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**A study of the determinants influencing the legislative
success of a government-proposed bill in Korea**

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MARTIN School of Public Policy & Administration

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Executive Summary

As there is a widespread perception of legislative gridlock and subsequent failure in addressing national problems in Korea, this study examines what factors influence the legislative success and legislative time of a government-proposed bill in Korea. This study uses government-proposed bills from 1988 to 2016 to estimate the effect of explanatory variables such as divided government, the year of presidential term (one to five year), the presidential approval rate, the unemployment rate, filibusters, jurisdictional area of a bill, and the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills.

The results of regression analyses show that there is no evidence divided government has negatively affected legislative productivity. They also show that bills in the late years of presidential term have been less likely to be enacted relative to bills in the early years of term. In addition, bills concerned with economy have been more likely to pass through the National Assembly with less legislative time than other bills concerned with culture, health and welfare, and labor. But, the data shows that the ratio of parliamentary members' bills to government-proposed bills has reduced legislative success with requiring more legislative time.

These results suggest that it is not necessary to revise constitutional law in order to prevent the occurrence of divided government based on legislative passage of bills. In addition, an increase in parliamentary members' bills reduces the success of the passage of bills, but a policy response to that depends on the value of such bills.

1. Introduction

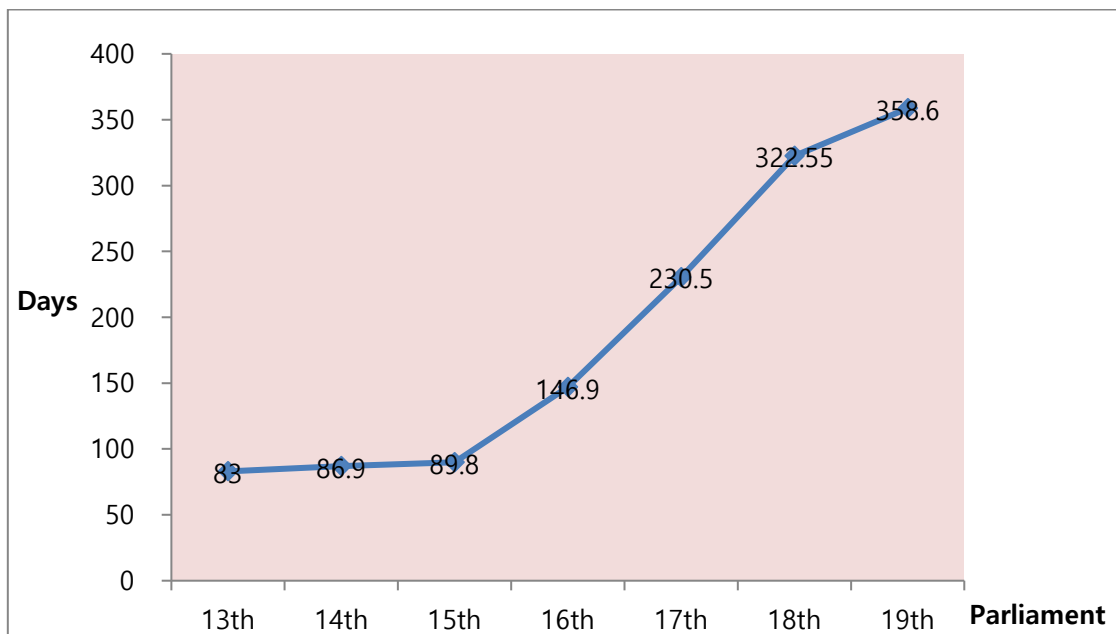
Why are some bills successfully enacted while other bills fail to be enacted? What factors primarily affect the time it takes bills to pass through the National Assembly? Many Korean analysts of the legislative agenda have widely used a concept of legislative gridlock as a proxy to analyze the cause of legislative success in the lawmaking process. In fact, legislative gridlock has been defined as a government's inability to enact policy changes that are essential to public needs and critical national issues (Quirk, 1994, 191), while others have construed it as the failure of legislators and the president to reach legislative compromises that alter the status quo (Binder, 2004, 35). Some studies have defined legislative gridlock as a low ratio of bills that passed to those that were introduced (Mayhew, 1991, 34). These definitions primarily focused on the legislature's failure to enact bills during a legislative session.

Yet, such definition of legislative gridlock is not sufficient enough to represent legislative failure in the Korean legislative procedure where the rule of continuity during a parliamentary member's term is an important legislative practice. Even a bill that fails during each legislative session in which a bill is introduced still remains alive in the Korean Parliament until the legislator's term ends. Thus, to get a better understanding of legislative gridlock in Korea, it is essential to consider the time a bill has been in process as it passes through the National Assembly as well as legislative failure simultaneously. Taking this point into account can lead us to understand the status of legislative stalemate in Korea, and give us a more precise explanation on the reasons for legislative success in Korea.

