The Effectiveness of Mitigating Covid-19 and Its Effect on General Election Results: A Case Study of the Effect of the Application of the Four-Pronged Strategy and the Civic Duty of the South Korean Society on the Victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Election

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Abstract
The Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted elections in various countries, decreased voter participation, and increased the potential for virus transmission that threatens public health—one of the countries holding elections during the Covid-19 pandemic in South Korea. In contrast to most other election organizing countries during the pandemic, the South Korean Legislative Election in 2020 became a legislative election with the highest turnout of voters reaching 66.2 percent. The election was won by the Democratic People's Party of Korea as the party that carries President Moon Jae-in. This study discusses the effect of the four-pronged strategy used by President Moon Jae-in in tackling Covid-19 on the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea. This study will also discuss the high civic duty of the South Korean community, which affects the high turnout of voters, regardless of elections held during a crisis. This study finds that despite the poor assessment of economic policies, foreign relations, and political scandals in the administration of President Moon Jae-in, crises are considered to have higher urgency and become the main indicator of a society in conducting retrospective assessments. This is supported by the public's views, who view the Covid-19 pandemic as a national crisis, and participating in elections is considered a form of nation-saving duty. The high voter turnout and the effectiveness of the four-pronged strategy affected the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections.

Keywords: election, South Korea Government, Covid-19, four-pronged strategy, civic duty

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INTRODUCTION
Covid-19 pandemic has impacted political aspects, including disrupting the election process in several countries. The government encountered various problems with the election management body, especially adapting to hold elections with maximum health protection. The government's response to the pandemic will affect the general election results (Maizland, 2020). Sixty countries have decided to postpone the election, but few have chosen to hold the general election during the pandemic. At least 28 countries, including Mali, France, the United States, and South Korea, choose to hold an election in March-May 2020 (Landman, Todd & Di Gennaro, 2020). However, new problems were encountered in the preparation period until after the election.

The holding of elections amid a pandemic requires various adaptations and the readiness of the EMB (Electoral Management Body) as an election organizing body. EMBs must have competent risk management to understand the situation and the appropriate steps in responding to the disruption. Specifically, EMB requires electoral risk management as a systematic effort to increase knowledge about the potential for disruption in elections and situational awareness of the risks that can hinder the electoral process. In a democratic country, the government used risk management to measure the extent to which the government can carry mitigation (IDEA Team, 2016, p. 10). Countries with EMBs that can accommodate the needs of voters with safe facilities
will get high turnout voters regardless of the election were held during a crisis (International IDEA, 2020).

Despite a significant increase in the number of positive cases, one of the countries that held elections with a high turnout of voters was the United States, even though it held during the Covid-19 pandemic. After experiencing an increase in the number of positive cases in the primary election in Wisconsin, the United States provides various options for voters in using their votes in the 2020 United States Presidential Election. The methods include absentee voting in the form of mail voting and direct voting at polling stations. The mail-voting process contributed 65,487,353 votes (41.5 percent) and became the highest gain in the last 3 (three) elections (Sullivan, 2020, p. 13).

Other things happen at the legislative elections in South Korea in 2020. South Korea became one of the countries that managed to organize elections in a pandemic, even not forming new clusters and reducing the number of positive cases of post-election COVID 19th. On April 15, 2020, South Korea held a general election to select legislative candidates who would occupy seats in the South Korean parliament. Despite being amid a pandemic, the voter turnout in this election reached 66.21 percent and became the highest achievement in the legislative elections for the past 28 years (Landman & Di Gennaro, 2020).

The National Election Commission (NEC), as the EMB in South Korea, also seeks other methods in the election, such as mail-voting. However, this method is only for vulnerable groups exposed to Covid-19—the high voter turnout achieved through direct voting at the polling station. With the help of the National Election Commission (NEC) and the Korean Disease Control and Prevention Agency (KDCA), the South Korean government is working together to prepare various mechanisms for holding elections amid a pandemic. KDCA can issue a Code of Conduct for Voters to guarantee health protection for South Korean citizens. (Spinelli, 2020, p. 3).

