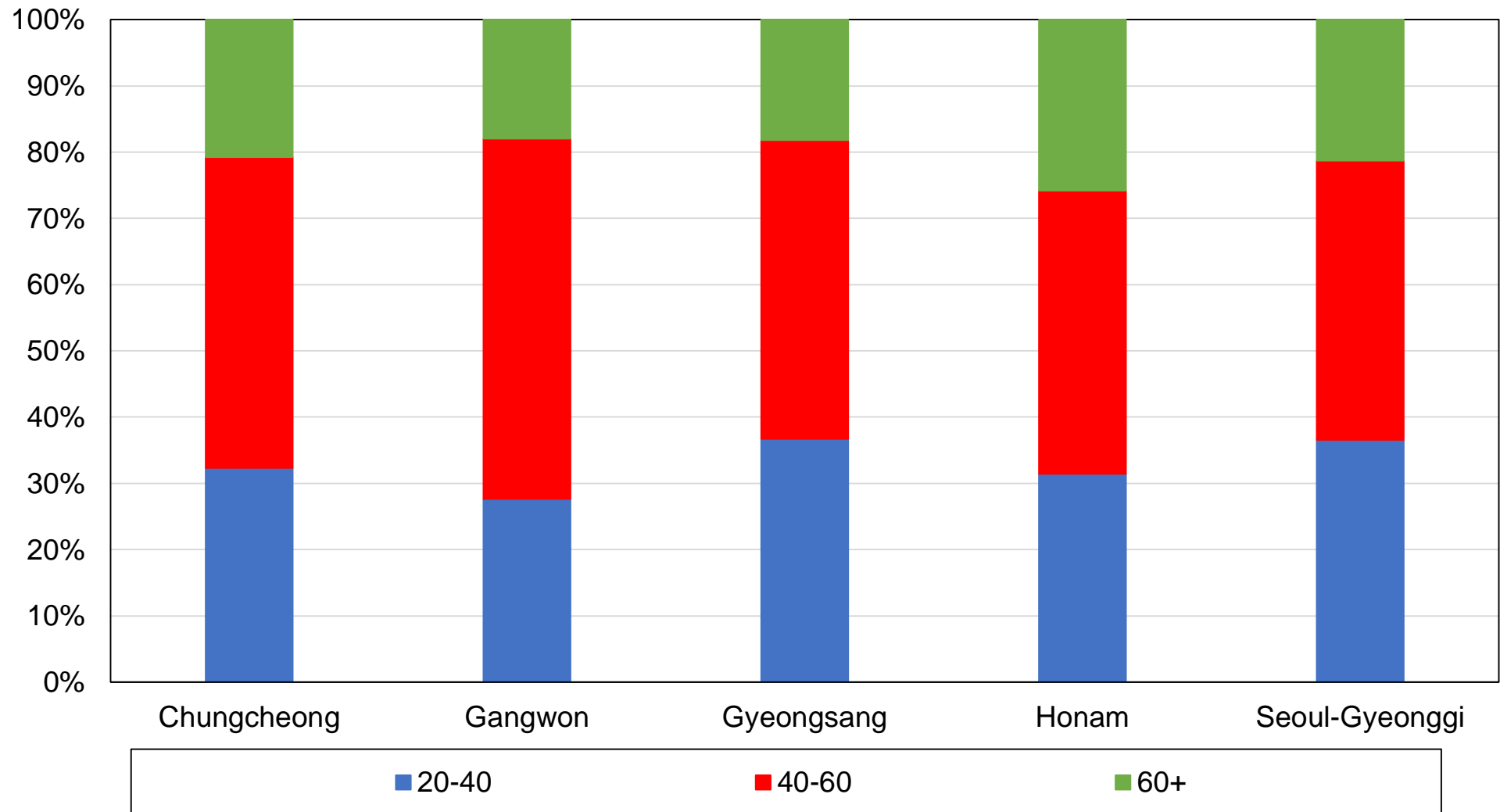
**Figure A13 - Composition of regions by age group, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of regions by age group in 2000.

**Figure A14 - Composition of regions by age group, 2016**

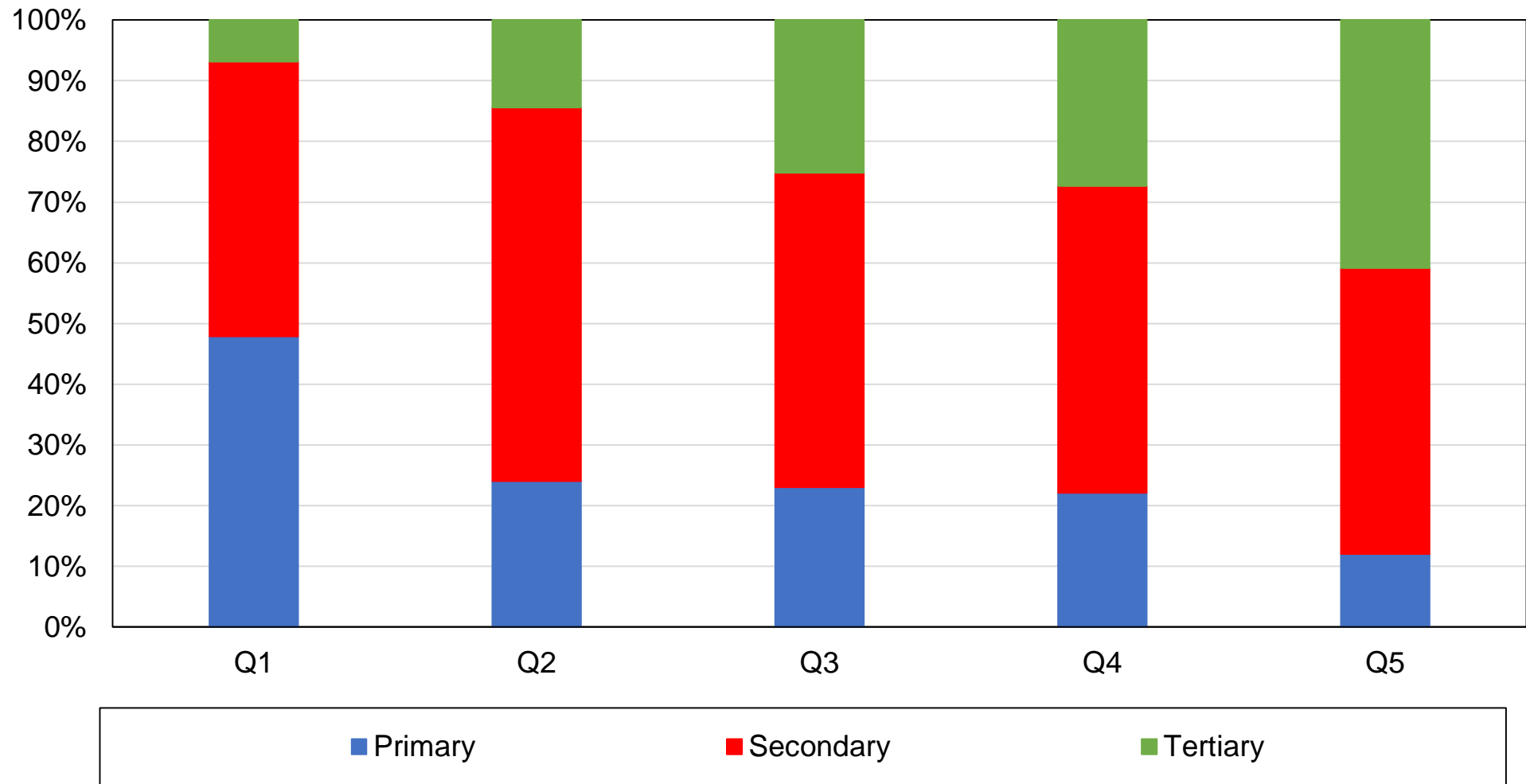


**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of regions by age group in 2016.



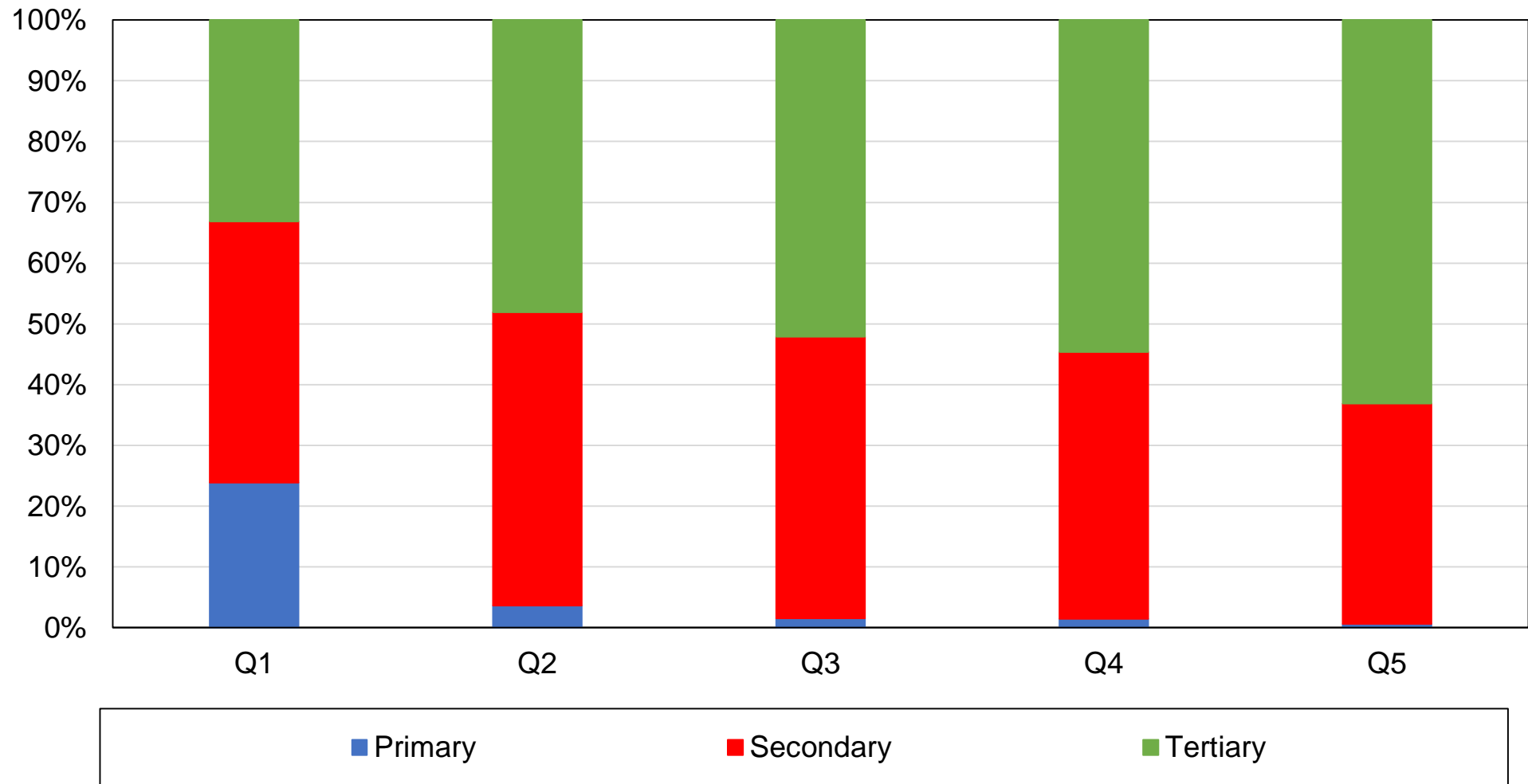
**Figure A15 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2000.

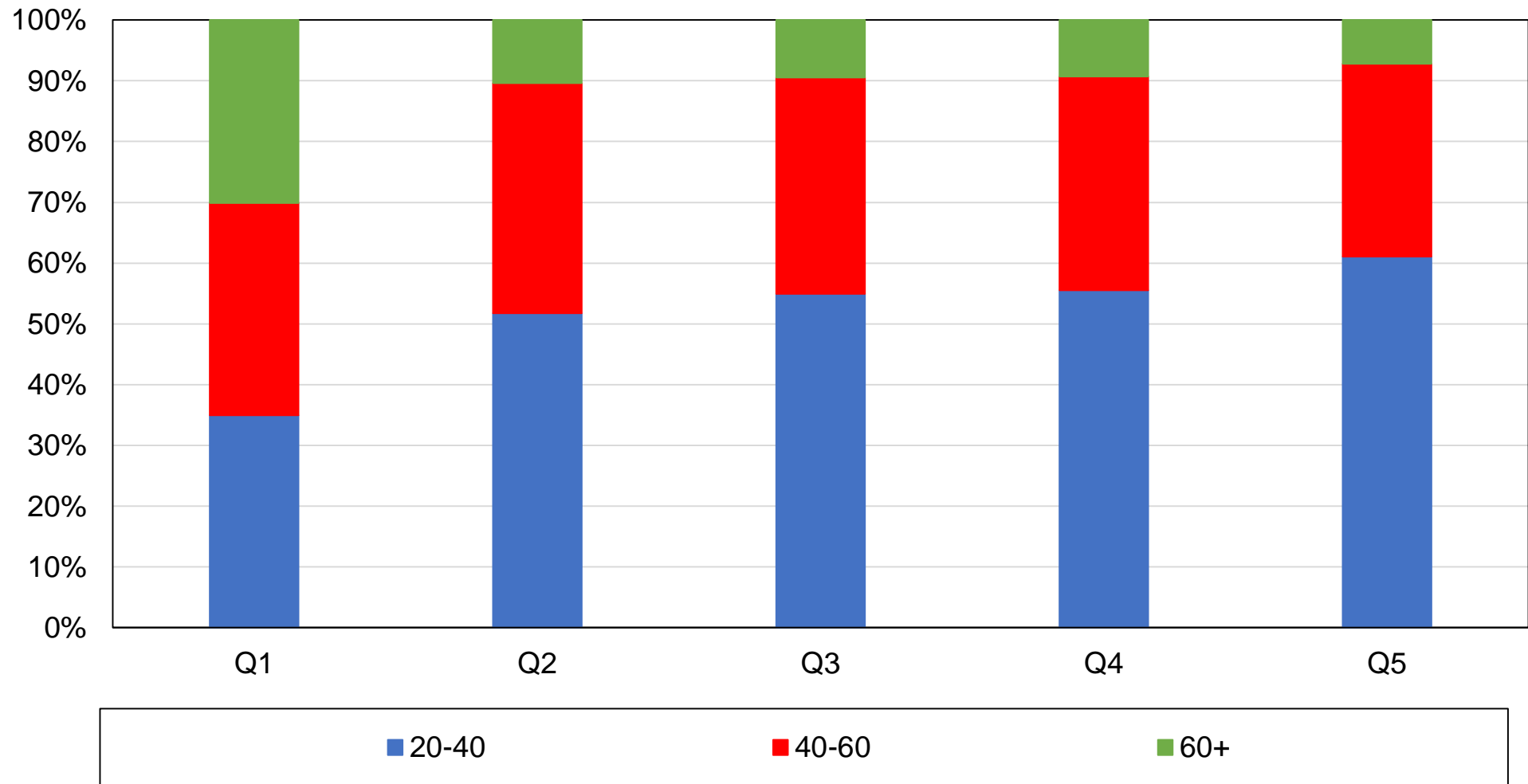
**Figure A16 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2016**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2016.