In fact, the Korean president can have strong influence on the legislative agenda through government-proposed bills to the National Assembly submitted in accordance with the Korean Constitution. Korean presidents frequently use this influence to argue for government

intervention in a specific area to solve social problems. However, the average legislative time taken for government-proposed bills in the National Assembly has dramatically increased since the 16th National Assembly (2000-2004). The graph below shows that more than four times as much legislative time was needed for a bill to pass through the National Assembly in the 19th (2012-2014) National Assembly than was needed in the 13th National Assembly (1988-1992).

Figure-1 Average legislative time of bills from introduction to final decision
(Four-year terms, 1988-1992 to 2012-2016)



On top of that, it takes 120 days on average for the executive branch to draft a bill at the beginning of the process before the legislature. The continuously increasing legislative time might become a main reason for the government's belated countermeasures for the social problems.

As a matter of fact, Korea has an ongoing controversy on the revision of the Constitution and the National Assembly law due to the prolonged legislative time. Many people tend to

attribute this protracted legislative time to the existence of divided government and filibuster system. Proponents of constitutional revision highlight the necessity for the change of the current five-year president's single term in the constitutional law in order to prevent divided government. Therefore, in order to get better policy implications, this study focuses on the factors influencing legislative success and legislative time of a government-proposed bill.

2. The institutional characteristics in the lawmaking process of Korea

Korea has a mixed form of government with a president and a cabinet. The president who is at the top of the executive branch can affect the legislative agenda using government-proposed bills. This peculiarity of Korean presidency makes Korean government very disparate from other presidential political systems that do not allow the president, as part of checks and balances between the executive and legislative body, to submit bills. Korean presidents have used this legislative authority to carry on the government affairs such as industrial policies, taxation, and other policy agenda.

The National Assembly has had a unicameral parliamentary system since 1960. Parliamentary members are made up of local representatives directly elected by the people and proportional representatives assigned to each party according to its percentage of votes in the parliamentary election. Parliamentary members have four-year terms, and are eligible to be reelected without any institutional restriction, which is very different from the president who has only a five-year single term. This discrepancy between a five-year presidential term and a four-year legislator's term has been discussed as one of the reasons for the appearance of divided government since late 1987, when presidential elections were restored.

Additionally, the main remarkable feature of the legislative session is that every bill that is introduced in the National Assembly can survive until the end of a legislator's term without

being expunged even if it does not pass during the same congressional session of its proposal. Unlike the congress of the United States that is held every day except for holidays and recesses for one year, the National Assembly of Korea is held at regular and extraordinary sessions. The regular session begins on September 1 of each year and lasts for 100 days while each extraordinary session can be held several times in a year if more than one quarter of the parliamentary members or the president requests it. Bills are introduced throughout the year due to the short regular session and the existence of several extraordinary sessions in a year. As a result, it is meaningless to measure a ratio of bills that passed to those that were introduced during a year in the evaluation of legislative deadlock. Instead, it is more meaningful to figure out how long it takes for a bill to pass the congress since its introduction to the National Assembly.

Meanwhile, one of the most important factors influencing legislative deliberation in the National Assembly is the introduction of the filibuster system. The filibuster was introduced in the Korean National Assembly for the first time on May 30, 2012. The purpose of it is to ensure that the agenda can be discussed through compromise without physical conflicts among parties, and to give minority more opportunity to participate in the deliberation process. The filibuster can be allowed in case that there is a request by more than one-third of the parliamentary members. But, it is to be ended when more than three-fifths of parliamentary members require its termination. In fact, filibuster has not been frequently used since its introduction into the Korean National Assembly Act.

3. Literature review

Recent research on legislative productivity can be categorized roughly into two categories: partisan models and multi-dimensional models. Partisan models mainly highlight

the effect of divided party control of congress and the presidency on legislative success, while multi-dimensional models embrace partisan factors, as well as institutional factors such as bicameralism and supermajority rules, and policy factors.

3.1 Partisan models

Many studies on the president's legislative agenda primarily deal with the relationship between divided government and legislative productivity because legislative success is deeply concerned with affiliation of the president with the legislature. The features of this affiliation between two constitutional institutions, unified or divided government, provide an important political context for legislation. These models attempt to determine if divided party control of government causes the failure of the enactment of significant public policy.

