

ROLE OF THE MEDIA DURING POLITICAL EVENTS IN
AUTHORITARIAN, DEMOCRATIZATION AND
DEMOCRATIC PERIODS IN KOREA

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IN KOREA

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ABSTRACT

This research examined the role of the media during three different significant events in political transitions in Korea, namely the Kwangju massacre of 1980, the democratic elections of 1987, and the candlelight protests of 2008. This study sought to address this question: **How have roles of the Korean print media changed as Korea transitioned from an authoritarian regime to its democratization period and a democratic regime?**

Applying textual and rhetorical analytic methods to selected articles from five publications, the researcher found that roles of the media showed a transition from a facilitative role categorization, where neither media institutional power nor autonomy is strong, to a monitorial role, where both of those elements show strengths. One thing worthy of notice however, was that as democratization of Korea developed into its current stages, institutional powers of the media seemed to weaken again, which autonomy continuously gained strength. Therefore, in terms of media roles, news articles showed that advocacy and opinionated perspectives could be a new significant factor for media roles in the later stages of democratic development.

1. INTRODUCTION

As nations undergo democratization from an authoritarian state to a democracy, journalists have taken on various roles such as watchdog to monitor authority and information disseminators who at times work to provoke or even incite the public to push democratic efforts. This research will examine the role of the media during different events in political transitions in Korea, namely the Kwangju massacre of 1980, the democratic elections of 1987, and the candlelight protests of 2008.

After WWII and the Korean War, a series of coup d'états placed the Republic of Korea under authoritarian military rule. The idea of democratization emerged in the 1980s, when the military ruler at the time directed a massacre of protesters. A wave of democratic ideas and the call for new administrations followed until the authoritarian regime was overthrown in 1987. During these events of Korea's active political movements, a number of news media organizations began to include strong voices and opinions in the form of editorials and commentary articles. More than two decades after democratization, Korea's democracy saw one of its largest ever protest movement in the candlelight vigils of 2008. Media roles during this event, within a democracy, would have been different from its roles in two previous events. This study seeks to address this question: **How have roles of the Korean print media changed as Korea transitioned from an authoritarian regime to its democratization period and a democratic regime?**

The reason for choosing the topic of study is closely related to the researcher's passion to better understand motives and effects of journalistic communication. By addressing the question, the researcher seeks to grasp and list role concepts that were presented by the news media in different junctures of democratization. This would enable an examination of how the circumstance of transition to a democracy had an influence on roles assumed by the media. Then, an even further consideration of what the media sought to accomplish through the goals would be possible, enabling the researcher to understand how the Korean news media reacted to political transitions with what motives.

What has happened in Korea is perhaps a highly compressed version of media role developments throughout the history of journalism and democracy. For journalists around the world, theories describing what their roles are in society could be applicable to their respective situations, depending on what stage of democracy or democratization they are experiencing. Korea's example will give journalists something to think about what they ought to do, and how to go about doing it.

As for scholars, the linkage among various theories of different disciplines (political science and mass communication) would make this research appealing. Korea, located in East Asia, is a very important study subject for the political scientist, as its turn of political events in the past fifty years show salient cases of civil society establishment, building of effective states and governance systems, and political figures with distinct characteristics. This trait of Korea and its history will also be beneficial to journalism studies because a majority of journalistic material from the period of transition are still available and in good shape, these events being relatively recent. As mentioned above,

the study would also hopefully serve as a preceding reference study for anticipating media roles in parts of the world that are currently undergoing social transitions.

This research will be presented as follows: In the literature review chapter, a general discussion of democracy and democratization will be followed by a review of pertinent theories on press systems, which look at the relationship between political systems and how the press functions in those systems. Then, the researcher will look at existing discussion of media role concepts and link those concepts to the theory regarding political transition and press systems. A more detailed look at the Korean case particularities of the Korean media will follow.

The methodology to conduct analysis will be discussed, in this research the method being textual analysis and rhetorical analysis (the pentad). After a brief discussion of sampling methods and explication of key concepts in the methodology, analysis and findings will be presented, separately for each time period (1980, 1987 and 2009).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

What is Democracy / Democratization?

Democratization is the process where an authoritarian regime is transformed into a democracy. It is defined as a multifaceted phenomenon (Shin, 2008): Institutionally, it refers to a “transition from authoritarian rule to a political system that allows ordinary citizens to participate on a regular basis.” (Shin, 2008, p. 92) Culturally, the democratization process is deemed complete when democracy as a political ideology is believed to be the “only game in town” by the people.

If the abovementioned definition of democratization deals with a minimum-level qualification of democratization, theories of democratic consolidation and effective democracy are used to define the ultimate desired goal for democratization. Democratic consolidation, as defined by Schedler (1998), describes the extension of the life expectancy of a democracy beyond the short term, of making the system immune against the threat of authoritarian regression, of preventing a reversal. It is an ideal state for a democracy, and it has become a challenge even, for newer democracies to maintain and develop democracy in a number of aspects.

The term “effective democracy” is best explicated by Inglehart and Welzel (2008) as a state of democracy that goes beyond meeting basic and systematic requirements. Alan T. Wood (2004) lists five essential characteristics of a democracy: 1) Elections to office are open to participation by all citizens; 2) each vote is of equal value; 3) voters have real and free choices; 4) citizens have open access to information; and 5) there is a

rule of law guaranteeing freedom (pp. 2-4). However, effective democracy, in addition to these institutional and systematic conditions, requires the empowerment of citizens and the degree to which officeholders and leaders actually respect civil and political rights of the people. Here, empowerment of the people refers to the transfer of power from the elites to the people, and as a result of being empowered, citizens' willingness to participate in society and politics increases. The standard for effective democracy is very high, and it, along with democratic consolidation, has been argued to be the goal for new democracies such as Korea. For instance, Im (2004), in discussing the performance of the "three Kims era," – a period in which three politicians named Kim Dae Jung, Kim Young Sam and Kim Jong Pil showed significant influence in the Korean politics scene – evaluates that democratic consolidation during this timeframe was on the verge of faltering; he even labels Korea as a "defective democracy." Assumptions of such conclusions seem to imply that democratic consolidation was Korea's desired objective whose fulfillment had failed due to political incapability.

This research will focus more on the institutional aspects of democratization, as the cultural definition requires a state to have within itself a higher level of support for democracy by the people. This might not have been the case for Korea during the specific timeframe in question, as democratic values had just begun their penetration into the public and not yet been stabilized or consolidated. Also, democratic consolidation is still an issue for measuring Korea's democratic performance even now, some twenty years after its democratization process. Thus, the focus of the research in terms of democratization will be on the fact that a process of democratization took place from an

authoritarian rule to the establishment of institutionalized democratic systems.

Democratization even in its minimalist sense itself brings with it various aspects of social transitions, and it is an assumption of this research that media roles were signified within those transitions.

Press Systems: Models and Theories

This research focuses on how media roles may have changed in different stages of democratization and in democracy. In other words, this research aims at examining different press systems, meaning forms of mass media within political regimes. With regard to the status of a regime in political developments, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm (1963) provide an overview of press systems that associate media and political types, systems that are important in understanding relationships between them. The four press systems, referred to as the “four theories concept” are 1) authoritarian, where the organizational structure (state) supersedes the individual or any free will of one; 2) libertarian, in advocacy of free press; 3) communist, with media’s focus on perpetuation and expansion of the socialist system; and 4) social responsibility, which goes beyond the libertarian theory in that it places a great many moral and ethical restrictions on the press. This conceptualization of systems has been called the “four theories of the press” or the “normative theories of the press,” and has been one of the most influential academic approaches to discussing press freedom.

To this, Nerone et al. (1996) concede to the point that the four theories hold high curricular and intellectual virtues and has strengths in brevity and simplicity, but argue

against it in that it may not be able to suffice in explaining press systems and roles in new settings outside of the United States or of a new time period. The authors, taking into account theory as something that “is able to explain a relationship between concepts,” claim that the four theories are not really four theories, but only offers one theory with four examples. According to the authors, the “theory” of the four theories as stated by Schramm and colleagues is that a society’s structure, policy and political orientation result in one of the four press systems. In other words, although the four theories would be adequate for stating that there is a relationship between social circumstances and press systems, the actual four theories – or just models or examples of press system cases – may not be able to explain what could happen in societies other than the United States or at a different time.

Similarly, Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue that a potential problem of the four theories of the press is that “The press always takes on the form and coloration of social and political structures within which it operate,” (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1963, p.1) and that the authors claim to believe that an understanding of these aspects of society is basic to any systematic understanding of the press. Hallin and Mancini question this perspective of the four theories, which state that they can be applied to any and every type social regime. Arguing that it makes sense to lead a further discussion from the four theories, or normative theories, the authors engage in their own comparison of media systems.

Hallin and Mancini’s comparison is based on 1) the development of media markets; 2) political parallelism, or the degrees and nature of the links between media

and political parties; 3) development of journalistic professionalism; and 4) the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system. The authors also argue that there are important connections between the patterns of development of media systems and key characteristics of the political system such as the role of the state, consensus character of a political system, pluralism, and corporatism. According to these factors, the authors created the three models theory consisting of the 1) polarized pluralist, 2) democratic corporatist, and 3) liberal models.

The polarized pluralist model is characterized by the state and political parties intervening strongly in many areas of social life, and with much of the population holding adherence to a wide variety of political ideologies. This system is relatively absent of commonly agreed rules and norms. The news media in this system are similarly characterized with a high degree of external pluralism, and the media seem to have posed more importance on commitment to ideologies than on common professional culture. Ties between journalists and political actors are close, state intervention is active, and newspapers provide commentary directed at political activists.

The democratic corporatist model puts a strong emphasis on the role of organized social groups in society, but at the same time holding a strong sense of commitment to the “common good.” The media culture here is characterized by being a vehicle for expression of social groups and diverse ideologies, but at the same time adhering to a high level of loyalty to common norms and procedures. State intervention in the media is extensive, but it places high values on media autonomy.

In the liberal model, representation is more individualistic. In this model, the role of organized social groups is emphasized less than in the other two systems and is often looked down upon. “Special interests” are emphasized more than the “common good.” Role of the media here tends to be seen less in terms of representation of social groups and ideological diversity and more in terms of the press as a “watchdog” of government. A common professional culture is relatively strong. State intervention is low in this model.

The authors state that although the liberal model has dominated media studies and has served as the principal normative model, it is probably the polarized pluralist model that is most widely applicable to political systems around the world in terms of the relationship between media and politics. They mention that Asian states will also fit into this model due to the role of clientelism, or the dependency of society on superiors and subordinates, strong roles of the state, and the role of the media in political struggles. Unlike the authors of the four theories, Hallin and Mancini state that “substantial modifications” would need to be made to their models and that their theories of the three models would be used as inspiration for creating new models.

These press system theories are significant for this research because they can be applied to the case of Korea, which has transitioned from an authoritarian or polarized pluralist model to a more libertarian or liberal model. It is also interesting that, although further discussion will follow later, Korean press systems always adhered to some kind of a socially responsible model owing to its cultural values. Moreover, as Korea is relatively young in its history of democratic transition and consolidation, its press system seem to

be a combination of all of the three different models introduced and discussed by Hallin and Mancini.

Then, it would be worthwhile to elaborate the discussion of press systems in terms of conceptions that would fit into the specific settings of Korea and graft them with a theory that would be able to explain why such press role conceptions occurred in the way they did.

Western Discussion of Media Role Concepts

Prior to advancing to an application of a theory or theories that provides explanation corresponding to the Korean case, an overview of roles concepts in pertinent literature seems necessary. These role conceptions, as per the discussions of Nerone et al. and Hallin and Mancini, are mainly rooted in a Western approach, which is why a comprehensive understanding and grafting of these concepts to a possible theoretical explanation of the Korean case must follow.

Due to the freedom-oriented nature of democracy, roles of the press are diversified to a great extent in accordance to various media elements. Some of these elements as debated by John C. Merrill and Everette Dennis (1991) include media-government relationship, media and the public trust, people's right to know and right of access to the media, etc.

James Curran (2005) also mentions that democracy requires of the media the following: 1) Representation by enabling groups to be heard, 2) deliberation by providing a forum for discussion and presenting a wide range of voices, 3) conflict resolution by

working to promote norms and procedures of democracy, 4) accountability by monitoring diverse sources of power, and 5) information dissemination, enabling citizens to enter into informed debate and decision-making. Although these are concepts and functions of what ought to be done, they can be perceived as roles that media plays in a democracy, or put further, in a transition to democracy.

Valenzuela and McCombs' (2008) theory is media as agenda setter, and he gives a description of agenda-setting and agenda attribute setting roles of the media, where media providers determine what should be considered as "news." It is the role of the journalist to tell the audience not what to think, but what to think about. This is an important role of the media in a democracy in that issues within a democratic regime that may be overlooked are presented with emphasis, bringing together topics and ideas crucial to a democratic society. As audiences are directed to such issues, their support for and accessibility to democratic values are increased, enabling different phases of democratization or democratic consolidation.

Weaver and Wilhoit's (1986) definition of the interpretive role of the media can also be universally applied to various political situations, because through this role all that the media does is explicate complicated concepts to the audience. Some may argue that this role is a facilitative role, but this role can be played even in authoritarian regimes, because strictly the media does not have to care about social benefit in performing this role. Its main focus is to explain and make a concept better understood, regardless of the ideology behind those concepts.

Bennett and Serrin (2005) discuss a role of the press as watchdog. As an agenda setter, it is the role of the news media to bring forth issues specifically dealing with how government is performing. It could be understood that this role of the media is a specified kind of an agenda setter. The media is a vigilant watchdog that monitors actions of the government, timely pointing out problems that people should know about. This role is important within a democracy because foundations of such a regime lies under an assumption that the government is for and by the people. Any actions of the government that is non-democratic, or in other words authoritarian, will be discussed in the news media. With this role is another significant idea that the news media address accountability.

Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), in their discussion of roles, introduce the verification role of the press, which refers to its ability and willingness to verify alleged truths in society. This requires a high level of media autonomy, as what the media does here basically is to question its sources. Here, the media also has as its goal to pursue a definite good, which is truth. Those subject to verification can be anyone, but in most cases the target is the government and policies, which makes this role monitorial in many senses.

Schmuhl and Picard (2005) address representation, deliberation, and conflict resolution functions of the media by examining the marketplace of ideas role. For this role, the media provides a forum for the discussion and resolution of ideas and interests in a society. By performing the media representation function, media plays a role to become the “voice of the people.” The traditional view of the media as a unitary institution representing an indivisible public is rejected, and its customary role becomes one to

enable the principal organizations and groups in society to be heard. In other words, the media acts as a vehicle for conveying opinions of different groups in society, large or small, so they can be given an opportunity to speak. Through an exchange and sharing of these voices, conflicts can be resolved in the forum, and in the marketplace of ideas, it is said that truth always prevails. However, the authors say that accelerating commercialization of the news may be hindering the performance of this role.

