

The 16th Presidential Election and Media Politics

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Abstract (150 단어 내외) 작성과 원고 keywords (10개 정도) 뽑아 주시기 바랍니다.

Preface_

~~Korean society has evidently entered the era of media politics in earnest.~~ During an election period, political parties and candidates formulate and enforce their electoral strategies ~~in such a way as they match up in~~ ~~with~~ keeping with the mechanisms of the mass media. This means that political processes may be subjected to ~~the media~~ media scrutiny, and that ~~the~~ the media, rather than ~~supplementing~~ complementing representative democracy, ~~may~~ dominate and even distort political processes. Media politics is often thought to be capable of complimenting the problems of indirect democracy and producing ~~the a~~ so-called "well-informed public."¹ But media politics may also distort the very essence of politics ~~political essence~~ by ~~making~~ reducing politics ~~ato a spectacle~~ ~~show~~ and fostering voters' indifference to politics.

The 16th ~~16th~~ presidential election exhibited both the bright and dark sides of media politics. A case in point ~~is areis~~ the televised ~~sion~~ debates held, by the political parties held ~~—~~ from the beginning of 2002, by the political parties in the course of nominating their presidential candidates. In particular, the n Nationwide televising of the ruling Millenium Millennium Democratic Party's semi-presidential primaries, dubbed "the weekend drama," ~~in particular,~~ brought home the power of media politics to the public. With reference to the various networks' competitive televising of the debates, however, some called into question its practical effectiveness.

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~~As to whether the broadcasting stations' competitive sponsoring of the semi-primaries was beneficial to voters, however, some even accused the televising of being useless.~~

Media politics, the domain in which ~~free speech~~mass media and politics reciprocally intersect, ~~mutual intersection takes place between the mass media and political phenomena,~~ should benefit both ~~the~~ parties involved.² But media politics in Korea ~~still remain highly problematic, in so much~~insofar as it sustains legal and systematic difficulties, ~~coupled within addition to the immaturity exhibited by its practitioners.~~ has lots of problems to solve because of the players' immature understanding of it, coupled with legal and institutional deficiencies. Features of media politics as exhibited in the 16th presidential election repeated the problems which appeared in ~~media politics'~~ problems found in the 15th presidential election.³ ~~though while~~ it displayed some new phenomena ~~like such as~~ fallen ~~the decline of the~~ influence of newspapers and the increased~~soared~~ power of the iInternet. ~~would be like~~ in the future In this context, a general review of media politics in the 2002 presidential election will be able to provide a guide to assessing the status of media politics in Korea, both in the present and the future.

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Characteristics of the 16th Presidential Election

In dDiscussing media politics, it is's necessary first to ~~review~~summarize the characteristics of the 16th presidential election. Most significantly, it was the ~~Its most outstanding feature is that it was the~~ first presidential election held in the absence of the three Kims-~~Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung and Kim Jong-pil--~~who had dominated the nation's politics for decades-~~Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae jung and Kim Jong pil.~~ Though candidates Lee Hoi-chang ~~of the opposition Grand National Party~~ and ~~the splinter Democratic Labor Party candidate,~~ Kwon Young-ghil, ~~ran in the election for the second time respectively~~had appeared in the previous election as well, the other candidates of

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~~the governing Millennium Democratic Party, Roh Moo-hyun, was~~ were ~~all~~ new faces. ~~That the election had no iconized~~ The fact that none of the pre-fixed image candidates were running meant that ~~—candidates meant that~~ short-term information could play a substantial role in determining voters' ballots,⁴ and thus that mass media could function as a major variable in the elections.

Second, with the influence of political parties fading rapidly, the locus of confrontation shifted to the candidates themselves. Despite low approval ratings of the ~~ruling party~~ ruling party, Roh won in the election on the strength of his personal support; candidate Lee Hoi-chang of the Grand National Party (GNP), a party enjoying that benefits from a relatively solid support base, ~~—garnered, also garnered~~ more votes from his personal support than from that of his party. Unlike original nature of party identification, this was a deviation from the Korean voter's traditional disposition consistently supporting either the ruling party or the opposition party, depending on their political affiliation.

Third, with the sharp decline in parties' support and the withdrawal of fixed-image politicians, the influence of long-term forces were reduced sharply in favor of short-term forces, in which heated personal attacks and counterattacks on candidates were more prevalent. ~~—due to plunged support of parties and the withdrawal of politicians with fixed images, chances were that attacks and counterattacks on candidates' personal matters, one of short term forces, would prevail. As a~~ Indeed, matter of fact, indiscriminate ing personal attacks were ~~indeed~~ made involving Lee's son's alleged draft dodging ~~by Lee's son~~ and Roh's image of instability ~~disputed instability qualities~~. During the election campaign period, however, personal attacks were ~~minimized~~ greatly softened in the face of ~~such~~ dominant policy issues such as the North Korean nuclear crisis, ~~the~~ alleged remittance of money to the North, ~~the~~ death of two schoolgirls under the wheels of a U.S. military armored vehicle and a campaign demanding the revision of SOFA, the Korea-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement.