Mayhew (1991) ignited serious debate on legislative productivity under divided government by insisting that periods of unified government are not associated with high legislative productivity and that periods of divided government do not necessarily lead to legislative gridlock, contradicting the conventional wisdom of politics. He argued that the first half of a president's term and public's supportive mood are more contributive factors for the passage of legislation. Skowronek (1993), Krehbiel (1996), and Quirk and Nesmith (1994) agreed with Mayhew (1991). Skowronek (1993) concluded that the president might be unsuccessful even in the period of unified government when the policy regime is collapsing. Krehbiel (1996) also contended the possibility of major changes in policy both under unified and divided government is very low because of the status quo equilibrium. Quirk and Nesmith (1994) argued that factors, such as the budget deficit, issue complexity, and uninformed mass opinion, do more to create policy deadlock than divided government does.

But, a number of scholars contradicted Mayhew's findings. Coleman (1999), Edwards,

Barrett, and Peake (1997), and Binder (1999) argued that Mayhew's measure of the president's legislative agenda has been inferred by analyzing newspaper articles and depend on the retrospective judgment of experts. Coleman (1999) disputed that unified government greatly contributes to the policy achievements when other important variables such as intraparty factionalism, responsiveness to public opinion, and supermajorities are controlled in Mayhew's (1991) original model. Edwards, Barrett, and Peake (1997) paid attention to the potentially significant legislation that failed to pass and claimed that there is more legislation that failed during divided than unified government, particularly when the president opposes the legislation. Binder (1999) also argued that divided party control of government appears to affect the broader ability of the political system to address major public problems.

In Korea, Jang (2001) and Kang (2001) concluded that divided party control of the government produces extreme conflicts between the president and congress, resulting in weakened political accountability and efficiency. On the contrary, Park (1992) insisted that there was no significant correlation between legislative productivity and party control of government in the 13th Korean national Assembly when divided government in the first two-years of the parliamentary term and unified government in the second two-year period appear alternately. He asserted high legislative productivity can be found even in divided government. Oh (2004) also claimed that there is no meaningful difference in terms of legislative productivity between divided and unified party control of government according to his analysis of the legislative productivity from 13th to 17th Korean National Assembly.

This type of research helps us to understand the importance of political context such as affiliation between the president and congress in the lawmaking process from a political viewpoint.

3.2 Multi-dimensional models

Multi-dimensional models take into account other factors as important as political factors in the analysis of legislative stalemate. Most of all, we can find many institutional variables are applied as explanatory variables in the analyses.

Extensive analysis of the president's legislative agenda has been performed by Binder and Taylor. Binder (1999) tried to resolve the causes and solutions of legislative gridlock for the president's legislative performance by classifying three dimensions, electoral/partisan, institutional, and policy perspective, as independent variables for explaining the stalemate of enactment. Binder's electoral/partisan perspective included variables to assess divided government, percentage of moderates, ideological diversity, and time out of majority, while the institutional perspective includes bicameral distance, and the filibuster threat. The policy perspective variables included budgetary situation and policy mood. Binder concluded that divided government, percentage of moderates, bicameral distance, and the filibuster threat have positive effects on the gridlock. On the other hand, Taylor (2004) primarily dealt with the relationship between policy preference of parliamentary members and legislative time to pass through the congress, controlling for three variables; passing the other chamber first, days from the end of the regular congress, and the number of bills introduced. He suggests the gap between the preferences of parliamentary members and the status quo policy, homogeneity of preferences of legislators, and the distance between president and parliamentary members in policy preference can decrease the legislative time to passage.

Jeong (2010), Choi (2001), and Mok (2007) investigated the causes and solutions to legislative conflict and stalemate of the Korean National Assembly. After classifying independent variables into two dimensions, political and partisan perspectives, Jeong concluded that party polarization, strong opposition of minority to ruling majority, and

absence of leadership autonomy are related to the conflict of the 18th Korean National Assembly. On the other hand, Choi (2001) and Mok (2007) primarily focused on how long it takes for bills to pass through the Parliament. Choi highlighted the relationship between environment and legislative actors. He inferred that the speed of proceedings under the authoritarian regime would be faster than the rate of proceedings under the democratic system. Mok (2007) also compared legislative time for bills from the 14th to the 17th Korean National Assembly. He finds that divided government, the second-term of parliamentary members, and years with presidential election decrease the average length of legislative time to passage.

This type of model extends the scope of the explanation for legislative gridlock beyond partisan models because multi dimension models embrace economic and institutional factors as well as political variables. This study uses this type of model because this study seeks the comprehensive reasons for legislative success and legislative time of a government-proposed bill.