Patterson and Seib (2005) discuss the media role of providing information for the public, which is perhaps the most familiar role. On the basis of information provided by the media, citizens can productively participate in politics and policies. As a contemporary problem, the authors indicate how news coverage often fails to educate the public and lead them to more informed and discerning judgments. For this, the authors suggest that a clear understanding of just how informed a citizen must be is a required discussion for the media to adequately perform this role.

Thorson (2005) provides a definition of the media role as mobilizer, presenting it with an assessment of how well the press works to mobilize citizens in a democracy. This is linked closely to the two abovementioned roles, as the news media as agenda setter and watchdog finds and presents issues in a democracy, it eventually acts as a vehicle for enabling public actions. Again, democracy is regime that puts emphasis on the people above all. Thus, these three roles in a synthesized form act as the means for people. The people are able to obtain information regarding how their democracy is performing, and possibly on problematic issues of the government. It becomes journalism then, which enables the people to have their opinions heard through mobilization.

Merrill (2002) also writes on a concept called as the “people’s press.” According to Merrill, the people’s press is less dominated by “journalist-centered journalism and owner-controlled journalism” but focuses itself more on a “symbiosis between journalism and people.” (p. 27) This seems to be a complementary concept for the existential journalist in that although the existential journalist is a liberalist and an advocate of freedom and subjectivity, it is also bound with a responsibility to put a priority on people. In other words, the free journalist seeks autonomy and press freedom while also considering how the practice of journalism influences people.

Merrill, in one of his earlier works, introduces a term called the existential journalist. In contrast to the existing objective journalism, or the rationalist stance, the existentialist stance is built upon keywords such as intuitive, subjective, directive, persuasive, judgmental and liberal. In summary, his definition of an existential journalist is a free and authentic person and not a “cog in the impersonal wheel of journalism.” The existential journalists would also relieve the uniqueness of every journalist’s individual existence and personality and praise freedom and responsibility for decisions in such a time when journalists are disappearing into institutionalized corporate journalism (Merrill, 1979).

In discussing media ethics and professionalism in post-colonial societies, Musa and Domatob (2007) discuss a concept called the development journalist. Development journalism is a notion of journalism where its act of reporting events of national and international importance should be constructive so that it contributes positively to the development of the country concerned. McQuail (2000) writes that development media

theory emerged out of the idea that “societies undergoing transition from underdevelopment and colonialism to independence often lack the money, infrastructure, skills, and audiences to sustain an extensive free-market media system.” (p.155)

One important thing to consider of the role conceptions above is that although they seem to be associated with certain political systems or degrees of press freedom, they can be interlaced in different stages of political transition such as democratization. For example, a watchdog role of the media, according to its intended concept, would occur only under circumstances where much press freedom is granted. However, it could be possible that such a role of the media can be embossed in a society that is undergoing democratization, depending on the objectives of the journalist or organization. That is, the press may be able to play this role in an authoritarian regime (not much press freedom) as a way of communicating with the public so as to increase press freedom and stimulate the transition process by “enlightening” the people. Another example could be the development journalism concept. This role conception in theory would apply only to third world countries that are on the verge of economic development. However, many traits of this role conception could still be dominant in a society like Korea due to its background of rapid advancement. Korea was occupied by Japan until the end of WWII, and from then to 1980 it had undergone economic development and political transitions. Although it was not at a post-colonial status in 1980, the concept of the development journalist may be able to explain certain roles or role philosophies Korea had at that time.

Thus, maintaining such a perspective on role conceptions and taking into consideration that the discussion of role conceptions and press system theory above are of

Western descent, it would be important to be able to incorporate them into a theory that would provide a more comprehensive explanation of social-circumstance-press system-press role associations in a democratization such as that of Korea.

Social Transitions and Key Roles in Journalism: A Theory

Christians et al (2009), in a discussion of press systems and media roles, links different dimensions of how political transition affect press systems with the types of roles played by the media. In this theory, the two factors that determine how media roles change are media autonomy and transition of institutional power of the media within a democracy. The four key roles for journalism for each dimension of transitions are monitorial, facilitative, radical, and collaborative roles. The monitorial role refers to all aspects of the collection, processing, and dissemination of information of all kinds about current and recent events, plus warnings about future developments. The facilitative role helps to develop a shared moral framework for community and society, rather than just looking after individual rights and interests. The radical role focuses on exposing abuses of power and aims to raise popular consciousness of wrongdoing, inequality, and the potential for change, typically in new nations with their intense pressure toward economic and social development. The collaborative role specifies and values the task for media that arise in situations of unavoidable engagement with social events and processes. These role types can be positioned in relation to institutional power and media autonomy, as can be seen in the figure below:

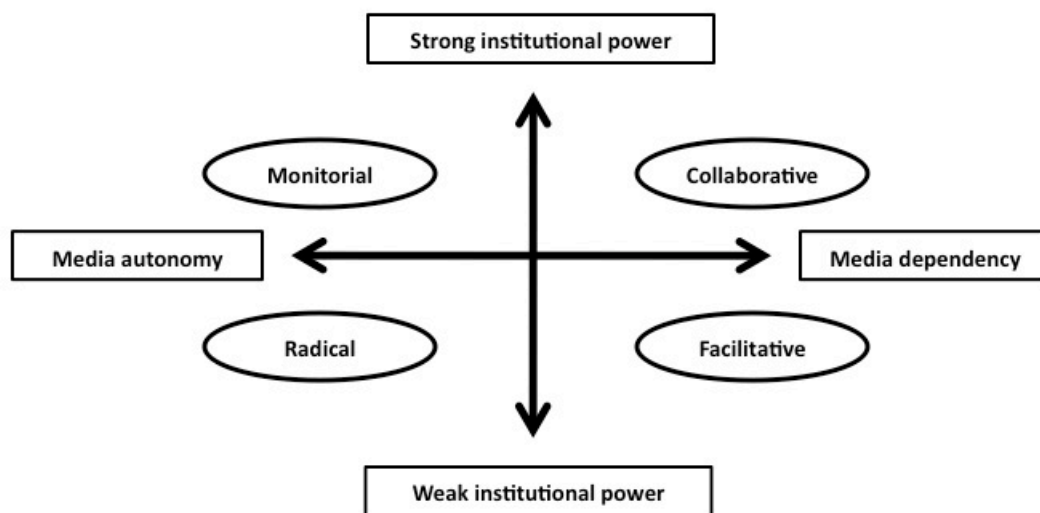


Figure 1. Key roles of journalism in association to press system transitions

As can be seen in the figure, what Christians et al. argue is that as dynamics of institutional power and media autonomy change due to political changes within and toward democracies, the roles tend to be played by journalism also changes. For example, given that institutional power of the media grows (as in the case of Korea), mass media could shift from playing a radical role to a monitorial or collaborative role depending on how much autonomy it has. This theory will be incorporated into the process of analysis so that a transition in media roles could be linked to the status to which Korea belonged at different time periods.

This theory seems to be adequate enough to attempt an explanation of Korean media roles in relation to its transition because the two axis accurately represents a

plausible shift, or dynamics, of two significant elements of press system-press role relationships: media autonomy and the strength of media institutions. The axes can be extended in all four directions to illustrate press status and features at a certain stage in democratization. By integrating this theory with the discussion of media role concepts, it would be possible to see how these required functions of the media are conceptualized into actual roles. In order to examine roles with regard to the argument of Christians et al. on media role-political transition relationships, existing discussion of media roles in the literature can be categorized into their four key role classifications.

To elaborate on the theory's effectiveness in explaining these relationships, the facilitative category of roles seem to have most to do with media ethics and what members of the mass media see as their goals in society. In a democracy, the institutional powers of the media are strong and the news media is able to exercise fully its autonomy. However, the media, as a constituent of society, seeks the common good, sacrificing its libertarian desires. As for radical roles, when media prioritizes their autonomy above norms and common good, it could very well assume such roles. Also, since role conceptions in literature mostly deal with the Western world of journalism and democracy, a question arises as to what roles are assumed by the media when the political system is a non-democracy, where media lacks autonomy while still having quite an influence on the public. This is where the collaborative sphere of this theory would enable classification and synthesis of roles to explain effects under such circumstances.

It is also true that some role conceptions discussed above do not really fit into the classifications of the theory of Christians et al. It could be that these roles are inherent in

the intrinsic traits of journalism itself, and they may perhaps be in practice at least to a certain extent in all cases of political regime and transition.

Systematic classifications and role definitions alike, the focus is on how journalists have acted or ought to act in a democracy, with the exception of the development journalist. Although it seems that these concepts seem to describe at least certain aspects of roles played by the media while Korea was in a non-democratic or democratization period, a need to define how journalism is practiced with what values in Korea arises.

What is Specific about Korean Democracy / Democratization?

Due to the historical context of recent transitions toward democracy in Korea, certain aspects of their respective regimes cannot fit into the rather narrow standard of a “full democracy” as described by Wood (2004). However, there are certain theories that help describe what certain concepts can be applied to the Korean example.

Samuel Huntington (1991), calling a “wave” a specific period of time in which a transition to democracy significantly outnumbered transitions in the opposite direction, included Korea in what he labels the third wave (1974-1990) of democratization. This wave comprises mostly third-world countries that experienced social and economic conditions favorable to democracy. He also labels political leadership as a significant factor for this wave of democratization: leaders have to want democracy to happen or be willing to take steps such as partial liberalization that may lead it to happening.

Korea seems like a representative example of this specific wave of democratization, as it underwent a rapid economic development and saw democratic values increasingly gaining support from its people. Wood (2004), in categorizing Asian democracies into three levels, characterizes the democracy in Korea and its neighbors as democracies with a close connection between a productive economic system and a successful democracy. He describes the development of democracy in this region as one where “economic growth over time promoted the rise of an educated middle class with an interest in political stability.” As this middle class grows in sophistication and exposure to the outside world, it developed a greater sense of its own political power and a desire to wield that power. The resulting pressure gradually compelled the previously autocratic government to undertake democratic reforms.

According to this description, Korea is a part of a region that resulted in democratization mainly through economic developments. This is closely related to how Inglehart and Welzel (2008) define the relationship between economic development and human empowerment in a democracy. The authors mention three components to empowering the people: 1) action resources such as material resources and educational levels; 2) self-expression values; and 3) democratic institutions. They are closely linked to each other, as the increase in the accessibility to resources results in greater confidence of people in a society, which also raises the willingness of individuals to express themselves. Democratic institutions, as venues for such a purpose, become strengthened and begin to function better in a society. In this linkage, economic development is the starting point; economic development, by increasing the amount and quality of action

resources, provides the causal relationship that can lead to human empowerment and effective democracies. As mentioned above, Korea's case can be an exemplary one for this theory as it saw great economic achievements in a short span. Action resources for the people such as education opportunities and the amount of accessible knowledge became more available, and it seems to have played a significant role in democratic values fostering in the Korean public.

In examining Korea's democratization, leadership is also an important factor. Since its establishment in 1948, a major part of the Republic of Korea's authoritarian rule has been under military rule. This is an important piece of the history of Korean democracy, as it possibly explains the reasons for the manner of its democratization. In addition to a discussion of leaders as key role players in the third wave of democratization, Huntington (1991) writes about democratization associated with military leaders as well. He argues that military rulers show a tendency to terminate their regimes because they never defined themselves as the permanent rulers of their country. They were more focused on correcting the evils that led them to seize power, and when their task was done, the military rulers would exit. Although Park Jung Hee, perhaps the most significant military ruler in Korea's history, was assassinated and did not go far as to exit, this theory on how his stance toward governance could have been provides a possible description that can be applied in defining the democratization process in Korea.

In sum, Korea's democracy can be defined differently or at times distinctively from the general concept of democracy of the West, mainly due to its relatively late period of transition and historical context. Transition to democracy at its earliest in Korea

was after WWII; numerous characteristics that may not be perfectly fit for existing theories of democracies still exist. Circumstances such as these are important for a discussion of how they can be incorporated into the study of media influences on Korea during its unique democratization period.

What is Journalism Like in Korea?

Prior to searching for media roles in Korea that may be applicable to the discussions mentioned above, it is also important to take a look at how Korean journalism and media are discussed. In the process of understanding the characteristics of media, its relationship with the government can be understood as well. For example, in Zelizer's definitions of journalism as seen by the journalist, fifth and sixth definitions of journalism as a child and journalism as service seem to fit into the Korean journalism context best. For such a purpose therefore, providing the grounds for phenomena and roles of the media in Asian cases will follow.

In his discussion of press systems in Asian states, Achal Mehra (1989) cites observations from political figures such as former Malaysian Prime Minister Mohamad Mahathir and former Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew. Their perspectives on press systems and their roles do vary, but they lead to a common notion that as press gains power and freedom, its roles become increasingly effective in garnering different reactions from the public.

Another study on Asian media and ideas behind its roles provides further discussion from Mehra's views. Xu Xiaoge (2005), in examining East Asian values in

journalism, concludes that three values have been prioritized in media's role: 1) advocacy of a cooperative role in nation-building, 2) maintaining social stability and economic development, and 3) sustaining traditions and cultural sensitivity as well as historical backgrounds. In sum, it could be said that Asian values have an influence on the form of media presentation or roles. These speculations on the definition of East Asian journalism are important because they provide social values as well as historical contexts for not only the region as a whole, and also Korea, who is a part of it. These perspectives can be closely related to press systems in Korea, as they share common values.

Deriving from the above, journalism in Korea thus seems to show a synthesized tendency of being an entity of society that influences the public, while in a social value perspective acting as the "elite actor" in society that seem to know what is best for the common good. By applying these possible definitions to democratic systems and values, it would be possible to define the role of the media in Korean democracy.

Role of the Media in Korean Democracy

Ki-Sung Kwak (2006), in his 'Democratization and changing state-media relationships in Korea,' focuses on the transition and development of media-state relationships in Korea as it underwent a transition in its governing regime. It is shown that the media, as it conformed to the controlling government, flourished in terms of business and gained much power to control media outlets, or in other words, information flowing to the people. However, since the legitimate end of military regimes, media systems showed no intention of changing the roles it already had in accordance to the

major social transformation. Cases have shown that although reformists were determined to bring about democracy and democratic values, they faced strong resistance from these conservative news organizations, who wanted to keep their power. Kwak goes on to claim that the transition and development of such a relationship have hindered both the government and media to appreciate that their policies deserve and should be open to criticism.

This view by Kwak, as an advocate of the lack of activism on the part of the media, provides a contrasting perspective from the assumptions of the study. However, there were also media organizations in Korea that still emphasized different roles.

