

東海大學學生報告

報告題名：

近十年政治素人興起原因初探

Exploratory research on the rise of political novices in the last ten
years(2012-2022)

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Introduction: (Background study)

When Trump won the presidential election in 2016, everyone was crazy and talked about it for days. People around the whole world were shocked by him. After Trump became the president of the US, his background was reported by the media. Trump was a businessman without any political experiences. He was the only one who does not have any political experiences of the previous presidents of the US. In March 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine and Ukraine's president, Zelensky, became a well-known star who can fight with its citizens. His background was reported by the media and we soon found out that he's a comedian and didn't have any political experiences before he became a presidential candidate. Also in Korea, Yoon Suk-yeol, who used to be a lawyer, was announced to be the president. These people stimulate our curiosity about what causes voters to vote for these political novices. Why would people want to vote for them and not those who have lots of experiences and accomplishments in politics. The rise of these people must have something in common. By doing this research, we can fulfill our curiosity and this can be an essay for people to understand the possibility about this topic by the reasons we found and details we provide.

中文摘要

近年來，越來越多的政治素人在選舉中取得勝利。政治素人的崛起驚艷了全世界，他們打敗了擁有多年政治經驗的老鳥，憑藉著零政治經驗的背景贏得選民的喜愛。是什麼原因讓選民們願意給這些素人一個擔任領導者的機會？政治素人到底為什麼會贏過政治老鳥呢？因此我們決定將此議題作為本論文題目，藉此探討政治素人崛起的原因。

2016 年的美國總統大選為歷史劃下了新的篇章。共和黨候選人川普(Donald Trump)以政治素人的身份獲得 276 張選票，順利跨過 270 張選舉人票的門檻，並確定在 2017 年入主白宮。共和黨的勝利讓全世界跌破了眼鏡，這位從商界轉換跑道跨入政壇的紐約大亨，在完全沒有政治背景及政治經驗之下爆冷門擊敗擁有多年從政經驗的民主黨候選人希拉蕊(Hillary Clinton)。此後，「政治素人」擊敗政治老鳥的事件層出不窮。川普當選過後的第三年，西元 2019 年，一位來自烏克蘭的毫無政治經驗的喜劇演員，澤倫斯基(Volodymyr Zelensky)，在烏克蘭的總統大選上囊括了 73% 的選票，深得選民的心，擊敗了親俄的對手波

洛申科(Petro Poroshenko)。從只是演員的人民公僕到掌管大權的實質總統，澤倫斯基的勝利更令人震驚、感嘆。除了歐洲地區，政治素人的熱潮也影響了亞洲。2022 年，在韓國，在野黨國民力量候選人尹錫悅以 48.56% 的得票率勝出，擊敗了共同民主黨的候選人李在明。在這十年間(2012-2022)，越來越多政治素人擊敗了擁有多年從政經驗的政治老鳥，令全世界刮目相看。本文中分別列舉了三大洲作為代表，美洲代表：美國，歐洲代表：烏克蘭，亞洲代表：韓國。

關鍵字：政治、政治素人、總統大選、



Abstract

The US presidential election of 2016 has turned the page in history. In 2016, the Republican nominee Donald Trump won the United States Presidency with 276 electoral votes as a political novice. Donald Trump changed his career from business to political. He shocked the world by defeating the experienced Democratic Nominee Hiliary Clinton in 2016 and became the first U.S. president with no prior military or government service experience. Since then, more and more political novices defeat political professionals. In 2019, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, a Ukrainian comedian and actor, had taken more than 73% votes in the Ukraine presidential election in 2019 and defeated his opponent Petro Poroshenko. From actor to president with the power, the victory of xc shocked and astonished the whole world. Except for Europe, political novices soon became a popular phenomenon in Asia. By 2022, the people power party nominee Yun Seok-yeol won the Korea presidential election by taking up 48.56% votes and defeated the Democratic party nominee Lee Jae-myung. During these ten years (2012 to 2022), more and more political novices defeated the well-experienced political veterans, which impressed the whole world.

In this article, we take three continents as examples separately. We considered the US as the representative of America, Ukraine as the representative of Europe and Korea as

the representative of Asia. Besides, the purpose of this article is discussing the reason for the rise of political novices.

Keyword: Political 、 Political Novices, Presidential election



Method

In order to investigate the reasons behind the rise of political novices during 2012-2022, we chose three countries as representatives. The US from America (美洲), Ukraine from Europe and Korea from Asia to conduct the research. Citizens in these three countries chose political novices, which stands for those who have no previous political experience, as their presidents. Since the topic is what happened in the last ten years and political novices were rising one after another, not at the same time, there isn't much news or essays discussing this phenomenon. To gather resources, we have read lots of news articles, some essays and watched a few interviews on the Internet in order to analyze individual situations in each country to decide what aspects we are going to elaborate more. We found the common reason among these countries is people were not satisfied with the environment they are living in, and they want to make changes. Citizens are tired of experienced politicians, when a political novice shows up, it raises their hope. Even though people like Trump, Zelensky, or Yun Seok-yeol has never been in politics before, voters are willing to take a risk.

Literature Review

Donald Trump's triumph changed history. Greater and greater political novices are winning elections around the world, from mayoral elections to presidential elections. Such as Ukraine's Volodymyr Zelensky and South Korea's Yoon Suk-yeol.. However, there has been very little discussion about Political Novice so far. A great number of questions regarding the rise of political novices remain to be addressed. In our research paper, we will analyze the current state of society first, then analyze the reason why people are against the state of society. Furthermore, we will examine the candidate's policy to determine why voters prefer to vote for a political novice.

According to Jacobson, G. C. (1989). Particular research for America elections found that it is uncertain for people with political novice has a higher chance of electoral success. On top of that, a research for political novice from 劉祥得. (2019) mentioned that the initial relationship between the research components. Animosity to party politics and support for political literates The positive correlation (0.38) indicates that the long-term disappointment for the status quo or party politics does give expectations to the political literates. In contrast, the importance of political experience is negatively correlated with political novices (-0.11), which indirectly proves that traditional party politics values incumbent candidates' political experience because they have higher

interpersonal skills, resources, and political skills, and should be more stable in power, therefore, they are less likely to support political novices. In addition, media strategy positively influences the support of political novices (0.33), and those who feel that the media strategy of political novices is successful are more likely to support political novice.

In conclusion, most people preferred to vote for the political novices due to the aversion to the political party and status quo. Besides, the media strategy has the significant impact on the voter's willingness too according to 劉祥得. (2019). In our research paper, we will analyze the three countries status quos and the strategy of their candidate to understand the reason for the victory of political novices.

Definition of political novice:

people with no previous political experience

Common point

among the US, Ukraine, and Korea

Among these three countries, what these three countries have in common is that people are dissatisfied with the current social situations. Therefore, people tend to vote for the political novice during the election. People think the political novice is a pure white paper. In our research paper, we tend to cite the difference between the highest satisfaction and the lowest satisfaction from the previous presidents to prove that people

are dissatisfied with the status quo. On top of that, we will compare the policies from the incumbent with the former president to find out the evidence that the policies from the incumbent appeal to voters. Moreover, we will analyze the policy and figure out how the policies appeal to voters.



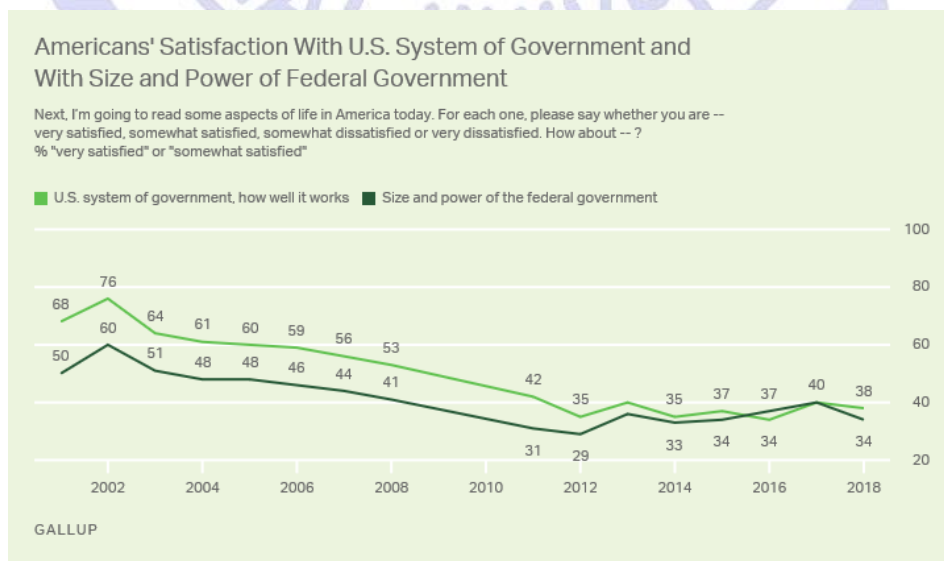
Result

The US

Take the US for example, the satisfaction had dropped from 67% to 40% during Barack Obama's ruling period. People become more and more dissatisfied to the former president Obama during the last few months of his ruling period. According to the USA news, the most important problem in the US is that people were satisfied with the government. The second is the economy. As you can see in the figure 1[1] from GALLUP, since 2011, the satisfaction with both the U.S. political system and the federal government has remained low levels. This period has been regarded as the time that public disappointment with the federal government.