4. Research Design

The focus of this study is to investigate which factors affect the results of lawmaking process for a government-proposed bill, and eventually to identify the determinants that, if any, have a significant impact. Like multi-dimensional models, I research this issue by examining the effects on the results of a bill of the political, economic, and institutional factors that were frequently used in the previous studies.

4.1 Data Collection

The data is derived from the Bill Information (<http://likms.assembly.go.kr/bill/main.do>), managed by the National Assembly of Korea. The purpose of the Bill Information is to supply legislative information to all people transparently and promptly by the Korean National Assembly. The Bill Information contains detailed information about each submitted bill, such as proposer, introduction and passage date of bills, legislative steps in the congress, standing committee that bills are assigned to, types of decision for each bill in the plenary session, and bill-related reports. Moreover, the Bill Information even has accumulated retrospectively the records on legislation information since 1954. This study uses the entire list of 6,341 individual bills of the executive-proposed bills accumulated in the Bill System from 1988 to 2016 because Korea has same constitutional law without any minor revision for those periods of time since the end of military rule in 1987.

4.2 Dependent variable

The dependent variable in this study is the legislative results of a government-proposed bill. I use a government-proposed bill because the failure of a government-proposed bill can explicitly and uniquely illustrate the legislative gridlock between the president and parliament. In addition, the legislative time taken for a bill to pass through parliament also represents legislative conflict between the president and parliament effectively. I use the entire 6,341 bills for the analysis of legislative success and 5,281 legislative successes and 1,060 bills for the analysis of legislative failures. The dependent variables are whether a bill ultimately passed and how much time elapsed before passage of it. The time is further subdivided into one year or less, or a great time.

4.3 Independent variables

This study uses seven independent variables that are considered to have an effect on the legislative result of a bill in the National Assembly based on previous studies of South Korea and other countries. These variables are classified into three dimensions depending on each variable's perspective: political dimension, economic dimension, and institutional dimension. Table-4 (see p.16) shows the summary statistics of these variables.

A. Political dimensional variables

Divided government, the year of the presidential term (one to five), and the approval rate of the president are political dimensional variables.

The first variable is divided versus unified government: I classify the time period of divided or unified government sessions since 1987. The divided government occurs when different branches of government are controlled by different political parties. I summarize those in Table-1 below.

Table-1 The period of divided or unified government

Divided/Unified	Periods	Percentage of seats held by the ruling party
Unified	1988. 2. - 1988. 5	53.70
Divided	1988. 6. - 1990. 1.	41.80
Unified	1990. 2. - 1992. 5.	72.70
Divided	1992. 6. - 1992. 7.	49.80
Unified	1992. 8. - 1996. 5.	53.20
Unified	1996. 6. - 1998. 1.	50.50
Divided	1998. 2. - 1998. 8.	40.50

Unified	1998. 9. - 2000. 2.	51.20
Divided	2000. 3. - 2001 .2.	42.10
Unified	2001. 3. - 2001. 9.	50.10
Divided	2001. 10. - 2003. 1.	41.40
Divided	2003. 2. - 2003. 9.	37.10
Divided	2003. 10. - 2004. 5.	15.40
Unified	2004. 6. - 2005. 5.	50.80
Divided	2005. 6. - 2008. 5.	49.80
Unified	2008. 6. - 2016. 5.	52.0
Divided	2016. 6. - 2016. 12.	41.70

My hypothesis with regard to this independent variable is that bills under divided government are less likely to be enacted than other bills under unified government.

The second variable is the year of presidential term. Each year in the presidential term has different meaning for the president to carry out his or her legislative agenda because each year becomes a different political time for the president. To be specific, the president's legislative influence on the National Assembly tends to be weakened as the remaining period of the presidential term gets shorter.

My hypothesis related to this independent variable is that bills in the early years of the presidential term can be enacted more easily than bills in the late years of the term.

The third variable is the approval rate of the president. I use approval rate data drawn from the Gallup Korea which is one of the most trustworthy survey institutions in Korea. My hypothesis related to this variable is that bills during a period of higher presidential approval rate can be enacted more easily than bills in times of low presidential approval rate.

B. Economic dimension variables

The president and the National Assembly tend to experience some pressure from the public to make countermeasures by making new policies and legislation for the economic recovery during economic recessions. This study uses Korean unemployment rate data released from OECD and IMF from 1988 to 2016. My hypothesis about this variable is that bills at times with a higher unemployment rate can be enacted more easily than bills during times of low unemployment rate.

C. Institutional variables

To represent institutional characteristics of the legislative and executive branches, the variables are introduction of the filibuster, the jurisdictional field of a bill, and the ratio of members' bills to government proposed bills as institutional variables.