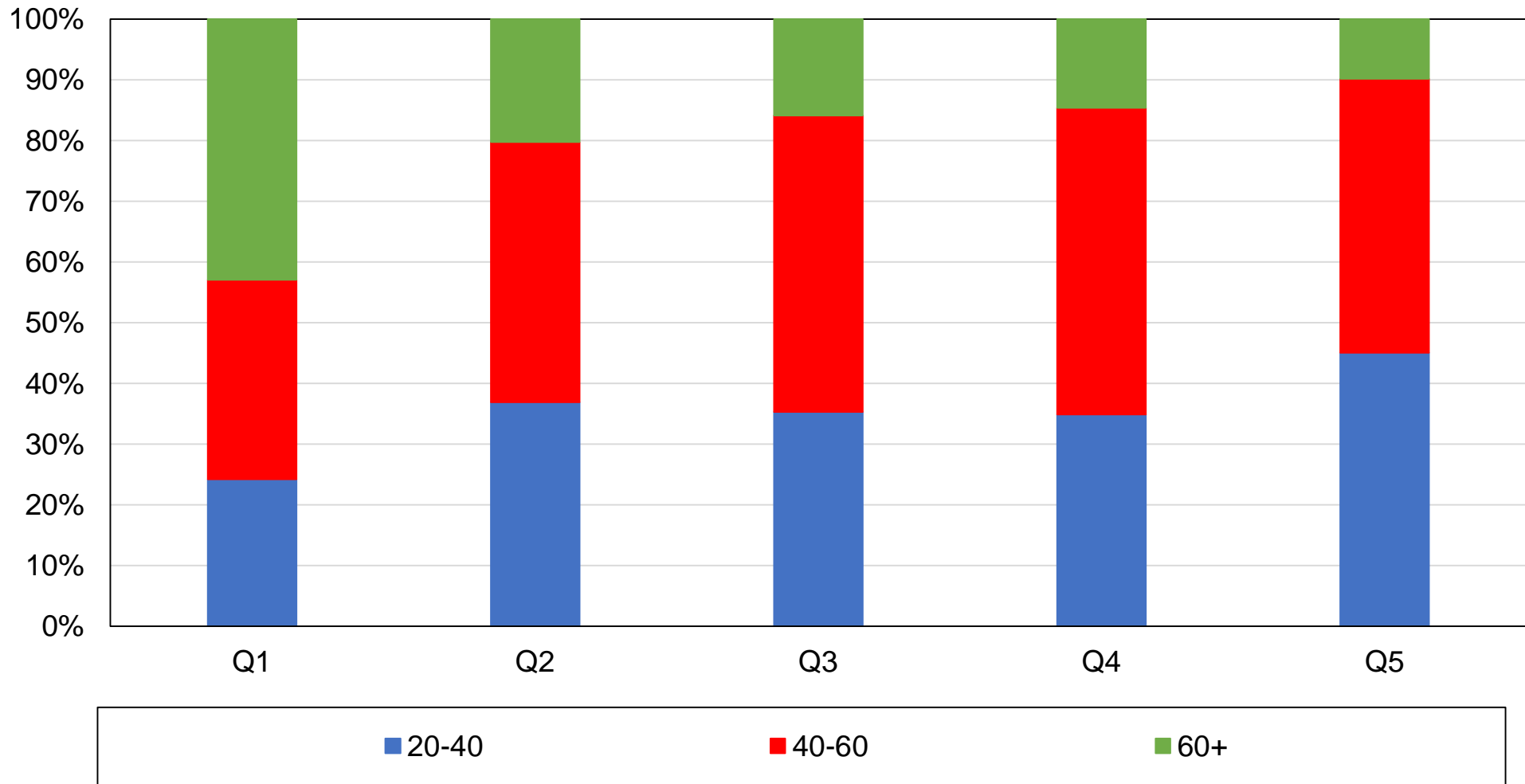
**Figure A17 - Composition of income quintiles by age group, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by age group in 2000.

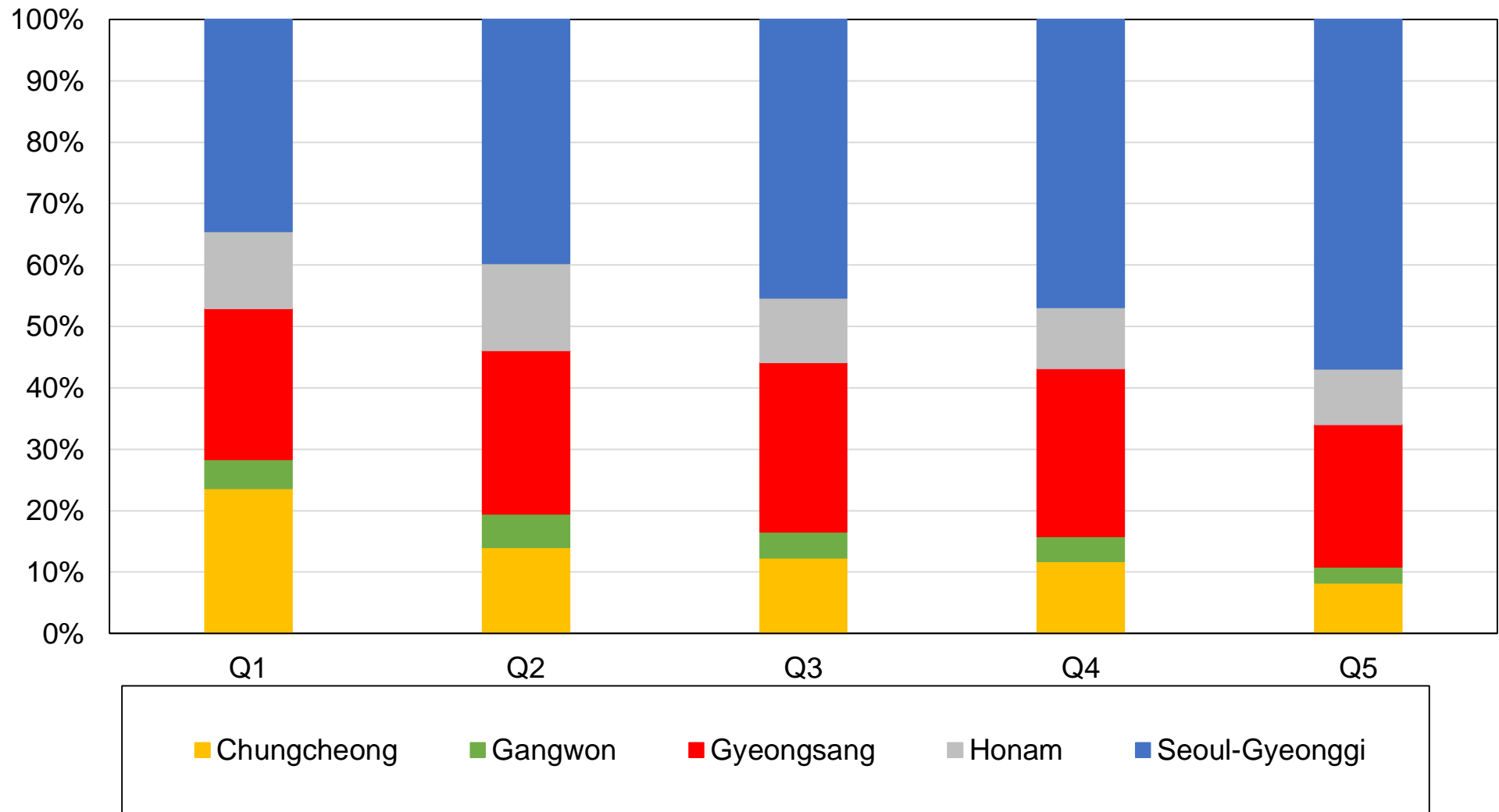
**Figure A18 - Composition of income quintiles by age group, 2016**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by age group in 2016.

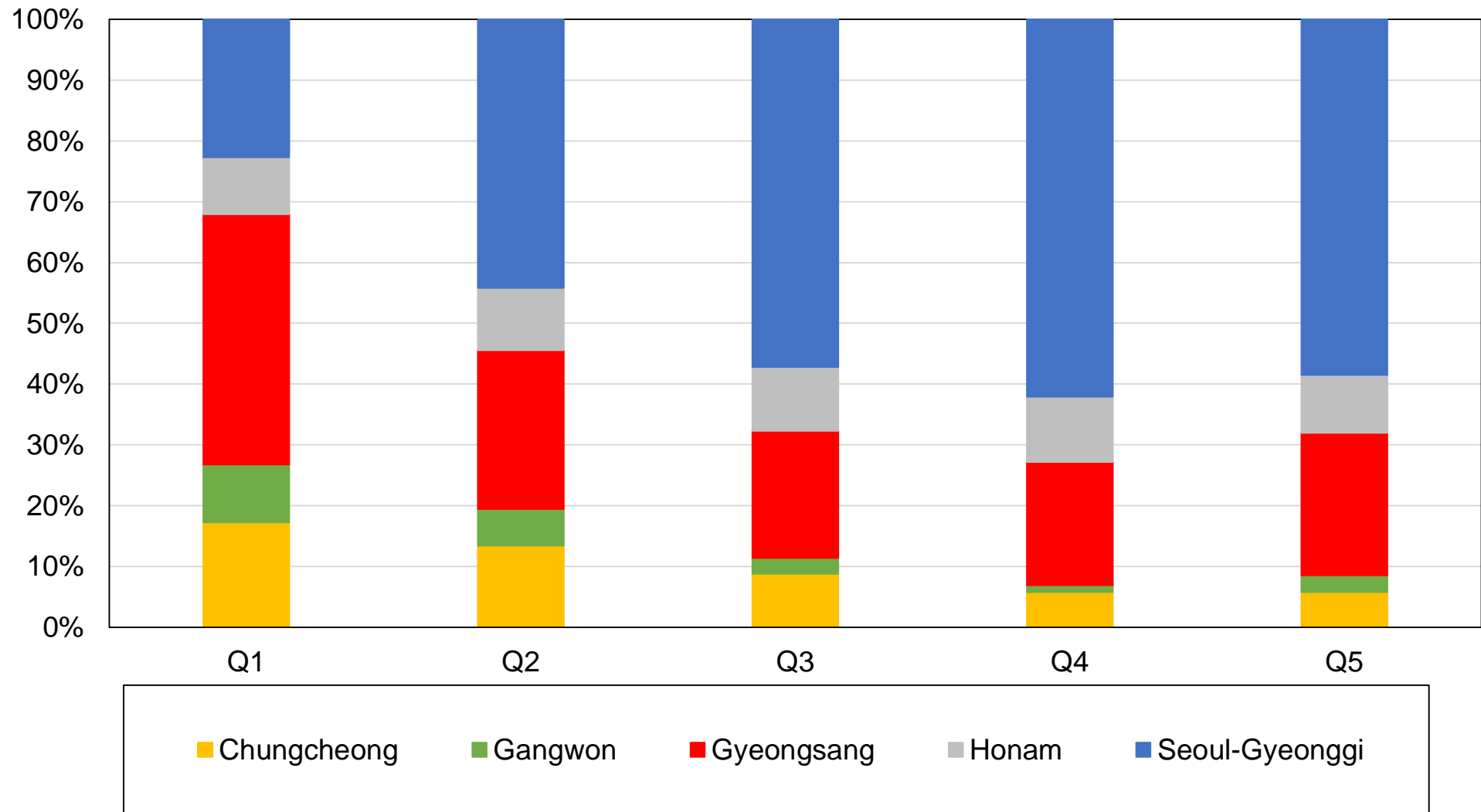
**Figure A19 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2000.

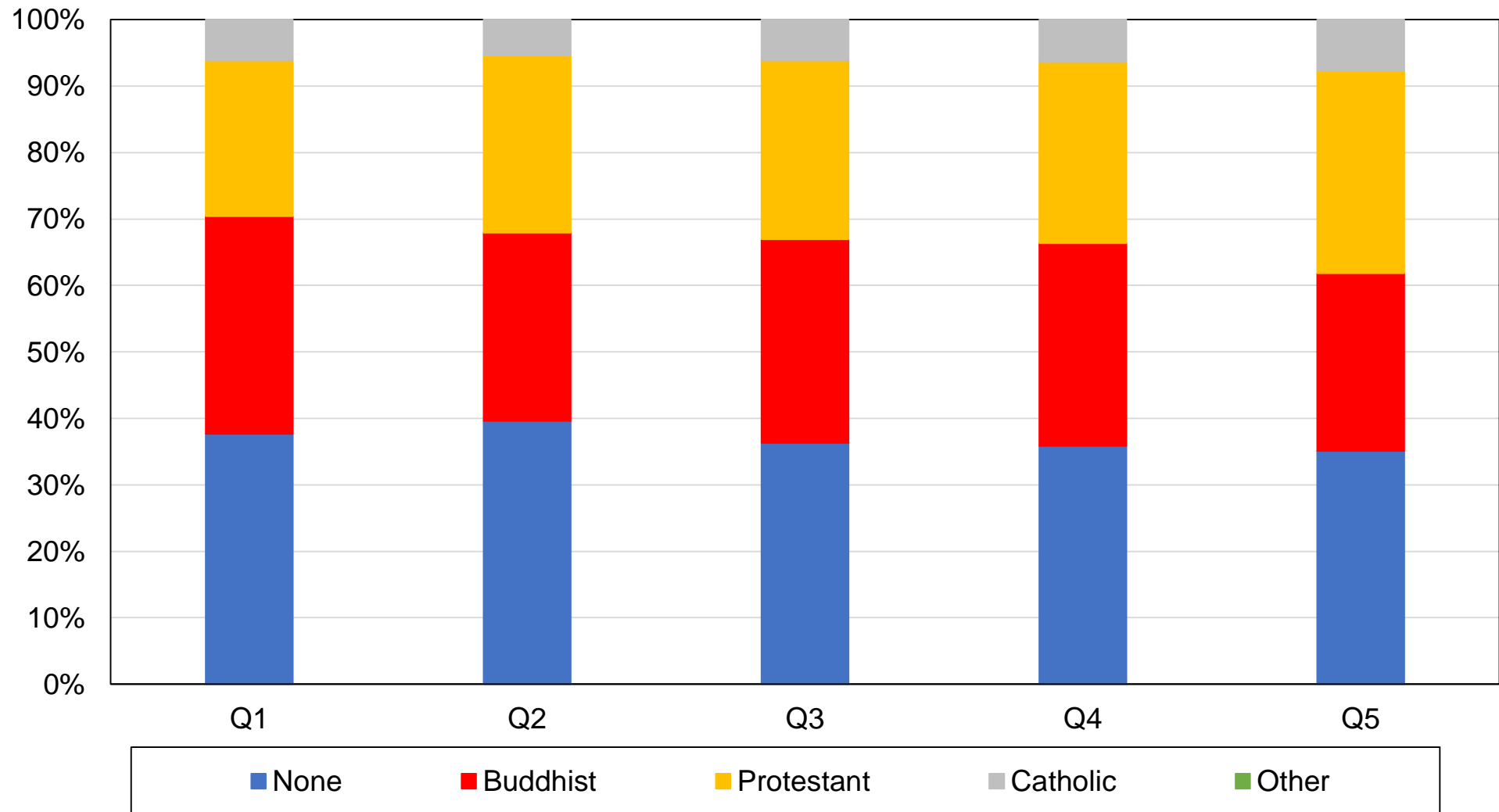
**Figure A20 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2016**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2016.