Applying the previously mentioned self-labeled roles of Korean journalists as elites of society makes them a leader in terms of information handling. Then, with these inherent values, it could be found that journalism at the time faced conflicting roles of playing the virtuous figure role to aid the people and maintaining harmony, even in an authoritarian regime. Interpreting why journalists saw themselves as ideological leaders in the Korean example hints that Korean media may have an inclination to work toward spreading democratic values and putting their obligations to the people above anything else. Such characteristics and behavior of the Korean media are beliefs that seem to go hand in hand with what democratization is determined to achieve. Such values as anti-authoritarianism and self-appointed sense of leadership for society leads to the concept: journalism as a service.

Going back to Western perspectives on how the journalism is perceived by its practitioners, Barbie Zelizer (2005) defines journalism by categorizing and summarizing

how journalists talk about journalism. In her chapter, she states that the journalists see definition of Journalism can be garnered through a discussion of six different concepts: 1) Journalism as a sixth sense, meaning that journalism and media must be able to find news with a ‘news sense;’ 2) journalism as a container, meaning that journalistic vehicles hold information for the public until it can appraise what has happened; 3) journalism as a mirror, or as the work of observation; 4) journalism as a story, meaning that journalism itself is reflected in notions of the “news story;” 5) journalism as a child, meaning that the news requires careful nurturing and that media providers are caretakers; and 6) journalism as a service, one that is shaped with an eye toward the needs of healthy citizenship.

According to Zelizer, these definitions, in spite of their broad range of terms, can suggest how the media might serve democracy more effectively when taken together. Abovementioned definitions and theories on journalism are significant in understanding the relationship between the media and democracy in that “they offer a glimpse of a phenomenon that is rich, contradictory, complex, and often inexplicable.” In light of this concept, this research aims to define journalism through an integration of definitions, especially in its application to the Korean situation.

On the fifth definition, journalism as a service, Zelizer writes that it is “shaped with an eye toward the needs of healthy citizenship.” (p. 72) The key term for this definition, it seems, is “responsibility.” Service, in other words the act of serving, would require the server to hold a responsibility or obligation toward the recipient of that service. In this sense, Zelizer mentions a quote from the Columbia Journalism Review:

“we in the press have a responsibility to engage everyone.” (p.72) In forming a close relationship with and taking the audience into account during the course of performing journalism, this definition brings forth various roles journalism can assume, especially in a democracy. Zelizer, in discussing the usefulness of definitions, also states that the different definitions help answer the question: “How might the press serve democracy more effectively?” (p. 76)

This definition, along with the “journalism as a child” perspective, seems to fit best to how Korean journalism is perceived. It can appropriately be applied to so-called innate Korean values. The journalist, as advanced handlers of information, has an obligation to seek virtue and responsibilities as to how the general public is provided with information. For this reason, it is the assumption of this study that Korean news media’s roles were played in association with their responsibilities. Other definitions also cover different characteristics of journalism that explains what journalism is in general, but they seem to be focused more on innate traits of journalism.

Moreover, in terms of global ethics, prioritized values of journalists seem to have a linkage to Western perspectives as well. Callahan (2003) writes,

“Journalism is a practice and profession dedicated to truth and common good. It is now recognized as inevitably a moral enterprise, and there is a universal standard for journalism that applies cross-culturally and will apply in the future. The universality of ethical standards of journalism exists because ethics and morality are universal human enterprise based on the discovery of universal moral truths by human beings with a common human nature always and everywhere. (p.11)”

The ethics and morality discussed here can be interpreted as features of journalism that can be applied universally. Universal application, then takes different

forms according to respective cultures and values.

Another significant element in discussing Korea's current democracy is its high development of ICTs (Information Communication Technologies) and digital media. According to Kang & Dyson (2009), Korea has one of the highest rates of Internet connectivity and it has equipped the Korean people with the tools that enable them to demand responses from the government, empowering their democratic performance. In fact, digital activism aided the election of former president Roh Moohyun. However, Jho (2009) argues that a concept called digital populism is dangerous in that people begin to believe whatever they see on the web, resulting in possible "collective stupidity."

As discussed in the literature, Korean media roles within a democracy seem to have some commonality to those defined by Western literature, while with some distinct characteristics within itself owing to its unique historical and cultural circumstances. It is assumed that these roles included concepts such as agenda setter, watchdog and mobilizer, with the journalist obliged to provide a service to the people as elites of society. These roles could have taken many forms, such as instigation, activism or opinionated commentary, and it is the purpose of this study to get a better understanding of exactly what were the types of roles and how they were played.

Research Question

A review of pertinent literature saw how Korea's political system fits into concepts of democracy and democratization, and how discussions regarding media roles in a democracy can be applied to the Korean case. However, concepts of media roles that were discussed in past research literature have mainly been in a Western perspective, and they do not examine roles different stages of democratic transition, from authoritarian to a period of democratization to democratic regimes. Furthermore, a discussion of democratization processes, especially those in Korea, seems to point out that a number of values unique to the Korean case have had significant influences. Thus, the literature review leads the researcher to examine media roles in a democracy or democratic transitions toward a democracy in a Korean perspective, an area of research that has yet to be covered thoroughly.

Research Question. How have roles of the Korean print media changed as Korea transitioned from an authoritarian regime to democratization and a democratic regime?

This research question aims to provide a link between the traditional, or Western, perspectives toward media roles in a democracy with a relatively recent case of democratization in Korea. Addressing this question would be able to accomplish this aforementioned goal through the following: 1) Providing a thorough understanding of the circumstances in which the journalists acted, thus 2) grasping how and why journalists may have chosen to utilize certain means and voices, 3) providing definitions of roles

through analysis of their work, and 4) linking them back to theoretical frameworks.

Addressing this research question could also play an important role in linking the findings of this study with existing scholarly discourse because, as mentioned above, it relates the unique case of Korea to western theories and perspectives on media roles.

3. METHODOLOGY

The research question will be answered by means of textual analysis of journalistic work that was written during three different events in the process of democratic transitions in Korea. The first event is the Kwangju massacre 1980, a significant event that began the fostering of an idea for active democratic movements; the second year is 1987, the year when democratic movements in Korea were at their peak, which resulted in the proclamation of the government for democracy that led to constitutional amendment for a direct presidential election. The year 1987 is known as the year in which Korea succeeded in democratization. The last event is the candlelight vigils of 2008, a year when Korea was under democratic rule, where members of the public engaged in public protests against the government. Further explanation of the timeframe and significant events is below.

Materials for research will be those from print media organizations, excluding radio or television broadcasts. The reason for this is to remain at a single platform of news presentation so that messages conveyed through journalistic work would not deviate too much in form. Another reason for this is because considering the fact that the democratization period was some twenty-plus years ago, accessibility would be highest for text-based pieces; moreover, broadcast technologies were not very advanced, and there were fewer television channels, limiting the presentation of various perspectives. In addition to accessibility or technology development issues, censorship is also a very significant factor that led to the selection of print media. National broadcasting stations,

television or radio alike, were strongly controlled by the government. Due to its nature of facilitated printing and distribution, there was more freedom for print media, and it was largely journalists of this platform that showed a most distinctive role.

It is expected that, through textual analysis, the articles would show certain indicators of the media playing roles such as the watchdog or mobilizer through words of criticism on performances of the government and words that suggest mobilization. In addition to the textual analysis, rhetorical analysis on the articles will be conducted as well, to find a stronger link between what appears in the textual analysis with motives of the journalist, in this case, the writer of the material. Through this analysis it is an expectation of this research to find motives of journalists that have to do with assuming certain roles for democratization and democratic values.

Textual Analysis

Why Textual Analysis?

One of the main purposes of this research is to understand how journalists reached their audiences in order to instigate or mobilize them. Therefore, it is essential to acquire and analyze actual pieces written by journalists with a purpose to assume specific roles. However, it is not a function of textual analysis to look for intentions of the writer. Media texts are not carriers of single meanings or a dominant ideology. Rather, it is important to understand that audiences are active in interpreting content in media (Larsen, 1991). Thus, it would be the aim of this method to understand elements of certain text or discourse that were influenced by three notable events during and after Korea's democratization.

Textual analysis for this research would base itself on this concept, putting aside intentions and motives at this stage and focusing on factual information presented in the texts. However, what this type of analysis would accomplish is to look for indicators within the text that links the text pieces to notable events of mobilization in the history of Korea's democratization. It would be made possible through this method an establishment of influential relationships between what was written and what happened.

How Would Textual Analysis be Employed?

This analysis would examine news articles and commentaries for what Van Dijk (1991) calls text representation, the mental structures and processes that are represented in such texts. The writer and audience's understanding of such knowledge representation, called the mental model, will be sought for in order to link them to significant events in Korea's democratization history. In other words, themes and context of the text material will be analyzed for a certain pattern or representation of ideas, in this case mobilization and activism against the authoritarian regime, possibly through measuring the usage of such invocative verbs as *urge*, *suggest*, *call upon*, etc. This would illustrate that the role of the media at the time was to indeed "mobilize" the public. Another objective of the textual analysis would be to look for phrases within the articles that may be linked with existing concepts of media roles in a democracy. Therefore, analysis would be aimed at looking for evidences in the article that can be categorized as the media playing certain roles. Here, it is the purpose of the researcher to look for common themes, or frames, that appear in the sets of articles according to each time period.

Erving Goffman, in his 1974 book, *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*, uses the idea of frames to label "schemata of interpretation" that allow individuals or groups "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" events and occurrences, thus rendering meaning, organizing experiences, and guiding actions. As frames in articles of the news media, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define it as a "central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events." In other words, the frame suggests the essence of the issue, and it is designated as a method to tell a news story (framing). To elaborate, a frame of an issue or a topic in news would be the readily designed focal point of news articles about a certain topic. For instance, if an issue or topic were about a certain event or environment, certain stories would emphasize the event's background, while others might focus more on a recent aspect of the event. Also, taking into account the definition given by Gamson and Modigliani, a frame of the story may emphasize what ought to be done in the eyes of the news article provider. For the specific purposes of this research, textual analysis will focus on locating such frames that indicate what role theme the article shows to be most dominant for each event.

The findings of this textual analysis will be sorted by presented ideas and media role concepts that seem to appear, and these findings will be listed corresponding to significant events during the democratic movements, according to their time of emergence. This is to strengthen the plausibility of findings of the textual analysis on certain role concepts that seem to appear. Although such an influence of the journalistic pieces on historical events would still not be definite, a chronological relationship

between what appears in the texts and events that follow could provide support to the idea that evidences relating to media roles in the texts had something to do with the events.

An expected result of this analysis is that findings of the textual analysis would include key words or phrases that could be identified as playing certain roles, and that their appearance in articles would at least show some causal relationship with the progression of democratic movements. In the textual analysis, roles will be identified as they appear and not categorized into role concepts or applied to the theory of Christians et al (2009). It will be in the discussion consisting of a synthesis of the textual analysis and the rhetorical analysis (pentad) where a more detailed look will be taken at the intentions and motives of the articles, to examine these roles in light of pertinent theory.

Rhetorical (Pentadic) Analysis

Why rhetorical analysis?

Another important type of analysis for this research would include intentions, themes, and voice/language of news articles written by journalists during the timeframe when political changes took, and linking them to certain events in Korea's democratization history. This would illustrate that the role of the media at the time was to indeed "move" the public. However, as discussed above, textual analysis deals with what is visible in the texts themselves. It does not have much to do with the motive of the writer. However, the study is aimed at finding out whether certain media roles were being assumed by the journalist at the time of communicating with the public. It is at this level

of analysis that rhetorical analysis comes to play. Foss (2004) describes rhetoric as the human use of symbols to communicate, and something that includes nondiscursive or nonverbal symbols as well as discursive or verbal ones. According to Foss, the purpose of rhetoric is communication, and it is the task of the rhetorical analyst to code the artifact (material) for a type of method and procedures to better understand what goes on within the process of that communication. In other words, an appropriate rhetorical analysis is to employ among various types of rhetorical criticisms a certain method to scrutinize the act of communication. In this research, the method of rhetorical analysis will be the pentadic method, and its purpose would be to discover motives for media roles within the communication of the journalist toward the audience (their journalistic work in print media).

The pentadic method is a method first introduced by Burke (1969). Calling this tool for rhetorical analysis the pentad, Burke names five elements – act (what took place in thought or deed), scene (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred), agent (what kind of person performed the act), agency (what means or instruments were used), and purpose (why it was done). Burke also writes on the concept of “ratios” of these elements, which refers to the defining of a relationship between each two of the five elements, coupling them together and weighing which element dominates the rhetorical situation; it allows the researcher to indicate aspect or aspects the communicator deems most important.

The reason for selecting the pentadic method among rhetorical analytic methods is because it deals with purpose. The inclusion of this type of analysis, again, is to

complement fact-based findings of the textual analysis for further intentions and motives. In that regard, applying Burke's concepts, news articles could be analyzed with the five elements, and each element of the article could be compared in terms of ratios. Article examples with higher ratio on purpose would mean that the journalist saw that showing an intention was most important, therefore leading back to what roles the journalists wanted to fulfill through the article.

How Will Rhetorical Analysis be Employed?

For the rhetorical analysis, headlines and lead paragraphs will be looked at initially in order to analyze what the intention of the writer would have been in terms of getting attention from (or providing a sense of shock to) readers. Then, an analysis of the text itself will be conducted by using the pentadic method. The agent and act would mostly be uniform in that they are journalists writing and communicating with the public. However, other three elements would differ for each article. Agency, although it seems to be just text, could be different according to what news organization the articles appeared in. Large Korean newspapers had been showing ideological tendencies at the time, and where the article appeared would have had a large effect on how people would react to the stories even before reading them. As for scene, it would be different every time because the articles to be covered through this method will be spread in a 2-3 month timeframe of three different time periods. Different historical events or circumstances would make a difference. And, of course, the purpose, which is the key element of this research, would have as many interpretations in analysis as the number of articles.

Then, the elements of each article would be compared through the ratios. Each element would be paired with the other four to see which seemed to have been deemed more important. The purpose of this procedure would be to find out whether factors other than the journalists' perception of roles in a democracy played a crucial part in determining how the article was written. For example, if the article was written for a conservative paper at a time when censorship was extremely strong, then the weights of the scene and agency would be heavier than for the agent or purpose, which would mean that the journalist's purpose to assume certain roles were diminished. It would be through this step that the analyst is able to classify articles by whether they show more media role-related concepts than others. However, it should also be taken in to account that terms in Burke's pentadic method are fluid. The choices and labeling of what constitutes each element sometimes may not be clear because there is a variable – the analyst's comprehension of the article – that is not concrete nor objective. The task here would be to defend and justify the labeling of each element made by the analyst in applying the pentadic method. For this, a better understanding of various contexts will be necessary: information on who the journalists were and for what publications the writers wrote, and under what types of historical circumstances.