The first variable is the introduction of filibuster in the National Assembly. As previously noted, the filibuster was introduced in the Korean National Assembly for the first time on May 30, 2012. The existence of the filibuster itself can empower parliamentary minorities and facilitate active discussion in the legislative procedure. In this context, my hypothesis for this explanatory variable is that the introduction of filibuster makes it more difficult for a bill to be enacted.

The second variable is the jurisdictional area of a government-proposed bill. Each bill can be briefly categorized into nine groups; economic division, justice and police division, diplomatic and defense division, education division, security and administrative division, health and welfare division, culture division, environment, and labor division¹. Because

¹ The Korean government organization is made of 17 ministries in accordance with article 26 in the GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION ACT as of 2016: the whole jurisdictional scope of government can be classified by economic division (the Strategy and Finance Ministry, the Science, ICT, and

economic affairs have been top priorities regardless of the change of the president or ruling party since the Asian financial crisis in 1997, my hypothesis regarding this variable is that bills belonging to the economic field can be enacted more easily than other bills.

The third variable is the ratio of parliamentary members' bills to the government-proposed bills. Because the increased number of parliamentary members' bills may distract legislators' attention from the government proposed bills, I hypothesize that the ratio of members' bills to government proposed bills negatively affects the legislation of government proposed bills.

4.4 Analytical Methods

I summarize dependent and independent variables for this study as Table-2 (see p.16).

As for the analytical model, there are two dependent variables, success, which is a dummy variable, and time, which is a continuous variable. The first could be estimated as probit or logit, with marginal impacts then computed, but the linear probability model also estimates the same marginal impacts. This is a controversial matter. Wooldridge (2006) notes the possibility of probability estimates out of range and of the related problem of linear extrapolation of explanatory variables, but then he concludes: "Even with these problems, the linear probability model is useful and often applied in economics. It usually works well for

Future Planning Ministry, the Industry, Trade and Energy Ministry, the Land, Infrastructure and Transportation Ministry, the Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs Ministry, the Ocean and Fisheries Ministry), diplomatic and defense division (Foreign Affairs Ministry, Unification Ministry, and National Defense Ministry), justice division (Justice Ministry), education division (Education Ministry), security and administrative division (Interior Ministry), health and welfare division (Health and Welfare Ministry, Gender Equality and Family Ministry), culture division (Culture, Sports and Tourism Ministry), environment (Environment Ministry), labor division (Employment and Labor Ministry)

values of the independent variables that are near the averages in the sample” (p. 255). Thus, this study uses the linear probability model instead of probit or logit model to analyze the effect of the independent variables on the legislative success of a government-proposed bill. For the second dependent variable, I use OLS (ordinary least squares) regression modes, too.

The analysis model can be defined as below.

$$R_{it} = \alpha + \beta_1 G_t + \beta_2 Y_t + \beta_3 A_t + \beta_4 U_t + \beta_5 F_t + \beta_6 J_t + \beta_7 R_t + \varepsilon_t$$

Where, R_{it} represents legislative result of a government-proposed bill (passage or failure of a bill), G_t is whether a government is divided or not when a bill is introduced, Y_t is the year of the presidential term, A_t is an annual approval rate for the president, U_t is an annual unemployment rate, F_t is whether it is before and after of the introduction of filibuster, J_t represents the jurisdictional area of a bill, R_t is the ratio of members’ bills to government-proposed bills, and ε_t is an error term.

The second regression uses the same explanatory variables and a dependent variable defined as the time in days between introduction and passage, given that the bill passes. The only difference from the equation above is that the dependent variable is T_i for legislative time.

Table-2 Variables for analysis

Dependent variables		Observations
Legislative result of a bill	1. Legislative failure; 2. Legislative success after one year; 3. Legislative success within one year	6,341
Independent variables		
► Political dimension		Observations
Divided versus Unified government	1. Divided; 0. Unified	6,341
Year of presidential term	1. The first year; 2. The second year; 3. The third year; 4. The fourth year; 5. The fifth year;	6,341
Annual approval rate for the president	The share of positive response from the public	6,341
► Economic dimension		
Annual unemployment rate	The number of unemployed ÷ The number of all individuals in the labor force	6,341
► Policy and Institutional dimension		
Introduction of filibuster	1. After; 0. Before	6,341
Jurisdictional area of a bill	0. Economic division; 1. Justice & Police division; 2. Cultural division; 3. Security & Administration division; 4. Education division; 5. Diplomacy & Defense division; 6. Health & Welfare division; 7. Labor division; 8. Environmental division	6,341
The ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills	The number of members' bills ÷ The number of government-proposed bills	6,341

5. Findings

5.1 Relationship between independent variables and legislative success

The result of the regression summarized as Table-3 below shows that many explanatory variables have statistically significant effects on legislative success.