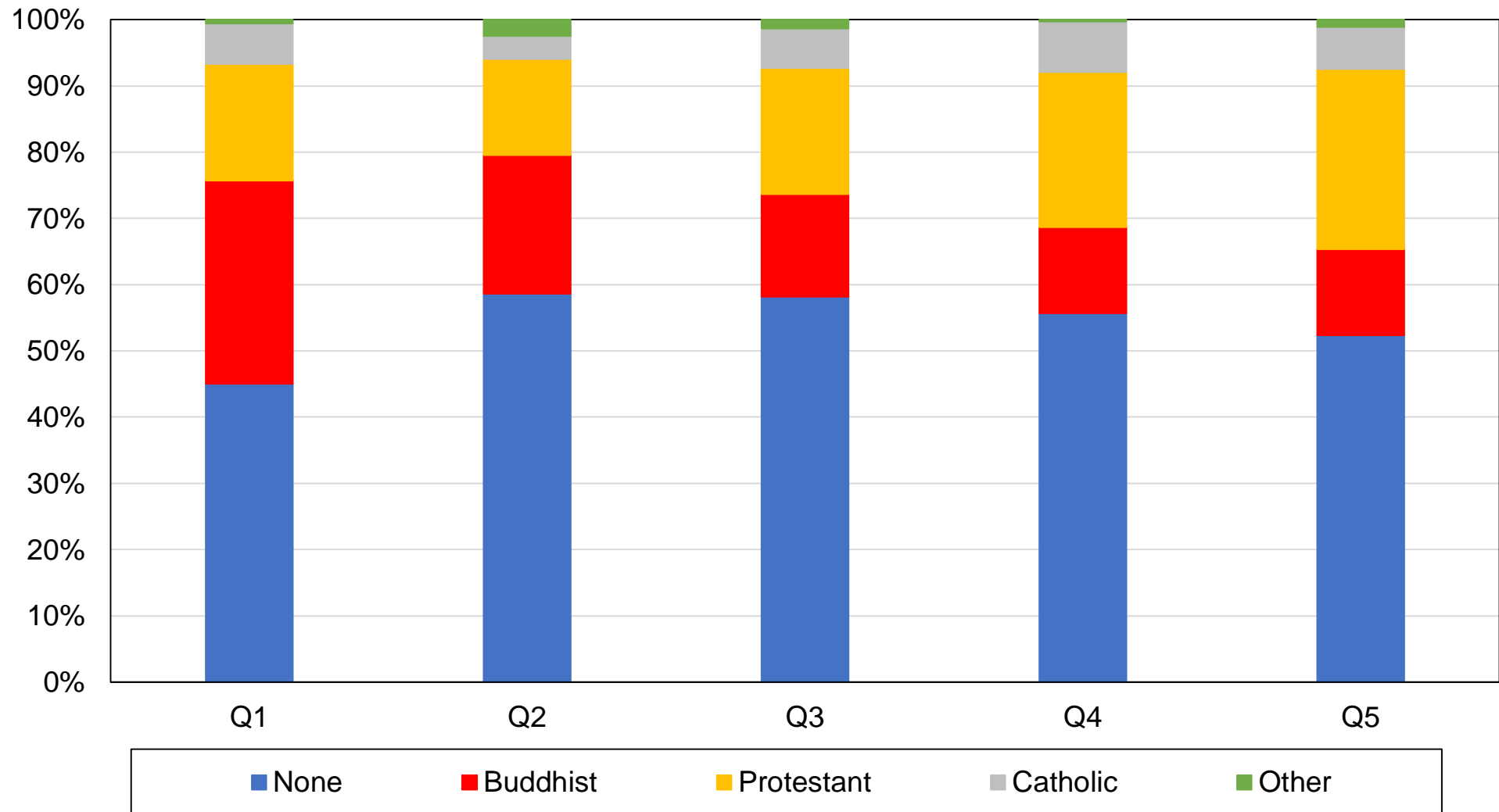
**Figure A21 - Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 2000.

**Figure A22 - Composition of income quintiles by religion, 2016**

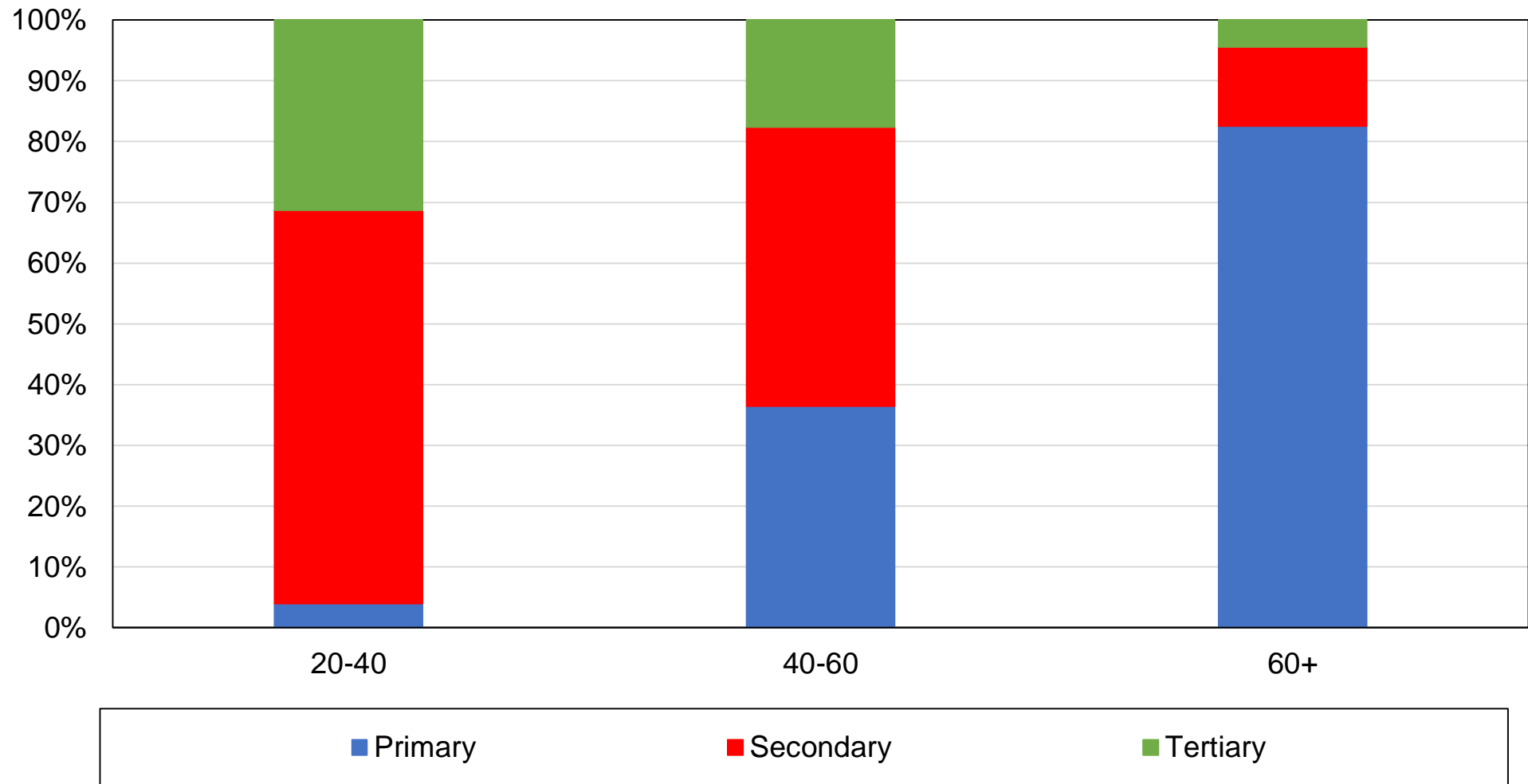


**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by religious affiliation in 2016.



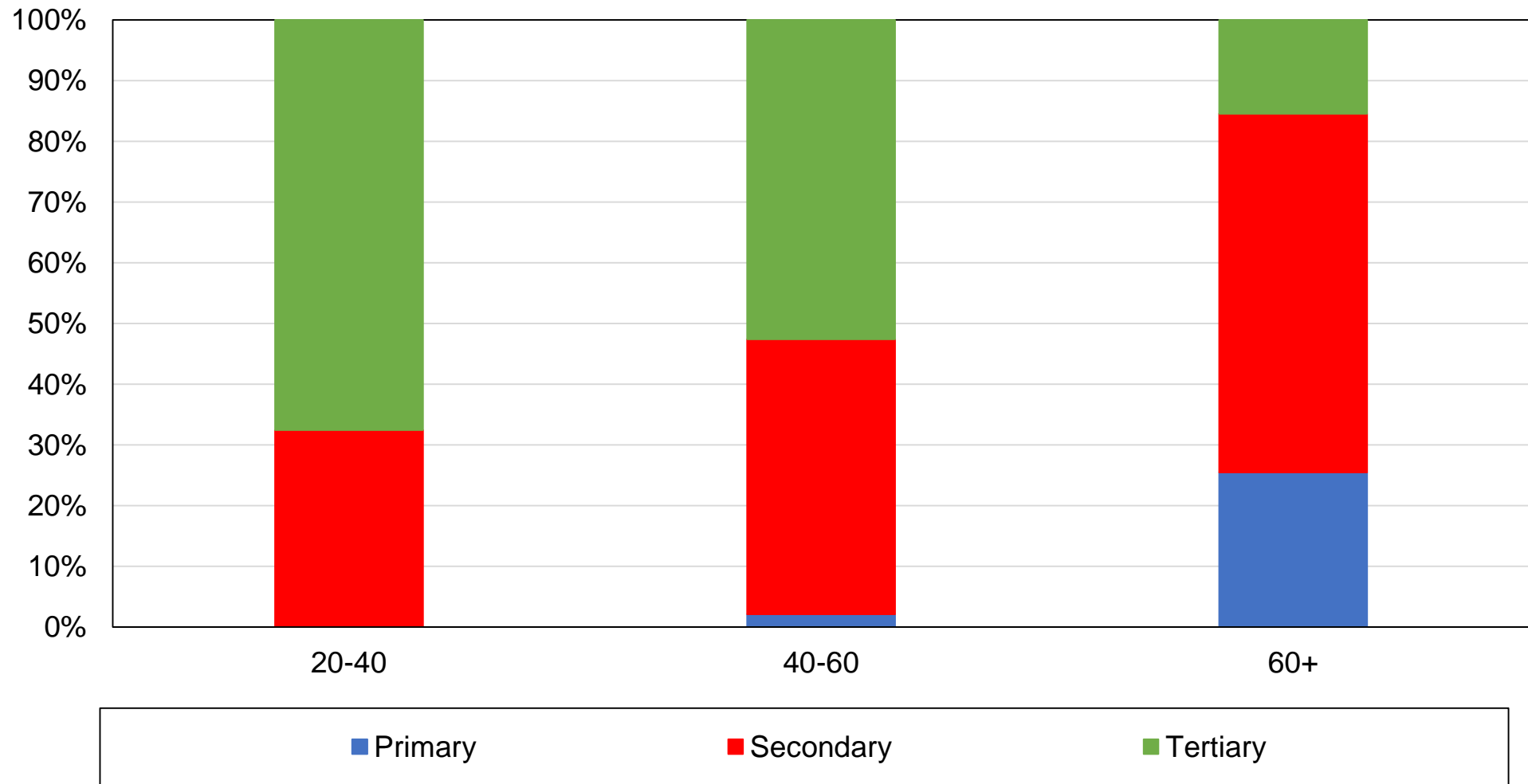
**Figure A23 - Composition of age groups by education level, 2000**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of age groups by education level in 2000.

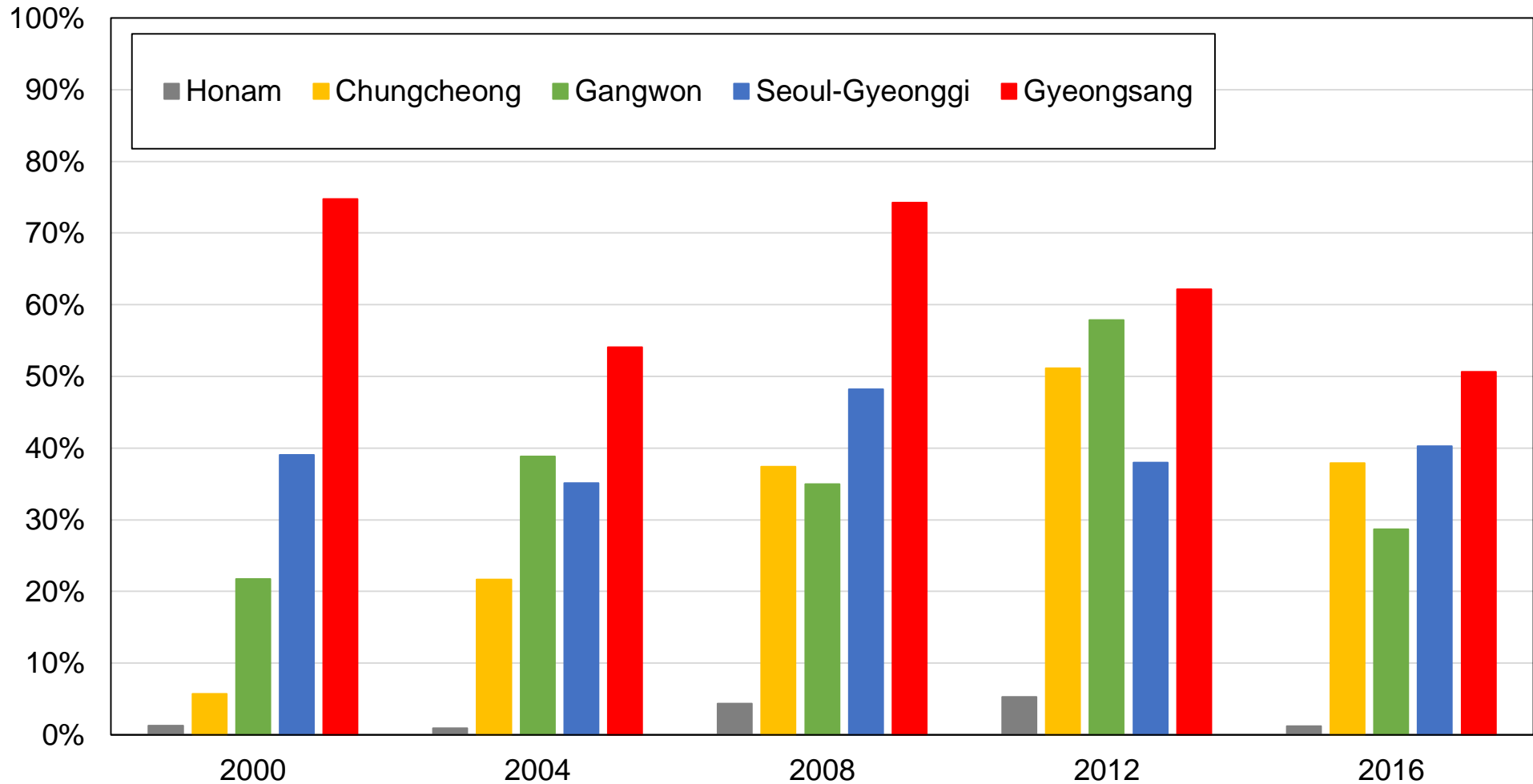
**Figure A24 - Composition of age groups by education level, 2016**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the composition of age group by education level in 2016.

**Figure A25 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by region**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by region. In 2016 Honam represented approximately 10% the electorate, Chungcheong 10%, Gangwon 4%, Seoul-Gyeonggi 49%, and Gyeongsang 26%.

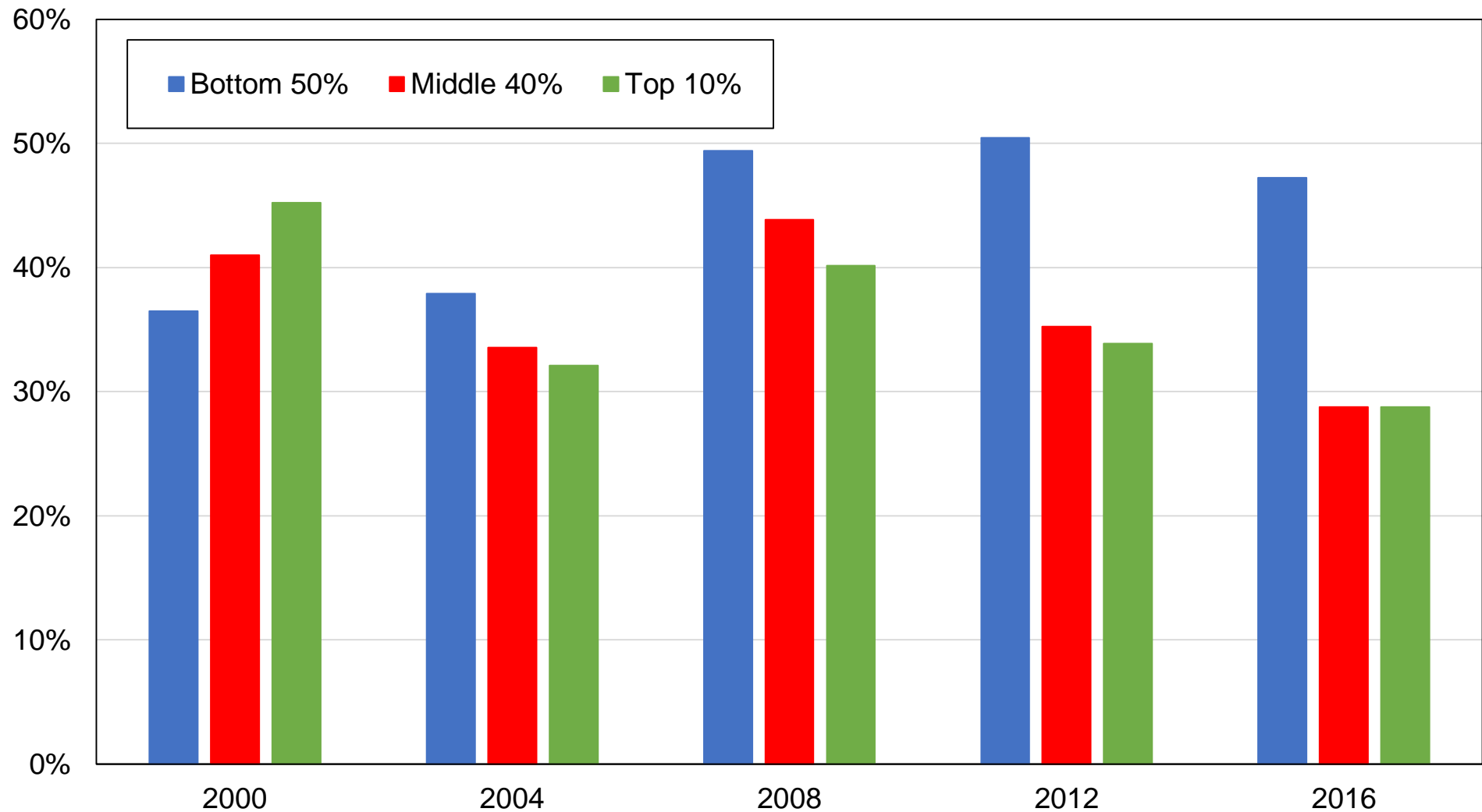
**Figure A26 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by education level**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by education level.