Figure 1

American's Satisfaction with U.S. System of Government and With Size and Power of Federal Government



Note. This figure shows that American citizens become more and more dissatisfied

with the government.

The next US presidential election held on November 8 in 2016 after Obama resigned.

Before holding the election, Clinton kept ahead in almost every national and state poll,

some predictive models even gave Clinton over 90 percent winning possibility. On the

election day, Donald Trump got 62,984,828 popular votes, which is 46.09 percent of

popular votes during the election and Hillary Clinton got 65,853,514 votes, which is

48.18 percent of popular votes. However, Hillary Clinton lost the election due to the

Electoral College system of the election. Donald Trump received the majority votes in

the Electoral College and won victories in the pivotal Rust Belt region. He defeated his

opponent Hillary Clinton by winning 30 states and got 304 electoral votes in the

decisive electoral college compare with Clinton's 227. Therefore, Donald Trump won

the election and became the president of the United States. With neither prior public

service nor military experience, the victory of Trump shocked the world. On the

contrary, his opponent Clinton was experienced in political field. Furthermore, she was

the first former first lady to serve in the Senate. She chaired the Senate Democratic

Steering and Outreach Committee during the first term of the Obama ruling period.

Compare with Hillary Clinton, Trump is apparently a political novice. So how can

Donald Trump, a businessman, without any political and military related experiences,

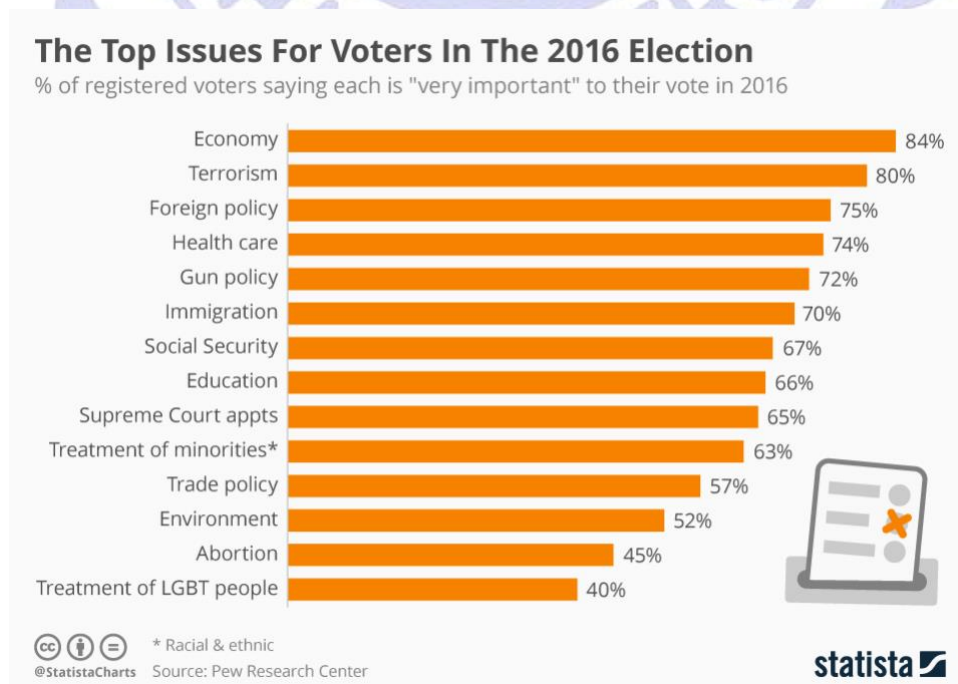
won the presidential election?

Donald Trump, who was known as a businessman before being the president. Trump was graduated with a bachelor's degree from the Wharton School of University of Pennsylvania. Besides, Trump has changed his political affiliation several times. Trump registered as a Republican in 1987. Few years later, he registered as an Independence Party member. In 2001, he registered as a member of the Democrat Party. Eight years later, he registered as a Republican and became unaffiliated in 2011. Finally, he registered as a Republican in 2012. In 1987, Trump expressed his opinion towards the foreign policy and the ways of eliminating the federal budget deficit by placed advertisements in three major newspapers. In 1988, he asked to be Republican nominee George H.W by meeting Lee Atwater. In 2000, Trump ran for the United States presidential election nomination as a Reform Party candidate. This is the first time that Trump wanted to participate in political elections. However, he announced to withdraw from the race in February 2000. In February 2011, he made his first speech at the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC). At the same year, he told the world that he would not run in May. Trump declared his candidacy in June 2015. Even though political analysts did not take his campaign seriously, Trump rose to the top of opinion polls in a fast speed. This was what people never expected and imagined. He became the front-runner in March 2016. Trump announced to be the presumptive Republican nominee after winning Indiana in May. While Trump was debating with Clinton, he

came up with some policies and a slogan. “Make America great again!”, he said. With this slogan, more and more people trust him that he can truly make America great again. According to the Washington Post, one of the reasons that people vote for Donald Trump was citizens were disappointed of the political establishment. In people’s mind, that pent-up frustration may be found on Donald Trump. Trump held several campaigns during 2016 and mentioned some policies in his campaign I’ll take three of the most important issue by people from the figure below as examples. The first is bringing back the economy and provide jobs, which is about economy. Second is building the wall and curbing immigration, which is related to immigration and third is related to climate change.

Figure 2

The top issues for voters in the 2016 election



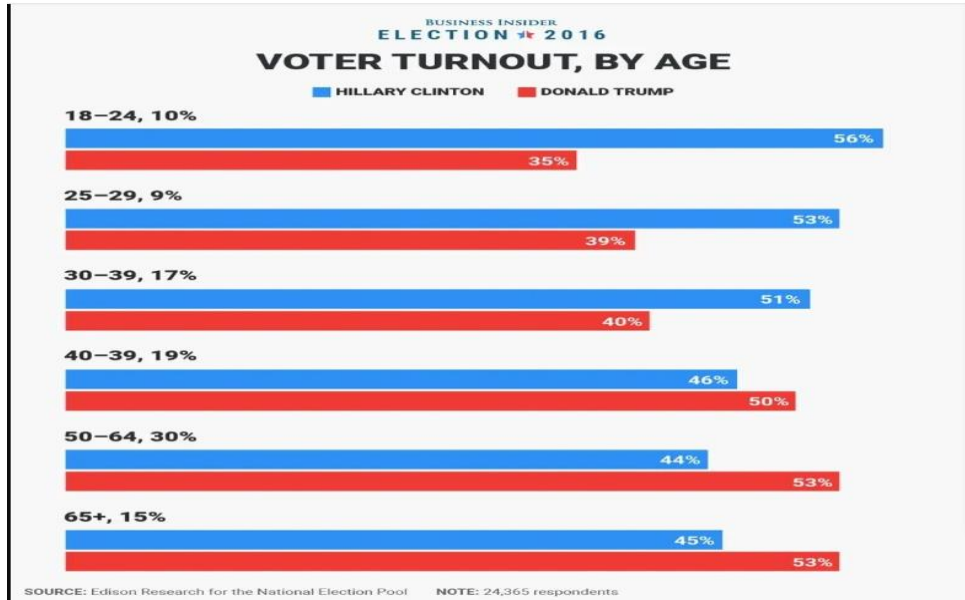
Note. This figure shows that these issues are the top issues that voters concern

The first issue is bringing back the economy and provide jobs. As we all know, economy is the biggest concern in many countries, especially during the pandemic. Trump promised of bringing jobs back to the US. According to the BBC News, Trump promised that he will cut the huge tax for American workers, shake up the trade status quo and revive American manufacturing during his first campaign. As seen in Figure 3[3], most of Trump's voters are aged 40 and over. In the contrast, most young people, aged 18 and over, voted for Clinton. Trump's voters need to work and earn money, so they love Trump's economy policy. Donald Trump did not lie to them either. As you can see, the figure4 [4] showed the total number of people who have jobs in the US from 2007 to 2019. The number decreased from 2009 to 2010 and increased until the Obama administration ended. The number continue increasing during the Trump administration. This showed that positive trends were in progress in the economy inherited by President Trump. The record with 111 months of positive job creation last during October 2010 to December 2019. Also, the real median household incomes increased during the Trump administration while it slipped during the Great Recession and started rising during second term of Obama administration in 2012. Household incomes only matched the level of 1999 in 2018 due to the adjusted inflation. However, the household incomes continued rising under Trump. According to the latest data before the pandemic, it

reached 68,700 dollars in 2019.