At the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, South Korea became a country outside China with the highest cases of Covid-19, reaching 909 cases in February 2020 (The Government of the Republic of Korea, 2020). However, within 90 days, positive cases of Covid-19 in South Korea dropped significantly to the point of being able to flatten the curve without restricting people’s freedom and movement in the form of regional quarantine (The Government of the Republic of

1 There was an increase of 20 million votes using the mail-voting method compared to the 2016 United States Presidential Election. This method applies to everyone in the state that applies the mail-voting method without exception. The Covid-19 pandemic has increased the percentage of voter choices using the mail voting method to 55 percent (Persily, Nathaniel & Charles Stewart III, 2021).
Korea, 2020). In addition to being trained in dealing with pandemic issues, South Korea has a relatively straightforward legal framework and political system so that various changes, including holding elections amid a pandemic, can be more easily carried out. To achieve this, the government, together with NEC and KDCA, made various efforts, such as (1) implementing a four-pronged strategy; (2) holding early voting; (3) hold home voting; (4) ensure maximum health protocols during elections; (5) build good communication with the public; (6) minimize the use of the Out-Of-Country Voting (OCV) method; and (7) maximize the strong civic duty that owned by the people of South Korea (Spinelli, 2020, p. 2-7).

The maximize effort of public health protection during the Covid-19 pandemic could happen because of the cooperation built by the South Korean Government to conduct elections during a pandemic. However, an interesting factor can be seen in South Korea’s high civic duty that affects elections result. Civic duty is often associated with an individual’s intention to exercise voting rights in elections (Almond, 1963; Dalton, 2008). The people of South Korea’s also believed that not using votes in elections is wrong because elections are considered an obligation and appreciation of democratic values. The presence of such large-scale legislative elections has made voters in South Korea show a solid determination to carry out their civil duties as citizens to vote, even though they must risk their health to keep voting during a pandemic (Spinelli, 2020, p. 5).

The success of handling Covid-19 in South Korea also impacted the results of the 2020 legislative elections. In this election, the Democratic People’s Party of Korea, as the party carrying President Moon Jae-in, won 180 out of 300 seats in the South Korean parliament (Tong-hyung, 2020, p. 2). The approval rating from President Moon Jae-in also increased by 70 percent, after previously being at 30-40 percent. It affects the successful implementation of the four-pronged strategy carried out by the South Korean government in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic (Joseph, Yi & Lee Wondong, 2020).

In addition to these success factors, the solid civic duty of the South Korean people also plays an essential role in increasing the number of people's participation in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections. The paradox is that the people tend to stay away from the ballot box during a pandemic, but this encourages the South Korean people to use voting rights as a symbolic form of resistance in the Covid-19 pandemic. Supported by good health insurance, South Korea’s people did not have to choose between exercising their voting rights or protecting everyone’s health. This crisis encourages a sense of national unity in the community, regardless of the political affiliation of each voter.

Previously, the impeachment of President Park Geun-Hye in 2017 triggered the concept of nation-saving duty (Se-Hwan, 2020). At that time, the people of South Korea chose to use their voting rights in elections, so Park Geun-Hye will not be able to win the election. This phenomenon is called by South Korean society a form of nation-saving duty, formed because of the high civic duty and Confucian culture rooted in community. As one of the candidates, Moon Jae-in took a new approach in South Korean politics. The progressive policies dan new approach of the political campaign were able to increase President Moon Jae-in's approval rating to 84 percent. This approach also affects the candidacy of parties affiliated with him so that they were able to win Moon Jae-in as President of South Korea for the 2017-2022 period. The achievement of the voter turnout in the 2017 South Korean Presidential Election reached 77.23 percent (Election Guide, 2020).

This study discusses the effectiveness of implementing the four-pronged strategy carried out by the government of President Moon Jae-in, affecting the won of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Election. Moreover, this study will highlight how civic duty in South Korean society can affect the high number of voters in elections held during the pandemic. Apart from the success factor in handling Covid-19, civic duty and the
influence of Confucian culture also played a role in shaping neo-Confucianism politics in South Korea, which directly affected the interaction pattern between the community and the government, as well as civil society groups formed in South Korea. Factors such as high civic duty, Confucianism, and the success of dealing with the pandemic in South Korea impact the victory of the incumbent party in the legislative election, with the highest turnout in 28 years.