Fourth, aggressive and abstract political slogans, such as "democratization" and "down with dictatorship" gave way to practical election issues.⁵ Of course, ~~there werenot a few no small number of instances in which~~ policy issues developed into

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political issues.⁶ Because the two candidates of the ruling and opposition parties were ~~compared with each other~~ differentiated as ~~reformative~~ progressive and conservative, ~~furthermore,~~ there appeared a strong tendency of interpreting and evaluating all policy issues ~~under~~ within the conservative vs. ~~reformative~~ progressive spectrum.⁷

Lastly, a structural change of the nation's media can be cited. The media's election coverage biased in favor of the ruling party has long been controversial.⁸ In the 16th presidential election, however, ~~there existed a clear divide~~ clear divide existed between conservative newspapers supporting Lee and those ~~standing behind~~ advocating for ~~Rhe Roh~~; broadcasting stations ~~too~~ also showed ~~some~~ different ~~inclinations~~ differences among themselves in covering the election. The aftermath of the Kim Dae-jung administration's unfinished press reform and the interests of media companies seem to have ~~caused the divide and differences~~ precipitated the divisions.

Such an ~~environment, simply put, offered~~ environment offered conditions conducive to boosting the influence of such short-term forces as ~~images~~ the image of individual candidates and election issues in place of ~~receding~~ declining ~~waning~~ long-term forces that ~~used to~~ had greatly influenced voters' balloting ~~greatly~~ in the past. The Environment was ripe for the media to play an active and positive political role on the one hand, but the possibility still loomed on the other that negative media politics would prevail.

The 16th Presidential Election and Media Politics

Low Balloting Rate and Media Coverage of Election

The theory ~~of that~~ parliamentary politics is facing a crisis is buttressed by a rapid decline in ~~—~~ voting rate and public participation in politics. Balloting rates in the most recent presidential election plainly ~~shows an aspect of~~ reflect such a crisis. As shown in Table 1, the 16th presidential election recorded the lowest voting rate since the 1987 race in which the president was directly elected by the electorate following a lengthy

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dictatorship. The 89.2 percent voting rate ~~of 89.2 percent~~ recorded in 1987 plunged to 70.8 percent in 2002, after ~~maintaining~~ the consistent 80 percent levels recorded in 1992 and 1997.

Table 1. Balloting Rate Trends in Presidential Elections

Term	Year	Balloting Rate	Features
13th	1987	89.2%	Quadripartite
14th	1992	81.9%	Quadripartite
15th	1997	80.7%	Tripartite
16th	2002	70.8%	Duel

Denton (2000, 1-24) points out that falling balloting rates, waning political parties, declining public participation in politics, disappearance of issues, increasing political symbols and hiked distrust in and cynicism over politics are not unrelated with television. Norris (2000) maintains that ~~by making voters outsiders or spectators, the mass media, making voters outsiders or spectators, have has~~ fostered public indifference to and distrust in politics, thus making voters outsiders or spectators. According to his media malaise theory, the mass media and political communications activities hinder the public's civic engagement, namely, the public's learning public's learning public awareness about public issues, its trust in the government and its political activities.

Such concerns have been persistently ~~been~~ expressed in ~~our country~~ South Korea as well. The "16th Presidential Election Coverage Guidelines," adopted by the Korean Society for Journalism and Communication Studies (KSJCS) lists eight categories of undesirable election reporting: 1) qualitative partiality; 2) ~~playing the role of a spokesman for~~ sponsoring negative ~~electioneering campaign sponsorship~~; 3) strategic report coverage and reporting; ~~s covering mainly strategic efforts~~; 4) ~~over issuing~~ of excessive reporting of groundless speculative stories; 5) including embellishing embellishment of quotes thatto reflect a ~~making quotations to back up~~ reporters' subjective feelings; 6) promoting aiding and abetting an irregular and corrupt ~~electioneering campaigning~~ and campaigns ~~prompting~~ public indifference ~~to elections~~; 7) offering unscientific explanations; and 8) reports fostering regional emotion. Of these

categories, only qualitative impartiality is related to fairness, with all the ~~remainder negatively affecting~~ ~~hampering voters in making discerning~~ ~~rest working to hamper voters' their making discerning~~ political decisions and ~~participating participation~~ in politics (Yi Jun-ung Lee Jun-wung, 2003b).