Figure 3

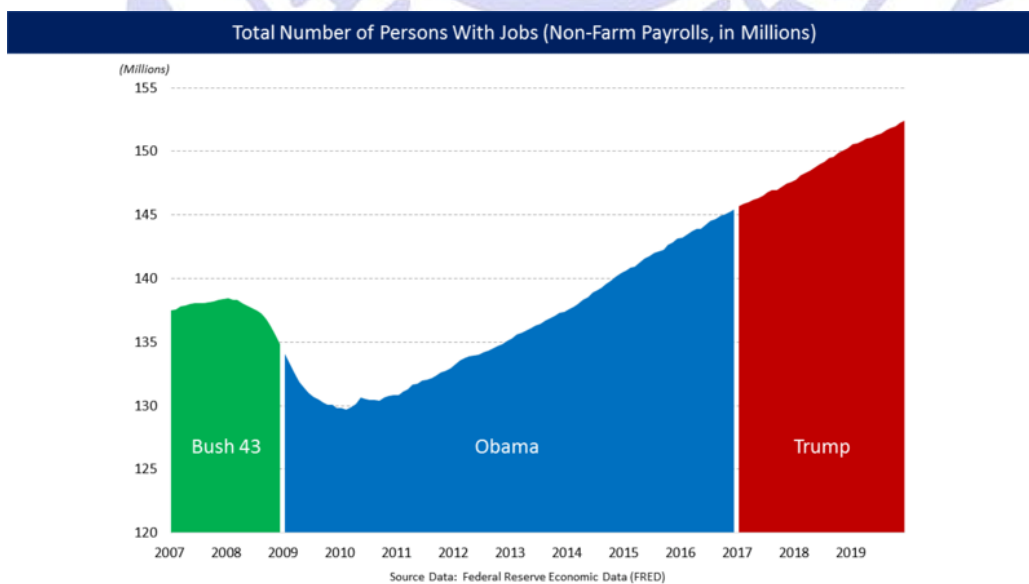
Voter turnout, by age in election 2016 of the United States



Note. This figure shows that most of Donald Trump's supporters were 40 and over

Figure 4

Total numbers of persons with jobs

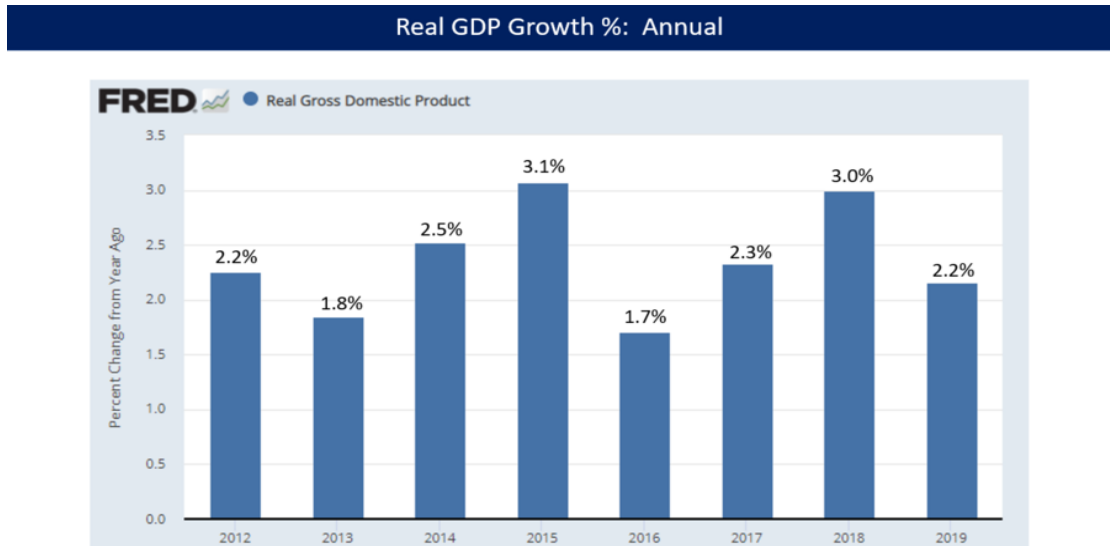


Note. This figure shows that the total number of persons with jobs during Trump

administration has increased

Figure 5

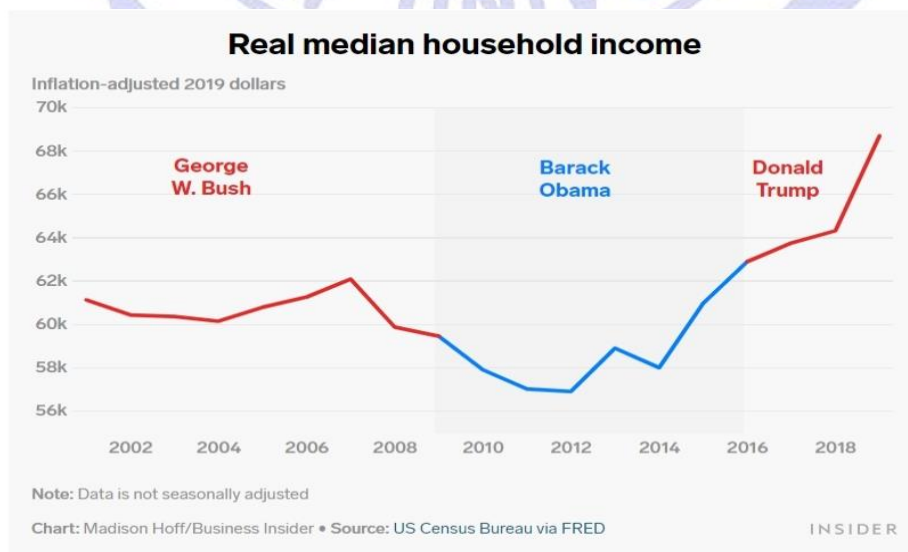
The real GDP during 2012-2019



Note. According to figure 5 [5] above, you can see that during the Obama administration, the average GDP of the United States is 2.4% while during the Trump administration, the average of GDP is 2.5%.