This study uses an eclectic theoretical approach (theoretical eclecticism), considering that this research orientation is to see the problem with more than one theory. The following section in this paper will discuss the theories used, namely civic duty theory, the concept of Confucianism, and retrospective voting theory. Furthermore, the results of this study will discuss the high civic duty in society, the contentious relationship between the community and the government, that influence by neo-Confucianism politics, and the four-pronged strategy policy, which is the primary basis for community assessment in retrospective voting. In the discussion section, we will discuss how effective the four-pronged strategy is in tackling the Covid-19 pandemic in South Korea and the high level of civic duty in society, thus considering the use of votes in this election as a form of nation-saving duty. These various factors significantly affected President Moon Jae-in's popularity and the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections held during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Civic Duty

The standard of ‘good citizenship’ used the concept of civic duty, which affects a person's intention to vote in elections (Almond, Gabriel & Sidney Verba 1963; Dalton, 2008). However, it has a broad scope, the scope of the discussion on civic duty seen in the form of voting rights in general elections. However, to explain the role of civic duty in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections, this study uses the civic duty theory proposed by Blais and Achen (2018).

Two elements influence this thinking, namely (1) voting is considered an obligation during elections; (2) Belief in the importance of democracy and respect for values related to the right to vote. The commitment for the people to cast a ballot in decisions is not viewed as a type of lawful commitment since residents know that this is a type of honest conviction. It can form civic duty is a driving factor in the decision to vote and influences the turnout of voters in the election. This theory was further developed by André Blais together with Christopher A. Achen in 2018. Previously, Blais stated civic duty as an understanding of voting rights in elections because otherwise, it is considered wrong (wrongful behavior).

Three main factors that motivate a person to exercise their right to vote, the three factors are (1) there is an intention to influence the outcome of the general election, (2) a means to express political views, and (3) a sense of responsibility for the vote (ethically correct). Birch (2009) also states that the most significant reason a person will to vote in an election is influenced by social construction, which states that voting is a patriotic movement that reflects the desire of citizens to participate in a democratic state and contribute to being part of a good society.

The civic duty also influences voters’ preferences in elections. The high civic duty can increase cognitive abilities, individual accountability to make the right decisions, and activate a person's ability to obtain information more openly (open-minded information research) (Kam, 2007). Mullinix (2018) also explains that an individual's strong sense of civic duty makes him more objective in receiving information and assessing a policy, leaving aside political preferences and partisan status in the assessment. High civic duty can reduce partisan tendencies to follow party decisions and seek information related to a policy with a more diverse perspective (Pietryka, 2016).

Civic duty in this study can summarize the factors that influence the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections. However,
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Confucianism

The South Korean community's involvement in the political sphere has been influenced by Confucianism, which has roots in East Asian countries. Confucianism is a set of beliefs and values organized and embedded in essential aspects, such as family, morality, social ethics the public. Confucianism is a constellation of moral discourses, social practices, and ethical aspirations in East Asian society, which impacts social, educational, religious, recreational, economic aspects that include the public and private spheres (Will Kymlicka, 1995, p. 76). The ideas in the Confucian tradition do not directly impact but can significantly adapt to the evolving environmental context (Chang & Kalmanson, 2010).

Confucianism also influenced the formation of neo-Confucianism politics which affected the relationship between the government and society. Neo-Confucianism politics, characterized by (1) the aim of the state is the welfare of the people; (2) If the state fails to fulfill this, both economically and morally, then there must be someone who struggles to improve the state's condition; (3) Civil society is formed from intellectuals who ensure the state remains on the right track (benevolent government); and (4) movement agents are people who want to fight for something in the name of public goods and take personal interests into account and come from outside the government. This form of interaction will facilitate evaluation related to civic activism and social practices in South Korea.

Retrospective Voting

The fundamental basis of the retrospective voting theory is the tendency of voters to make choices in elections, which are determined by personal perceptions of seeing incumbent candidates based on the results of performance carried out in one period of government. Fiorina (1981) attempts to explain retrospective voting theory by associating it with two previous studies. The first study was conducted by Key (1925), who positioned voters as parties with a result-oriented mindset so that the scope of the assessment carried out led to the form of reward (reward) and punishment (punishment). Reward and punishment can be seen through choices in elections, especially for the incumbent government or the majority party in parliament. Meanwhile, a study conducted by Downs (1957) positions voters as subjects who will side with policies that provide comfort and provide clear impacts and prospects in the future.