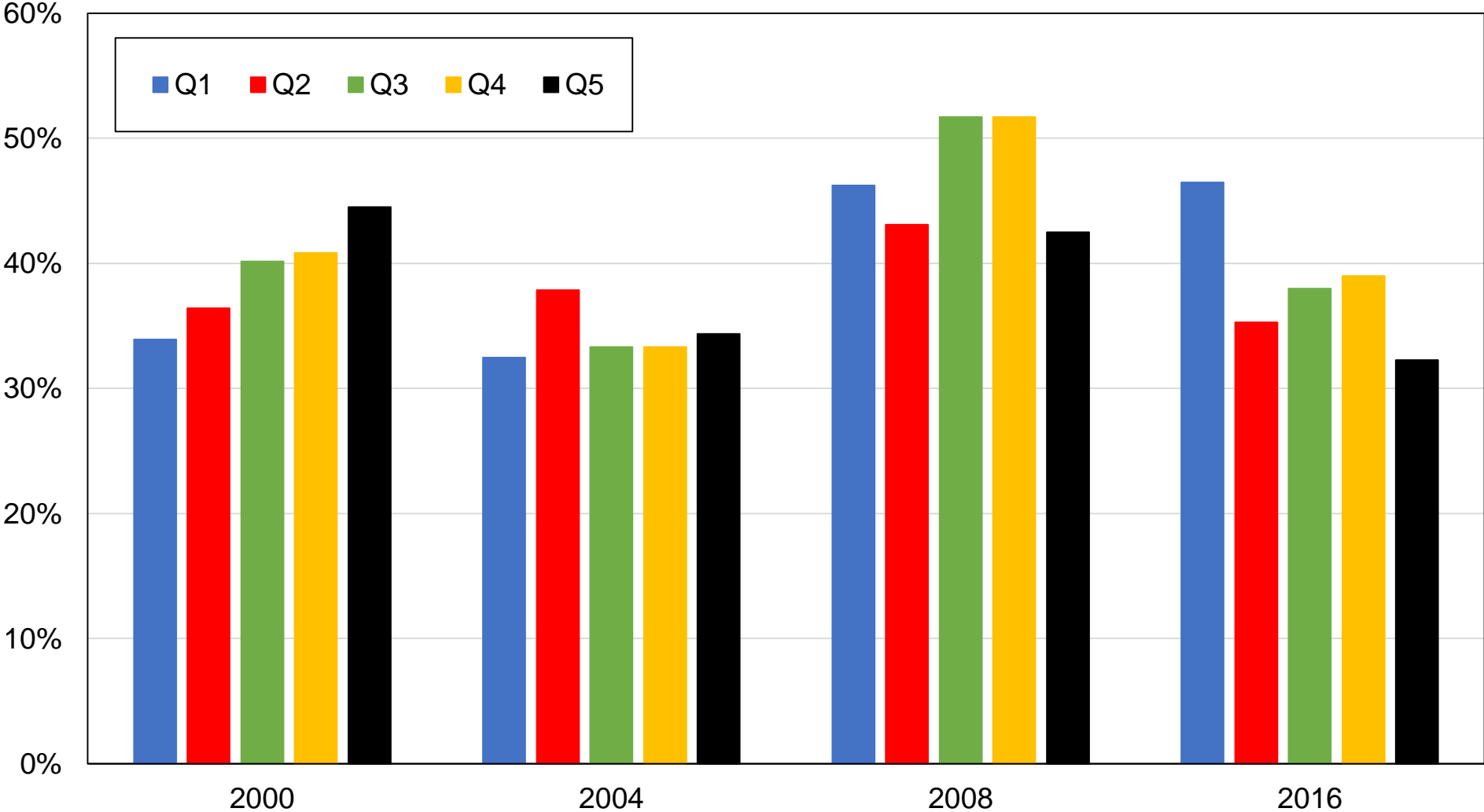
**Figure A27 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by education group**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by education group.

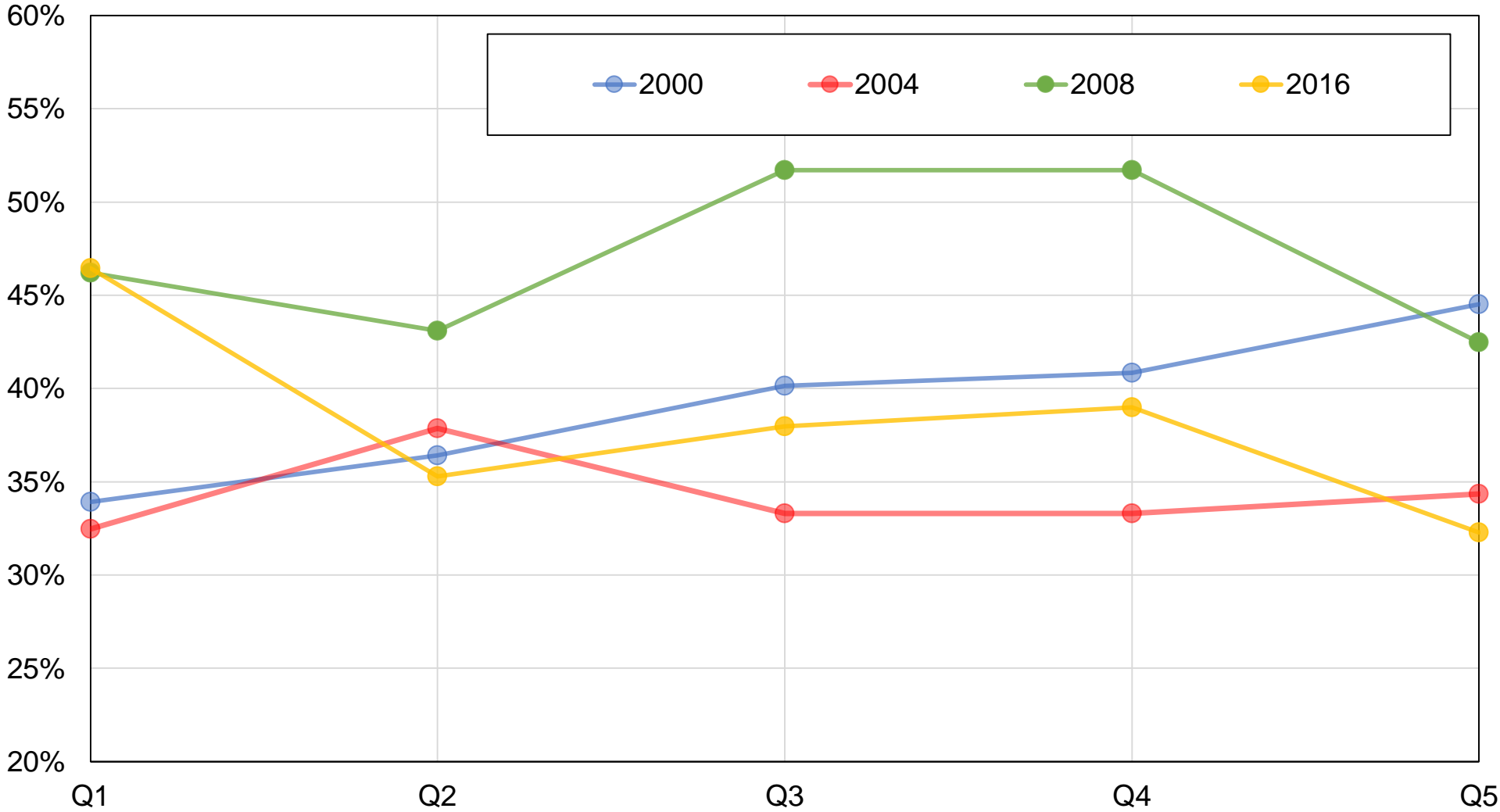
**Figure A28 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile.

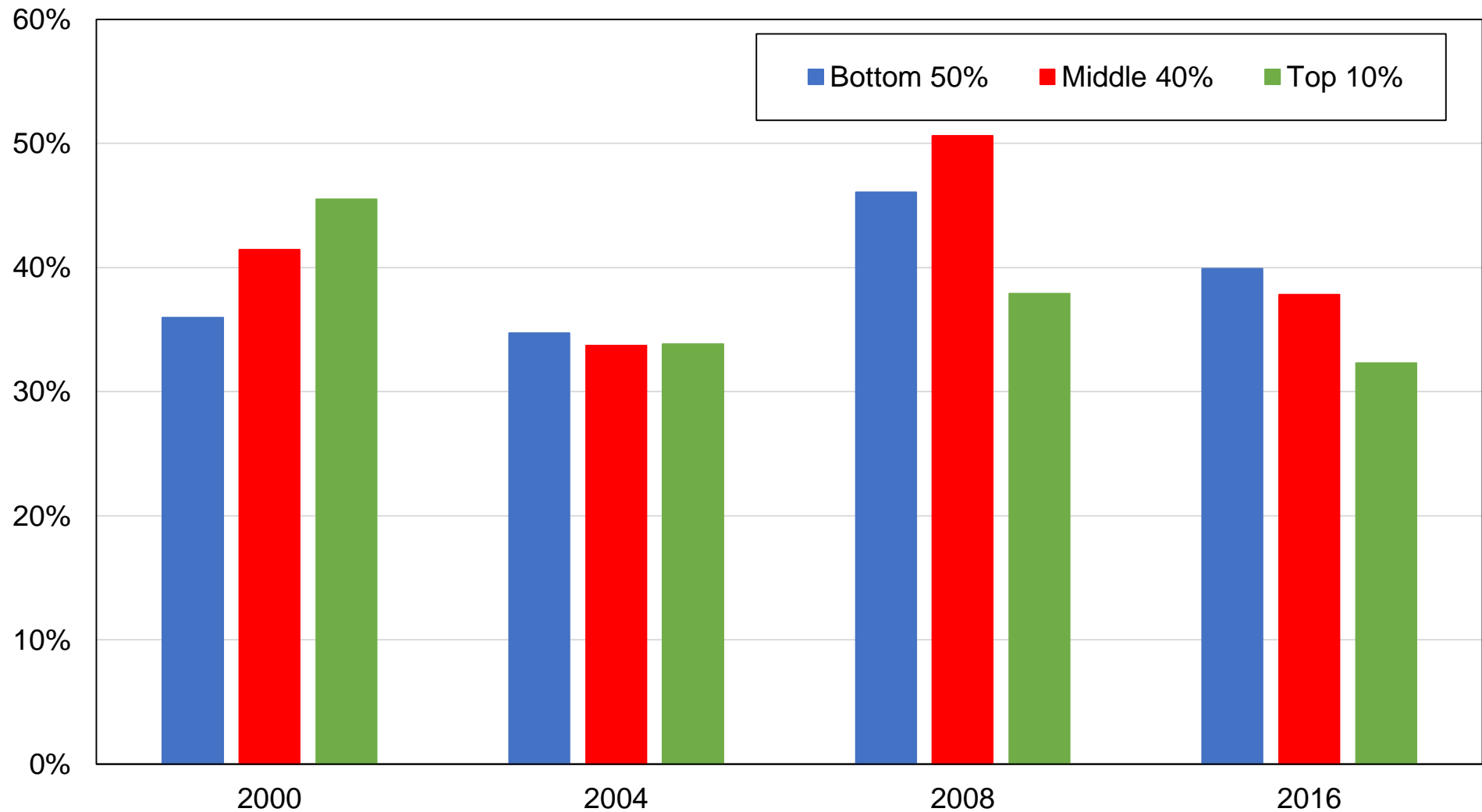
**Figure A26 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income quintile.