According to Yi Jun-ung Lee Jun-wung's survey, in the coverage of the 16th presidential election by the nation's major dailies, "stories focusing ~~ing~~ on candidates' strategic activities" accounted for the largest proportion of 26.1 percent. Following ~~them those~~ were "speculative stories" with 22.9 percent; "stories conveying intact negative campaigns by candidates or parties" with 13.6 percent; and "stories adorning the contents in a subjective manner" with 11.9 percent. Desirable coverage, on the other hand, consisted of ~~5.6 percent of~~ "stories comparing candidates' policies," ~~5.6 percent; 4.8 percent of~~ "stories ~~exploring~~ stories exploring and presenting issues deserving voters' attention," ~~and~~ ~~4.8 percent; and~~ ~~1.7 percent of~~ "stories encouraging public participation by stressing the significance of the election," ~~1.7 percent.~~ "Stories verifying candidates' public pledges" accounted for no more than 1.4 percent ~~of the total.~~

Quantitative Abundance and Qualitative Poverty in Election Coverage

Media coverage of the ~~16th presidential~~ election was by no means ~~small limited~~ in quantity. This may be ~~ascribable due~~ to the absence of any predominant national issue ~~overwhelming in~~ the election, such as the financial crisis that gripped the country in 1997 when it held the 15th presidential election (Hwang 2003) ~~Kuhn~~. According to a survey done by the Korea Broadcasting Committee, airwave coverage rate of the 14th presidential election in 1992 stood at 39.3 percent, ~~and this. The rate~~ plummeted to 19.2 percent in the 15th presidential election held in 1997 (Hwang ~~Kuhn~~, 1998a). But the rate nearly recovered in the 16th presidential election, direct coverage by the three major broadcasting stations accounting for 27.8 percent and indirect coverage 9.8 percent (Hwang ~~Kuhn~~, 2003), a rate higher than those recorded in both the 1998 local elections and the 2000 general elections.

~~The It is generally held that this~~ quantitative increase, ~~it is thought,~~ is ~~ascribable directly linked~~ to heightened public interest in the 16th presidential election, which created by the ~~duel between Roh and Lee~~ duel, and a succession of important political

issues, such as the ~~Millenium~~Millennium Democratic Party's semi- primaries and negotiations for unifying ~~candidacy between the~~ Roh and Chung Mong-joon ~~candidacies~~. ~~It is especially noticeable that~~The broadcast rate for "stories involving election issues and public pledges" soared ~~conspicuously~~ to 36.6 percent. ~~In these increases, there are several reasons~~. First, the eruption in early October of prominent issues like North Korea's admission of its nuclear development program and the not-guilty verdict ~~of handed down to the~~ American soldiers charged with the death of two Korean schoolgirls prompted political parties and candidates to ~~try to make best use of them~~~~use these issues to their advantage in for~~ their respective electoral strategies. Second, exposures the major two parties made during ~~the parliamentary inspection~~ of the administration in September added fuel to their attacks and counterattacks. Third, the ~~media accepted the~~ call made by civic organizations and scholars that ~~media~~ coverage of elections should ~~be focused~~~~focus~~ on ~~issues taking policy confrontation into account~~~~policy issues and confrontations was accepted by the media~~ (Hwang ~~Kuhn~~, 2002b).

~~But it is problematic~~~~The fact that sketchy stories were dominant~~~~The dominance of sketchy reporting, however,~~ accounting for as much as ~~—~~ 37.3 percent of the election coverage, as shown in Table 2, is ~~proves problematic~~~~problematic~~~~problematic~~. ~~Such stories set out to amuse, focusing on the candidates' personal feuding between the candidates rather than the elections at hand,~~ ~~most involving stumping speeches, are amusement oriented, using candidates' feuding debates and~~ ~~use~~ brief sound bites rather than electoral essences (Hwang ~~Kuhn~~, 2002c). Sketchy reporting is also a formula broadcasting stations utilize ~~as an expedience for~~to maintaining ~~superficial fairness~~~~impartiality~~. ~~Sketchy~~ Electoral coverage: made up of sound bites, interviews and reporters' evaluations, ~~appears to be of depth in form~~~~gives the illusion of depth~~, but is often superficial in terms of quality. Although a survey found that the airwave coverage of the most recent presidential election consisted of "news presenting facts and containing reporters' evaluation and interviews," most ~~of it~~ ~~remained in the level of an~~ ~~merely~~ enumerated ~~ing~~ simple facts, ~~and;~~ few stories were accompanied by ~~thorough~~ evaluation and ~~alternatives~~~~counter-proposals~~.