It is also anticipated that voice, or tone, of the chosen articles would be another important element of the article to look at, perhaps in comparison to some other articles written by media organizations or journalists with less progressive views, thus providing a possible explanation of how the journalists went about garnering reactions and instigation on the part of the public. Analyses of journalistic work and historical events

will hopefully provide some grounds for understanding the relationships between what was presented in news media and significant events during the course of activist movements.

Timeframe of Study

The three events covered in the study are the 1) Kwangju massacre of 1980, 2) the proclamation to democracy in 1987, and 3) candlelight vigils of 2008. These are events when democratic movements in Korea were at their largest.

The Kwangju massacre refers to President Chun Doo-Hwan's order of military troops to coercively dismiss student activist movements in the Southwestern city of Kwangju in May 1980. A total of 192 people were killed and 852 more wounded as a result of the massacre. This incident was significant in that democratic and anti-authoritarian values began to foster in the mindsets of the public. It was after the massacre that print media in Korea began voicing out opinions. It is said to be the foundation of the successful democratization of Korea, which even influenced other third-world countries in Asia (Sohn, 2010).

The movements consistently took place until 1987, when in June democratic movements reached the climax. A large nationwide movement arose and the Roh Tae-Woo administration proclaimed amendments to the constitution, which included a direct and fair presidential election. This event, which resulted in the accomplishment of a democratic election, marks the point when Korea became a democracy. The third event is the 2008 candlelight vigil protests, which was held under democratic rule. The Lee

Myung-Bak administration decided to import beef from the United States, but the Korean public suspected that it could be a cause of mad cow disease. People began complaining and requesting for the trade agreement to be modified, but the government did not respond; this resulted in a series of the largest candlelight protest in Korea's history. It is known as a major event in Korea's democratic development. (Kim & Kim, 2009). It is a month before and two months after these three events – the Kwangju Massacre, protests for democratic election and the candlelight protests – that will be the time scope of the study.

Sampling Methods

Sampling in textual or rhetorical analysis always poses a problem: How representative is the material one studies relative to all the material that could be studied? (Berger, 1998) Considering the characteristics of this specific research, there were two significant factors considered in the sampling process: Availability of data and the publications' representativeness of Korean news media. As most materials in the dataset will be from more than twenty years ago, the number of journalistic pieces available in association to important political events during Korea's democratization will be limited. For fairness in sampling, news publications that existed both in 1980 and 2008 (and throughout) were chosen, with the exception of *The Hangyoreh*, the reason for which is explained below. Thus, sampling for analysis resulted in articles that were available, relevant to significant political events, and from certain publications that consistently existed from at least, but not limited to, the timeframe in question: 1980 to 2008.

In addition to the above, it was deemed important to select appropriate publications that would pose a significant enough representativeness of print news media in Korea. For this reason, each print media's market share and political ideology were considered. Here, market share can be applied throughout all three time periods, as a quantifiable percentage enabled the researcher to sort publications accordingly. According to research in 2008 (Sohn, 2008), the market shares for the three major publications were 24.4% (*Chosun*), 18.8% (*Jung Ang*), and 14.9% (*Dong A*), respectively. The fourth largest newspaper (one also with a history and activeness long enough to cover all three time periods of this study) was *Kyunghang Shinmun* at 5.8%, and it was also selected.

As for political ideology and its representativeness, however, the concept was incorporated in order to sample for material properly in the last time period, 2008. Since Korea's democratization in 1987, major publications had been distinctively divided in terms of political stance: conservative and progressive. The distinction in Korea's case is rather easy to find, because with the exception of a short period in the late 1990s and early 2000s, a political party stemming from conservative ideas have been in rule, and different print media organizations have stayed in their stance toward the government administration. To properly illustrate such a trend after Korea's democratization, the last publication, *The Hangyoreh*, was chosen. According the research (Sohn, 2008), this newspaper was ranked sixth in market share, following *Maeil Business News (MBN)*. However, *MBN* was excluded because it was a business specialty newspaper. An appealing character of *The Hangyoreh* other than its popularity was that it represents

progressive media in Korea, whereas *Chosun*, *Jung Ang* and *Dong A* all tend to be conservative. As *Kyunghyang* is known to be more or less neutral (recently it has been showing tendencies to be against the ruling party, *Grand National Party*), including *The Hangyoreh* in the sampling of news articles seemed to be the best sampling method for this research, since a diversity of perspectives may prove to be useful. One problem with *The Hangyoreh* was that it did not exist at the first and second time periods of 1980 and 1987, but it was also the case for all other remaining popular publications. For the reasons explained above, it was under the researcher's discretion to include *The Hangyoreh* as the fifth publication in the time period of Korea's functioning democracy, 2008.

In this light, the goal was to obtain from each time period three articles from a selection of five print media organizations (newspapers) that have distinct features appropriate for an in-depth textual and rhetorical analysis. As a result, the five chosen publications were: *Chosun Ilbo* (Daily), *Dong A Ilbo*, *Jung Ang Ilbo*, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* (newspaper), and *The Hankyoreh*. *Chosun*, *Dong A* and *Jung Ang* daily newspapers are the top three paper news publications of Korea, also with the longest history, dating back to early 20th century.

For sub-timeframes (within the three time periods of the study), it was determined that a month before the event and two months after the event (a three month period) was adequate in terms of the number pool of available articles that deal with the event topic. The one month/two month timeframe was used to reflect a trend that more articles would have been written about the events after its occurrence. Therefore, for the

1980 Kwangju Massacre (May 18), the search timeframe was from April 19 to July 18, and for the 1987 proclamation (June 29), the researcher looked for articles between May 30 and August 29. Since it was difficult to appoint a single date for the candlelight vigil protests, the timeframe of article search was determined as a period from mid-June to mid-September, which was one of most active movements and their aftermath.

At first, a general search of the term “democracy” was conducted for articles from each time period. This was because the researcher intended to find discourse about democracy. This seemed to be a good term to use because scope of media roles in the searched list of articles would be limited to those discussing democracy, which means that role enactment could be linked to democracy. Then, using the “advanced search – search within results” function on the news publications’ websites (or of document viewing software in the case of PDF-type files) an additional term for each period were chosen to increase the possibility of articles’ association with the three main events: for 1980, the term “Kwangju” was used; for 1987, the word “democratization” was added; and for 2008, the word “candlelight” was used in addition to “democracy.” The result of this sampling and searching process can be seen in Table 1. One thing to note is that for 2008, the total number of articles containing the word “democracy” seemed to have been so large in number that the search function continuously resulted in errors in the total count. Thus, a search of both terms was conducted simultaneously.

Table 1. Number of articles by publication and time period

Year	Search Terms	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	<i>Kyunghyang Shinmun</i>	<i>The Hankyoreh</i>
1980*	Democracy	139	320	167	95	N/A
	+ Kwangju	46	61	22	19	N/A
1987**	Democracy	314	300	270	174	N/A
	+ Democratization	233	194	201	121	N/A
2008***	Democracy + Candlelight	623	972	600	299	268

* For 1980, articles were searched for the word “democracy,” and then for the word “Kwangju”

** For 1987, articles were searched for the word “democracy,” and then for the word “democratization”

*** For 2008, Due to the large number of articles containing the word “democracy,” an online search did not yield a count; both terms were used together to obtain this result

The pool of articles of the refined search was listed in a spreadsheet software, and it was randomized using a randomizing macro (code function in the software) furnished by the researcher. Then, three articles from each time period and publication were selected from the randomized list following a variation of systematic random assignment, as discussed by Wimmer and Dominick (2006), with individual articles selected by starting at the earliest article in the list and skipping subsequent articles systematically, by consistently choosing every fifth article in the randomized list, then re-ordering them chronologically and assigning each article with numbers. The first letter in the article number refers to the publication, the subsequent number to the time period, and the last number the assigned number of the article in the time period. For example, C.1.1 would mean that the article was from the *Chosun Ilbo*, retrieved from the first period (1980), and was the first of the three articles of the publication when ordered chronologically. As the sample did not contain articles from *The Hangyoreh* for 1980 and 1987, the sampling process resulted in a total of twelve for 1980, twelve for 1987 and

fifteen for 2008, totaling a number of thirty-nine. As there were far more articles available in 1987 compared to 1980 but still with the same number of publications, one more article from the *Chosun Ilbo* was added (via the random method discussed above) to this time period to make the final count forty.

The researcher translated and analyzed the articles, and it was adequate for the purpose of this research, which is to grasp the themes or frames presented in the articles, as the researcher holds a certified Korean-English translator license. For this specific analysis and research, the articles were searched mostly through a search tool provided by each newspapers' website.

Chosun Ilbo and *Jung Ang Ilbo* has an established a PDF-format database, which was possible to access with membership and micro-payments per article. News articles of *Dong A Ilbo* and *Kyunghyang Shinmun* were retrieved through a digital media archive provided by www.naver.com, the largest web portal site in Korea. As for articles of 2008 (including those from *The Hangyoreh*), they were recent enough that articles were still eligible for a direct search from each news publication's current website.

Table 2. Randomly selected articles by publication, date and headline

Number	Publication	Date	Headline
C.1.1	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	5/19/80	Doors of Kwangju gradually opening; Citizens need mental relief, not physical
C.1.2	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/27/80	Scars being healed in our streets of everyday life
C.1.3	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/27/80	It is time to rid the walls in our hearts
D.1.1	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	4/29/80	Dae-Jung Kim proposes national democratic movement
D.1.2	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	5/19/80	26 Arrested, Universities out of session
D.1.3	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	7/18/80	Establishment of democratic duties of officials
J.1.1	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	5/19/80	National crisis must be overcome with restraint and harmony
J.1.2	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	5/26/80	Repeated appeal for national harmony
J.1.3	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	7/16/80	Information database function of journalism
K.1.1	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	4/24/80	The sense of duty for ambassadors
K.1.2	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	5/20/80	Let's overcome this economic crisis
K.1.3	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	5/22/80	Urgent to-do list for the new administration
C.2.1	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	5/7/87	Local opinions and power are divided: Grass-roots democracy must prevail
C.2.2	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/16/87	Let's hold emergency political negotiations
C.2.3	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/30/87	Politics in a bigger sense has now begun
C.2.4	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	7/15/87	The tomorrow of Korea's democratization
D.2.1	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	6/24/87	Democratization of social atmosphere
D.2.2	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	7/1/87	At the starting point of democratization
D.2.3	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	8/11/87	The will to democratize and policies toward the press
J.2.1	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	6/8/87	Democracy can only be realized through doing, not saying
J.2.2	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	7/1/87	It finally feels good to be an ambassador
J.2.3	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	7/21/87	Shedding light on developed democracies
K.2.1	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	6/1/87	Fundamentals of political success
K.2.2	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	6/30/87	Let's end this 40-year conflict
K.2.3	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	8/20/87	The balance of conceding
C.3.1	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/11/08	Mr. Yang-Woong Moon analyzed past Chosun Ilbo articles to prove that its reasoning is consistent
C.3.2	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	6/14/08	Bittersweetness of the Plaza
C.3.3	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	8/11/08	Who is rightfully functioning?
D.3.1	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	7/27/08	Violent candlelight protest breaks again
D.3.2	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	8/15/08	Seoul plaza on 8/15, each with own event
D.3.3	<i>Dong A Ilbo</i>	9/8/08	Candlelights that were belittled by Thai royals
H.3.1	<i>Hankyoreh</i>	6/27/08	Government-Candlelights collisions expand
H.3.2	<i>Hankyoreh</i>	7/29/08	Candlelight forum: "In search of new democracy"
H.3.3	<i>Hankyoreh</i>	8/8/08	Coup on broadcasting... Press freedom at dead end
J.3.1	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	6/12/08	Candlelights lacked magnanimity
J.3.2	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	7/5/08	Some netizens "More people should bleed"
J.3.3	<i>Jung Ang Ilbo</i>	7/9/08	Studying beats candlelights
K.3.1	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	7/24/08	Dilemma of the Judge
K.3.2	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	8/4/08	Rough candlelights are due to violent regulation
K.3.3	<i>Kyunghyang</i>	8/7/08	Dilemma of Minju Party

4. ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Kwangju Massacre of 1980: Textual Analysis

Within the sample set of twelve articles, three dominant roles of the media were identified: *Call for action*, *illustration/description*, and *evaluation/prescription*.

Stemming from these primary frames of media roles, more sub roles were identified according to which entity evidences of the roles were directed. For instance, analysis showed that the articles with roles framed as call for action were directed toward restoration and harmony of society after the event, illustration/description of social scenes toward the recovering state of the nation or reactions of people, and evaluation/prescription toward desired measures of the government and the people. These roles and sub-roles are explained in more detail in the table below, and article numbers in further discussions may be referred to Table 2.

Table 3: Identified media roles from articles of 1980

Primary roles	Sub-roles
Call for action	Restoration
	Reconciliation & harmony
Evaluation/Prescription	Toward people
	Toward government
Illustration/Description	People of Kwangju
	Political turn of events

Media role: Call for action

This role was identified as having to do most with urging various actors of society to overcome a chaotic situation where military forces were used against civilians in Kwangju, meaning the role mostly appeared subsequently to the massacre of May 18. As a proclamation of military rule had been announced and explanation for what happened in Kwangju was close to none, civilians showed an untrusting attitude toward the government's decisions, causing schism throughout the country in terms of region and ideologies.

It seems that this conflict and lack of tolerance is what this specific role aims to resolve, and this was a role theme that appeared throughout most of the articles. For example, in article J.1.1 (as mentioned above, the first article of *Jung Ang Ilbo* in the first time period, the first number referring to the time period and the second number to the sequence of the article within that period), in the headline is the phrase “national crisis must be overcome.” It is interesting that the word “must” was used, as it hints the idea of urging and call for action.

Another example was found in C.1.3, in the following two sentences: The first was “There are walls in our hearts, and they ought to be removed.” The sentence, placed at an early part of the story, or the lede, seems to function as a textual device that draws attention from readers while establishing an idea up front, emphasizing its significance. The use of the phrase “ought to be” also indicates that the text calls for action. The second sentence was “It is tremendously important that harmony be garnered.” In context, the sentence is placed in an argument that the soldiers involved in the massacre and people of the victimized city (Kwangju) have not been able to communicate with

regard to what the cause of the massacre was and how to deal with its aftermath. The text, while referring to the efforts of individual soldiers and their hopes to reconcile with the people of Kwangju, urges on both parties to engage in a conversation that could result in harmony.

As mentioned above in sub-roles, this role seems to be framed into two parts: restoration and harmony. Both could be similar things, but while the former seems to refer to getting various aspects of society operating regularly again, the latter concerns the conflict between military officials and civilians after the occurrence of a certain event of violence. In this sense, articles J.1.1 and C.1.3 (third article of *Chosun Ilbo*) are different because the first article urges the nation as a whole to restore various functions of society by using phrases such as “national crisis must be overcome” and the second article directly indicates emotional gaps with words such as “hearts” and “painful feelings” that should be healed.