Figure 6

Real median household income

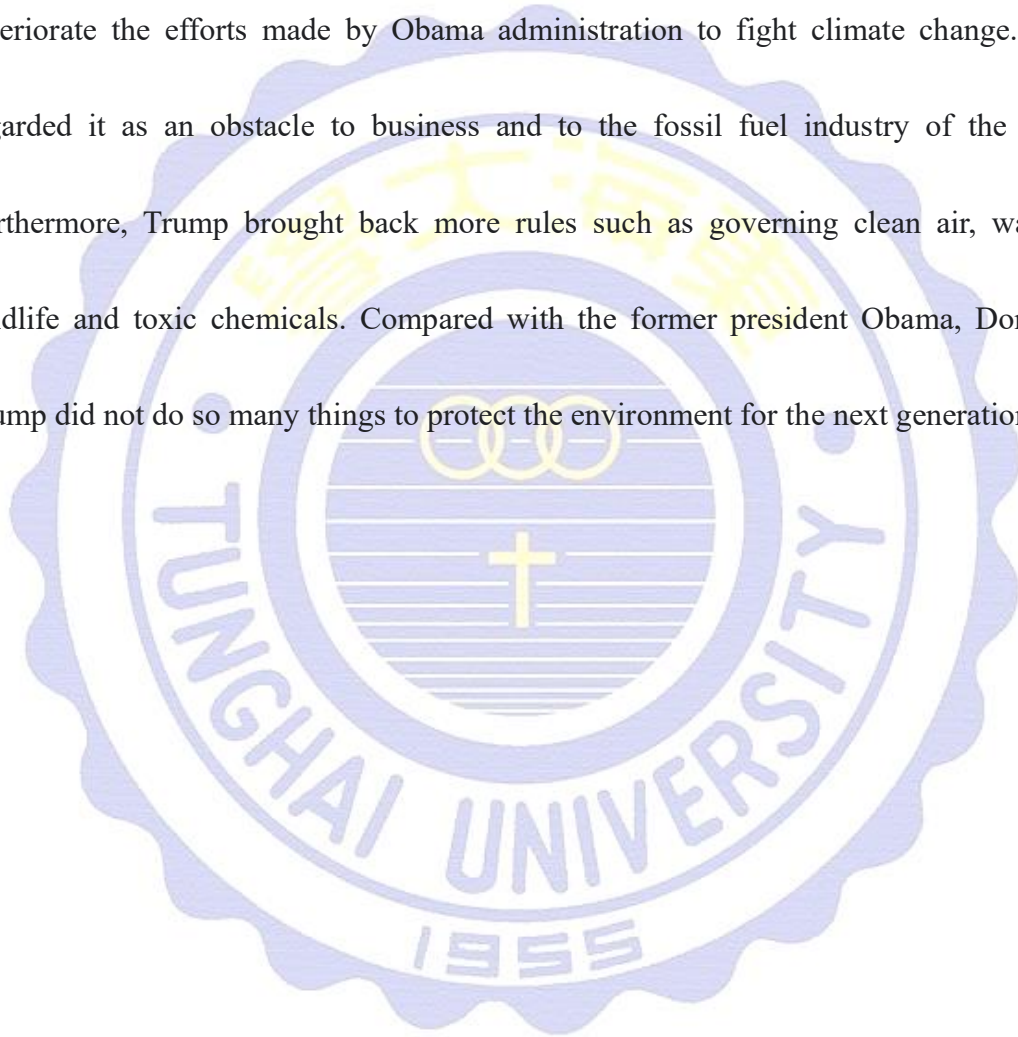


Note. The figure shows that the real median household income has increased during the Trump ruling period

Second, building the wall and curbing immigration. In the US, lots of people dislike immigration. Some people even considered immigration as the reason of their own poor prospects due to the competition of the same kinds of jobs. Trump's supporters are appealed to his opinions on immigration. People without college degrees particularly, who have been left behind due to the economy in recent years love Trump. Most Americans thought that immigrants mainly strengthen America. It's not only the blue-collar workers appeal to Trump's ideas. Nearly half of GOP voters agree with him of deporting those undocumented immigrants, which means that America should say goodbye to refugees. In his opinion, immigrants would vote for the Democratic Party and steal job opportunities for Americans. He mentioned that he will build a wall on southern border between America and Mexico, he did it after he became the president. He built the 450 miles wall in order to keep criminals, terrorists, and drugs out of our country. Also, he protected American workers and taxpayers from losing job and misuse of the welfare system.

Third, the climate change issue is significant around the whole world. The former president Obama initiated of reducing carbon dioxide emissions, including preserving forests, encouraging the use of alternate fuels, and pay more attention to the

study of climate change. In 2018, this plan first prepared. It had been updated every two years. President Obama's environmental policy include reducing carbon emissions using renewable energy while the policy of Trump was for the US to attain energy independence based on the usage of fossil fuel. However, Donald Trump promised to deteriorate the efforts made by Obama administration to fight climate change. He regarded it as an obstacle to business and to the fossil fuel industry of the US. Furthermore, Trump brought back more rules such as governing clean air, water, wildlife and toxic chemicals. Compared with the former president Obama, Donald Trump did not do so many things to protect the environment for the next generation.



South Korea

The presidential election was held in Korea on 9 March 2022, former president Moon Jae-In cannot run for re-election due to the new election policy that the president has restricted to a single five-year term. Therefore, Lee Jae-myung represented the incumbent Democratic Party for the 2022 presidential election after he got the nomination from the party. Opposite candidate Yoon Suk-yeol of the People Power Party won the election, Yoon Suk-yeol defeated Lee Jae-myung from the incumbent Democratic Party. In this presidential election, Yoon Suk-yeol won the election with more than 16,394,815 votes, which accounted for 48.56%. Compared with the percentage of votes obtained from Yoon Suk-yeol, Lee Jae-myung got 47.8%, whose votes is quite close to Yoon Suk-yeol. Yoon Suk-yeol defeated Lee Jae-myung by a narrow margin. However, Yoon Suk-yeol was totally a political novice without any experience in politics. On the contrary, Lee Jae-myung had a lot of experience in politics. Lee Jae-myung had been the mayor of Seongnma in 2010 and received reelection in 2014. Furthermore, he was the Governor of Gyeonggi Province in 2020. As a matter of fact, Lee Jae-myung had participated in elections many times, from legislative election to presidential campaign. However, he was defeated in these elections. Compared with the political experiences from Yoon Suk-yeol, Yoon Suk-yeol did not have those experiences such as Lee Jae-myung.

Therefore, when Yoon Suk-yeol defeated his opponent Lee Jae-myung, who represented the Democratic Party, people in Korea were shocked by the results of the presidential election. As a matter of fact, Yoon Suk-yeol is a political novice. He was a lawyer and the Prosecutor General of Korea before he was nominated by the People Power Party. He won the primary election with 347,963 votes and passed into the next stage. How can Yoon Suk-yeol, who did not have the relative experiences in politics, defeated Lee Jae-myung, a person with several political experiences, by a narrow margin in the presidential election? In our research paper, we will analyze the current state of society first. In the next step we will analyze the policy of the winner, comparing their policy with the former president, to understand the reason why Yoon Suk-yeol get the victory. In the paragraph below, I will introduce the candidate's background and analyze three problems from different points in South Korea. First, the real estate housing policy. Second, the growing anti-China sentiment in South Korea.

The candidate's background. Yoon Suk-yeol, born 18 December 1960, was former public prosecutor, and lawyer who has served as the country's 13th and current President since May 10, 2022. From 2019 to 2021, he was also the Prosecutor General of South Korea. Yoon was born in the family of scholars, his father was a professor emeritus of economics at Yonsei University, his mother was a lecturer at Ewha Womans University. In Yoon's student life, he studied law at Seoul National University, Yoon

and his college take place a mock trial in which he was served the prosecutor during their college life, demanding the death penalty for Chun Doo-hwan, the president of republic at that time. After that, Yoon Suk-yeol became popular and he escaped to another province in South Korea. After he graduated from Seoul National University, he became the prosecutor general of Korea from the years of 2019 to 2021. On top of that, Yoon Suk-yeol was famous for his prosecution against former president Park Geun-hye. He was also in charge of the Samsung inquiry into accounting fraud.

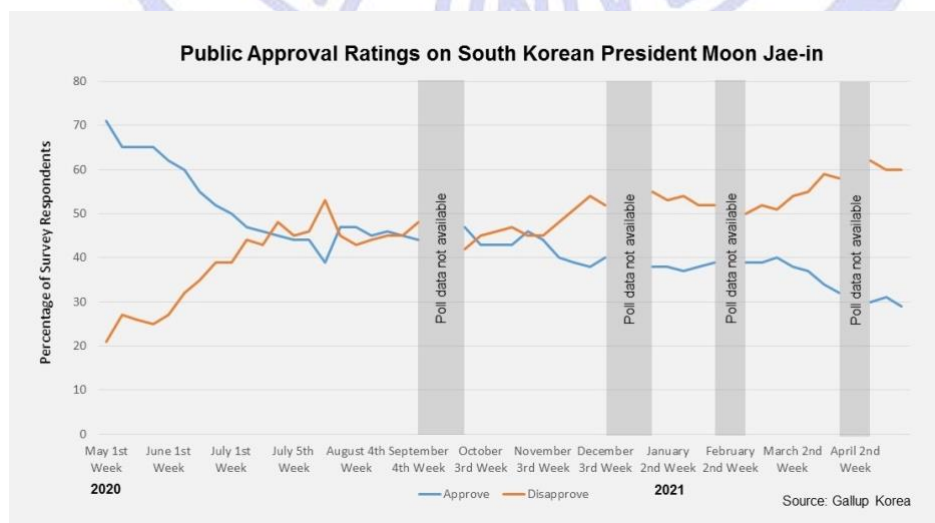
After that, Yoon officially launched his candidacy for the 2022 presidential election on June 29, 2021. He filed as an independent candidate with the National Election Commission on July 12th. After his announcement for the presidential election, he formally joined the conservative People Power Party, which is presently the biggest opposition party in South Korea. After we introduce the background of the candidate Yoon Suk-yeol, who represents the People Power party. The next step, we will analyze his policy and political views in the paragraph below.