Two approaches taken by Fiorina (1981) lead to the formation of a retrospective evaluation as a concrete form of voter choice in elections. Retrospective evaluations articulate election results based on prospective evaluations conducted by voters on incumbent candidates or parties affiliated with that candidate. Retrospective voting only applies to incumbent candidates
because an assessment of the impact of a policy will be easier to do if an individual already has a track record of performance results. Retrospective voting also impacts the increasing expectations of candidates from the same party as the leader in the previous period. The evaluation process that occurs in the retrospective evaluation will provide information to voters, especially information about the track record of incumbent candidates. However, this evaluation process often makes voters only focus on the government's track record and pays little attention to the policy description and performance that incumbent candidates will carry out in the coming period. The main focus is on policy aspects, especially economic aspects policy.

Retrospective voting can happen because the incumbent government is considered responsible for the economic conditions in a country. In addition to the majority party in parliament, the president often receives an assessment because the president is considered responsible for every policy product that impacts society. Retrospective voting can be used as a theoretical basis to explain the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea as the incumbent party in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections. This theory focuses on people's assessments based on the incumbent's performance, especially those centered on the president. In this case, the South Korean people focus on the response and effectiveness of the policies issued by President Moon Jae-in and the Democratic People's Party of Korea in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic in the country. This theory can also explain the background behind the tendency of South Korean people's political choices to win the Democratic People's Party of Korea, as the party carrying President Moon Jae-in in this election. The assessment was carried out based on public satisfaction with the performance of President Moon Jae-in's government in dealing with the first and second waves of Covid-19 in South Korea. Although the assessment focuses on the president's performance, retrospective evaluation can also articulate predictions of election results based on voter evaluations of parties affiliated with the president. So, it can be a theoretical basis for explaining the victory of the incumbent party in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this study is qualitative. Qualitative research is a model discovery process within a research landscape that allows researchers to develop theories based on the studied social phenomena (Creswell, 1994; pp. 83-84). Qualitative methods are selected to describe, explain, and interpret a phenomenon based on a theory that can adapt to the phenomena in the research landscape. This study will analyze the effect of implementing the four-pronged strategy of the government of President Moon Jae-in in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic in South Korea and the high civic duty of the people of South Korea results in the 2020 South Korean Legislative General Election.

In this study, the data collection technique used by the researcher is a literature study technique. Literature studies help to seek the sources of reading material in books, journals, web pages, and online databases relevant to the research. Data collection with this technique is carried to strengthen the theoretical basis, collect data, and analyze data. South Korea's electoral politics is the primary landscape in this research, so the literature study method analyzes secondary data obtained through reading sources.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
The ability of President Moon Jae-in's government and KDCA to have good crisis management in the form of a four-pronged strategy in tackling the Covid-19 pandemic. Even though he made a blunder at the beginning of his tenure, this strategy increased public confidence in the government of President Moon Jae-in. It shows a decrease in the swing voter rate from 31.5 percent to 18 percent and an increase in the approval rating to reach 73 percent before election time (10-13 April 2021). The Democratic People's Party of Korea experienced a rise in popularity in line with the rise in popularity of President Moon Jae-in. The absence of alternative policies offered by the opposition parties also affects the rise of the incumbent popularity. The opposition party only focuses on the economic stagnation due to President Moon Jae-in's economic policies, which are no more important than public health protection and economic stagnation due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

The people of South Korea has a contentious relationship with the government and opposition parties because it is influenced by neo-Confucianism politics which forms a confrontational relationship between the community and the government. The impeachment of President Park Geun-hye and criticism of President Moon Jae-in's government policies at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic show that the public has a significant influence in determining collective decisions in politics in South Korea. President Moon Jae-in experienced a drastic decline in his approval rating due to a blunder at the beginning of the pandemic response, which affected his impeachment petition as president.