An example of *Call for action: restoration* could be found in *Jung Ang Ilbo*' article closely related to previous articles. Article J.1.2, written a week after J.1.1, has the headline “Repeated appeal for national harmony.” This is significant because the words “repeated appeal” were used, which refers to J.1.1 (and perhaps other articles published by the *Jung Ang Ilbo* after the massacre, for that matter) that have been urging the nation to do the same thing: seek harmony as a nation. Although the word “harmony” was used in the headline, the dominant theme of the call for action toward the nation leans more toward restoration of functions than harmony. Here, the word “harmony” in the headline refers to harmonized communication and problem-solving between the government and

the people to enhance capabilities of the nation to operate regularly. Evidence of this can be found in various places in the article that emphasize how the nation must regain order: “Our nation is on the verge of malfunctioning”; “It is up to the government and the people to come together and think about how to deal with the issue at stake”; “Communication to and from the government has been minimal... Some sort of harmonious measure is to be taken in order to restore everything.”

Another example of this is shown in article K.1.2. The article, although only briefly mentioning the Kwangju massacre, deals with an ongoing economic crisis that the country is facing. In the article, texts such as “we must look for a solution for this economic crisis” and “this crisis can be overcome... the government must take notice” emphasizes that economic functions must be retained. The massacre comes into the discussion as well: “The unfortunate incident (the massacre) perhaps will make everything more difficult, but it is at such a juncture we must look into civilized problem solving.”

In contrast, *call for action: harmony* is a sub-theme of the role that deals more with emotions and schisms. Aside from the example shown in C.1.3, another article, C.1.1, also deals with the significance of harmony. The article was written a day after the massacre, and holds evidence that the role being played here is to urge the government to garner harmony through an effort to mentally relieve the victimized city. A quote from the article, “They are physically hurt, but what’s going on in their mind is what we ought to care more about... their disbelief toward what happened and the government should be top care priority” illustrates this point well, because by mentioning the emotional state

and the lack of trust the people of Kwangju have against the military leaders, the article emphasizes that further factions and separation of society due to this incident should be the first to be prevented.

Media role: Evaluation/prescription

This frame was dominant throughout the full three-month timeframe of articles in 1980, regardless of whether they were written before or after the massacre. This frame had to do with the journalist pointing out things or performances of society that are not preferable (according to the journalist).

Here, the target of such from the journalist can be mainly divided into two parts, the government and the people. For example of an article that directs its focus on the government, article K.1.1 lists the things that a newly appointed ambassador must keep mind. This article was written before the massacre, but it does have a quote that refers to the turn of events in the city: “Public uprising, such as those happening in Kwangju, is the method that the people are using to communicate with... high officials such as the ambassadors.” A major difference of this role compared with the first role (call for action) is that this role integrates evaluation and long-term plans and focuses. Rather than telling the newly appointed ambassadors to start doing something, texts in the article assess the situation (“democratic movements and ideas are at stake now... Korea is changing”) and prescribes a strategy or mindset that would fit well in the long-term (“it will be up to government officials like the ambassadors to keep in mind what is going on and apply them into their very representation of the nation in the international arena”).

D.1.3 is another example of evaluation/prescription directed toward the government. It discusses what government officials are doing wrong in gaining the support of people at a juncture when they should earn trust of the people who are unforgiving toward the government and their wrongdoing in May. Phrases such as “establishment of democratic duties of officials is essential in times like these” show such characteristics of this sub-role well.

The sub-role, focus of evaluation/prescription on the people, was identified in several places in the selected articles, but not as a dominant textual theme. For example, in article C.1.3, whose dominant theme as presented by text was *call for action*, also showed evidences that the sub-role of evaluation/prescription exists. A quote from the article, “it is up to the people to think about how this event has changed everything” does not urge people to engage in some activity right away, but rather to think about what would be the right thing to do in the long-term. Similarly to texts found for the evaluation/prescription toward the government, this textual evidence also provided an assessment of the situation, in this case being one that is more closely related to everyday lives of the public (“This incident may cause us to be hindered in the process to desired development”).

Much like the first role, the role: *evaluation/prescription* seems as if it can appropriately fit into any situation or context of a society, as long as the journalist, the entity that is creating the content, sees something that should be rectified. One thing about this role, though, is that unlike in the last role (the discussion for which will follow), its text seems to be more convenient for incorporating idea into the stories. Thus,

articles with this role theme, along with *call for action*, seem to be more adequate for an analysis of intentions.

Media role: Provider of illustration/description

Unlike in the first role theme, some articles of the first period showed an inclination to limit coverage to providing an illustration or description of scenes. By “illustration or description,” the research refers to articles written after the massacre that lack evidences of other roles, such as call for action or prescribing proper steps to be taken in the future. This role was then identified into sub-roles, those referring only to the people of Kwangju and the aftermath of the massacre and those referring to other political turn of events.

As can be seen in article C.1.2, articles showing the sub-role focused on informing to readers what the streets of Kwangju looked like after the massacre. The article quotes people of Kwangju says things such as “Now we can smile again” or “we are grateful for the donations from citizens (from other regions that were not affected) but we can rebound from this... we will re-donate this money to those who are suffering from flooding (in other provinces),” and concludes that “the citizens of Kwangju have a strong will to independently overcome the tragic event.” This article is noteworthy because there are no evidences of urging or prescribing any actors of society to engage in some action. The article merely limits itself at depicting what is happening in Kwangju about a month after the incident. Other descriptive phrases from the article such as “The streets seem” or “Looking at the people of Kwangju” and the fact that these statements do

not provide any additional comments also supplemented the identification of this sub-role.

As for another example, an article written right after the massacre (D.1.2) seem to remain at describing what happened in the massacre and presenting facts (such as death tolls and amount of damages), along with the text of the newly proclaimed martial law.

Another sub-role was coverage and depiction of turn of events or coverage of other political issues. Another article, written before the massacre (D.1.1), provides a chronological turn of events and reactions deriving from Dae-Jung Kim's speeches and actions. It can be said that this frame is what is usually known as breaking news coverage.

Kwangju Massacre of 1980: Pentadic Analysis

The pentad was adopted to identify and analyze the intentions and motives in articles with the abovementioned textual frames, and possible effects of the social and political environment on those intentions and role assumptions. Article for the pentadic analysis were selected so that role assumptions by the media in those selected articles were significant and emphasized strongly, thus enriching this discussion.

Article J.1.1

“National crisis must be overcome with restraint and harmony” (May 19, 1980) is an editorial written by the *Jung Ang Ilbo* staff (not recorded in the database) one day after the massacre took place.

The pentad

Agent: Journalists of the *Jung And Ilbo*, in dialogue with readers

Act: Argues that the nation must prioritize reason above all else in order to rebound from the chaotic situation and an event of violence resulting from such chaos and change

Scene: Korea, a day after the Kwangju Massacre

Agency: Text describing the current circumstances of Korea and pointing out what is really important for the nation to develop

Purpose: To urge the public to rebound from emotional shock, begin thinking rationally for what is best for the nation at this juncture

The dominant element here is *scene*, because the main intention and concern of the article would not be as significant had it not been just a day after the massacre. Many people would have found out about the incident the same morning, and this article is written and placed side by side with the tragic news. Purpose also figures prominently— to urge people to refrain from any emotional actions and find reason. Hence, we have a scene-purpose ratio. The article is a piece of persuasive writing designed to urge readers to rationally react to the situation by conforming to rule of law. Had it not been only a day after the massacre, the language and main theme of the article may have been different, with a slightly different purpose – rather than telling people to think rationally, the journalist may have been able to gather more information to urge people to begin acting on something, not just “stop.” Thus, *scene* dominates *purpose*.

There are evidences that allude to the point made above. For example, in the sentence: “What must be done *by the people at this juncture*? First of all, we are to stop being reined by our own claims or the groups we belong to. We are to look at thing in a long-term perspective, broadening our eyes.” The usage of the words “people” and “this juncture” reveal that the call for action is focused on the readers, not the government, and a possibility of readers’ actions being inadequate (as perceived by the journalist).

Another quote from the article supports this analysis: We have seen cases in history and in other countries where stubbornness of a certain group in society catalyzes the reaction of another group, causing instability in society. In this light, the implementation of military rule seems to be inevitable for normalization.” Here, the journalist is assuming that the Kwangju Massacre can be justified – by justifying what the government’s actions and urging people to start thinking rationally, the article seems to be weighing more importance on possible subsequent disruption of society and not scrutinizing facts of the current situation.

The shown purpose of this article can be understood through two possible explanations or intentions: 1) as mentioned above, the journalist and news organization are concerned about the possible disruption of society that the intentions and motives of the article was solely to stop people from acting out of hand – in short, “calming them,” or 2) the journalist and news organization intend to advocate the government, justify what happened the day before, and maintain social order so that the new military rule could take effect without much hindrance. As this article was identified to “call for action,” these motives would be the underlying belief of why the media engaged in such a role.

Article K.1.3

“Urgent to-do list for the new administration” (May 22, 1980) is an editorial written by the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* staff (not recorded in the database) shortly after the massacre, pleading to the government that reason and restraint are key components in dealing with the situation.

The pentad

Agent: Journalists of the *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, in dialogue with readers

Act: Argues that the nation must prioritize reason above all else in order to rebound from the chaotic situation and an event of violence resulting from such chaos and change

Scene: Less than a week after the Kwangju Massacre

Agency: Textual proclamation of what the journalists of *Kyunghyang* expect from the nation as a whole

Purpose: To urge the public and government to find a way for restoration of the country

This article is similar to the previously discussed J.1.3 in that it is an editorial that calls upon the nation to find reason and restraint in order to overcome what had happened in Kwangju, however, taking a closer look reveals some differences.

First of all, as was the case for the previous article, *purpose* and *scene* are the two most prominent elements. Thus, we also have a purpose-scene ratio. However, it seems in this case that purpose is the more dominant factor, largely owing to the style of writing.

The tone of the article is one of declaration. For example, many sentences begin with (in Korean, end with) the phrase “we declare.” The tone seems as if the whole group of journalist in the *Kyunghyang* are making a formal statement to the whole nation, which probably means that the authors of this article believe that the contents of the message they want to convey to the people is most important.

The target of the declaration within the passage is not limited to just the people, but to the government as well. Even so, the article still shows some favoritism toward the government. “Our security is strong... the new Secretary of State is an economic expert... so the new administration seems to be in good hands,” and “The new administration, shortly after its establishment, has made some very appropriate decisions.” are quotes from the article that support this point.

In the following quote, “the government must scrutinize fully why the Kwangju crisis has become expanded to an unprecedented state,” the article seems to include in its purpose/message that the government should be called upon action as well. However, hints of advocacy toward the government still show, as can be seen in “if there are wrongful people, they must be punished without doubt.” This has to do with the government saying that the reason for attacking people at Kwangju was because there were ‘impure elements’ (such as communists or those looking to overturn the government) in this area. However, it was argued by the people in Kwangju after the incident that the number of military personnel assigned to “attack” Kwangju was too large for an operation as such, and that the soldiers started killing people without properly checking anything. It seems that if the news publication had enough autonomy and

power, it would have raised its voice on the matter, urging the new administration to admit any wrongful actions or decisions. However, the article just goes on to concede to the point made by the government officials.

Kwangju Massacre of 1980: Discussion and Significance of Findings

After identifying three main textual frames from twelve articles from a three-month period in 1980, pentadic analysis was conducted on two articles framed with the same media role to examine in detail what intentions and motives were embedded in the roles.

It was found that three main role frames of this time period were call for action, description/illustration, and evaluation/prescription. Among these, call for action seemed to be the role theme that had to do most with intentions and motives of the media. Through pentadic analysis, it was shown that the articles were affected mostly by purpose (intention) and scene (the urgency of the situation, which was shortly after the Kwangju Massacre).

Before linking these findings back to theory, it must be noted that Korea was under authoritarian rule at the time. Thus, any discussion in pertinent literature regarding roles of the media within a democracy may not exactly fit with the findings. Although not a democracy, Korea's circumstances in terms of press systems seem to be one with weak media autonomy and weak institutional power, according to the theoretical discussion of Christians et al (2009). Of course, newspapers such as the *Chosun Ilbo*, who has a long history and a strong influence in the history of Korea, may still have somewhat strong

institutional powers, but 1980 was a year after the coup where coerciveness of the military was at its strongest.

The last role theme identified in the articles seems to be one that is assumed by journalists universally, with minimum regard to press systems or political transitions. Especially, the description/illustration of events is closely related to the information disseminating and agenda-setting roles of the media.

However, the first role frame of *call for action* showed a significant association of social circumstance and media roles. First of all, it was interesting that this role theme appeared only subsequently after a major incident. This perhaps means that social change does indeed have an influence over what the media sees as its roles. The media showed a tendency to be advocating or representing the government. In article J.1.1, the behavior of the government are treated as something that ought to be understood and tolerated as an important step in national development, while the people's right and urge to express themselves about the situation and engage in action are condemned as something an "immature citizen" would do. Going back to article K.1.3, the so-called "impure elements" of Kwangju that the writer agrees to be worthy of ousting, were mostly democratic activists. The irony is that the article in itself discusses democracy and democratization. The question remains, then, whether it was the coercive military regime that forced the journalist to write in such a manner, or the journalist, within its own autonomy, chose to do so. In other words, it means that most roles of the media for this time period, according to how much of an influence the authoritarian regime has determines whether the roles can be categorized as facilitative (see Figure 1).

Linking *call for action* with *evaluation/prescription*, it was found that the two were closely related; it was considered that the only difference was in the extent of the action that the text asked the readers or the government to engage in. Here, it was considered that the second role was a more alleviated type of the first role; it was also thought that the reason for this could be due to the lack of media autonomy, as the authoritarian regime had strong influences and control over what was said in the media. Thus, it was thought that in an authoritarian regime, the media was limited to a role of evaluation or mild prescription toward society, but a stronger voice (call for action) was made possible due to a significant event (massacre) that led to the fostering of democratic values.

As for the last role: *providing illustration/depiction*, although the two sub-roles are similar in article format, the first one (depiction of Kwangju) may be different in the scope of emphasis. The first sub-role, by highlighting only the Kwangju citizens, make note of what is happening specifically in Kwangju, perhaps with a message of “Kwangju will be all right,” as quoted from C.1.2. More textual evidences from C.1.2 such as “Kwangju is recovering indeed” show this tendency as well. In contrast, the second sub-role goes beyond coverage of the massacre and deals with political changes that happen throughout the nation. Although speculation of the motives of the articles as discussed above are possible, the researcher believes this may be trying to read too much into evidences. This is because this sub-role seems to be a role that can be applied to every situation and context, due to the primary nature of news media, which is to simply “deliver news.” Thus, without concrete evidences as shown in the first two roles of this

time period, it was considered that this illustration/depiction role do not lead to further discussion on what is implied. Linking this to how the media may or may not have played a “democratic” role, it could be said that illustration/description roles of the media during this period can be categorized as not playing a significant or crucial democratic role.