First, Real estate policy(李明. (2022). 中俄 vs. 美歐 南韓左右為難-從尹錫悅勝選說起. *海峽評論*, (376), 45-48 mentions that teenagers in Korea dissatisfying the policy about real estate during Mun Jae-In's ruling period. Therefore, the approve of Mun Jae-In has dropped from nearly 70% to only 30% in 2020. When Moon Jae-in was

inaugurated in 2016. According to the South Korea Real Estate Board, the average price of an apartment in South Korea has doubled for five years. The average price of an apartment in the area of Eunpyeong cost eleven million NTD in 2017. However, The house price now exceeds twenty-one million NTD. On top of that, in the past twelve months, an apartment in Seoul had priced up 11% on average, according to Numbeo, a national website of database. During the Moon's ruling period, he had admitted that he would resolve the problem of housing prices. In fact, the Moon government really implemented more than 20 sets of real estate restrictions to cool off the overheated housing market. However, there is no significant effect on the overheated housing market. Housing prices in South Korea just keep rising shortly. To Korean society, Moon Jae-in's housing policy was apparently just a series of empty words.

Figure 1

Public Approval Rating on Moon Jae-in in 2020



Yoon Suk-yeol's political policies stated that he will undoubtedly change the measurement of Moon Jae-in's housing policy. He will concentrate on the financial policies, especially the overheated housing market in South Korea. Teenagers in South Korea society are unable to afford to buy houses due to the overheated housing market, leading to the generation gap in house ownership. According to the 2020 Korea Housing Survey, homeownership was declining among people under the age of 40. The failure of Moon Jae-in's housing policy led to the victory of Yoon Suk-yeol in the 2022 presidential campaign. Below are Yoon Suk-yeol's housing policies. Compared with the housing policy of Moon Jae-in's government. Yoon Suk-yeol advocated loosening the Moon Jae-in's housing regulations, which be guided by "market principles," and promises to build at least 2.5 million homes over the next five years, with 500,000 in Seoul, 800,000 in the capital's environs, and 1.2 million in other parts of the country, to address the housing crisis. On top of that, Lee Jae myung's scandal also led to the victory of Yoon Suk-yeol when Lee Jae-myung during his term as mayor of Seongnam. Lee Jae-myung accused a private asset management enterprise of making the profits in a real estate development scam. In conclusion, the former president Moon Jae-in's failed housing policy and the scandal from Yoon Suk-yeol's opponent Lee Jae-myung all led to the victory of Yoon Suk-yeol.

The second issue is the anti-China sentiment in South Korea. In the Beijing Winter Olympics, which was held in February 2022. The ice-skating competition between the Chinese and Korea teams, which has fueled the anti-China sentiment in recent years. According to the research conducted by Korea Institute for National Unification, a poll titled revealed that China was deemed the greatest threat to the country by 71.8 percent of respondents, followed by Japan (21.1%) and the United States (6.3%). On top of that, Yoon Suk-yeol's attitude toward China differed significantly from Lee Jae-myung's attitude. One of the argumentative topics, Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, which was called THAAD for short. THAAD is a powerful anti-missile radar system which was deployed by the American Military, aiming to respond to North Korea's frequent missile threat and nuclear issues. However, China, on the other hand, was opposed to the THAAD system. China's perspective stated that the THAAD system 2000 kilometers monitoring range posed a direct threat to China's national security. China mentioned that the THAAD system was too close to China's territory. On top of that, Under Moon Jae-in's presidency. He persisted in removing the THAAD system. Compared with the policy of Moon Jae-in, Yoon Suk-yeol, in contrast to Moon's policy. He persisted in boosting THAAD to defend the growing number of missiles launched by North Korea. Yoon Suk-yeol's behavior was deemed as a means of staying in

opposition with China's regime. Therefore, voters in South Korea preferred to vote for Yoon Suk-yeol due to the growing anti-China sentiment.

Last but not the least, anti-feminist sentiment in the South Korea. Anti-feminist sentiment has existed in different aspects of the South Korea, from education enrollment to wage gap. According to the statistics from the South Korean Statistics Bureau, male workers earned an average monthly income of 3.9 million (about NT\$112,000), while female workers earned an average monthly compensation of 2.36 million (NT\$68,000), men earned 1.7 times as much as women. Besides, according to the OECD, an international organization which offers many kinds of statistics, mention that there is a huge gap in the education enrollment between females and male. From the graphic below, we can realize that the education enrollment of male accounts for 73.8% in 2018. However, the education enrollment of females only accounts for 65.9%. Concluding from the above content, we can realize that "gender inequality" is always a severe problem in South Korea society.

In the policy of Yoon Suk-yeol, his vocally critical comment appeals to the male's young voters. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family should be abolished, according to Yoon Suk-yeol. On top of that, Yoon mentioned that the existence of this organization is another kind of gender inequality. He also blamed the country's low

birth rate on feminism. His radical policy on feminism really works on. A poll performed by three South Korean podcasts indicated that 59 percent of males under 30 years old voted for him, while 53 percent of males over the 30 years old voted for him. Only 34% of girls in their twenties, on the other hand, backed him.

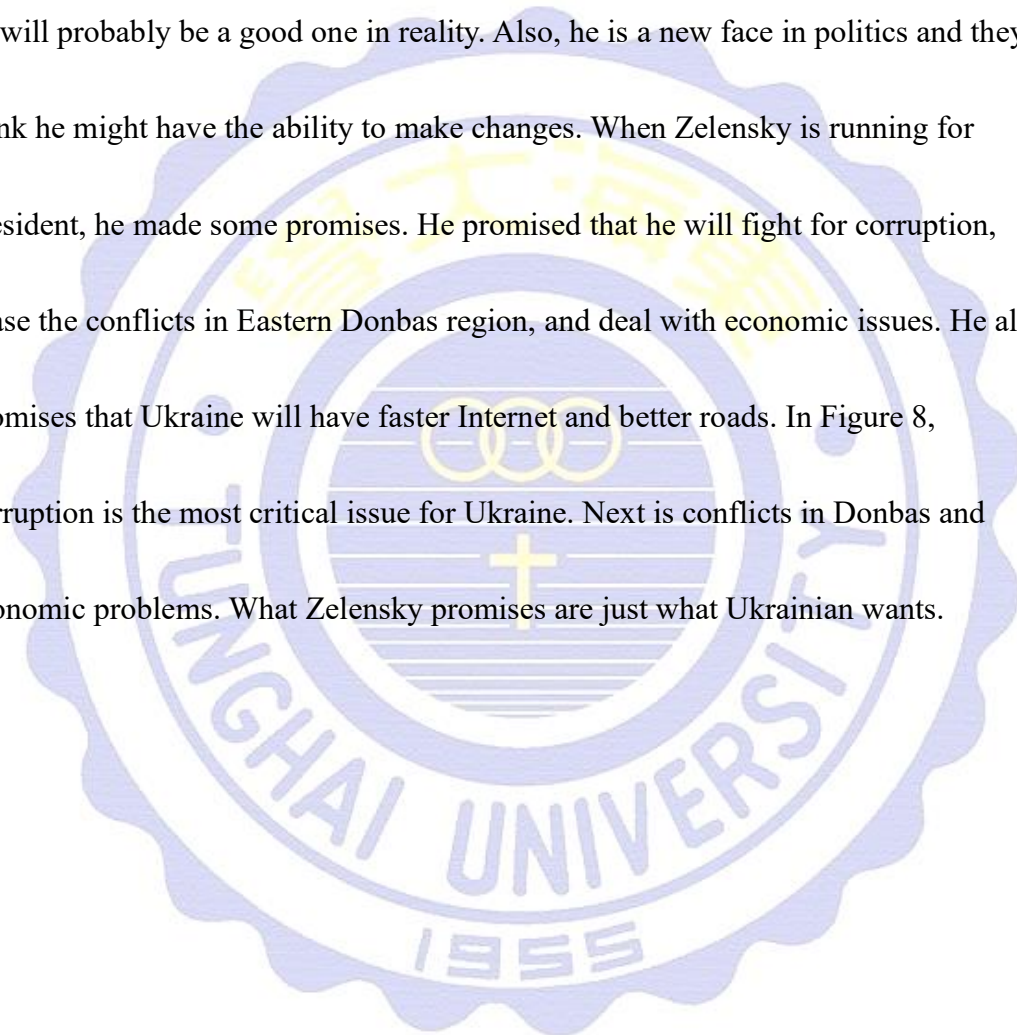
Concluding from the above paragraph, we can realize that Yoon Suk-yeol's policy really appeal to many voters in South Korea. We had mentioned three aspects in his political policy. First, the real estate policy. The former president Moon Jae-in's policy of cooling down the housing prices has no significant effect, therefore, people are unsatisfied with him, leading a victory of Yoon Suk-yeol. Second, the anti-China sentiment. The anti-China sentiment has increased for the recent years due to the disputation in Olympic Winter Games. Yoon Suk-yeol's attitude toward China's government appeal to the voters in South Korea. He insisted on the THADD system, which protected South Korea from North Korea's missile attack. However, THADD system deemed as a invasion of China's territory by the China government. To China, Yoon Suk-yeol's support of THADD system is definitely a provocation. Last but no least, the anti-feminist sentiment. Anti-feminist sentiment is always a problem in Korea society. Yoon Suk-yeol's vocally critical comment on the female appeal to the male voters in South Korea. He even stated that if he win the election, he will abolish the The