The Covid-19 pandemic is considered a national crisis, thus making the use of votes in elections a form of nation-saving duty that needs to be done collectively. The 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections were held during a pandemic, making a vote in this election not a legal obligation for the people. As stated by Blais and Achen, civic duty is the main driving force for people to vote because they see it as the right thing to do (ethically correct). A survey stated that 81.6 percent of South Koreans admitted to paying attention to the entire series of elections, and 79 percent confirmed that they would vote in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections (Bok-byo, Jeong & Kim Jung-ju, 2021). Voter participation in this election aims to influence outcomes as a form of political expression and collective responsibility influenced by health insurance provided through the four-pronged strategy and NEC's adaptation strategy in holding elections during the Covid-19 pandemic. Although it is undeniable, regional voting is still visible in some areas, such as Gyeongsangbuk-do and Jeollanam-do. However, this is not a determining factor. Regional voting is a reason for voters to vote outside the civic duty factor.

The retrospective assessment had influenced the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea. South Korea's condition, economic conditions, and foreign policy are the leading indicators of the assessment. However, qualitative retrospective evaluation can make other factors of higher urgency the primary basis for assessment. Economic depression and public health are considered more important than the three main issues that affect the popularity of the Democratic People's Party of Korea, namely (1) stagnation of economic growth; (2) The stagnation of reunification with North Korea, and (3) the political scandal involving the former Minister of Justice, Cho Kuk.

Dawns also stated that voters would tend to choose a leader who offers better prospects. This can be seen from the popularity of the Democratic People's Party compared to the opposition party. Voters will also vote as a reward for evaluating the incumbent's performance, namely President Moon Jae-in and the Democratic people's Party of Korea. Based on the retrospective evaluation, the government's performance in tackling the pandemic became the primary basis for community assessment. The use of an effective four-pronged strategy makes people give rewards through the ballots given and can win the Democratic People's Party of Korea.
Discussion

Nation saving-duty is not a new thing in South Korean society. In the 2017 South Korean Presidential Election, nation saving-duty first appeared and impacted the high turnout rate of voters up to 77.2 percent (Election Guide, 2020). Candlelight Vigil Revolution, 2016-2017, triggered nation saving-duty, which suppressed President Park Geun-hye and replaced President Moon Jae-in through the election mechanism. Unlike the elections in previous years, in the 2017 South Korean Presidential Election, the millennial generation (a group with a birth span of 1980-1996) and generation Z (a group with a birth period of 1997-2010) have dominated the votes in the elections. As a result, there was a spike in public political participation. The South Korean people realized that a participatory climate was the right thing to do and became an expression of 'New Politics' in South Korea (Delury, n.d., p. 54).

President Moon Jae-in took a new approach by prioritizing an open, transparent government, upholding reform, and justice, realized in the Blue House Petition channel. President Moon Jae-in also has a series of progressive policies, such as (1) an increase in the minimum wage to 10.9 percent (2019); (2) Limiting working hours for all companies to 52 hours/week and opening opportunities for reunification with intensive meetings with North Korea (Joseph, Yi & Lee Won-dong, 2020). These three policies were able to increase President Moon Jae-in's approval rating to 84 percent. The high number of approval ratings did not last long because, in 2019, the performance of President Moon Jae-in's government decreased due to (1) stagnation of economic growth; (2) The lack of progress on reunification with North Korea, and (3) the political scandal involving the former Minister of Justice during his reign, Cho Kuk. These three issues decreased President Moon Jae-in's approval rating to 42.5 percent (Joseph, Yi & Lee Won-dong, 2020). These three issues predict to be the main issues in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections, which also influence the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea as the party that carries President Moon Jae-in.

After the lousy performance of the Moon Jae-in Government in 2019, South Korea also faced the Covid-19 pandemic that worsens Moon Jae-in popularity. The government of President Moon Jae-in had made a blunder in the first wave of the spread of Covid-19 by not closing access to foreign nationals, especially those from China. The government of President Moon Jae-in also assisted 3 (three) million masks to China when South Korea was experiencing a surge in mask prices due to the pandemic. It affects the emergence of a petition to impeach President Moon Jae-in with support reaching 730,000 votes and a decline in Korea's Democratic People's Party (Choon, 2020).