Proclamation of 6/29/1987: Textual Analysis

By analyzing the thirteen articles from the time period 1987, three dominant themes of media roles were identified: *Criticism*, *illustration/description of events*, and *providing outlook/new information*. A sub-role deriving from these was within the frame criticism, where articles were divided by whether they led to urging readers to act in a certain way.

Table 4: Identified media roles from articles of 1987

Primary role	Sub-role
Criticism	Presence of call for action after criticism
Outlook/New information	N/A
Illustration/Description	N/A

Media role: Criticism

This is perhaps a role most closely related to Bennett and Serrin’s (2005) watchdog role. The news media covers an event or topic and criticizes actors associated with the topic when their behavior and/or reactions are not preferable. For instance, article C.2.2, in discussing what the issue is with the current administration, argues, “The government has not made any effort to listen to what is being said by the people.” The

language in this text is quite strong, as the journalist calls those who are in office “not ready at all.” Another example could be found in article C.2.2, where the journalist writes, “as leaders become more and more empowered, we may actually be drifting away from democracy.” The author is expressing concern that, liberty and power, if handed to the leaders without balance, could hinder democratization.

The examples from this time period mostly have as target of criticism the government or its policies. In article D.2.3, the writer uses phrases such as “in a time when we now have democracy... Press freedom must be guaranteed.” This editorial was written almost two months after the proclamation to hold a democratic election, meaning that democracy was perceived as acquired by the Koreans already. However, as can be seen in quotes such as “far from being provided with an opportunity to democratic journalism,” the members of the media may have thought that policies regarding freedom of the press were not adequate.

An interesting thing about this role is that as a sub-role, urging those subject to criticism to act in a certain way, was identified. In other words, this sub-role refers to whether such calls for action were found subsequently to texts regarding criticism. Here, the sub-role *call for action* is similar in context, if not same, to the first identified role of 1980. The role is included as a sub-role in here because almost every instance of such a call for action follows the criticism of those associated with the events under coverage. For example, in article C.2.1, the government is criticized for not implementing proper policies for taxi drivers, and is called upon to come up to a forum to listen to civilian voices. Examples of criticism could be seen in phrases like “the government’s

wrongdoing in behaving in such a manner” or “why isn’t the government paying attention to the people?” Subsequent evidence of calling for action can be found in the paragraph that follows: “Even taxi drivers have things to say... The government must listen to what is being said (by these everyday people) and implement a policy as soon as possible.”

Similarly, in article D.2.1, the government is condemned again for letting so many protests occur by not listening to what the public has to say (“even after a very desirable feat of the people, there are still problems... the government is solely to blame”) and is urged to incorporate what they hear from civic movement groups and their leaders into policies (“social atmosphere must be democratized, and to do that, the government must hold a meeting with civic groups”). In this quote and in a number of other places, words and phrases such as “must” and “should” are used, providing evidence that a dominant sub-role is to call upon the subject of criticism (government) to act accordingly.

Media role: Providing outlook/new information

In article from this time period, there were some that provided outlook or new information to readers. This role is significant because it did not appear in the authoritarian time period of 1980. The role refers to the media providing a forecast of society and disseminating information that many members of society may not know. One could also argue that providing projections and disseminating information is without doubt a fundamental and simple function of the media. However, the research sees that the fact that this role concept appeared in search and analysis of articles in 1987 and not

in 1980. It seems that journalists at this time felt the need to write with this role in mind, because the proclamation to begin free elections was a significant event, and the need for outlook of Korea's society was more significant than ever for this developing democracy. No sub-roles were identified for this category.

For example, article J.2.3 listed seven TV documentaries to be aired by KBS. At the time it was rare for newspapers to write a separate article on TV programs for other broadcasting companies, especially a preview. However, as mentioned in the article, the reason for providing such information was because "democracy is now in our hands, and we must learn how developed nations and their democracies work, to make ours better." Another article, D.2.2, with the headline "At the starting point of democratization," provides outlook and things to think about after democratization, such as "securing elites and enhancing the central government." Although this role concept could be overlapped with prescription or urging people to act, the structure of the article – where potential problems and weaknesses are described first – enabled the researcher to prioritize the outlook-providing role.

Another example could be found in article K.2.1. In discussing the fundamentals of democratic success, the article provides prescriptions and proscriptions for Korea at the juncture of democratization. However, in numerous places in the text are examples of what is or has happened in the world in terms of democratization. For instance, in the sentence "neighboring Japan has been working on..." the article shares news of what is happening in a more developed democracy in Asia, Japan. Also, the phrase "although not quite known to us" or "a new type of discussion should be on the table" emphasizes the

fact that the discussion being made in the articles are not well-known to readers.

Following this phrase is the discussion on what a true political success means. Although the discussion does take some form of evaluation and prescription, it was considered that the use of phrases that refer to these discussions as “new” falls more on the role of media that introduces new information and outlook.

Media role: Illustration/description

This is a role concept that was discussed in the previous time period as well, where the media engages in conveying factual information according to the agenda or topic it sees as significant. It seems that this role may be a common role of the news media, regardless of social/time circumstances. Article J.2.1, is mostly comprised of phrases such as “according to,” “he said,” and “information tells us that.” The journalist seems to try to avoid being voiced out in the article, but let other people speak instead.

However, there is one difference we can find from these articles and those from seven years prior to their timeframe. The 1987 articles seem to be utilizing quotes from within the article to make a point, even in a breaking news coverage article as this one. Looking back at Article J.2.1, the headline reads, “Democracy can only be realized through doing, not saying.” This is not a quote from the journalist; it was a quote from a politician in the article. It seems that the journalist may have tried to make the article more provoking and meaningful to the readers by doing so. This is different from articles of 1980, where provoking headlines only appeared in editorials and not fact-based coverage as article J.2.1.

A similar example would be article J.2.2, where ambassadors are interviewed immediately after the 6/29 proclamation. The article itself takes form of listing interviews with ambassadors, but the headline reads, “It finally feels good to be an ambassador.” This implies many things, among those being that before the firm declaration of democratization, ambassadors had a difficult time representing Korea as an autonomous state under military rule.

Proclamation of 6/29/1987: Pentadic Analysis

The pentad was used to analyze three articles, two with the dominant frame of ‘criticism’ and one with ‘providing outlook/new information.’ The purpose of the pentadic analysis was to see what the main motives were for each dominantly framed role. Article for the pentadic analysis were selected so that role assumptions by the media in those selected articles were significant and emphasized strongly.

Article C.2.2

“Let’s hold an emergency political negotiation” (June 16, 1987) is an editorial written by Sang-Woo Lee, a columnist for *Chosun Ilbo* who later became the president of a university. It could be said that he was a representative of intellectuals of the time. The article was written just six days after the 6.10 protest, the catalyst protest that triggered a nationwide movement for overthrowing the authoritarian regime. The main purpose of the article is that the politicians are misunderstanding the situation because they do not recognize what is ongoing in the people’s minds. It is the reason why the writer is calling

for a negotiation session between the government and the people to settle this issue, because if left as it is, the country will deteriorate into a civil war status.

The pentad

Agent: Sang-Woo Lee, an editorialist for the *Chosun Ilbo* at the time and political journalist/critic; former president of Hallym University –

Agent2: Elites and scholars at the time

Act: Argues that there be an emergency political negotiation talks between politicians and the people

Scene: Less than a week after the 6.10 protest (the largest student protest of 1987 that acted as a catalyst for Korea's democratization)

Agency: Text arguing that politicians should listen to the voices of the people

Purpose: To rectify the current non-democratic behavior of the authoritarian government

This journalistic piece has the intention of addressing the politicians to stop their authoritarian rule and listen to the people. It seems that the scene and agent also have importance over other elements. The *agent* also seems to be very important because the columnist who published this article is a political expert. It was thought that the agent, although defined as the editorial writer, could also be elites and scholars in Korea as a whole. To elaborate, it would be worthy to examine the *counter-agent*, which is the government. The tone of the article is set in such a way that resembles a rightful request to the government, as can be seen in phrases like “Let’s hold” or “We cannot neglect the

situation anymore.” This would mean that the agent sees the government as an entity to be treated as equal in terms of social status. Whether it is self-perception as elite or not, the fact that such a tone was used in the article shows that the *agent* assumes a certain hierarchical status.

Thus, we would have a *purpose-agent* ratio. Here, the ratio can be weighed in two different ways, with *agent1* (editorialist) and *agent2* (Korean elites and scholars). In the first case, although the significance of the *agent* as a prominent figure in this article is still high, the researcher determined that the *purpose* is more dominant because the essential intention and motive of the article was to criticize government officials for their wrongdoings and have them take the right step toward democratization. However, when taking the second identified agent into the ratio, it was thought that the agent was the dominant element. This is because other dramatist elements of the story – act, agency and purpose – all hold more meaning due to the fact that the agent is the self-proclaimed leaders and elites of society. Here, *agent* seems to have much importance as a powerful tool to make the effect of the purported message stronger.

Article D.2.3

“The will to democratize and policies toward the press” (August 11, 1987) is an editorial written by *Dong A Ilbo* staff (not recorded in the database). It stresses the importance of policies regarding the press and criticizes the current “Press Vitalization Policy” of the ruling Min-Jung Party. The argument is that although it superficially looks as though controls of information has been alleviated, on the inside, the same people make the same

decisions as to what information makes it to the newspaper. After providing explanation and logic for the flaws in the new press policy, the article urges on the administration to reexamine the policy.

The pentad

Agent: *Dong A Ilbo*, nationwide newspaper and one of the effected organizations from the new “Press Vitalization Policy” of the ruling Min-Jung Party (counter agent)

Act: Criticizes the ruling party for a press policy that has not been changed much from the authoritarian regime, even after the 6/29 proclamation

Scene: About two months after the 6/29 proclamation (one that declared free elections in Korea), where the new “Press Vitalization Policy” is being implemented

Agency: Text persuading the ruling party and announcing these issues to readers

Purpose: To criticize and have the ruling party modify its policy

The dominant element here is *purpose*. There are numerous examples in the article where phrases such as “The ruling party should not be evaluated well,” “We urge the Min-Jung party to reexamine the policy.” or “Reviewing this section of the policy is requested.” are used to express a purpose. Another significant element seems to be the *agency*, because the news publication is discussing its own issue on its pages. This could be an indication that the problem the newspaper (*Dong A Ilbo*) sees with the policy is crucial enough. Thus, we have a *purpose-agency* ratio here. Purpose seems more dominant, however, because it is the very cause of utilizing such an agency (editorial

page); cause dominates resulting methods for the cause.

The essence of the article, which is to publish what the ruling party is doing wrong, is in the third paragraph: “The ‘press vitalization policy’ of the Min-Jung Party is not enough to meet expectations of a free press in democracy.” Then follows a list of problems found in the policy and what the desired outcome should be like. As mentioned above, multiple usages of words such as “should” (cause) and “it is requested” throughout the article indicate the ultimate purpose of the article, which is to go beyond criticism to urge the government to modify its policies and provide more press freedom.

Article J.2.3

“Shedding light on developed democracies (July 21, 1987) is an article written by Jung Ang Ilbo staff (not recorded in the database) that introduces a series of TV documentaries to be aired on Korea Broadcasting Systems (KBS), a nationwide TV station. The documentaries focus on how democracy performs in developed countries such as Great Britain, U.S., Spain, France, Japan, Austria and Germany. Following a brief description of documentaries for each country is an overall evaluation of what KBS is doing, and the article ends on a note that expresses positive expectations of such TV programming.

The pentad

Agent: *Jung Ang Ilbo*, a nationwide newspaper

Act: Introduces upcoming TV documentaries of KBS (rare case)

Scene: About a month after the 6/29 proclamation, where expectations toward a long-awaited democratization is high among citizens

Agency: A list of upcoming TV programs with a paragraph assessing such efforts at the end

Purpose: To introduce new information of TV programs that ought to be watched by the public

A notable thing about this article, as mentioned in the pentadic analysis, is that TV programming is introduced with words of high expectations such as “it is judged to be a meaningful programming” or “such programming is worth the expectation.” Unless the article is a *TV Guide*-type one where a list of programs is listed, dailies at the time would not usually set aside space for an article of the sort, let alone one that illustrates positive expectations. Thus, the *act* and *purpose* themselves seem to be dominant factors, resulting in an *act-purpose* ratio. Between the two, purpose seems to be more dominant because without the purpose, the act could not have been realized.

The *purpose* of the article can be found in phrases such as “In this juncture where society’s expectations toward democracy are high,” or “meaningful programming.” According to these phrases, it seems to be to get people to watch these TV programs so that they can experience and learn from developed democracies. In addition, to emphasize the significance of the *act* (or the significance of the information being conveyed through it) the article mentions that the KBS documentaries will be high in quality and value (“The documentaries were produced on-site in each of the seven

countries”). Synthesizing the two elements of the pentad, it can be concluded that by extolling the work of KBS and writing various phrases of recommendation to the people, the agent wishes to have the readers be better exposed to what it believes to be a good opportunity. Although this is not explicitly mentioned anywhere in the article, the intentions and motives of seem to indicate so. Plus, the fact that descriptions of each documentary per country contain wordings that can be related to Korean’s situation:

- “As Korea and the U.S. have already agreed on a presidential system, we can learn lessons from the U.S. experience.”
- “What is the wisdom and method of the Austrian democracy that eluded the crisis of separation after WWII?”
- “What were the factors of success for Germany, whose separation is a similar case as ours?”

Proclamation of 6/29/1987: Discussion and Significance of Findings

It was found that the three most recurring frames of media roles were *criticism* (with sub-role call for action), *illustration/description*, and *outlook/new information*. According to textual analysis, it was concluded that the sub-role for criticism, call for action, was similar to what appeared in the first set of articles, where this role theme appeared only alongside criticism. As for *illustration/description*, a role better known as information dissemination, it was concluded that unlike in the first time period, news organizations began including words and phrases in headlines and other parts of the article that may imply some significant meaning. For the *outlook/new information* role, it

was assumed that through the process of providing outlook and information, the media showed possible implications of motives other than just laying them out. To further examine this, the pentadic method was applied.

According to pentadic analysis, the researcher found that the article structures of criticism-call for action were adopted to emphasize an implied purpose or motive, which mostly meant that the media (agent) or products of the media (agency) were elements used to lead to an urging of change or new measures on the part of the government. It was also found that for the role framed as providing outlook or new information, an implied intention (in the case of article J.2.3, the intention to have people find out about preferable TV programming and be exposed to it as a result of reading the article) existed.