Table 2. *–Comparison by Theme of Election Coverage by Broadcasting ~~Firms~~ Stations*

(% in parenthesis)

Theme	KBS	MBC	SBS	Total
1. Election-related administrative and general matters	51(12.6)	28(9.3)	27(7.7)	106(10.1)
2. Sketchy e lectioneering and sketchy reportage news	136(33.6)	146(48.9)	111(31.8)	393(37.3)
3. Election issues and pledges	153(37.8)	72(24.1)	160(46.0)	385(36.6)
4. Election result projection	31(7.7)	24(8.0)	28(8.0)	83(8.0)
5. Illicit electioneering and election monitoring	12(2.9)	15(5.0)	8(2.3)	35(3.4)
6. TV debates	50(12.3)	33(11.0)	43(12.4)	126(12.0)
7. Public opinion trends and others	21(5.1)	14(4.7)	6(1.8)	41(4.0)
Total *	405(112)	299(111)	348(110)	1,052(100.0)

* Figures in excess of 100% are caused by duplicating responses.

Sketchy news coverage is closely related to “horse-race reporting”. Because an election is ~~predicated essentially~~ presented essentially on-as a competition between good and bad, election news coverage can hardly deviate from the framework of horse-race reportage, which, in itself, has an aspect benefiting voters (Yi Jun-ung/Lee Jun-wung, 2002a/2003b, 20-24). Horse-race reporting, however, is strongly negative in that it tends to make ~~spectators of~~ voters spectators by diverting public attention from ~~electoral~~ the essences of the election.

Paik-Baek SunSeon-ki-gi (2002a/2002a, 20-24) ~~cites~~ cites several reasons for the abundance of horse-race reportage in the most recent presidential election. Firstly, ~~he argues that~~ because the ruling party ~~did not~~ nominated its presidential candidate just-until just prior to the election date, ~~he argues, all the~~ media firms had no way-choice but to be preoccupied with ~~that matter~~ the question of the candidate’s identity throughout the year. In ~~that~~ process, he says, the media had to engage in "winner-centered election reporting" focused on who would emerge as the governing party's presidential nominee. Secondly, BaekPaik says that numerous TV debates caused antipathy among candidates by delving into their personal lives and ~~serious-outstanding~~ weaknesses rather than their views and policies. In particular, ~~by~~ BaekPaik maintains that media coverage of TV debates gave greater attention to who won the debates than

to the contents of debates, Paik maintains.⁹ Thirdly, he notes a plethora of opinion surveys and near blind reliance on the survey results. Opinion polls can yield nothing more than rough ideas of the public approval ratings of individual candidates and public attitudes on various issues. In the most recent presidential election, however, the media covered the event as if they were ~~doing a live coverage of horse racing~~ covering a horse race - based on ~~the findings through each's other's~~ their own own opinion polls. This style of media coverage had an undue impact on the selection of nominees by fanning speculation and controversies about "the viability" of specific contenders ~~to an unusual exaggerated extent.~~

Lastly, the media gave only superficial coverage of the policy issues involved, being obsessed solely with ~~trying to~~ predicting ing who was going to be the winner. In view of the inherent nature of elections, it is, of course, next to impossible to completely eliminate the elements of horse-race reportage from election coverage. Nevertheless, the excessive media predilection for treating a presidential election as a ~~kind of horse racing~~ ing must be discarded immediately, because such sensationalism is bound to pervert the country's electoral culture, leading to ~~a topsy-turvy voting behavior of the electorate.~~

3. Defective/Flawed Media Coverage of the Issues

As the contest took place between ~~uniconized new~~ candidates with unfixed images, candidates and ~~parties desperately~~ parties desperately tried to mount issue-creating events in an effort to ~~arouse~~ provoke electoral issues ~~favorable to~~ favorable to them. To begin with, the ruling party's semi primaries held ~~at~~ every weekend in April and May, dubbed "the weekend drama," ~~was were~~ quite sensational and contributed to creating "the Roh phenomenon" ~~during~~ during the first half of 2002. Culmination of the negotiations unifying ~~candidacy between the~~ Roh and Chung candidacies, achieved just two days prior to the expiry of candidacy registration, was an ~~election~~ event ~~playing that played~~ a decisive role in bringing about Roh's victory.

Issue coverage ~~centered on~~ that springs from ~~an~~ media events is susceptible to the criticism that the ~~issue has been intentionally raised by the particular~~

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~~party~~ ~~particular party has deliberately created the issue purposefully.~~ ~~It~~ Such coverage falls under "electioneering strategies," "event-centered reportage" and "episode-centered reportage" all of which are declining in relevance in election coverage as suggested by the Poynter Institute (01999) cites as election coverage the weight of which is declining. It is far removed from what the institute ~~term describes as~~ "citizen-centered election reportage helping which helps the citizens grasp the situation accurately and make at their decisions by focusing on agenda the citizens should know be familiar with and therefore be able to making an in-depth analysis of various issues."