Table-3 Legislative success

Variable	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	t	P> t
Divided government	0.0395	0.01084	+3.64	<0.001***
Year of presidential term	Relative to the 1 st year of presidential term			
2 nd year of presidential term	-0.0475	0.0130	-3.67	<0.001***
3 rd year of presidential term	-0.1030	0.0143	-7.22	<0.001***
4 th year of presidential term	-0.1969	0.0180	-10.92	<0.001***
5 th year of presidential term	-0.2196	0.0221	-11.08	<0.001***
Presidential approval rate	-0.0052	0.0005	-8.13	<0.001***
Unemployment rate	0.0006	0.0042	+0.14	0.888
Introduction of filibuster	0.1661	0.0289	+5.75	<0.001***
Jurisdictional area of a bill	Relative to the economic area			
Justice & police	-0.0549	0.0148	-3.70	<0.001***
Culture	-0.1781	0.0315	-5.66	<0.001***
Security & Administration	-0.0471	0.0147	-3.20	0.001***
Education	-0.0548	0.0238	-2.30	0.021***
Diplomacy & Defense	-0.0133	-0.0182	-0.73	0.465
Health & Welfare	-0.1526	0.0218	-6.98	<0.001***
Labor	0.0969	0.0295	-3.28	0.001***
Environment	0.0247	0.0187	+1.32	0.187
the ratio of members' bills to government proposed bills	-0.0188	0.0018	-10.53	<0.001***
Constant	1.0028	0.0250	40.12	0.000

*** $P \leq 0.01$, ** $P \leq 0.05$

First, the result shows that legislative success is statistically significantly associated with divided government, presidential approval rate, introduction of filibuster, and the ratio of members' bills to government proposed bills at the 99 percent confidence level. Specifically, the data supports that legislative success has increased as much as 0.040 (4.0 percentage points more likely to succeed) in 'divided government', and 0.1661 (16.6 percentage points

more likely to succeed) in ‘filibuster’. Legislative success has decreased as much as 0.0052 (0.5 percentage points less likely to succeed) in ‘presidential approval rate’ and 0.0188 (1.9 percentage points less likely to succeed) in ‘the ratio of members’ bills to government proposed bills’. However, unemployment rate is not a relevant explanatory variable to affect legislative success of a bill because there is no statistical evidence.

The result shows that the ratio of members’ bills to government-proposed bills has negatively affected legislative success, which is matched with hypothesis of this independent variable. However, the fact that divided government and filibuster have positively affected the legislative success while presidential approval rate has negatively affected it is contrary to hypotheses for each variable. We may attribute such results to the relatively passive legislation strategies of the president under divided government, filibuster or lower presidential approval rate.

Second, compared with the first year in ‘year of presidential term’, the data shows that bills have been less likely to be enacted in the late years of presidential term. In fact, the odds of passage have gotten progressively worse with each year, which is consistent with hypothesis regarding this explanatory variable.

Third, if we pay attention to the result of this regression with respect to the jurisdictional area of bills, we see that bills in ‘justice & police’, ‘culture’, ‘security & administration’, ‘education’, ‘health & welfare’, and ‘labor’ areas have been less likely to be enacted than bills in the economic area. The data shows a significantly negative causation between both of them at the 99 or 95 percent confidence level. This finding also strongly supports hypothesis for this independent variable. However, ‘diplomacy & defense’ and ‘environment’ is not statistically significantly different from economic bills.

5.2 Relationship between independent variables and legislative time

If we look into the results of the regression on the legislative time of bills to pass, it can be summarized it as Table-4 below. The result shows that legislative success is statistically significantly associated with divided government, unemployment rate, instruction of filibuster, and the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills at the 99 percent confidence level. Specifically, the data supports that legislative time has decreased as much as 24.7 days in 'divided government', 10.5 days in 'unemployment rate' and 142.4 days in 'filibuster'. Legislative time has increased as much as 17.4 days in 'the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills'. However, the data does not show any statistically significant relation between presidential approval rate and legislative time.

Compared with hypotheses, the result that unemployment rate has reduced legislative time while the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills has increased legislative time is consistent with hypotheses for each variable. However, the result that divided government and filibuster have reduced legislative time is contrary to hypotheses for each variable. Such result could be interpreted as almost in the same context as in the case of legislative success.

Second, the result shows that bills in the fourth year of presidential term have been likely to have less legislative time, contrasted to bills in the first year of presidential term. However, the data does not show a statistically significant relationship between the other years of presidential term and legislative time.