One could also argue that providing projections and disseminating information is without doubt a fundamental and simple function of the media. However, the research sees that the fact that this role concept appeared in search and analysis of articles in 1987 and not in 1980. It seems that journalists at this time felt the need to write with this role in mind, because the proclamation to begin free elections was a significant event, and the need for outlook of Korea's society was more significant than ever for this developing democracy. No sub-roles were identified for this category.

Linking back to the discussion of media role theories, the article and their roles can be applied to almost all of the media roles theories that were discussed in pertinent literature. It seems that some watchdog role is shown, as can be seen in those articles framed to have roles to criticize and urge the government. By calling upon politicians to

act on an issue, the articles in reverse are notifying the public that the government is not doing what it ought to be doing. The motive of the writer may not be focused on such a role, but the article as an agent (who is leading the criticism?) or agency (where is the journalistic work written?) does fulfill such a role. Although it is not evident in the article whether the journalist wrote it to urge more protest from the people or actually resolve the conflict and first achieve peace in a society, it is evident that the article denounces the attitudes and behaviors of the authoritarian leaders.

In sum, by examining the role “criticism of government” – something that was not so prevalent during an authoritarian regime - it can be said that media autonomy had increased in the course of seven years toward democratization, and that the media, by presenting this article, show hints of belonging in the monitorial role category. The same goes for other roles, where increased media autonomy enabled the media to include self-determined values as it sees as significant in the circumstances.

Another thing worthwhile, however, is how democratization works to be a factor. The articles are dispersed within a three-month period of the proclamation of democratization, and the analysis show that media autonomy has increased when compared to the authoritarian period of 1980. This poses a question, because although the event in 1987 does signify a transition to democracy, the period still is strictly under an authoritarian system; but here, the transition here was sudden – articles written before the proclamation and after the proclamation differed in their degree of criticism and call for action. Then, how could have the dynamics of media autonomy transitioned so much in so little time? The researcher believes that one plausible reason for a sudden increase in

media autonomy or a tendency of the media to incline more toward the monitorial role is due to the fact that the articles were written at the time of such a significant event in democratization. In other words, it could be that the proclamation enabled the newspapers to engage in monitorial roles right away, grafting much criticism and intent into articles. Media's institutional power had not increased in much great deal yet, because the ruling regime in Korea was authoritarian just a month before the articles were published. Thus, it is the belief of this researcher that the prevalence of the monitorial role has much to do with the media seizing the opportunity of rapid social change to engage in roles that can only be accomplished with high institutional power and autonomy.

Candlelight Vigils of 2008: Textual Analysis

Three articles each from all five publications (*Chosun*, *Jung Ang*, *Dong A*, *Kyunghyang*, and *Hangyoreh*) were used for textual analysis for this time period, as articles from *The Hangyoreh* were available online. As a result of textual analysis, two main frames of role conceptions were found: *criticism* and *advocacy*. Within these primary frames, the following sub-roles were identified: for criticism, criticism toward government or criticism toward the people (protesters), and for advocacy, advocacy of the government, people, or publication (news organizations themselves).

Table 5: Identified media roles from articles of 2008

Primary Frame	Sub-Frame
Criticism	Government
	People
Advocacy	Government
	People
	Publication

Media role: Criticism

Textual evidences of criticism were found throughout articles of this time period. In D.3.1, the headline reads, “Violent candlelight protest breaks again.” Even in this headline, the researcher was able to identify criticism. By using the word “violent,” the article states that there is something wrong with the protest. This point is further supported with other sentences and phrases such as “protesters did not seem to care about safety of other innocent citizens” or “such a barbaric measure.” Also, by use of the word “again,” the article criticizes the protesters for repeatedly engaging in actions that are not desirable. Another quote from the article, “only a week after the previous violent engagement that left many injured... the protesters came out with candles but were looking more to pick a fight with the police,” shows that the article is criticizing protesters for not demonstrating the desired way of protest.

Another example was D.3.3, which refers to utterances of the Thai royal family to criticize protesters. There were numerous phrases that quoted the members of the royal family that criticized what was going on in Korea, the following being examples:

“(Koreans) do not know what is good for their nation”; “Their protest is different because they are fighting for no meaning”; “It may be better for them to stop what they are doing and start thinking.”

One major difference of articles from this timeframe (2008) with the other two is that in this set of articles, the *call for action* role was lacking. It was the case for both articles containing criticism and those that did not. It seems that in the twenty-one years between the second time period and the third, the media’s appeal for action, or instigating functions, has been alleviated.

For instance, in article J.3.1, phrases such as “the protesters lacked tolerance” or “it was regretful that the protesters were too stubborn to give the government a chance to explain” were used to criticize the protesters, but none that had notions such as “must,” “should” or “urged to.” That is, criticism toward the people did not lead to what they ought to be doing.

Similarly, in article C.2.2, the journalist shows concern that the protesters may result in hindering democratic development (“empowered protesters may allow the weakness in democracy to prevail”), but does not go further to prescribe or urge the people or the government to go on to engage in some activity.

This role had as target of criticism two main actors of society: the protesters and the government. For example, in the articles discussed above, criticism is geared towards the protesters. However, in other articles, criticism is against the government and how they have been acting, as can be seen in article H.3.3. In this article, the government and its influence and control over KBS (Korean Broadcasting Company) are mentioned with

much criticism on how the government is taking away press freedom. A number of textual evidences were found with regard to this theme: “it is absurd that such a thing is being executed by the government in a democracy”; “the government must be mistakenly thinking something else”; “it is of no doubt that the government knows what is right.”

Another interesting thing is the expanded writing style where various entities (that were not used as often in previous articles) were brought into the article to make a point. For example, article J.3.3 quoted Hong Kong officials as they commented on Korea’s protests: “For the better good and national development, shouldn’t the protesters try discussing the matter to come up with better ideas rather than merely going out to protest?” This article, although seemingly taking an objective stance by quoting interviews, may very well be “borrowing” words of internationals to criticize the protesters of Korea. Another good example could be article J.3.2, where some netizens (citizens of the network world: online users) were quoted as saying “more people should bleed so that the protest has more meaning,” which works as basis for criticizing hard-lined protesters.

Media role: Advocacy

This can be a tricky term, as the role concept may overlap to some extent with the abovementioned “criticism.” In fact, the two roles are interchangeable with each other, because by criticizing a certain party of society, the article advocates its counterpart. However, as also mentioned above, articles of this time period show an inclination to come to a halt in terms of intensity after a certain point. Thus, it was determined that

some textual evidences of articles rather indicated that the contents of articles were rather focused on advocating, or supporting, a certain social entity. Sub-frames were divided into advocacy of the government, the people, and the publication itself.

Article K.3.2 is a good example of co-existing criticism and advocacy with more weight on advocacy. This article criticizes the government and police officials for allowing a violent means to regulating and controlling protests: “The police forces, by using fire engines (high water pressure from hoses to stop protesters) and clubs (carried by police officers), resulted in angering the protesters.” However, a more significant portion of the article is dedicated to explaining how the people’s candlelight protests were intended to be peaceful at first: “People, including children and women, came out to the streets with no means of violence,” or “They were only reacting back to police violence in anger and a sense of betrayal.” In a similar sense, article C.3.2 criticizes broadcasting station Moonhwa Broadcasting Company (MBC) for airing a TV program with false information (“grounds for their investigative reports were unwarranted”), but at the same time advocating its own organization (*Chosun Ilbo*) and other conservative papers (*Jung Ang and Dong A*) for functioning with most accuracy and moral standards (“who is rightfully functioning?”).

As seen in the previous example, the interesting thing with the advocacy role frame in this time period is that sometimes advocacy is toward the publication itself. A more concrete example would be article C.3.1. The story focuses on a man named Yang-Woong Moon, who analyzed past *Chosun Ilbo* articles. He is quoted as saying “after research, I am confident to say that *Chosun Ilbo* has been the most consistent

newspaper.” This was written amid arguments of news organizations with which political stance were right (conservative: *Chosun, Jung Ang, Dong A* / progressive: *Hankyoreh, MBC, Kyunghyang*) with regard to coverage on the association of U.S. imported beef with mad cow disease. Thus, by including quotes and interviews from Mr. Moon, *Chosun Ilbo* seems to be playing role of advocate for itself.

Candlelight Vigils of 2008: Pentadic Analysis

Four articles were analyzed, two for each frames of role concepts, *criticism* and *advocacy*. The purpose of the pentadic analysis was to see what the main motives were for each dominantly framed role. Article for the pentadic analysis were selected so that role assumptions by the media in those selected articles were significant and emphasized strongly.

Article C.3.2

“Bittersweetness of the Plaza” (June 14, 2008) is an editorial written by Byung-Geun Chun, a reporter for the *Chosun Ilbo*. Basically, the article criticizes protesters who seem to have gotten carried away. The writer of the article, who is a South American expert, compares different cases in the region of his specialty to argue that a rise in protests did not always lead to development of a democracy. The author, using the newspaper as a vehicle (agency), argues that when a protest goes overboard to surpass the limits of effective ruling, it rather becomes a hindrance to democracy.

The pentad

Agent: Byung-geun Chun, International reporter in charge of South American affairs

Act: Argues that as protests (the plaza) become more empowered, a weakness in democracy may prevail

Scene: A time of excessive protest in the City Hall Plaza against U.S. beef imports

Agency: Editorial of the journalist that calls upon the public to rethink about the effectiveness and desirability of plaza protests

Purpose: To criticize the candlelight vigils and address a question of whether the protests are really an evolution in democracy or a mere reflection of digital populism

In terms of ratios, *scene* and *purpose* seem to be the most dominant elements of the pentad. The scene here is the midst of rapid increase in protests against the government's decision to continue on with beef imports, and to this, the article has a purpose of criticizing excessive protesters, challenging people to rethink whether such a behavior is really helpful for democracy. Weighing the two elements, the most dominant theme seems to be scene, because the flow of discussion of each paragraph is based on a significant event happening in Korea at the time: "Seoul's plaza is news all around the world these days," "Now, a new 'voice of the people' has appeared in the plaza," "There are concerns of digital populism in the Blue House (residence of the president) at the moment." Note that words such as "these days," "now," and "at the moment" are included in each leading sentence.

By mentioning how protests in Seoul's City Hall Plaza has become an issue addressed by many international entities, the author shows an intention to criticize the current situation. One notable thing is that to begin the argument, the write mentions examples of South American countries (Mexico's presidential election in 2006, and the "May Square" of Buenos Aires). This is closely related to the trend the researcher saw in articles of this time period, where different entities (that were not used in other time periods) were incorporated into the argument to make a point.

Article J.3.3

"Studying beats candlelight" (July 9, 2010) is an article written by Hyung-Gyu Choi, *Jung Ang Ilbo*'s correspondent to Hong Kong. The article begins by describing what is happening in Hong Kong, where Donald Chang appointed nine civil organization members to political counselors for each members of the cabinet. Then, an interview with Hong Kong officials follow, where the main theme is "protest is time-consuming; it is better to brainstorm measures and policies than to roam out into the streets."

The pentad

Agent: Interviewees (officials of Hong Kong who attended the event)

Act: Describes Hong Kong's civil society and how they aid the government, then shows an interview with other participants of an event

Scene: A time of excessive protest in Korea against U.S. beef imports

Agency: Article and interview excerpts

Purpose: To criticize the excessive protests in Korea and to establish the Hong Kong case as a role model for protesters

According to the article, *purpose* and *agent* seem to be the two most dominant elements, thus forming a *purpose-agent* ratio. Here, it seems that the *agent* is the most dominant. The reason that the researcher determined that the purpose is not the most dominant element is because although the purpose does seem to describe correctly the intentions of the writer, textual evidence is not sufficient: “more people should bleed so that the protest has more meaning,” is the only explicitly expressed piece of text in the article that criticizes the Korean protesters. In contrast, the agent, Hong Kong officials who are enjoying successful civil society-government collaboration, are recurrent and dominant factors throughout the article, which act as the strongest element in telling the story. However, when it comes to motives and intentions of the article, an implicit theme of criticizing Korean protesters (who are the opposite of the exemplary Hong Kong counterparts) do exist.

Article C.3.1

“Mr. Yang-Woong Moon, who analyzed past Chosun Ilbo articles to prove that its reasoning is consistent” (July 11, 2008) is an article written by Kyu-Min Choi, a social beat reporter for the *Chosun Ilbo*. The article is an interview with Moon, an advocate of the newspaper who argues that Chosun Ilbo has indeed been consistent in its stance toward the U.S. beef import controversy. This article appears at a time when the popular

belief of people was hostile toward U.S. beef and the government's decision to import such products from the U.S.. Chosun Ilbo, who has a reputation for being pro-government, remained as an advocate of the administration, stating that U.S. beef being the cause of mad cow disease is a rumor. The newspaper became a target of public criticism. The article, by quoting a student of one of the most prominent universities in Korea, seem to intend to make an argument that those how are intellectually sound agree with the *Chosun Ilbo*. In this light, the act (interviewing a prominent university student) and purpose (exonerating itself) seem to be the most salient elements.

The pentad

Agent: Mr. Yang-Woong Moon, an advocate of *Chosun Ilbo*

Act: Interviews Mr. Yang-Woong Moon, an advocate of the *Chosun Ilbo*, and presents his opinion that rumors on the Internet are not true and manipulating people

Scene: In the middle of criticism against the *Chosun Ilbo* for providing non-conforming information

Agency: Article on newspaper categorized as "Candlelight and the media"

Purpose: To make an argument that the *Chosun Ilbo* should not be criticized for its statements about the beef import issue

The most dominant elements of the article are *agent* ("Mr. Moon is an everyday college student who revealed that it was indeed *Chosun Ilbo* who stayed consistent in coverage and stance") *purpose* (Moon: "*Chosun Ilbo* is not to be criticized because it did not do anything wrong"), and the more dominant in the agent-purpose ratio is agent. This

is because the purpose of this article can only be implemented with an effective agent. The term effective here means that the agent must be someone without any ties to *Chosun Ilbo*. The article is a self-exonerating type that remains in support of the very newspaper the article is published in; if the newspaper itself were to make the same claims, it would not be credible at all toward the readers. In other words, the agent was the most significant element that enabled the intention of the journalist.

The article is interesting in that the journalist does not provide any specific perspectives; he rather does so through an interview, perhaps aimed at increasing the validity of the argument.

Article H.3.2

“Candlelight forum: ‘In search of new democracy’” (July 29, 2008) is an article written by Mi-Young Kim, a reporter for *The Hankyoreh*. It is a short article that shares some characteristics of a press release – the organization writes about its own event and benefits that can be garnered from it. Panelists of the forum are listed and The Hangyoreh’s plans for future forums are introduced.