**Figure A30 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income group**

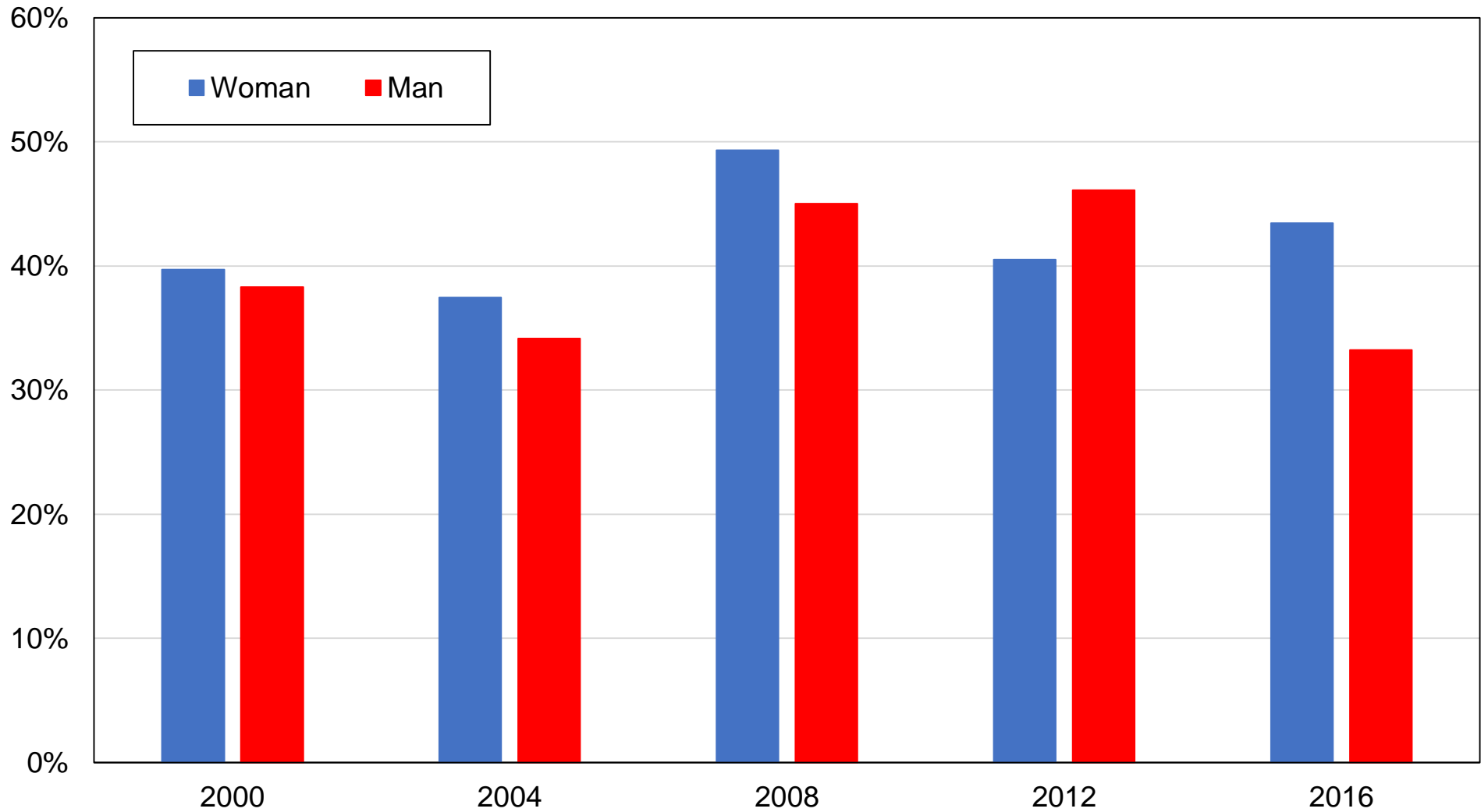


**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by income group.



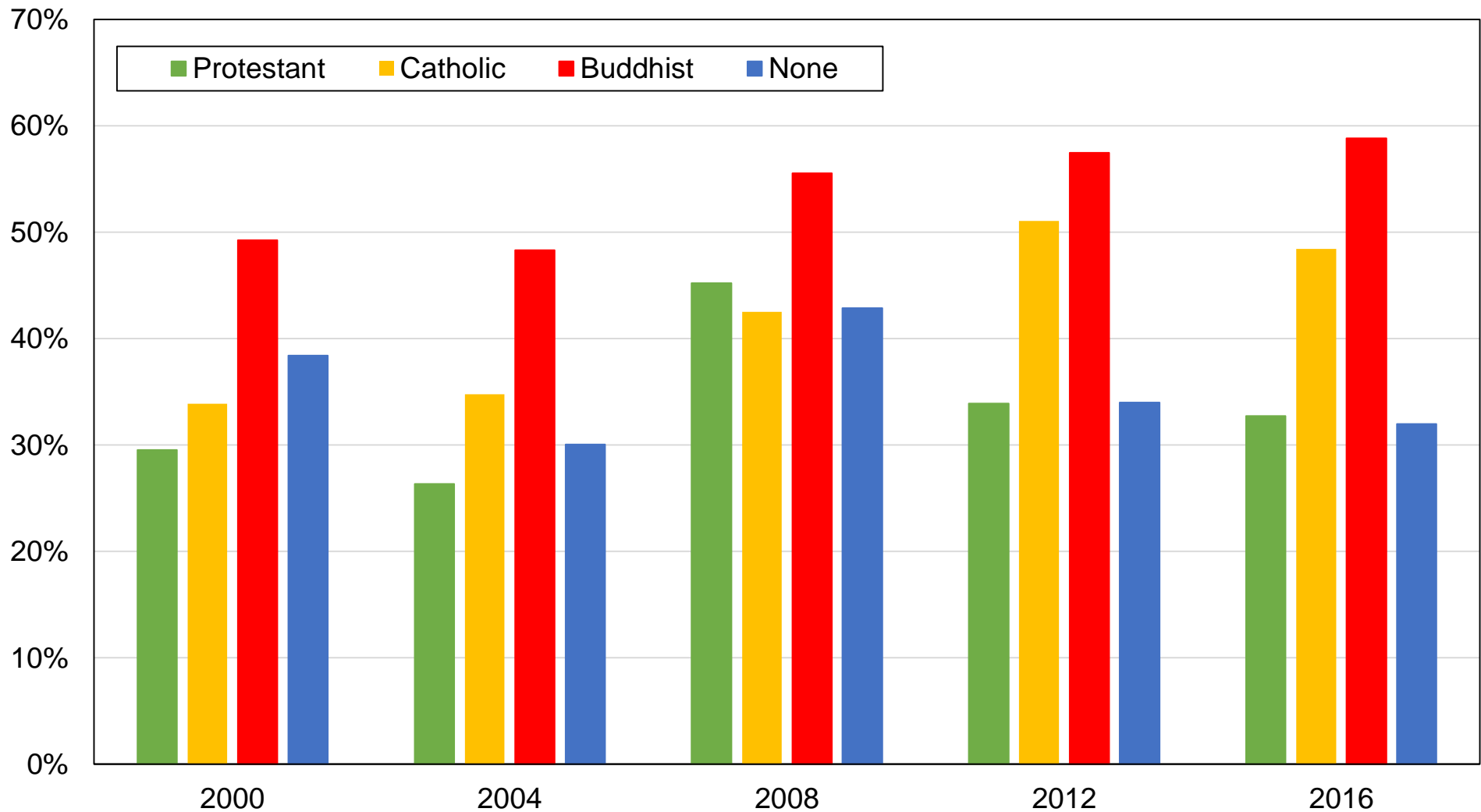
**Figure A31 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by gender**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by gender.

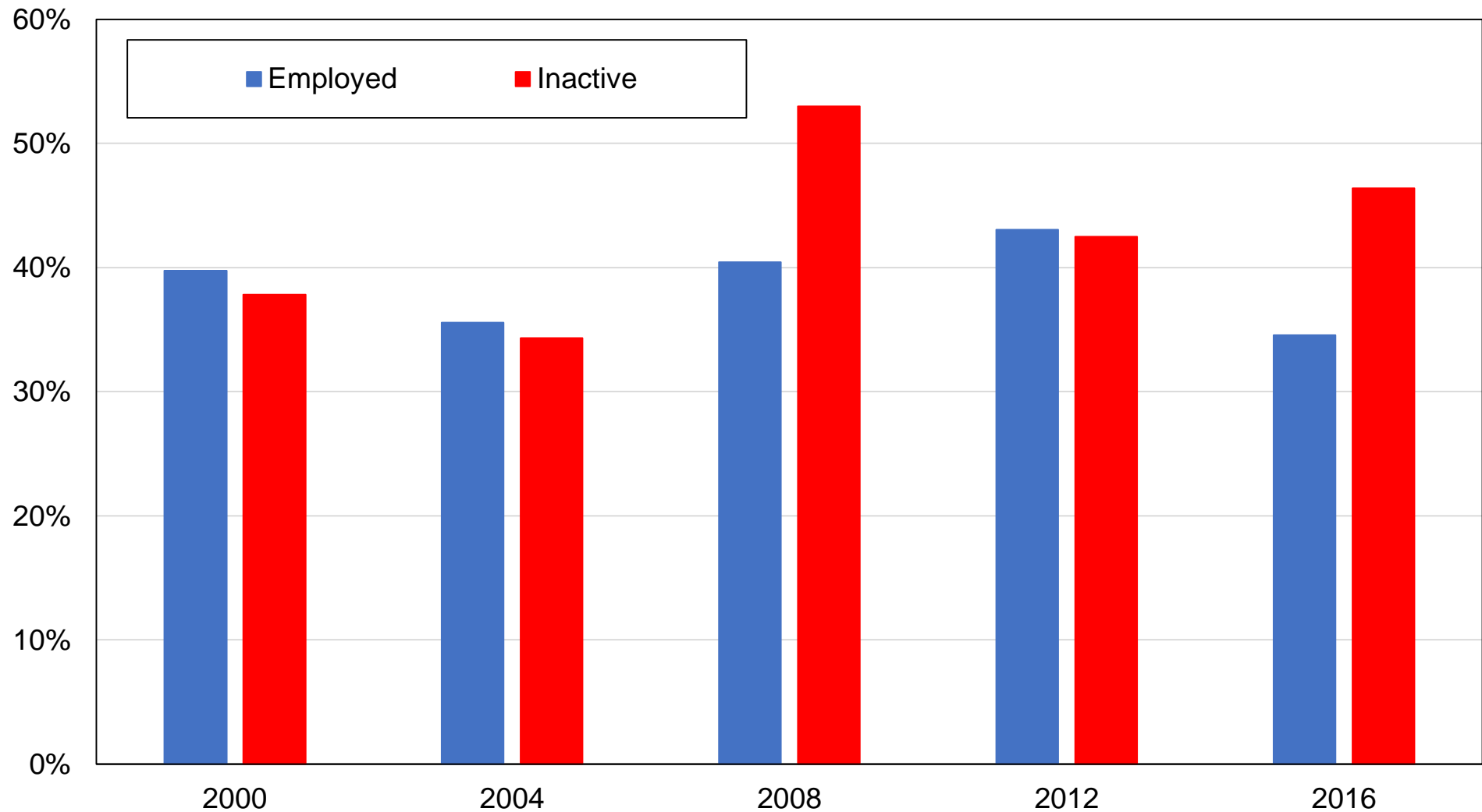
**Figure A32 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by religion**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by religious affiliation.

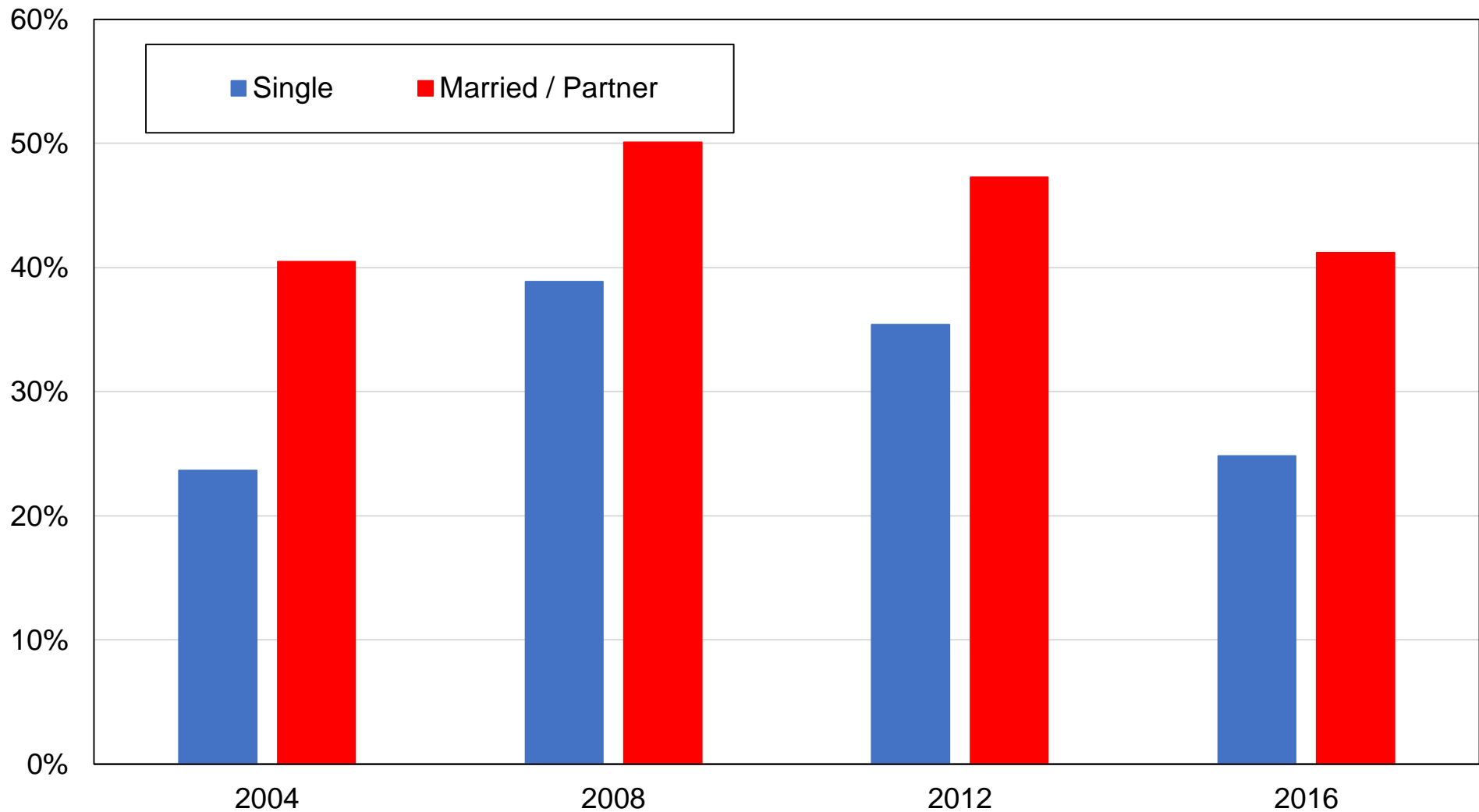
**Figure A33 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by employment status**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by employment status.

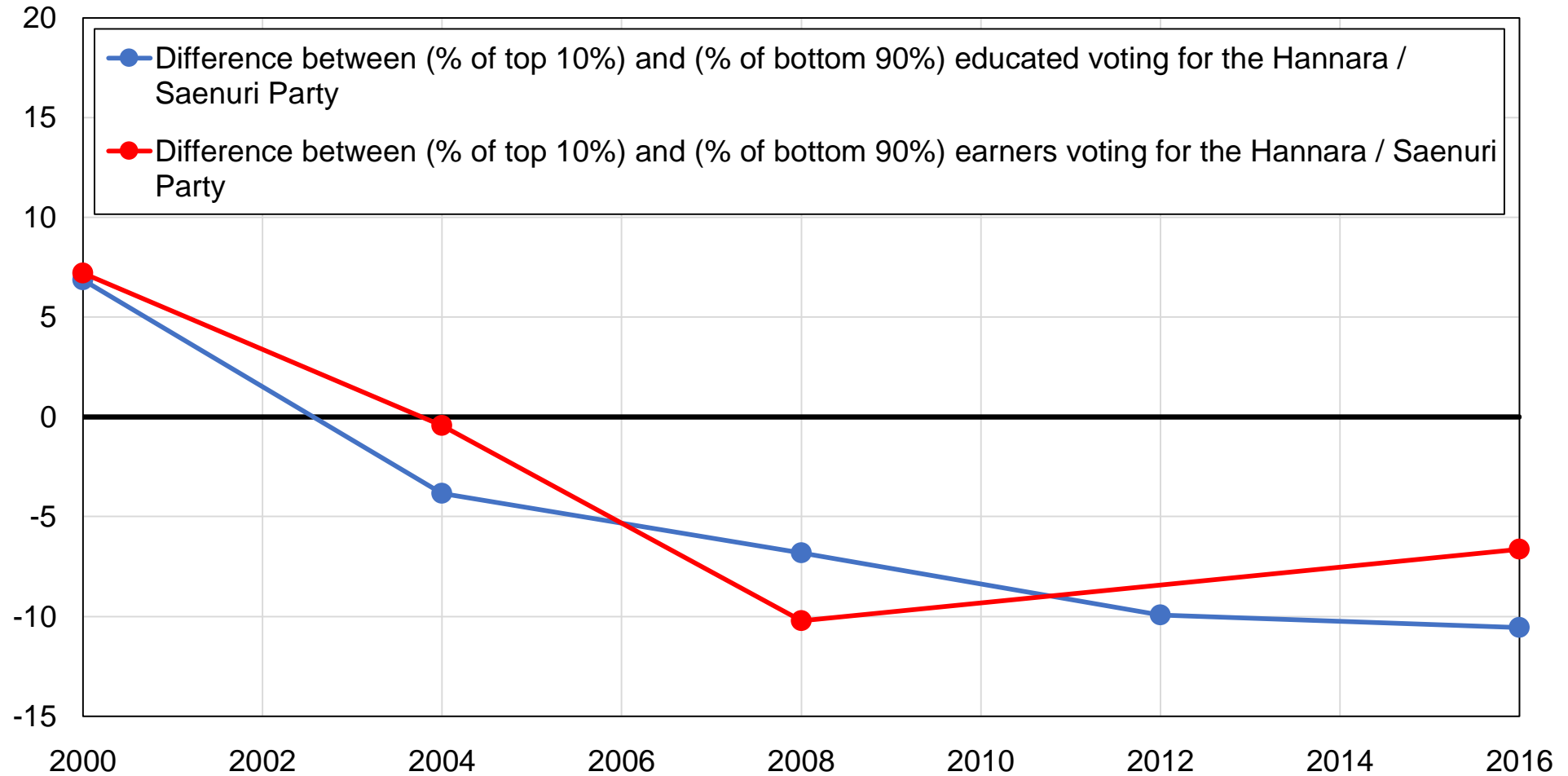
**Figure A34 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by marital status**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the share of votes received by the Hannara / Saenuri Party by marital status.