Issue coverage of the 16th presidential election is characterized first by a sharp drop in candidates' individual issues and a drastic rise in political issues. As shown in Table 3,¹⁰ the total number of stories done on individual candidates' issues stood at 61 instances or 5.2% ~~percent~~, while reports related to policy issues numbered 623 instances or 53.4% ~~percent~~ and coverage of political issues, 483 instances or 41.4% ~~percent~~. Most frequently reported were "attacks and counterattacks on the North Korean nuclear issue," totaling 253 instances, followed by 172 instances of "candidacy unification between Roh and Chung" and 132 instances of "the crushing to death of two schoolgirls by a U.S. military armored vehicle and the drive to amend the SOFA." These three issues, accounting for 47.7% ~~percent~~ or nearly half the 14,167 instances of broadcasting on the election, appears to have had a n absolute critical effect on the outcome of the election.

Table 3. Comparison by Major Issue of the 16th Presidential Election Coverage by the Three Major Broadcasting Stations

Issues		KBS	MBC	SBS	Total
Individual issues of candidates candidate	Alleged draft dodging	8(2.2)	5(1.3)	6(1.4)	19
	Chung Mong-joon's alleged stock price manipulation	6(1.7)	7(0.1)	6(1.4)	19

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<u>issues</u>	<u>Roh Moo-hyun's</u> 노무현 후보-alleged real estate 부동산 투기 이후-speculation	1(0.3)	1(0.3)	5(1.2)	7
	Lee Hee-Hoi-Chang's alleged real estate stock- price-speculation	2(0.6)	1(0.3)	3(0.7)	6
	Others	2(0.6)	6(1.6)	2(0.5)	10
	<u>Subtotal</u>	19(5.3%)	20(5.2%)	22(5.1%)	61(5.2%)
Political Issues	Quadripartite alliance and candidacy unification	8(2.2)	15(3.9)	8(1.9)	31
	Roh-Chung candidacy unification	56(15.7)	49(12.8)	67(15.6)	172
	<u>Millenium</u> <u>Millennium</u> Democratic Party's internal strife	12(3.4)	11(2.9)	17(4.0)	40
	Bugging	17(4.8)	10(2.6)	17(4.0)	44
	Constitutional revision	6(1.7)	-	6(1.4)	12
	<u>Fostering of Regionalism</u>	1(0.3)	7(1.8)	7(1.6)	15
	Political reform	17(4.8)	21(5.5)	25(5.8)	63
	Illicit electioneering	7(2.0)	9(2.4)	-	16
	Fairness in media election coverage	4(1.1)	4(1.0)	-	8
	Outsider drafting	13(3.7)	5(1.3)	7(1.6)	25
	Adjudication on <u>corrupt-</u> <u>regime</u> <u>regime corruption</u>	7(2.0)	5(1.3)	16(3.7)	28
	Others	5(1.4)	11(2.9)	13(3.0)	29
<u>Subtotal</u> <u>숙제</u>	153(43.0%)	147(38.5%)	183(42.7%)	483(41.4%)	
<u>Policy</u> <u>Related</u> <u>Issues</u> <u>정책</u> <u>지</u> <u>쟁점</u>	Proposed removal of administrative capital	14(3.9)	22(5.8)	22(5.1)	58
	North Korean nuclear crisis	99(27.8)	85(22.3)	69(16.1)	253
	Sunshine policy	4(1.1)	11(2.9)	24(5.6)	39
	Financial conglomerate policy	-	6(1.6)	6(1.4)	12
	Military service	1(0.3)	1(0.3)	2(0.5)	4
	Regional - development	7(2.0)	6(1.6)	15(3.5)	28
	SOFA revision	40(11.2)	53(13.9)	39(9.1)	132
	Economic policies	4(1.1)	12(3.1)	19(4.4)	35
	Market opening	-	-	6(1.4)	6
	Others	15(4.2)	19(5.0)	22(5.1)	56
	<u>Subtotal</u>	184(51.7%)	215(55.8%)	224(52.2%)	623(53.4%)
Grand Total	356	382	429	1,167	

Secondly, ~~the three~~ dominant issues ~~mentioned above shifted~~ ~~changed~~ periodically to turn the election ~~trend~~~~tides~~. ~~The three dominant issues, mentioned earlier, shifted by~~ ~~period~~ ~~periodically to greatly impact the trend~~ (see Table 4). ~~Predominant in~~ In October, ~~the first period,~~ ~~was~~ the North Korean nuclear ~~issue~~ ~~crisis was the predominant issue~~, which appears to have given Lee an edge. ~~The alleged draft dodging by Lee's son~~ ~~Lee's son's alleged draft dodging~~, ~~out of~~ which the governing party attempted to make a dominant issue, fizzled out on 22 October when the prosecution concluded the allegation to be groundless.