Third, regarding the jurisdictional area of bills, the data shows that bills in the 'justice & police', 'culture', 'education', 'health & welfare', 'labor', and 'environment' areas have been likely to have longer legislative time than bills in the economic area. The data shows a significantly positive causation between legislative time and those areas at the 99 or 95

percent confidence level, which strongly support hypothesis for this variable.

However, the data does not show statistically significant difference between ‘security & administration’, ‘diplomacy& defense’ and legislative time relative to economics.

Table-4 Legislative time of bills passed

Variable	Coefficient	Robust Std. Err.	t	P> t
Divided government	-24.7	5.3	-4.70	<0.001***
Year of presidential term	Relative to the 1 st year of presidential term			
2 nd year of presidential term	9.9	8.2	+1.21	0.226
3 rd year of presidential term	-11.9	7.7	-1.54	0.125
4 th year of presidential term	-57.9	9.6	-6.01	<0.001***
5 th year of presidential term	2.8	11.3	+0.25	0.806
Presidential approval rate	-0.1	0.2	-0.60	0.547
Unemployment rate	-10.5	1.5	-7.08	<0.001***
Instruction of filibuster	-142.4	14.6	-9.77	<0.001***
Jurisdictional area of a bill	Relative to the economic area			
Justice & police	22.7	8.2	+2.76	0.006***
Culture	64.6	16.9	+3.83	<0.001***
Security & Administration	7.7	7.0	+1.09	0.276
Education	87.9	16.1	+5.47	<0.001***
Diplomacy & Defense	-0.1	8.4	-0.02	0.986
Health & Welfare	75.5	13.4	+5.65	<0.001***
Labor	37.0	18.5	+2.00	0.046**
Environment	45.4	10.4	+4.38	<0.001***
the ratio of members’ bills to government proposed bills	17.4	1.0	+18.04	<0.001***
Constant	124.2	14.7	8.46	0.000

*** $P \leq 0.01$, ** $P \leq 0.05$

5.3 Policy implications

To find out better policy implications from the statistical analysis above, I synthesize

these two analytical results.

First, from the above results of regression, I can conclude that divided government has not negatively affected legislative results of government proposed bills. Rather, bills under divided government have been more likely to have legislative success than bills under unified government. Legislative time of bill passage has also decreased in the divided government. The data does not show any evidence that divided government has created legislative gridlock between the president and parliament, or the executive branch has spent more time on enactment under divided government. Consequently, it seems somewhat irrelevant to argue that the constitutional revision is necessary for the change of a current five-year presidential single term to prevent the occurrence of divided government. As previously noted, proponents for constitutional revision primarily aim to prevent divided government which occurs due to the discrepancy between a five-year presidential single term and a four-year legislative term.

Second, according to the analysis above, it seems that the remaining period of presidential term has had significant impact on the successful legislation of government-proposed bills. Compared to the bill introduced in the first year of the presidential terms, bills have been less likely to be enacted as much as 0.0475 (5 percentage points) in 'second year', 0.1030 (10 percentage points) in 'third year', 0.1969 (20 percentage points) in 'fourth year', and 0.2196 (22 percentage points) in 'fifth year' sequentially. This fact accords with our first assumption that bills in the early years of the presidential term can be enacted more easily than bills in the late years of the term. Therefore, it is very critical for the president to make bills into legislations that deal with president's primary concerns as soon as possible before the president loses her or his power over the parliament.

Third, if I look into the effect of the jurisdictional area on the legislative results, I find that bills related to economy have been most successfully enacted with less legislative time

than bills concerned with other policy areas. Table-5 summarizes bills by jurisdictional area.