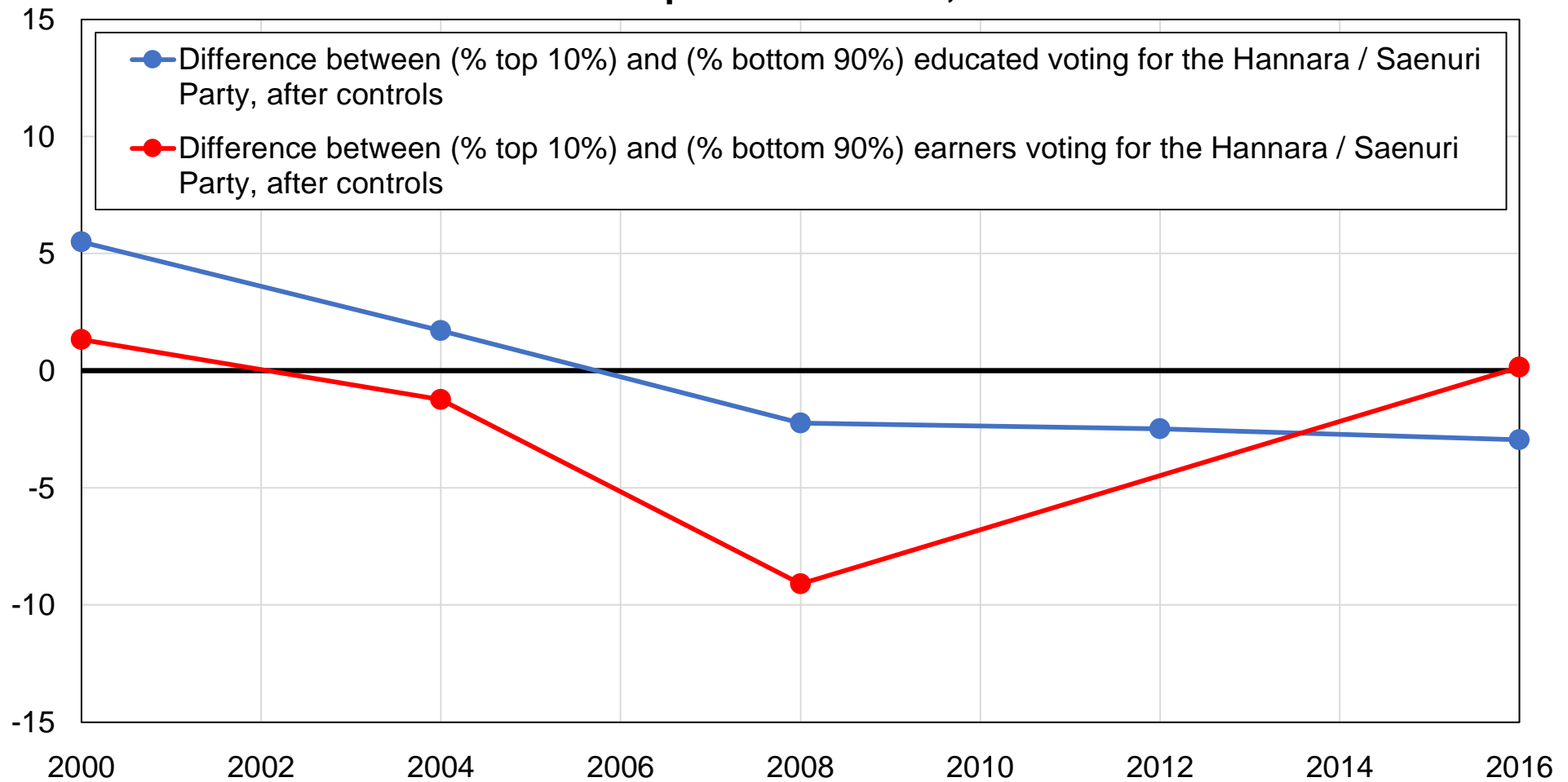
**Figure A35 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters.

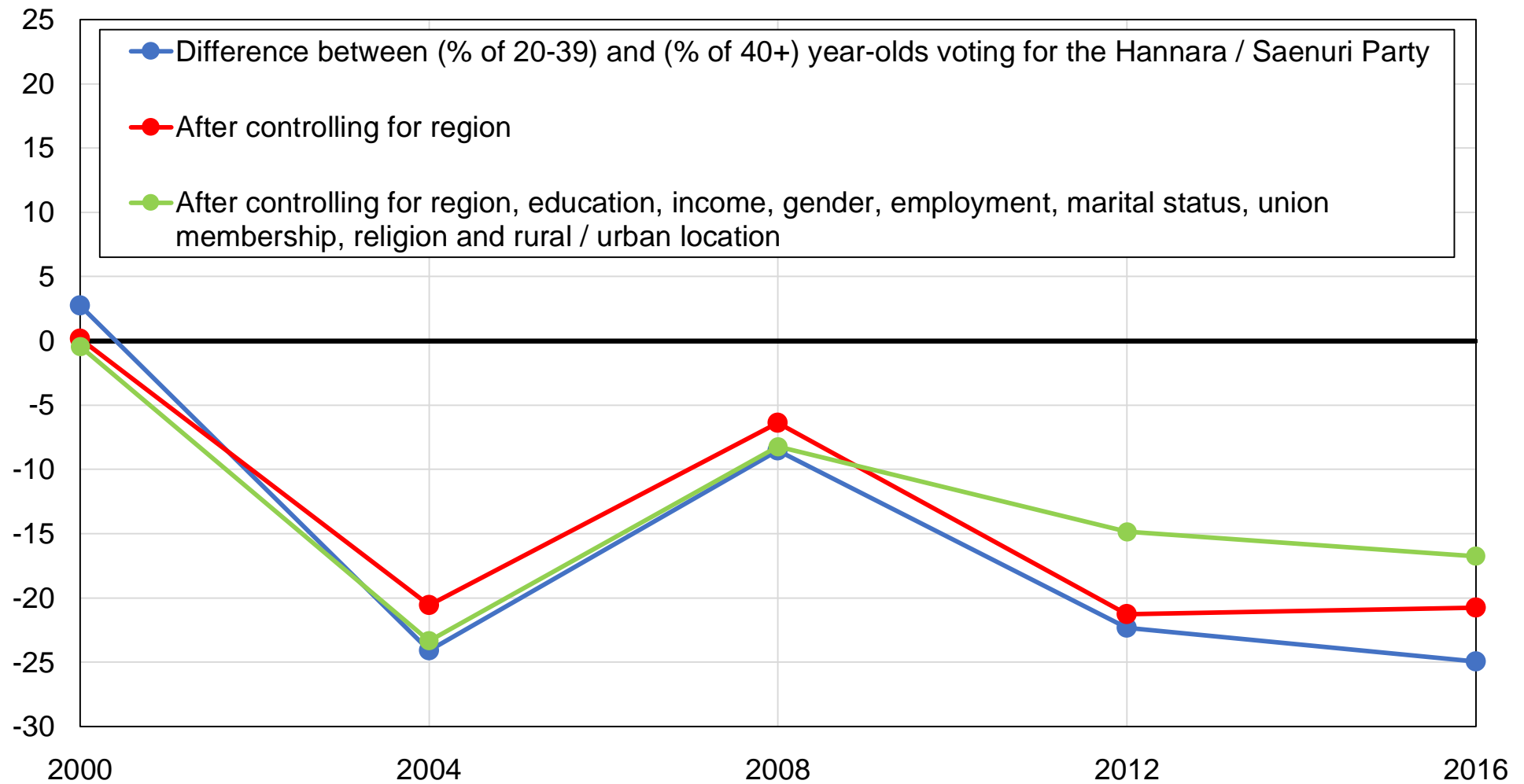
**Figure A36 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the support for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controlling for other variables.

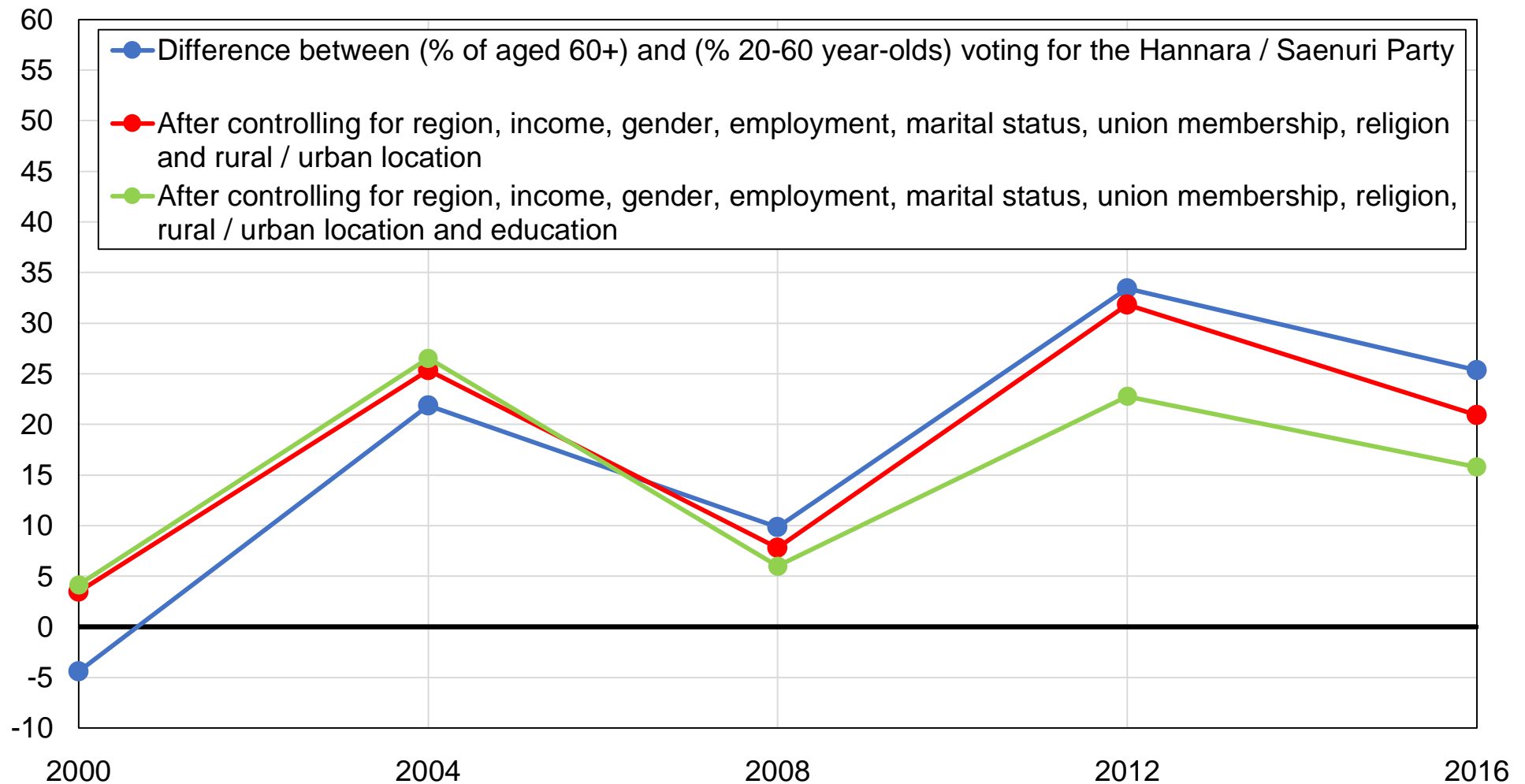
**Figure A37 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among young voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure A38 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among old voters**

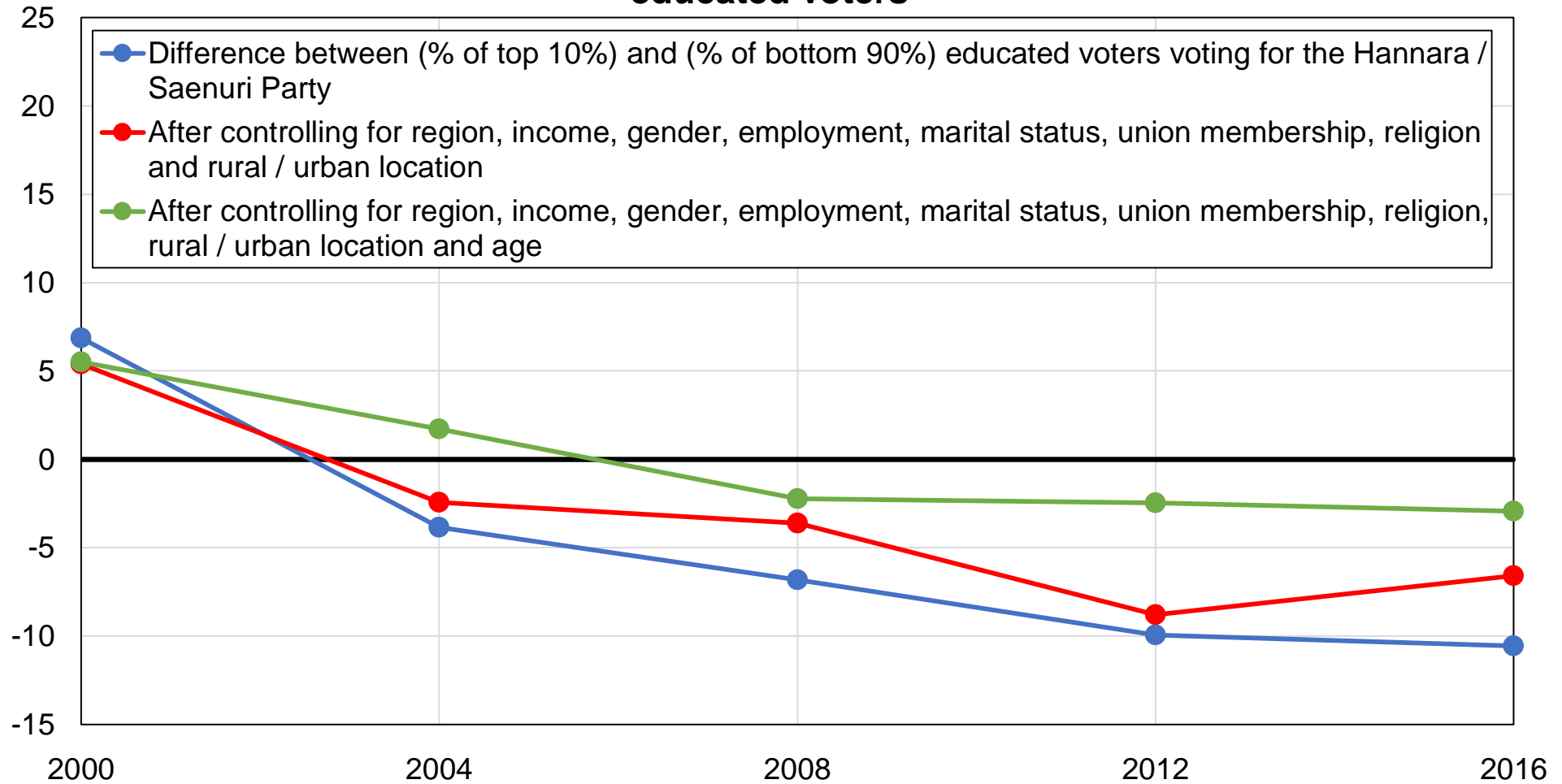


**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 60+ and the share of voters younger than 60 voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.