~~Period two~~ The second period began on 3 November when Roh proposed ~~the~~ ~~idea of a unified candidacy~~ to Chung ~~to unify their~~ ~~candidacy between them~~, a move ~~emerging~~ ~~that emerged~~ as ~~the~~ new dominant issue, ~~overshadowing~~ ~~which~~ ~~overshadowed~~ ~~ing~~ the North Korean nuclear crisis. A basic accord on the candidacy unification, reached on 16 November, completely overwhelmed other election issues. Overall, ~~t~~he candidacy unification issue ~~between Roh and Chung, after all,~~ provided ~~Roh with the~~ momentum ~~for Roh~~ to consistently take the lead over Lee ~~even during~~ ~~into~~ the formal ~~electioneering~~ election period.

Period three covers the official stumping period beginning on 27 November² (원본?). ~~Predominating this~~ Predominating this period were candlelight vigils for the death of two Korean schoolgirls under the wheels of a U.S. military armored vehicle and a movement demanding SOFA revision, ignited by the not-guilty verdict given to the American servicemen charged with manslaughter on 22 November. This period can ~~be~~ ~~sub~~ ~~sub~~ sub-divided into two, the first half of which extends ing from 27 November to 3-6 December, when parties registered their nominees and presented their election issues. The ruling and opposition parties ~~vied~~ ~~contended~~ with each other, the former raising political reform as an issue and the latter ~~the~~ alleged bugging of politicians by the National Intelligence Service. The opposition party failed ~~in to~~ ~~rekindling~~ maintain their focus on the ~~its~~ issues at hand between 1 and 3 December, while the ruling party managed to maintain its lead, however slight, with ~~sustain~~ its political reform issue, until the eve of the election.

During the last phase of the election period, ~~t~~he issue of removing the administrative capital emerged ~~anew~~ and such issues as the North Korean nuclear development program and the administration's so-called “sunshine policy” of

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reconciliation with the North were rekindled ~~during the last phase of the electioneering period~~. This was because the Lee camp, having failed to grab the initiative in the first half of the official campaign period, shifted to negative issues in a bid to attack Roh. In the battle of issues, accordingly, the Lee camp was offensive and the Roh camp defensive.

~~It is felt should~~ be noted that the dominant ~~nting~~ issues were political in nature during the first half of the election campaign period, but shifted to policy-oriented ones during the latter half. ~~;~~ ~~the~~ The two major parties and their candidates, confronted with less than enthusiastic public acceptance of political issues, opted for relatively practical policy issues. In addition, TV debates contributed to invigorating the contest ~~on-over~~ policy matters. In ~~TV those~~ debates, the candidates exhibited considerable differences in view on policies toward North Korea and the North Korean nuclear development program. The administrative capital removal issue was so contentious that ~~the proposal was made to engage in opening another a special televised TV debate to discuss the matter was proposed for its discussion was proposed. Nonetheless~~ Regardless of these discussions In spite of these activities, however, the candlelight vigils for the ~~death of~~ schoolgirls and demonstrations demanding a SOFA revision, mobilized mainly by the younger generation through the ~~(I?)~~ Internet, ~~overwhelmed eclipsed the other~~ election issues. As a result, Lee's offensives on the sunshine policy ~~and the~~ and the North Korean nuclear development program were neutralized, paving the way for Roh's victory.

Table 4 needed here

Lastly, the ~~various media covering the election firms suffered criticism over their disputed objectivity in light of, in covering the election~~ the, exhibited delicate subtle differences exhibited among themselves in their quality and quantity of their reports. ~~giving rise to a controversy about fairness in their reporting. All In general, e~~ election issues always contain elements beneficial or detrimental to ~~particular~~ individual candidates. Accordingly, all parties are bound to try to boost-encourage issues favorable to them and discourage those harmful to them. ~~It is A~~ also important are what issues major networks cover, ~~how and~~ how often with what frequency. During ~~period the~~

~~second period two~~, mentioned above, ~~the~~ KBS covered the North Korean nuclear crisis 23 times and bugging 13 times, both ~~more frequently at higher rates~~ than the other two broadcasting stations. ~~MBC covered the quadripartite coalition and candidacy unification 8 times~~ ~~during~~ ~~period~~ ~~the first period~~, ~~and one~~, ~~the~~ MBC covered ~~quadripartite coalition and candidacy unification 8 times~~, political reform 9 times, and SOFA revision 7 times ~~during the second period~~. ~~oftener all more frequently than the others channels~~. ~~The~~ MBC covered ~~the~~ SOFA revision 46 times during ~~the third~~ period three, conspicuously ~~oftener~~ ~~more frequently~~ ~~often~~ than the rest, while ~~not covering completely ignoring~~ outsider drafting ~~at all~~. In contrast, ~~the~~ SBS covered bugging 8 times and the sunshine policy 12 times during ~~the first~~ period ~~one~~, Roh's alleged real estate speculation 5 times, ~~abjudication~~ ~~adjudication~~ of ~~the~~ corrupt regime 10 times, the sunshine policy 10 times, regional development 9 times, economic policies 12 times and market opening 6 times during period three, all ~~oftener~~ ~~far more frequently~~ ~~frequently~~ than its two rival firms. In short, the three broadcasting stations exhibited meaningful differences in covering dominant election issues, provoking a controversy over ~~fairness objectivity~~ in their coverage of the election.