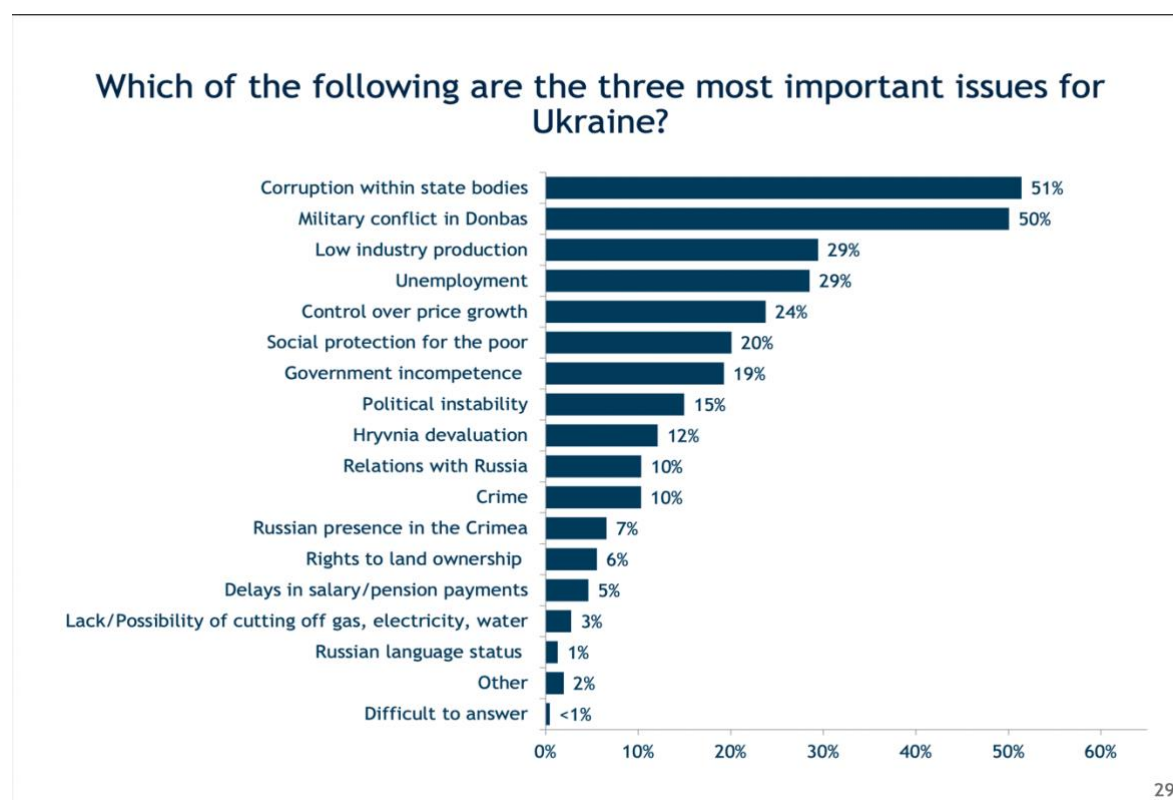
Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, besides, he had blamed the low birth rate on feminist. From the above policy, we can realize that why South Korea's voters are likely to vote for this political novice, Yoon Suk-yeol.

Ukraine

In 2019, a presidential election was held in Ukraine. In the first round, according to (“Ukraine presidential election”, 2019) the comedian Volodymyr Zelensky, who won around 30% of the votes while Petro Poroshenko, the former president, only got 16%. Since no one got over half of the votes, there is a second round. On the second round, Clark (2022) Zelensky got 73% of the votes and Pedro got about 25%. This comedian, who has no political experience before and looks like an outsider to Ukrainian citizens and observers, just become a president. What caused this political novice to rise and ended up winning the election with a landslide victory? Before becoming the president, Zelensky was just a comedian. In 2015, he acted as a history teacher that accidentally became the president in “Servant of the People.” “We just choose the lesser evil” (The comedian running for president in Ukraine, 2019, 0:45) and the content reflects actual problems happen in Ukraine, which caused the show to go viral. Because of the character and the plot, some audience think that there is hope for

the government officials to urge rights for them. There is also a party established named after the show and Zelensky joined it. In the same year, he represented the party to elect for the president. His image in the comedy lives in people's hearts. People were thinking that he acted so well in "Servant of the People" as a president, he will probably be a good one in reality. Also, he is a new face in politics and they think he might have the ability to make changes. When Zelensky is running for president, he made some promises. He promised that he will fight for corruption, cease the conflicts in Eastern Donbas region, and deal with economic issues. He also promises that Ukraine will have faster Internet and better roads. In Figure 8, corruption is the most critical issue for Ukraine. Next is conflicts in Donbas and economic problems. What Zelensky promises are just what Ukrainian wants.





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Figure 8: Which of the following are the three most important issues for Ukraine?
 Source: Havlik, P., Kochnev, A., & Pindyuk, O. (2020). Economic challenges and costs of reintegrating the Donbas region in Ukraine (No. 447). wiiw Research Report.

Corruption in politics has long been a serious issue in Ukraine. (International Transparency, 2021), Ukraine has long been a serious corrupt country. The survey between 2010 to 2016, Ukraine had been the most corrupt country in Europe. From 2017 to 2019, it is the second most corrupt country in Europe and ranks 122nd out of 180 countries. This issue is so serious that in 2018, The EU Anti-Corruption Initiative designed a temporary park to display the “achievement” from the corrupted officials in Kyiv. In 2016, the authorities announced that all top officials must reveal their property under the new anti-corruption law. Those who do not finish the declaration

would face possible jail time. Under the regulations, citizens have access to know their wealth and it is a reform to the corruption. Viktor Yanukovich was the president between 2010 to 2014. (Walker, 2014) Viktor Yanukovich likes to brag about his corruption in front of other leaders. After he announced on pausing the procedure of signing the agreement with the EU, people went on street and protested for three months, which is known for “Maidan Revolution.” After that, he fled to Russia, Ukraine provisional government launched an investigation on him. One of them is corruption. Even though before Yanukovich left, he destroyed the evidence by tearing and throwing it into water, people are trying their best to restore paper. Pearson (2021) reported about Yanukovich owned a palace, a private zoo and a restaurant. These establishments were all paid with public money. The organization also points out that the president and his associates are said to have embezzled as much as \$37 billion. In 2014, after the Revolution of Dignity, National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine was created under the requirement set by the EU to investigate corruption of top officials. (Kalenjuk, Halushka, 2021) Even though the NABU is independent and has proven its capability, it has won only a few dozen cases. In 2018, many anti-corruption activists were attacked in a short period of time and some people died of this. Petro Poroshenko had failed to take corruption, which Zelensky promised to do when they were both president candidates in the election in 2019. When the former

isn't able to deal with the corruption as the citizens want and the political novice vowed to do so, people were putting hope on Zelensky. Voters want a new government and in order to fight corruption, they were willing to take a risk. When he said he's going to deal with corruption, people trusted him and voted for him, which led to one of the main reasons why he was elected as a president.