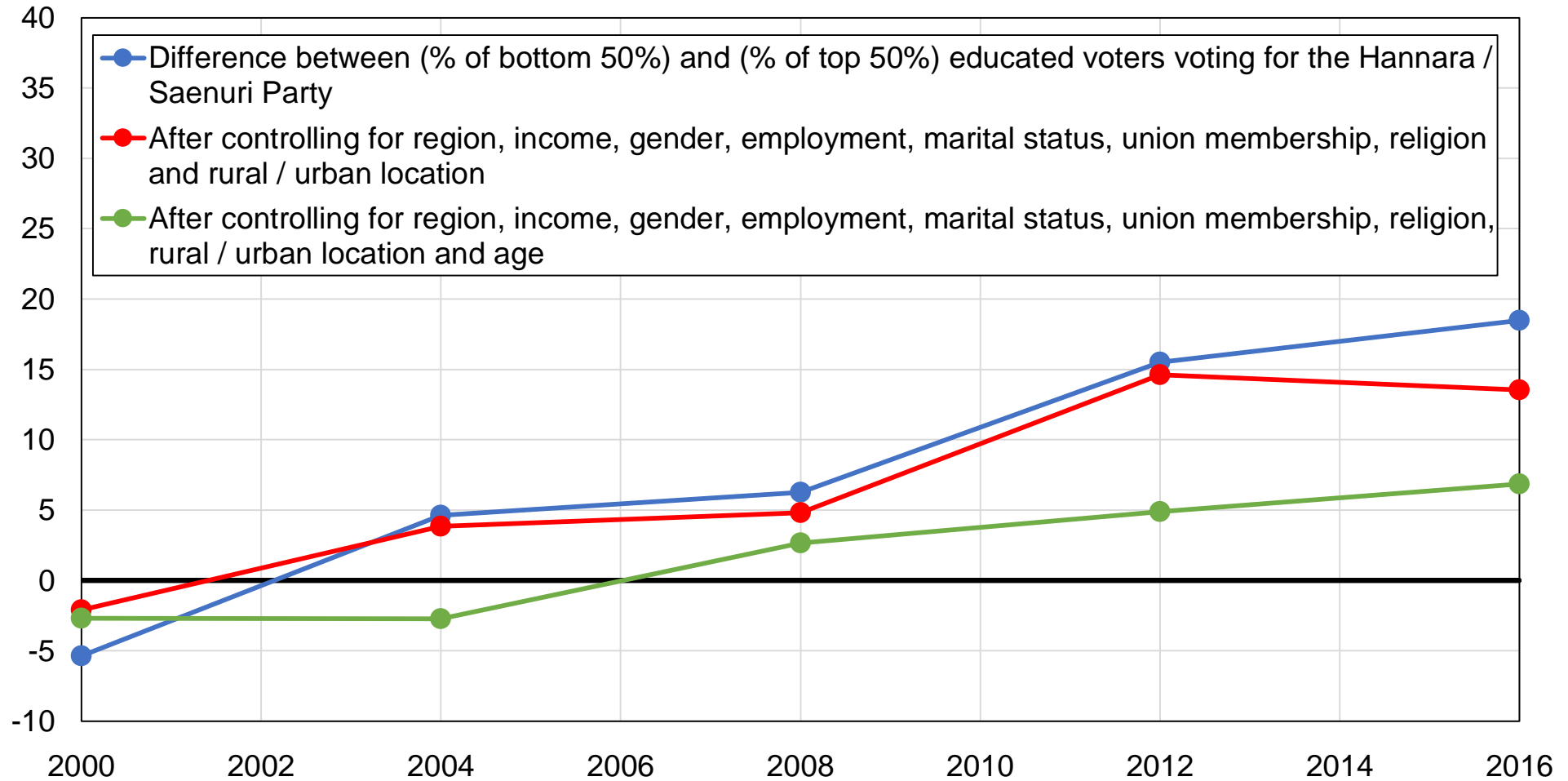
**Figure A39 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among highest-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

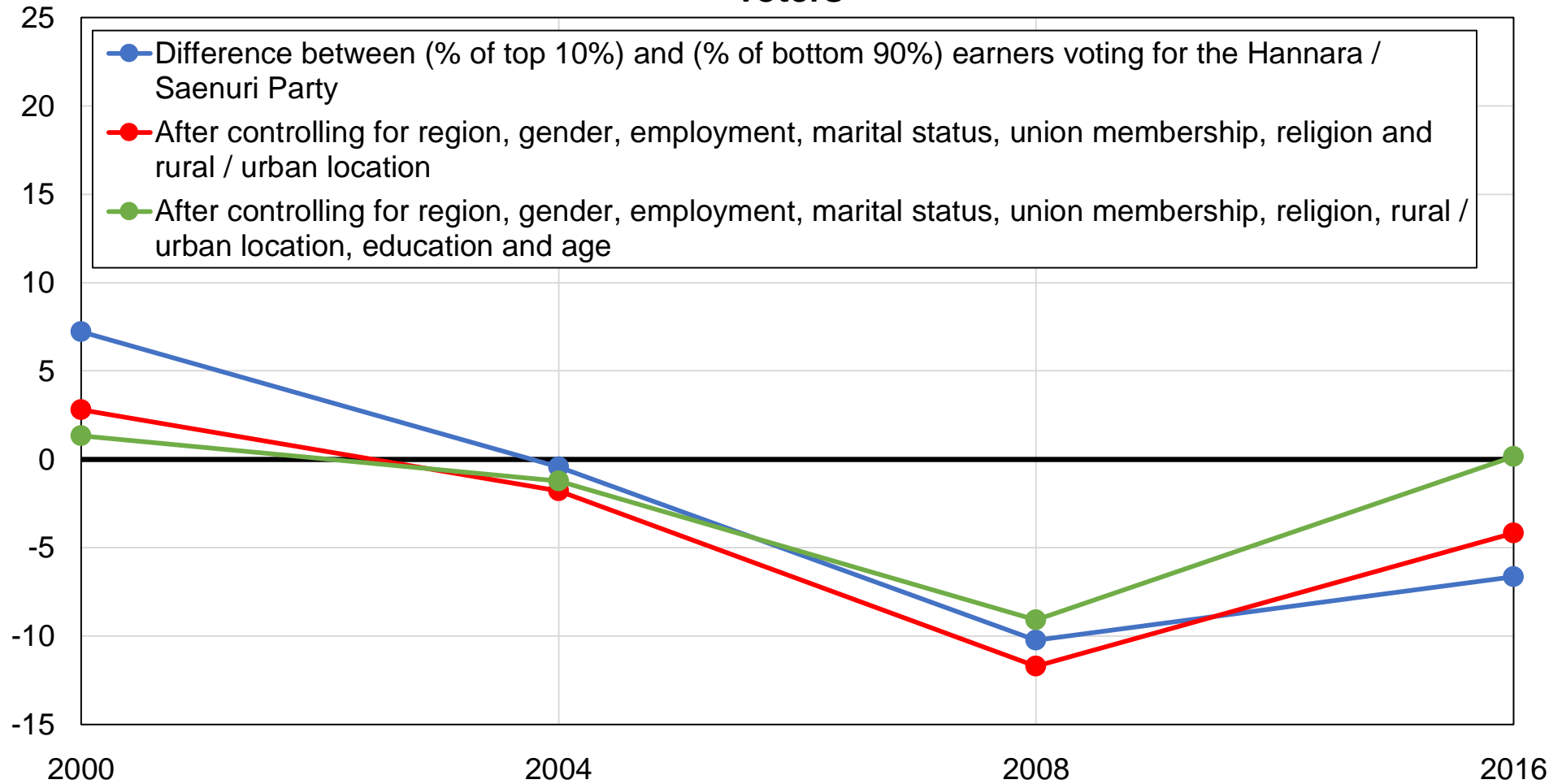
**Figure A40 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among low-educated voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of lower-educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

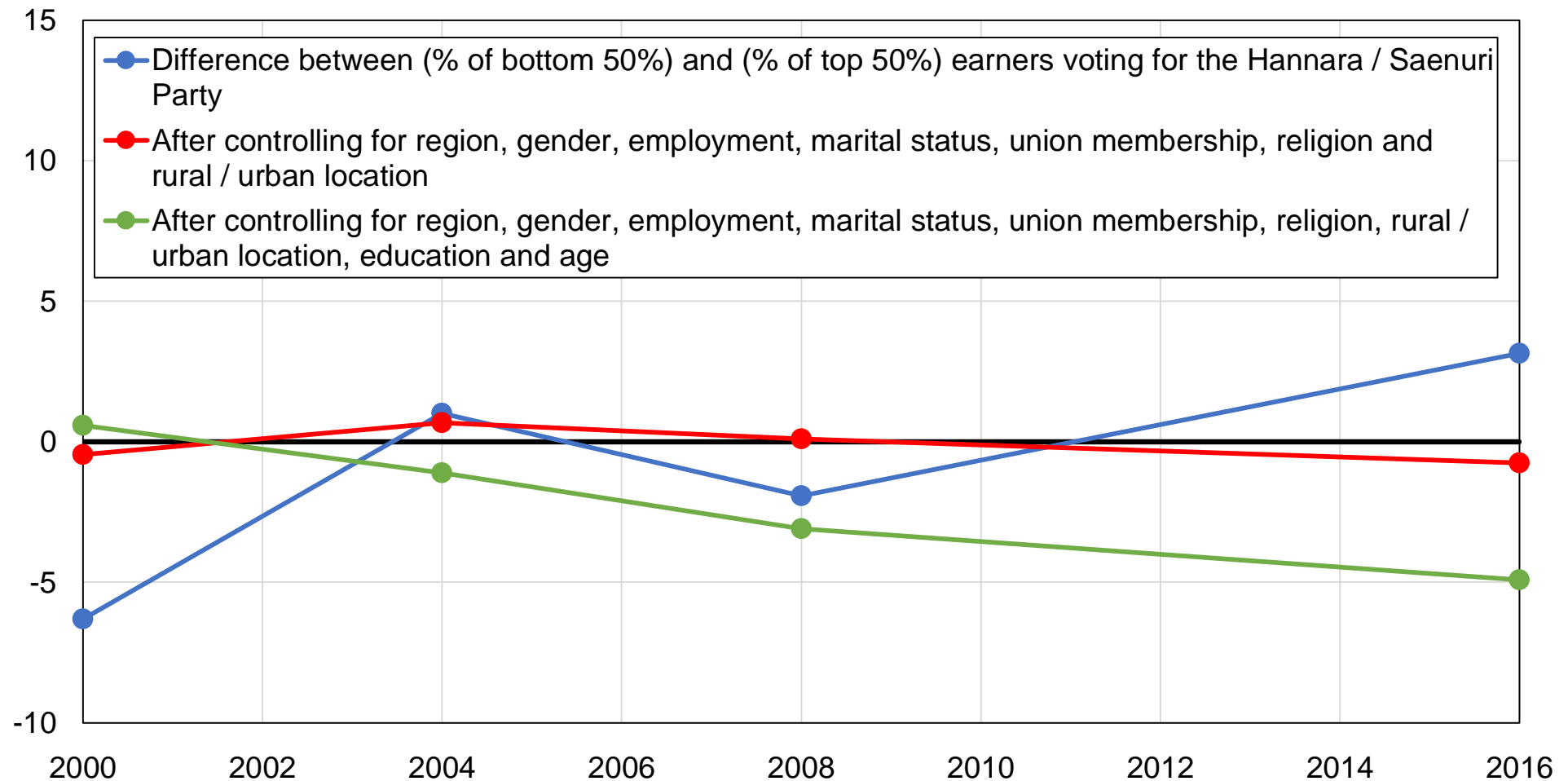
**Figure A41 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among top-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% income voters and the share of bottom 90% income earners voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

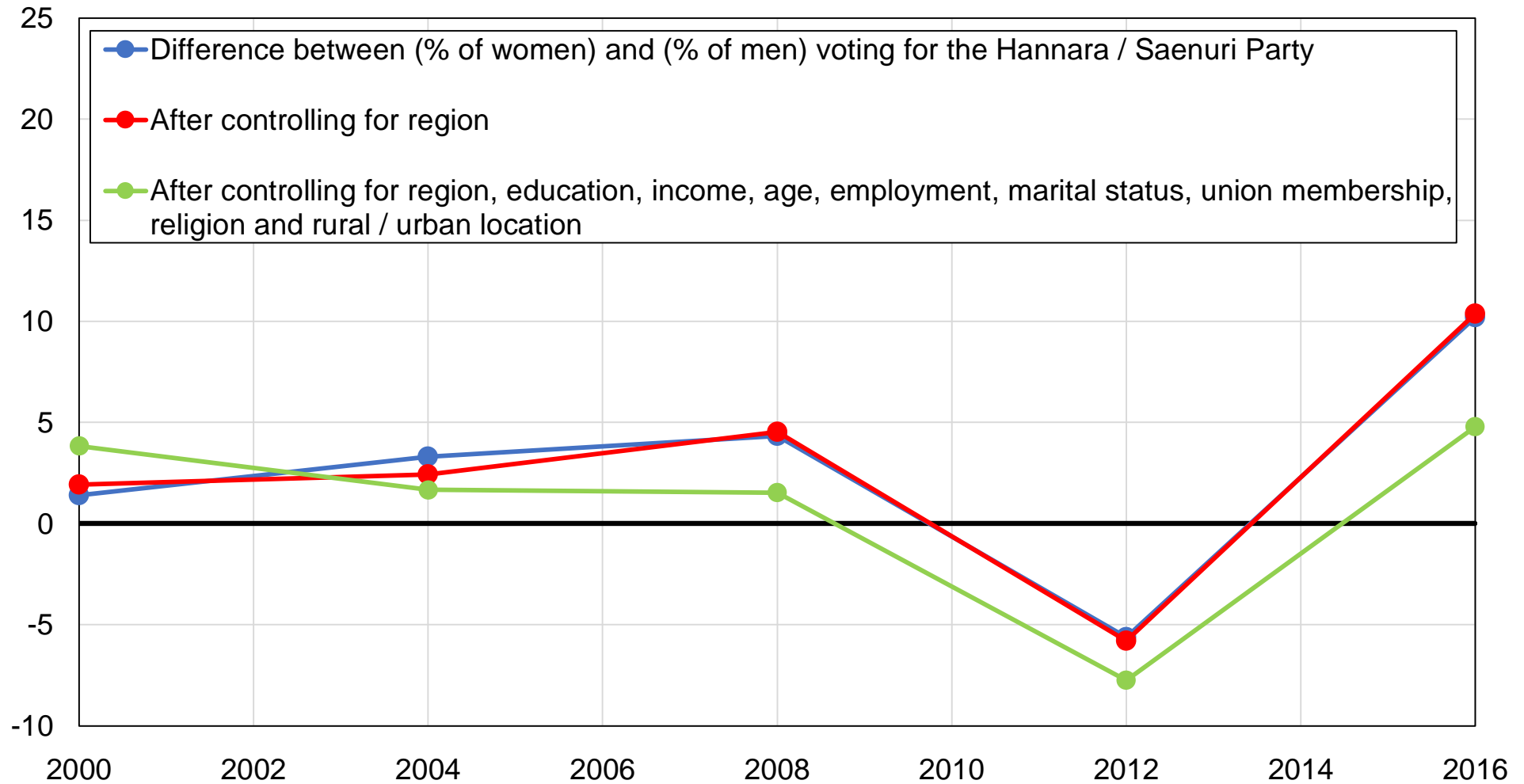
**Figure A42 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among low-income voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% income earners and the share of top 50% income earners voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