The pentad

Agent: *The Hangyoreh*

Act: Introduces the fifth ‘Candlelight Forum’ sponsored by *The Hangyoreh*

Scene: A time of excessive protest and arguments regarding U.S. beef imports

Agency: Article in newspaper

Purpose: To make an argument that the newspaper is putting forth effort to provide social services in sensitive times

The two most dominant elements of the pentad are *purpose* and *act*. In the ratio purpose-act, purpose was determined to be the more dominant element because it was the sole cause of the act. There are several places in the article acting as indicators of the purpose: the headline reads “In search of new democracy,” and a sentence in the article says, “the event is projected to be a forum that will enable us to think about how to incorporate the spirit of the candlelight into politics, economy and society,” which is almost a positive evaluation of an event sponsored by oneself. Another quote reads “in an effort to pay back the support of citizens on past candlelight forums,” which signifies the intentions of the news organization to be positively perceived in society – to have as advocates its readers.

The interesting thing about this article is the fact that the news organization is writing about itself without alluding to another entity. Although the purpose may be the same, this is unlike the previous article or any other. However, it is also the researcher’s opinion that articles with such characteristics do exist from time to time in different news organizations, where an achievement of the newspaper is mentioned for advertising purposes. However, the fact that such an article was extracted after filtering through a search of keywords “democracy” and “candlelight” seems to be what is significant. Newspapers, namely The Hankyoreh, argued that it is an important factor in a discussion with these two terms, and according to its motives, one that can be advocated for.

Candlelight Vigils of 2008: Discussion and Significance of Findings

A total number of fifteen articles were analyzed, which enabled the identification of two main frames of role conceptions: criticism and advocacy. An interesting finding in the textual analysis is that unlike in 1980 and 1987, articles of 2008 did not show a natural advancement from criticism to call for action. This could mean several things, but the most plausible explanation seems to be that as democracy begins to develop and consolidate, the press did not recognize the necessity for prescribing and urging people to do what is preferable. Rather, textual analysis revealed that the media have begun engaging in incorporating the notion of advocacy into their journalistic pieces. As discussed in the pentadic analysis, such advocacy could be for the organization itself, or for people or government.

It also seems worthwhile that criticism and advocacy were role concepts that are interchangeable with each other. Even so, they were separated because the emergence of an advocated voice toward a certain political perspective seemed to be significant. As for the appearance of such a role, one possible reason for could be that newspapers seem to have formed stances and political orientation (conservative vs. progressive) over time. Examining articles, their publications, and the target of their criticism or advocacy led the researcher to believe that conservative newspapers (*Chosun*, *Jung Ang* and *Dong A*) were in favor of the government and pro-U.S. beef, while progressive newspapers (*Kyunghyand* and *Hankyoreh*) were in favor of protesters. It is believed by the researcher that this establishment of political stance led to the two dominant role themes in this

period, criticism and advocacy, because it seems that to advocate their political stances, news publications engaged in criticizing the opposing parties, and for criticism, vice a versa.

Linking back to theory, it seems that the roles played by the journalists in article C.3.2 and J.3.3 are agenda setter and existentialism. Especially in the case of C.3.2, by arguing against popular belief that the government ought to be subject to protest and opposition, the journalist introduces a new argument into the topic. This also means that the journalist here has the motive of making remarks driven by his own set of beliefs (or of the agent), providing a sense of liberalist and existentialist, viewing the situation in a subjective stance. Such roles and attitudes can fit into the radical role of Christians et al (2009), as media autonomy in that the journalist says whatever he pleases is prioritized over anything else. Such a role categorization does pose problem in that the institutional power of the newspaper had become even stronger. It can only be understood in this case that the institutional power of the media seem to have been diminished because 1) in a democracy, institutional powers of a single organization are no longer as prevailing, and 2) the main argument of the article is against popular ideas of the time.

The role of articles with the 'advocacy' role was a bit difficult to define, because the main purpose of the article seems be to make an advocating argument for itself. All it is doing is using someone else's words (or even one's own) to make a point for the publication. If one was to label a role to the motives of article C.3.1, it could be the verification role in a weak sense. The article, although subjective and biased toward its own arguments, make a point in attempting to verify so-called "Internet rumors."

However, the media here is oriented toward its own than the public good. Thus, the media role here can be placed toward the left column of the theoretical figure from Christians et al. Motives of the article cannot fit into neither the monitorial nor radical role categories of journalism; this seems to be a case where an “alternative version” is necessary, which is a point also conceded to by Christians and his colleagues.

When taken into consideration along with the discussion of democracy and democratization, the roles presented by the Korean media in this period show that a development into consolidated democracy brings with it some new factors that are significant in media roles. For example, the emergence of the Internet and its function to allow for more information and discussion seems to enable news organizations to express themselves much more. This may be because so much more can be written and published about a single topic, meaning that news organizations could proceed as far as to discuss their own accomplishments. By doing so, the news organizations are better able to discuss more in depth what they feel to be doing right for society, or what political stance or ideology should be adopted in assessing the political situation (candlelight vigils).

5. CONCLUSION

The concept of democratization in Korea, although deriving from and closely related to Western definitions of democracy, is different due to rapid transition and different inherent social values. Its journalism also has some distinctive characteristics, and relationships between media and the state resulting from such characteristics seem to have influenced media roles in democratization. It was the purpose of this research, by examining journalistic work from three significant incidents in the democratization of Korea, to find out **how have roles of the Korean print media changed as Korea transitioned from an authoritarian regime to democratization and a democratic regime?**

Through analysis of articles of 1980, it was found that Korean media engaged in role concepts such as calling for action, illustration/description, and evaluation/prescription. Of the three, call for action seemed to be the most dominant role and also one influenced most by the motives and intentions of the media. The other two identified frames seem to be those assumed by journalists universally. Pentadic analysis of articles from this time period showed that purpose (intention to restore the nation) and scene (the urgency of the situation) were the two most dominant elements in shaping the motives of articles.

According to Christians et al (2009) and their theoretical explication of role categories resulting from the dynamics of institutional power and autonomy, roles of the media during this time period seems to be in the weak-weak territory, placing the media

role of the time in the facilitative category. This perhaps explains the fact that many articles of this time period called upon the people to acquire restoration and harmony as a reactive attitude after the massacre.

Articles of 1987 showed that the primary frames regarding media roles were *criticism*, *illustration/description*, and providing *outlook/new information*. The most interesting thing about this time period was that criticism almost always led to a call for action (urging) on the part of the government, which was the main subject of criticism. The call for action in 1987 is similar to that in 1980, except that it is paired with criticism. In 1980, criticism was not a primary frame because it only sporadically appeared when the target was the people (not the military rule). It was found that many new things were being incorporated into how the media provided journalism: even in the routinely illustration/description, certain provocative quotes from sources were used as headlines and such to make a point. As for providing outlook and new information, the media seemed to show motives for assuming such a role (to inform or mobilize the people).

According to pentadic analysis, purpose was almost always the most dominant element, perhaps meaning that media became better able to incorporate its intended ideas in the articles. To elaborate, the media played mainly the role of agenda setter and watchdog. Journalists at the time seemed to have a motive of informing and determining for the public what important topics are to be discussed for a desired state (democracy) and the problems of authorities in dealing with those issues, which led them to assume the watchdog role. In the process of fulfilling such roles, the media also seemed to take on functions such as representation, conflict resolution and information dissemination. In

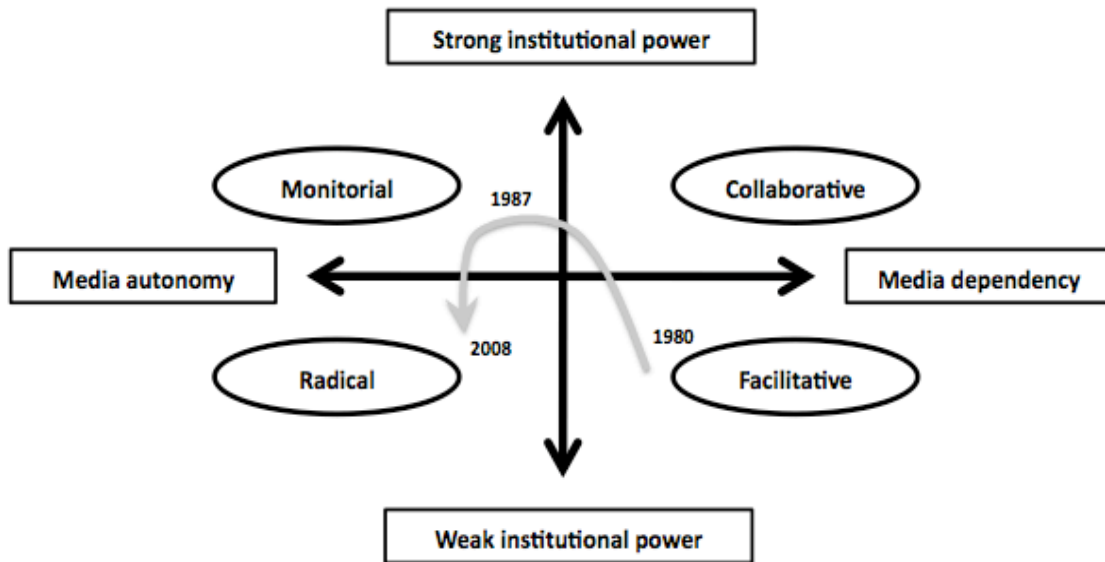
contrast, the journalists in the 2008 candlelight vigil movements seemed to focus more on news organizations being able to autonomously express opinionated views and “speak out” to the audience.

In terms of Christians and colleagues’ theories on media role categorizations, the media of 1987 seemed to play roles that were scattered all over dimensions. This could be attributed to the fact that during a political transition, circumstances around the media become diverse in terms of elements regarding press systems, meaning that the media experimentally plays different roles according to the scene. This is interesting because all of this happened in a period of transition, which is strictly still an authoritarian press system. It was found that the media would focus on its socially responsible role to seek desired values in politics: correct democratization and good democracy.

As for the last timeframe, 2008, it was concluded that the media sought more autonomy for expressing its core values, showing role frames of both criticism and advocacy. Also, it was found that a transition of twenty-one years was reflected in several aspects, namely in the absence of call for action. Overall findings of articles in this timeframe perhaps means that in a democracy, institutional power of the media have become weak due to competition and the public’s critical eye toward the press. Also, autonomy had become important for the media of this time because expression values in a democracy increases. This could mean that political transitions in Korea were the main factors, factors other than the above, such as the rise of democratic culture, economic level of the public, and people’s attitude toward the media also may have influenced media role transitions.

As Korea's political atmosphere transitioned to and from different stages of democratization, it can be concluded that its press role category shifted from facilitative, then to monitorial (although spread all over the continuum) and then to a space between radical and monitorial, perhaps more into the radical sphere. For such a transition in the first two time periods, the research saw that each significant event played a crucial role.

Figure 2. Role transition during different periods in Korea's democratization and democracy



Logically thinking and referring back to the discussion of democratization in the literature, it would be difficult to imagine that the media would have much institutional power or autonomy in an authoritarian regime. In that sense, 1987 was technically an authoritarian regime because democratization was just institutionalized; the society was still an authoritarian state. However, the fact that media roles showed a sudden surge to shift toward the monitorial role seems to be due to the significant event: proclamation of

democratization and democratic elections. As discussed above, it seems that the media looked at this event as an opportunity to engage in various media roles that would be possible in a democracy. Similar was the case for 1980, when a tragic and shocking event such as the massacre enabled the media to take trial in urging the government to rectify their undesirable actions. Although a majority of the articles focused on urging the nation to garner harmony and restoration, some articles did show tendencies to urge or prescribe the government to act in such a way; the researcher believes that such a role in an authoritarian regime was only possible because of the severity of the event and that it opened a window for the media to start voicing out opinions against the government, for all the readers to see that at the same time.

This probably means that media became more autonomous and institutional power of the media became stronger. It can also be said that in the boundaries of such a transition, the ruling regime (and its coerciveness) and the resulting capability of the people to react to journalism has functioned as a significant factor in shaping media roles. The researcher believes that events like the massacre of 1980, which were actions of coercion by the authoritarian regime, played a significant role in enhancing autonomy of the news media because of the harshness of the events. Coercive control of the military regime initiated the fostering of democratic (or anti-authoritarian) values in people, and at the same time enabled the press to engage in pointing out what the government or the people are doing wrong. However, as mentioned above, such watchdog roles were limited to a mere prescription when it came to the government, which is indicative of the authoritarian regime's sustained control of the press. It was not until 1987 that the media

saw an opportunity to increase its autonomy and thus, more actively engage in monitorial role-playing with the mass media.

Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) has argued that media role is best studied at the organizational level; i.e., organizations express roles (more so than individuals [p. 31; p.55] or media systems), and hence roles can vary by organization. The fifth publication for 2008, *The Hangyoreh*, was selected to help determine this very concept, and it was shown that in this period news publications were rather distinctively separated in terms of their criticism and advocacy. *Chosun*, *Dong A* and *Jung Ang* showed more pro-government (anti-protester) perspectives whereas *Hangyoreh* and *Kyunghyang* inclined to be more anti-government (anti-beef imports).

This research adds to the literature by exploring a case in Korea, that press systems transition through political changes, with certain role concepts being played at different junctures of the political change (here, democratization). However, the study can also challenge existing theory on press systems as well. For instance, in the findings of 1980 and 1987, it was shown that although the press system is representative of an authoritarian system (not yet democratized or developing into stronger democracy), monitorial roles of the press were presented occasionally. As mentioned in analyses above, this could perhaps be explained by significant events acting as catalysts for an increase in media autonomy. Although Christians et al (2009) do talk about this in their theory, it could be noted that a study of the Korean case presents that media can result in a different authoritarian press system and role-playing as compared to the literature.

It should be noted that this research was subject to some limitations. First of all, the number of articles analyzed were not large in number; findings from each time period may not sufficiently reflect media roles because role conceptions and motives of forty articles may not be representing everything that was going on at the time. This means that quantifiable techniques – such as accumulating the number of times a certain word was used – was not effective; it was overcome through an in-depth analysis of the text. An effort to read ‘between the lines’ for voices and subjective views in the articles provided enough information to draw conclusions and to apply those conclusions to hypotheses.

Also, a question of roles varying in the organizational vs. individual level still remains. The research was conducted with an emphasis on analyzing how news organizations as a whole played different roles throughout a history of democratization. However, the research did not look at whether perspectives of individual reporters (who would have been writing for the news organization for a considerable period of time, depending on their career) had an influence on how the articles presented media roles. For example, an influential journalist known for a certain political stance may have shown a single tendency toward the government. A random assignment sampling was adopted to avoid such an issue as much as possible, but a deeper look at this aspect could be worthwhile.

Another thing is that many articles discussing democracy were opinionated editorials; there could be a limitation here because although these types of articles are good for finding motives, they could be overly opinionated for their own purposes. Therefore, further research which would be able to examine differences that come from

the categorization of articles (whether they are editorials or not) would certainly enrich research of this theme in the future.

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