President Moon Jae-in is trying to fix this by working with KDCA (Korea's Infectious Disease Control and Prevention Agency) to tackle the Covid-19 pandemic. President Moon Jae-in directly appointed Jeong Eun-kyeong as Director of the Korea Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (KCDC) to handle the Covid-19 pandemic in South Korea. Previously, Jeong Eun-kyeong had experience dealing with outbreaks in South Korea, such as handling the H1N1 outbreak in 2009 and the MERS outbreak in 2015 (Sohee & Heesu, 2020). Jeong Eun-kyeong, 2 Candlelight Vigil Revolution 2002 is based on killing two 14-year-old teenagers by a United States military vehicle in Yangju, Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. The legal right of the 'Status of Forces Agreement' means that the South Korean government does not have jurisdiction to try the case. The United States court's ruling found the two soldiers not guilty of negligence that led to the murder and angered the South Korean public (Myeong, 2012). Candlelight Vigil Revolution in 2004 occurred because of the corruption scandal that befell President Roh Mo-hyun's brother and President Roh Mo-hyun's open support for the Uri party. President Roh Mo-hyun refused to apologize in public and was deemed unable to maintain his political neutrality, which resulted in his impeachment in 2004 (Leu, 2004). Last, the Candlelight Vigil Revolution in 2008 occurred as a form of public protest the implementation of importing cattle from the United States during the mad cow epidemic that has been spreading since 2003. The public judged that the government had lowered drug and food safety standards in South Korea (Do-hyun, 2010).
together with Kwon Jun-woo (Vice Director of the Korea Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (KCDC), acted as spokespersons and at the same time headed all efforts to deal with Covid-19 in South Korea. The election of Jeong Eun-kyeong as the director received a positive response from society.

Previously, South Korea had a lousy experience tackling MERS in 2015, resulting in the collapse of health services in South Korea. The South Korean government amended South Korea’s Infectious Disease Control and Prevention Act, which gives the government the right to enforce a series of policies during a crisis, including using people's data. In tackling the Covid-19 pandemic, KDCA and the government introduced a four-pronged strategy (testing, tracking, tracing, and treating) to tackle the pandemic by prioritizing the use of ICT, a large-scale screening process, adaptation to new life and the process of economic recovery.

The first phase, namely testing, puts forward ICT and AI-based testing using drive-thru and walk-thru testing methods to maximize daily testing capacity, obtain samples quickly, and prevent the collapse of health services. Next is the tracking and tracing stage using cellular technology-based geotagging. The South Korean government has also developed two applications to prevent Covid-19, such as the Corona 100m application and the Self Diagnosis App, to facilitate the tracking and tracing process. The last stage is treating, as an effort to recover and adapt during a pandemic situation. The government handles the problem of transparency that occurs when dealing with the MERS outbreak through data transparency to the public. These data include the spread of positive cases, travel data of positive patients to the location of the Covid-19 screening center, that available in three languages, namely Korean, English, and Chinese.

Not only trying to treat in the health sector, but the government is also trying to restore economic conditions with various policies such as selling agricultural products online and issuing the Emergency Disaster Relief Fund, that provided in two phases. The first phase focuses on increasing people's consumption power and economic stimulus to increase South Korea's GDP by 1.3 percent. Furthermore, the second stage is to help MSMEs (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise) maintain economic stability, increasing GDP by 1.9 percent (Han-na, 2020).