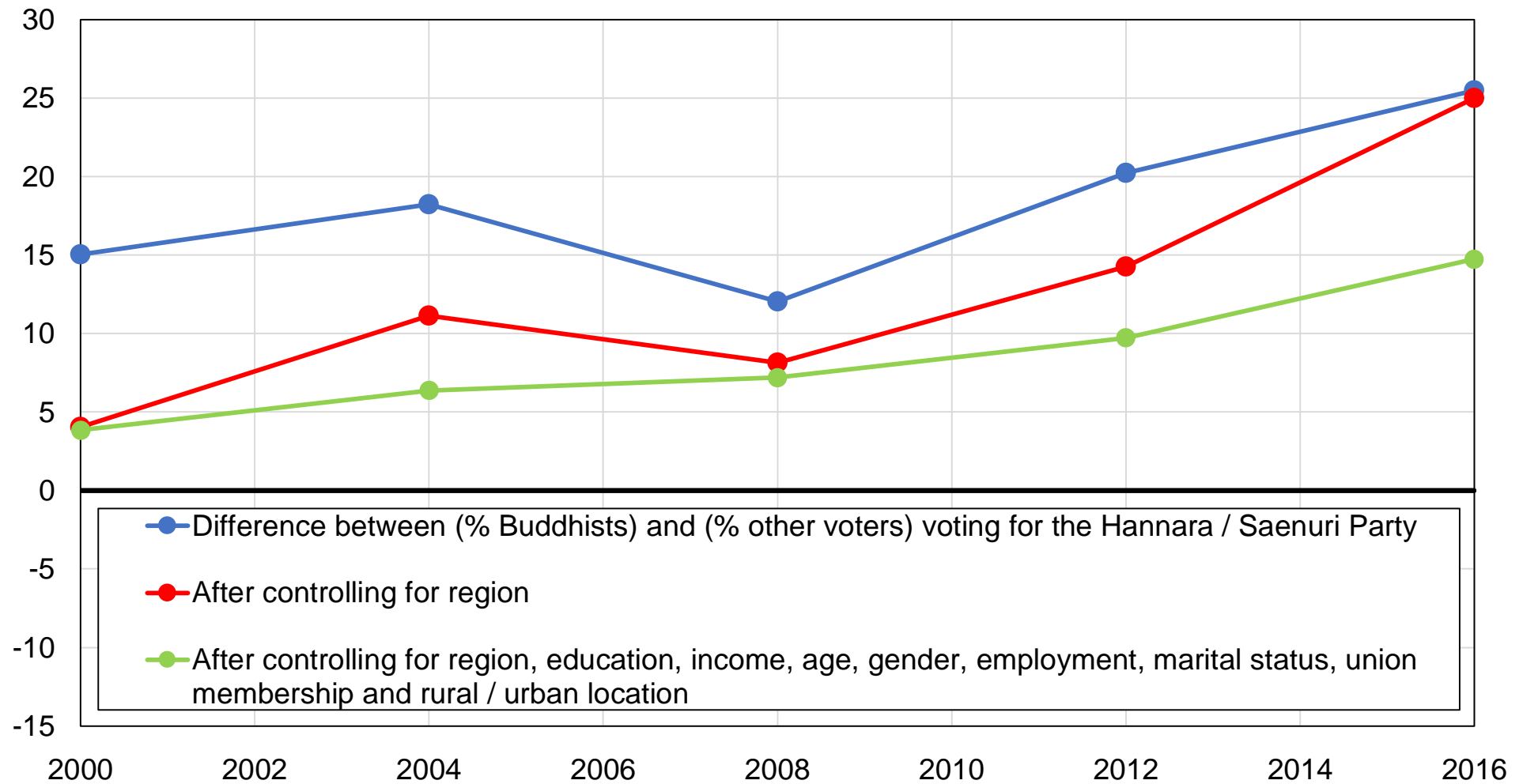
**Figure A43 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among women**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

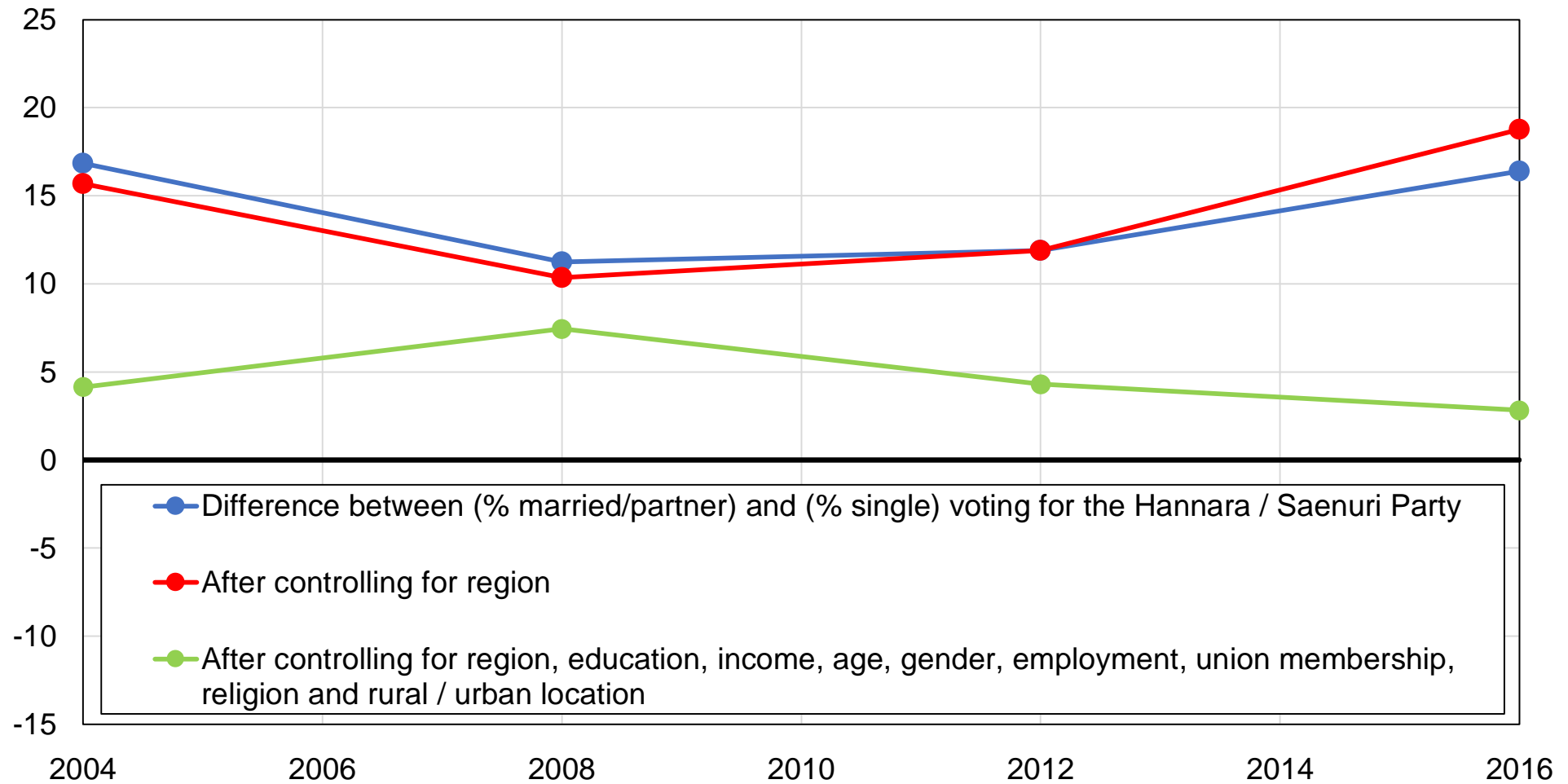
**Figure A44 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among Buddhists**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of Buddhists and the share of other voters voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

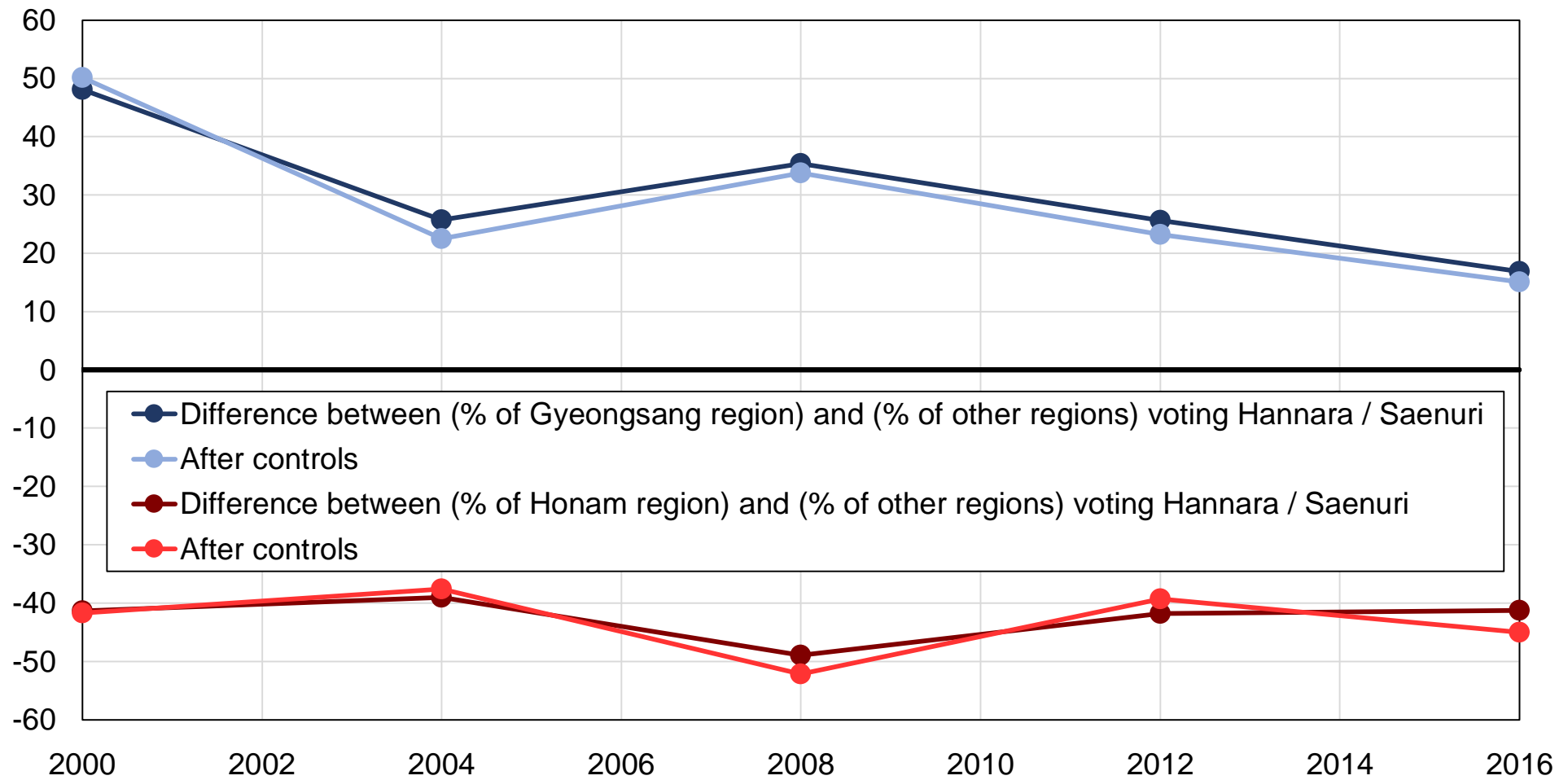
**Figure A45 - Vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party among non-single voters**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, before and after controlling for other variables.

**Figure A46 - The regional cleavage in South Korea**



**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the figure shows the difference between the share of residents of Honam (south-west) and the share of residents of other regions voting for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, and the same difference for the Gyeongsang region (south-east), before and after controlling for education, income, age, gender, employment, marital status, union membership, religion, and rural / urban location.



**Table A1 - Survey data sources**

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1998	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	691
2000	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1124
2004	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	625
2012	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	743
2016	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	720

**Source:** authors' elaboration.

**Note:** the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. CSES: Comparative Study of Electoral System.

**Table A2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year**

	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016
Education: Primary	26%	17%	18%	12%	6%
Education: Secondary	51%	51%	49%	43%	44%
Education: Tertiary	23%	32%	33%	45%	50%
Age: 20-40	52%	47%	44%	40%	35%
Age: 40-60	35%	45%	41%	43%	44%
Age: 60+	13%	8%	15%	17%	21%
Gender: Man	49%	49%	49%	49%	50%
Employment status: Employed	60%	57%	54%	61%	68%
Employment status: Unemployed	8%	7%	3%	5%	1%
Employment status: Inactive	32%	36%	43%	35%	31%
Marital status: Married / With partner		66%	63%	60%	76%
Religion: None	37%	39%	39%	36%	54%
Religion: Buddhist	30%	30%	27%	28%	19%
Religion: Protestant	27%	18%	21%	24%	20%
Religion: Catholic	6%	12%	11%	9%	6%
Religion: Other	0%	1%	1%	3%	1%
Church attendance: Never		56%	47%	45%	
Church attendance: Less than monthly		26%	21%	29%	
Church attendance: Monthly or more		19%	32%	26%	
Union membership: Yes	2%	4%	6%	5%	
Rural / urban: Rural areas	21%	10%	13%	17%	11%
Region: Chungcheong-Daejon	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%
Region: Gangwon	3%	3%	4%	4%	5%
Region: Gyeonggi-Incheon-Seoul	46%	47%	50%	50%	50%
Region: Gyeongsang-Daegu-Busan-Ulsan	28%	28%	25%	26%	26%
Region: Jeolla-Gwangju	12%	12%	10%	10%	10%

**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables.

**Table A3 - Determinants of the vote for the Hannara / Saenuri Party, 2000-2016**

	(1) 2000	(2) 2004	(3) 2008	(4) 2016	(5) 2000-2016
Region: Chungcheong	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Region: Gangwon	0.162*** (0.049)	0.179*** (0.057)	-0.014 (0.069)	-0.058 (0.080)	0.081** (0.033)
Region: Gyeongsang	0.674*** (0.031)	0.317*** (0.032)	0.351*** (0.045)	0.118** (0.050)	0.382*** (0.020)
Region: Honam	-0.048*** (0.018)	-0.158*** (0.031)	-0.329*** (0.039)	-0.399*** (0.046)	-0.208*** (0.017)
Region: Seoul-Gyeonggi	0.361*** (0.030)	0.187*** (0.030)	0.131*** (0.042)	0.041 (0.046)	0.202*** (0.018)
Education: Primary	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Education: Secondary	-0.003 (0.034)	0.049* (0.027)	-0.039 (0.032)	-0.142*** (0.055)	-0.002 (0.017)
Education: Tertiary	0.071 (0.043)	0.062** (0.031)	-0.081** (0.037)	-0.204*** (0.059)	-0.037** (0.019)
Income group: Bottom 50%	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Income group: Middle 40%	-0.009 (0.022)	0.010 (0.019)	0.049** (0.023)	0.055** (0.026)	0.024** (0.011)
Income group: Top 10%	0.009 (0.055)	-0.009 (0.035)	-0.055 (0.058)	0.032 (0.047)	-0.004 (0.025)
Employment status: Employed	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Employment status: Unemployed	-0.035 (0.035)	-0.036 (0.049)	-0.050 (0.091)	0.004 (0.171)	-0.073*** (0.028)
Employment status: Inactive	-0.005 (0.029)	-0.003 (0.022)	0.098*** (0.029)	0.034 (0.030)	0.031** (0.014)

Religion: None	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Religion: Buddhist	0.009 (0.027)	0.096*** (0.024)	0.091*** (0.029)	0.142*** (0.034)	0.102*** (0.014)
Religion: Protestant	-0.072** (0.029)	0.040 (0.025)	0.033 (0.033)	-0.034 (0.031)	0.007 (0.015)
Religion: Catholic	-0.015 (0.045)	0.043 (0.030)	-0.010 (0.039)	0.097* (0.052)	0.031 (0.020)
Religion: Other		0.064 (0.092)	-0.057 (0.123)	-0.208*** (0.072)	-0.068 (0.058)
Location: Rural	-0.059* (0.035)	-0.073** (0.032)	-0.005 (0.030)	0.032 (0.040)	-0.018 (0.015)
Age: 20-40	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)	(baseline) (.)
Age: 40-60	-0.002 (0.027)	0.186*** (0.025)	0.017 (0.035)	0.140*** (0.035)	0.081*** (0.015)
Age: 60+	0.040 (0.039)	0.384*** (0.039)	0.002 (0.046)	0.273*** (0.044)	0.184*** (0.020)
Gender: Man	-0.039 (0.025)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.025)	-0.053** (0.027)	-0.016 (0.012)
Marital status: Married / Partner		0.046** (0.023)	0.081** (0.032)	0.035 (0.037)	0.036*** (0.013)
Union membership: Yes	0.128** (0.051)	-0.042 (0.042)	-0.153*** (0.041)		-0.038 (0.026)
Constant	0.084* (0.044)	-0.079* (0.045)	0.244*** (0.056)	0.335*** (0.071)	0.096*** (0.025)
R-squared	0.28	0.20	0.22	0.21	0.18

\* p<0.10, \*\* p<0.05, \*\*\* p<0.01

**Source:** authors' computations using South Korean political attitudes surveys.

**Note:** the table shows the results of a multivariate regression assessing the determinants of support for the Hannara / Saenuri Party by year, and over the entire period studied. 2012 is excluded since the income variable was not available.