Still Premature Media Politics

~~Unchanged, Faulty Flawed~~ TV Debates, ~~Still Defective~~

~~Candidates' televised~~ ~~television~~ ~~Televised~~ debates, first implemented in the 15th presidential election, ~~did not fail to draw~~ ~~drew~~ considerable attention in the most recent presidential election ~~as well, too~~. ~~With~~ ~~While~~ many legal matters ~~involved~~ ~~remained~~ ~~ing~~ unresolved, ~~however~~, the broadcasting networks ~~from the very beginning of 2002~~ competed with each other ~~in to~~ ~~sponsoring~~ TV debates among contenders for ~~the~~ party presidential candidacy nomination ~~from the very beginning of 2002~~. ~~As a consequence~~ ~~T~~, ~~their~~ ~~viewing rates~~ ~~Viewing rates for those broadcasts, however~~, remained ~~in the region of~~ ~~between~~ 2 and 3 percent, ~~with a~~ KBS debate in April ~~among MDP contenders among such contenders alone~~ scoring ~~as much as~~ 7 percent. ~~These results were~~ all lower than those of ordinary programs aired in ~~the~~ same time frame.

~~The~~ ~~In~~ Korea, ~~then~~ electorate perceives TV debates as a means of materializing its

right to know-be informed and of prompting the broadcasting media to enhance their fairness in election coverage (Lee Hyo-sung, Yi Hyo-seong, 1995). Accordingly, there is a tendency in the electorate to regard TV debates, ~~despite their problems,~~ as an emblematic symbol of media politics, ~~despite their inherent problems.~~ As shown in Table 5, a total of 145 TV debates were held in the 16th presidential election: 58 debates covered the nomination of contenders for of presidential candidacy ~~nomination contenders~~ in the ruling MDP and opposition GNP; 83 ~~follow~~ed the nomination of party candidates to the eve of the official election period; and 4, sponsored by the Presidential Election Debate Broadcasting Committee (~~3 tripartite ones and 1 participated in by splinter party candidates~~) ~~— were held~~ during the official campaign period. ~~Of all the debates~~All in all, 42 were combined debates conducted in group, ~~with~~ 38 debates sponsored by the broadcasting stations and 4 by the Presidential Election Debate Broadcasting Committee (Song Jong-gil, 2003).

Table 5. Status of TV Debates Held in Relation to the 16th Presidential Election

(Figures show the number of debates held)

<u>Occasion</u> Kind	Invitees	Total
TV debates of party presidential candidacy nomination contenders	Millenium <u>Millennium</u> Democratic Party 40 Grand National Party 18	58 (group debates 38) Ascertain this figure of 37 since 38 is given in the text.
TV debates of presidential candidates	Lee Hoi-chang _____ 18 Roh Moo-hyun _____ 21 Chung Mong-joon _____ 20 Kwon Young-gil _____ 19 <u>Lee Han-dong</u> _____ 2 <u>Chang Se-dong</u> _____ 2 On unifying candidacy _____ 1	83 (group debate 1)

TV group debates of presidential candidates	4
Grand total	145

~~The Such indiscriminate television debates held in a half-baked manner~~ from the very beginning of 2002, ~~manifested a incurred number of such as the following~~ created a number of problems. First ~~of all~~, ~~the public broadcasting broadcasting channels networks'~~ particular choice of invitation to debate of specific party contenders to each debate gave rise to ~~araised~~ questions regarding their objectivity fairness controversy. ~~Holding solo (?) debates with~~ Also, ~~debates featuring~~ candidates little known ~~largely unknown~~ to the public, ~~and let alone commanding little without much~~ public support, ~~was questionable as to its usefulness to usefulness were of questionable usefulness to~~ the electorate. ~~The Such slapdash debates repeated their previous problems~~ These debates carried over longstanding flaws such as ~~controversial questionable objectivity fairness~~, legal deficiencies, unattractive debate formula and lackluster questions and answers (Hwang ~~Kuhn~~, 1998b). ~~In a nutshell~~ Ultimately ~~t~~, the ~~broadcasting~~ networks failed to keep their pledge not to repeat the disorderly ~~common to the televised TV of the~~ debates they held ~~in during~~ the 15th presidential election.¹¹