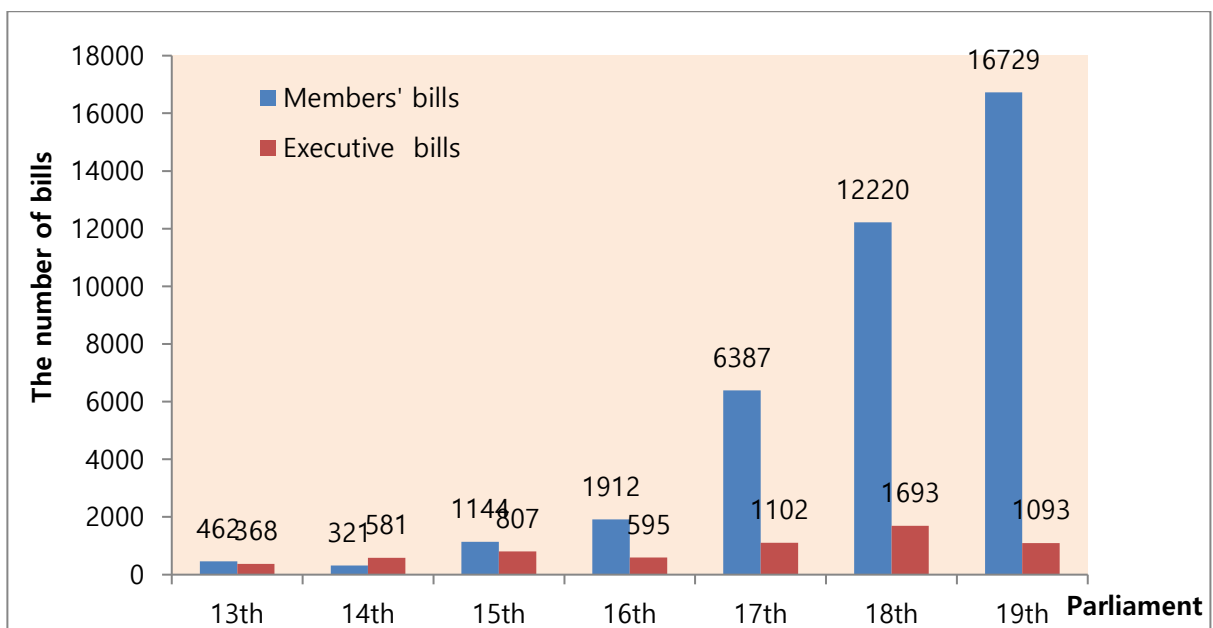
Table-5 Legislative result of bills by jurisdictional area

Jurisdictional area	legislative result			Total
	failure	success after one year	success within one year	
Economy	384 (13.11%)	245 (8.36%)	2,301 (78.53%)	2,920
Justice & police	135 (17.93%)	87 (11.55%)	531 (70.52%)	753
Culture	68 (31.34%)	29 (13.36%)	120 (55.30%)	217
Security & Administration	143 (18.06%)	76 (9.60%)	573 (72.35%)	792
Education	52 (18.84%)	47 (17.03%)	177 (64.13%)	276
Diplomacy & Defense	59 (14.86%)	23 (5.79%)	315 (79.35%)	397
Health & Welfare	134 (23.65%)	68 (14.95%)	253 (55.60%)	455
Labor	48 (23.65%)	22 (10.84%)	133 (65.52%)	203
Environment	37 (11.64%)	50 (15.72%)	231 (72.64%)	318
Total	1,060 (16.72%)	647 (10.20%)	4,634 (73.08%)	6,347

According to Table-5 above, bills in the economy and diplomacy & defense areas have been more likely to be enacted within one year than other bills although the portion of economic bills among the entire government-proposed bills has been the biggest at over 46%. This fact implies that economic development has dominated other national issues as the most important agenda in Korean society. Relative to economic issues, the Korean government and the whole society have not placed high values on the other national agenda in the fields of culture, social welfare, and labor.

Lastly, the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills has reduced legislative success while it has increased legislative time. In fact, the number of members' bills has abruptly increased from the 17th National Assembly as we see Figure-2 below. If this trend keeps going, the president and the executive branch should make the legislation strategy more efficient to overcome the negative effect on the government-proposed bills.

Figure-2 The number of members' bills versus government-proposed bills



6. Conclusion and limitations

This study indicates some determinants influencing legislative success and legislative time of a government-proposed bill in Korea.

Most of all, divided government has not had negatively significant effect on the legislation of a government-proposed bill in terms of legislative success and legislative time. On the contrary, divided government has increased legislative success and decreased legislative time of a government-proposed bill. This result implies that we do not have any

evidence to support the revision of Constitutional Law in order to prevent divided government. Also, this study shows that bills have been more likely to pass through the National Assembly in the early years of presidential term. Another remarkable thing to be seen in this study is that the Korean government has placed a much higher weight on the legislation engaged in the economy over other legislations. Lastly, this study shows that the ratio of members' bills to government-proposed bills has reduced legislative success with requiring more legislative time.

This analysis has some limitations. Most of all, this analytical model has some factor variables which need to be classified into smaller subcategories, but this study curtailed the level of subcategories to get clear answers. And, some interaction variables could be added for more in-depth analysis, but this study leaves those analyses to next studies. Also, because the jurisdictional area of ministry has frequently changed during this study period of time, there is some uncertainty in analyzing jurisdictional area of bills. Finally, this is an analysis of the bills proposed by the executive, which are important but a minority of all bills proposed. Future research could examine members' bills.

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