Another issue that Ukrainian cared about the most is the conflicts in Eastern Ukraine. After the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, Ukraine became independent. However, in 2014, after Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign the agreement with the EU, people went on the street and demonstrate. The president then fled Ukraine and the government became pro-western. Post-Russian people in Crimea were not satisfied with it so under Russia's support, they held a referendum to declare independent from Ukraine. Then, Russia annexed Crimea. After that, separatists in Luhansk and Donetsk were supported by Russia to establish Luhansk People's Republic and Donetsk People's Republic. Since then, there have been wars and conflicts around the border. During that period of time, they signed a Minsk Agreement to cease fire. However, it only lasted for a few days and both sides started to fight against each other again. In 2018, the tension between the two countries got worse. The wars have forced the government to spend lots of money on national defense and brought water shortages to some regions. He (2019) stated that remaining Donbas of having conflicts limit

Ukraine’s development with NATO. Since most of the Ukrainian tend to be pro-Western, the situation is not a good sign. Zelensky promised that he would deal with conflicts in Donbas and improve Ukraine’s relation with Putin. What’s more, the conflicts do not only increase the burden of the national defense expense, it also leads to economic loss, which will be talked about in the next paragraph.

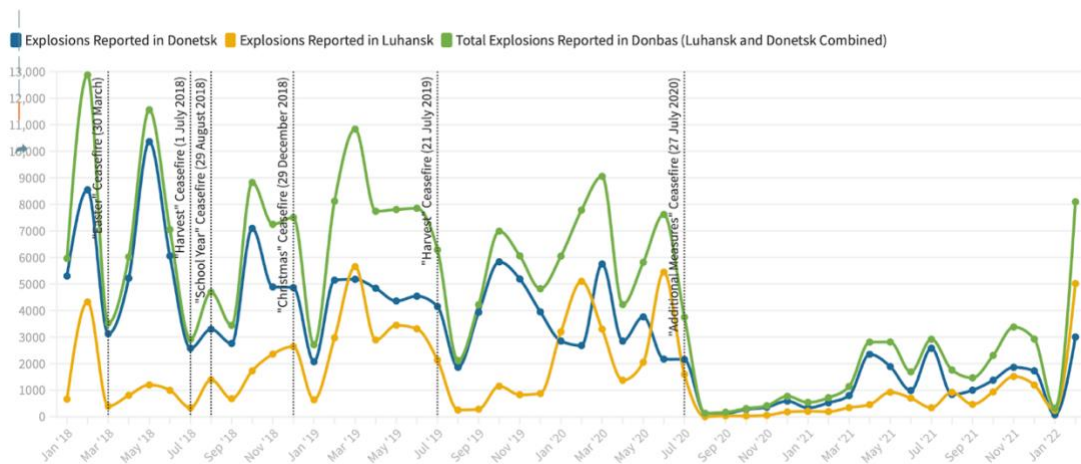


Figure 9: Fatalities of Ukraine’s Armed Forces from 2014 to 2020
 Source: Conflicts in Ukraine’s Donbas: A Visual Explainer [chart]. (2022).
 International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/content/conflict-ukraines-donbas-visual-explainer>

The economy in Ukraine was expected to be better after becoming an independent country. It has black soil and is called “Breadbasket of Europe.” Compared to its neighbor country, (World Bank, 2021), GDP per capita was \$1417.9 in Ukraine and \$2459 in Poland in 1991 while in 2019, the number was \$3661.5 in Ukraine and \$15732.2 in Poland. There’s an obvious gap between the two countries. In Figure 8,

we can see Ukraine's economy has been the issue the voters care about the most after corruption and wars in Donbas. Actually, corruption and the conflicts in Eastern Ukraine are the two big reasons that lead to the economy situation in Ukraine nowadays. Revolution of Dignity, happened in 2014, influenced the economy as well.

So how does wars and Eastern Ukraine affect the economy? Conflicts in Donbas region have been fought since 2014, even though both sides had sat down and negotiated about the issue, the problem still existed and fights never really stopped. Years of wars undoubtedly caused Ukraine government a lot of money and harm citizen in some ways. In 2014, after the government decided to sign the trade agreement with the EU, Russia cancelled the original trade agreement with Ukraine that brought worries to Eastern Ukraine. The industry in Eastern Ukraine relied on Russia's low-cost energy so they decided to be independent. However, He (2019) stated "Donbas accounted for over 10 percent of GDP in 2019." Also, because of the conflicts, Putin limited the cargo Ukraine exported into Russia and the wars disrupted both regional and international trade. At the same time, the IMF, EU, and other international organizations' request Ukraine for reformation so their economy got worse. Another problem that causes poor economic performance is corruption.

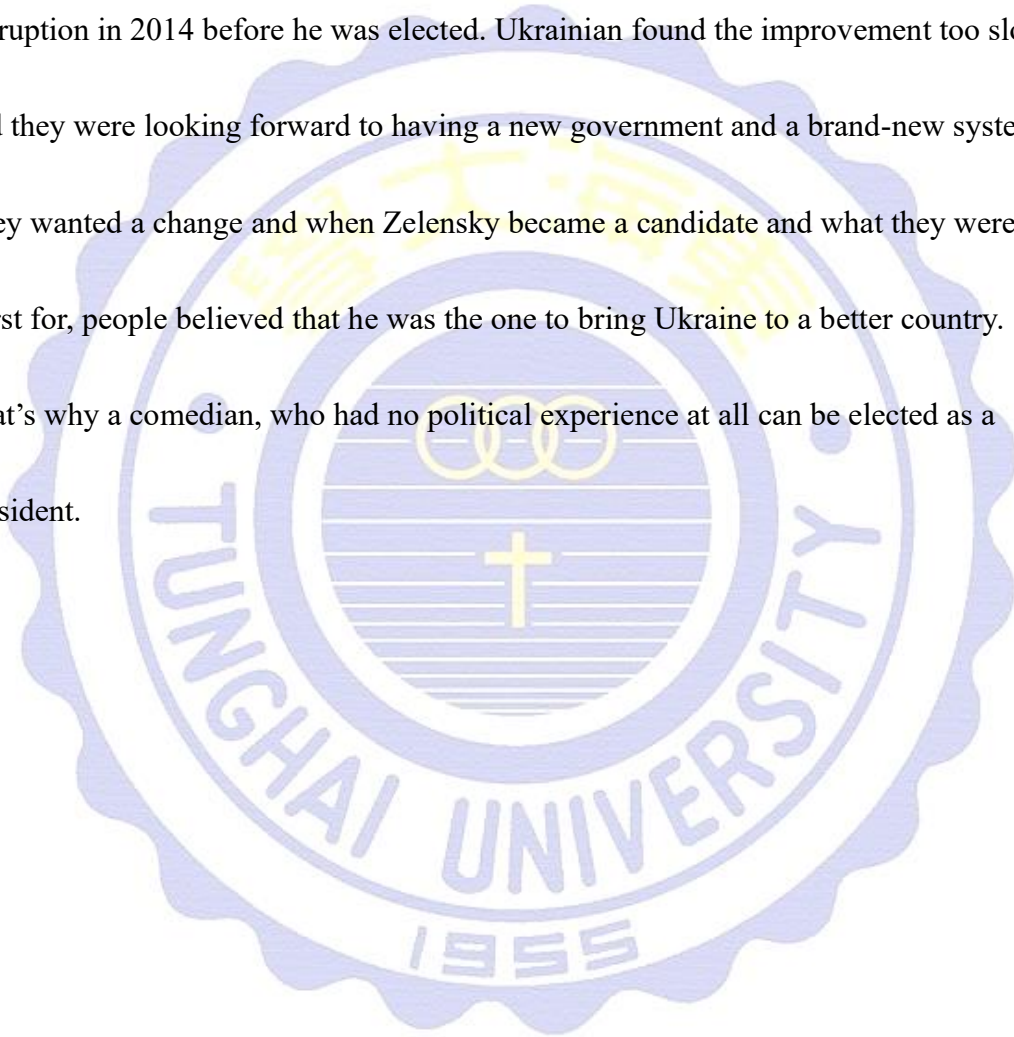
Saakashvili (2021) pointed out in the headline, "Corruption costs Ukraine at least \$37 billion per year," which is almost a quarter of Ukraine's annual GDP in 2019. As I

mentioned earlier, corruption has been an issue that Ukrainian tired of, which gave Zelensky a big hope.