South Korean society no longer focuses on three main issues. However, it focuses on the government's ability to cope with the pandemic. The 2020 South Korean Legislative Election is a critical election, where various aspects of the handling affected the general election results. As the election management body, the NEC has also carried out a series of adaptations to hold elections during a pandemic situation. These various efforts include (1) encouraging the practice of early voting; (2) Ensure a safe environment for voters and election officials; (3) Strive to maintain good public communication; (4) Prioritizing transparency in elections; to (5) adapting to alternative campaign forms. The successful use of the four-pronged strategy increased the popularity of President Moon Jae-in and the Democratic People’s Party of Korea. In addition, the 2020 South Korean Legislative Election will be the first election to implement electoral reform. This reform changed the electoral system to mixed-member majoritarian representation/parallel voting and reduced the minimum age for voting to 18 years. The Electoral reform impacts the emergence of satellite parties and the addition of 540,000 voters (1.2 percent) (Yonhap, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The Emergency Disaster Relief Fund (긴급재난지원금) was issued by the South Korean government starting in May 2020 to restore and maintain economic stability due to the Covid-19 pandemic, with efforts to increase people’s consumption power. This program is targeted at 2.8 million families to foreign nationals (especially in the Seoul area), with a total expenditure of 14.3 trillion won (Kyung-mi, Lee & Lee Ji-hae, 2020). The amount of financial assistance is adjusted to the number of members in one family, with the following distribution; (1) one person (400,000 won); (2) two people (600,000 won); (3) three people (800,000 won); and (4) four or more people (1,000,000 won) (Ji-hye, 2020, p. 4).
This paper explains the Democratic People's Party of Korea's victory using the civic duty theory proposed by Blais and Achen and Fiorina's retrospective voting theory. Blais and Achen (2018) explain that civic duty is articulated as a form of citizens' voting rights in elections, which assess voting as the right thing to do (ethically correct). The sense of civic duty is used to explain the high participation of South Korean people in elections which is influenced by the high civic duty in society. Meanwhile, retrospective voting generally positions voters as parties with a result-oriented mindset. The scope of the assessment will lead to a form of reward (reward) or punishment (punishment), which is articulated in the form of choices in elections. Although the economic policy is often used as the main factor in retrospective assessments, in the case of South Korea, other factors such as foreign policy also influence the assessment. If other factors have a higher urgency, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, then skills in tackling a crisis can be the main indicator of the assessment.

The high level of public participation in this election can be seen from two aspects, first, related to the re-emergence of nation-saving duty in society. Previously, this mindset emerged in the 2017 South Korean Presidential Election, after President Park Geun-hye. The impeachment of President Park Geun-hye and the Covid-19 pandemic is seen as a 'national crisis' that creates a sense of unity for all voters and turns voting almost into a form of nation-saving duty that must be carried out collectively. The form of nation-saving duty in South Korea is often articulated in mass mobilization and leads to voter choice. The high civic duty of the South Korean people was to influence mass mobilization that frequently happens in South Korea, which Confucianism influences. Confucianism influenced the formation of neo-Confucianism politics in South Korea, which influenced the significant role of civil society in collective decision-making and the confrontational relationship created between the people and the government.

The retrospective assessment that the South Korean did based on Moon Jae-in's performance also influenced the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea. If the Covid-19 pandemic had not hit it, Korea's Democratic People's Party could have suffered a crushing defeat due to the retrospective assessment carried out. The stagnation of economic policy and the lack of progress in reunification with North Korea are two crucial factors that form the basis for retrospective assessments. However, these two things did not become a determining factor because the handling of Covid-19 replaced them as a more crucial thing in people's lives. The successful handling of Covid-19 with a four-pronged strategy has become the primary basis for a retrospective evaluation used to evaluate the performance of President Moon Jae-in's government. Moreover, President Moon Jae-in's assessment results articulated to support the party affiliated with President Moon Jae-in, namely the Democratic People's Party of Korea.

The Democratic People's Party of Korea won in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections were influenced by various aspects: resident Moon Jae-in's government's ability to tackle Covid-19 in Korea. The ability to handle the pandemic triggered high public participation and created a retrospective assessment basis. For the people in South Korea, the use of a four-pronged strategy and high civic duty in South Korean society are the determining factors for the victory of the Democratic People's Party of Korea in the 2020 South Korean Legislative Elections.

Despite winning this election, the ongoing pandemic has also affected the public's assessment of President Moon Jae-in's government's performance and the popularity of Korea's Democratic People's Party. In recent times, President Moon Jae-in has again experienced a decline in his approval rating of up to 33 percent due to rising house prices in big cities in South Korea and the South Korean government's sluggishness in the Covid-19 vaccination program (Yonhap News Agency, 2021). This decline also affected mayoral elections in major cities such as Seoul and Busan, which opposition parties won. Based on this, overcoming the pandemic and economic performance are still the determining factors affecting candidates' popularity in the election. Suppose the pandemic continues until the implementation of the South Korean Presidential...
Election in 2022. In that case, this study can further compare how much influence policies related to the pandemic and economic policies have on attracting the attention of the South Korean people in choosing candidates for the upcoming elections.

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