Zelensky was a new, fresh face in politics in the presidential election in 2019. Even though when the former president, Petro Poroshenko, gave the promise of fighting corruption in 2014 before he was elected. Ukrainian found the improvement too slow and they were looking forward to having a new government and a brand-new system.

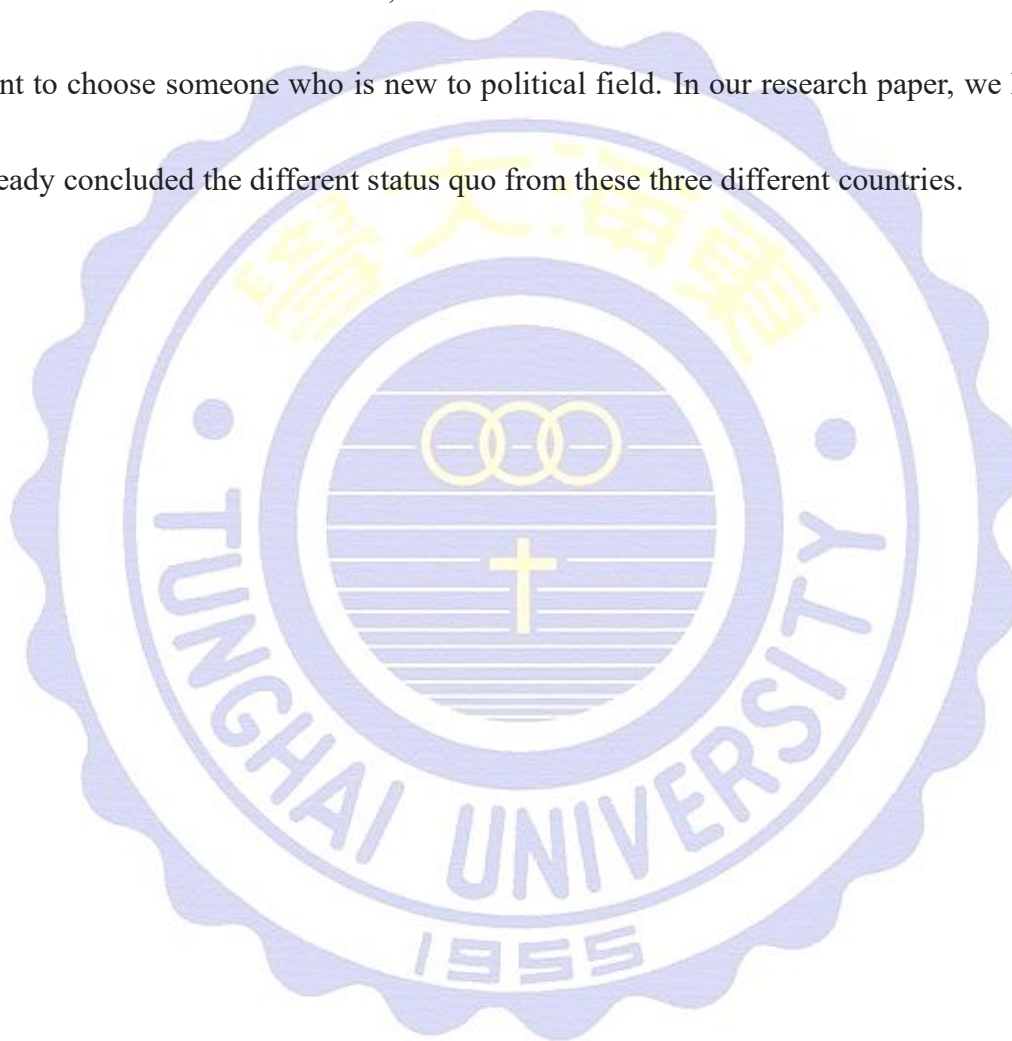
They wanted a change and when Zelensky became a candidate and what they were all thirst for, people believed that he was the one to bring Ukraine to a better country.

That's why a comedian, who had no political experience at all can be elected as a president.



Conclusion

In conclusion, the common reason among the US, Ukraine and Korea is that people are dissatisfied to the status quo. According to all the information that we have read and the research that we have conducted, we concluded that citizens of these three countries want to choose someone who is new to political field. In our research paper, we have already concluded the different status quo from these three different countries.



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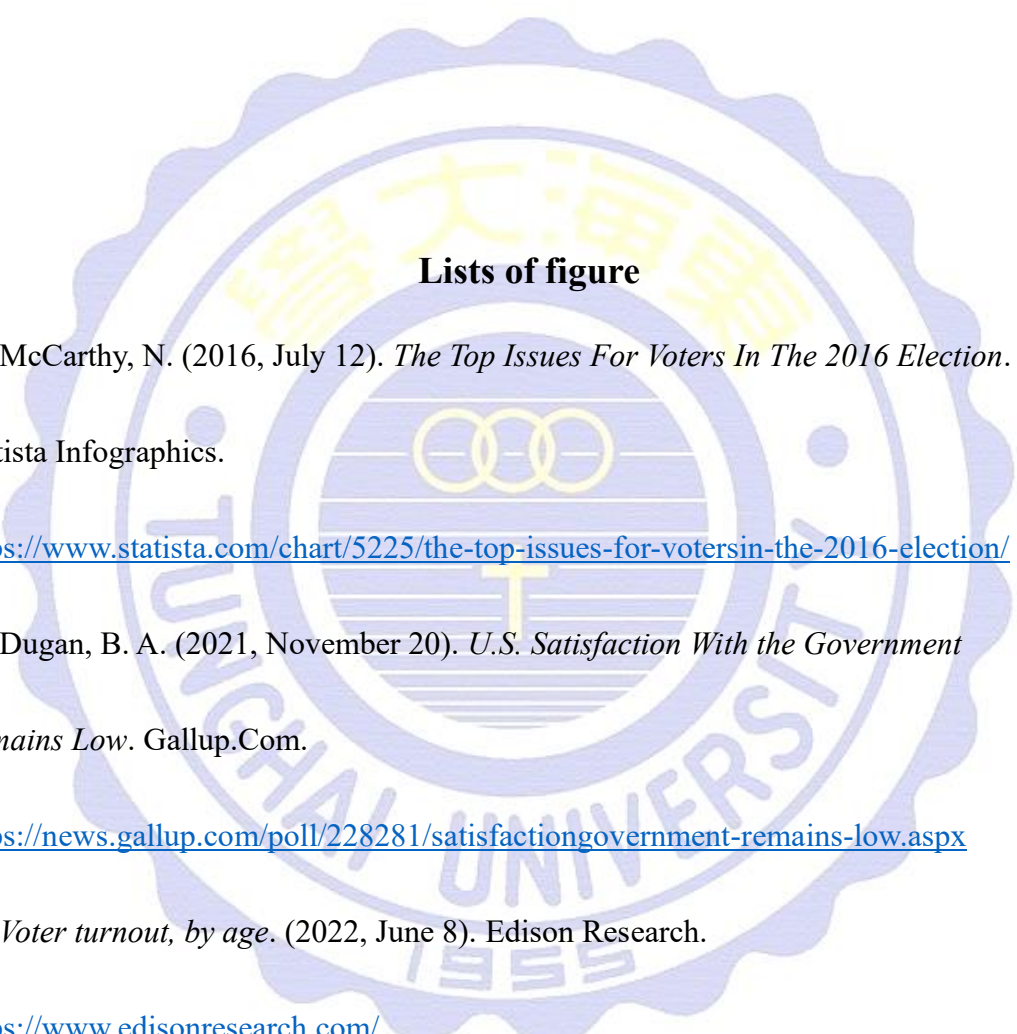
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