In an attempt to cope with the ~~problems~~, civic organizations ~~like such as the~~ YMCA and ~~numerous~~ scholars proposed a number of steps ~~to remedy~~ ~~ing inherent~~ legal deficiencies ~~involved~~. ~~Among them~~ ~~Proposals included were~~ setting up TV debates in accordance with ~~reflecting~~ the political ~~timetable in timetable in~~ setting up a TV debate period, as well as ~~making the more~~ qualitative performance by the Presidential Election Broadcasting Committee ~~function substantially~~. ~~They also recommended~~ differentiating between two debate forums – one to be ~~hosted by individual stations~~, the other being ~~hosted by public broadcasting~~ ~~inserting and inserted~~ a provision requiring a candidates to take part in debates, and establishing an independent body given the task of administering TV debates. In response, the National Election Commission (NEC) proposed revisions of political laws, calling for, among other things, ~~establishing establishment of an 'electoral speech and debate broadcasting committee'~~, under the jurisdiction of the ~~Korean Broadcasting Committee Broadcasting Commission (KBC)~~, ~~an electoral speech and debate broadcasting committee~~ tasked with administering the

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broadcasting of joint stumping tours, television talks and debates, ~~and policy and~~ policy debates which may be televised by any broadcasting station. The proposed reforms also called ~~for~~ for a banning the on political advertising involving ~~mentioning~~ in advertisements public discussions of ~~matters concerning~~ personal histories of a candidate's spouse, lineal ascendants and descendants, brothers and sisters; ~~holding~~ suggested the establishment of joint city and province speech meetings ~~by city and province~~; ~~abolishing~~ called for the abolishment of stumping speeches on the streets; ~~increasing~~ recommended an increase in the number of authorized joint newspaper advertisements,⁷ advertisements screened in cinemas, placed in newspapers or radio programs; and proposed that these measures be subsidized by the ~~subsidizing them out of the~~ national treasury.¹²

YMCA Seoul, ~~the~~ National Union of Media Workers (NUMW) and ~~the~~ People's Coalition for Media Reform (PRCMR), among other civic organizations, proposed revisions to ~~the~~ related laws, calling for splitting TV debate sponsorship between broadcasting stations prior to the election period and the 'election broadcasting debate committee' during the election period, ~~abolishing the 120-day limit on the campaign period~~, and permitting media firms to ~~freely~~ sponsor debates freely outside of the campaign period, provided that their compliance with fairness be legally prescribed ~~legally~~. Their suggestions also called for establishing a standing 'election debate broadcasting committee' or enabling such a committee to function for a year ~~to~~ cover during a presidential election, and requiring that the committee be composed of people representing various walks of life, capable of demonstrating ~~equipped with~~ fairness, independence and speciality ~~professionalism~~, with their tenure, qualifications and duties clearly stipulated ~~in~~ by law. They also requested that an 'election debate broadcasting committee' be set up under the jurisdiction of the NEC, that the NEC determine criteria for candidates eligible for ~~being invited~~ invitation to a TV debate in a way befitting the spirit of the law,² and social consensus guaranteeing political development and enfranchisement.

~~No~~ But no legal revisions were effected, however; only the Presidential Election Debate Broadcasting Committee came into being 60 days prior to the election to discuss criteria for candidates eligible to participate in a debate and a debate timetable (Yi Lee

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Hyo-sungseong, 2003). The ~~biggest achievement accomplished by the~~ Presidential Election Debate Broadcasting Committee's most significant achievement ~~made is was to setting up the~~ establish the criteria of eligibility ~~scope~~ of candidates participating in the debate. ~~Eligible to take part in the debate under the~~ The newly ~~established~~ criteria ~~defined those who are eligible to take part in the debates. They include~~ are the presidential candidates of political parties having floor negotiation groups; ~~candidates who have won 5 percent or more in support ratings~~ on average in opinion surveys conducted and made public by five or more central dailies selected by the debate committee and the three broadcasting stations in a fortnight prior to registration of candidates; ~~and candidates who have garnered 5 percent or more in approval rating in national elections held after the 15th presidential election. According to these~~ criteria, the presidential candidate of the Democratic Labor Party, Kwon Young-ghil, took part in the debate on the strength of his party's winning 5 percent or more in approval rating in the 2002 gubernatorial, mayoral and local council elections, although despite the fact that his party had neither a floor negotiation group nor won an approval rating of 5 percent or more in opinion surveys, ~~on the strength of his party's winning 5 percent or more in approval rating in the 2002 gubernatorial, mayoral and local council elections.~~

Thus, four ~~group~~ TV ~~group~~ debates were held in the 16th presidential election, as was the case in the ~~just~~ preceding ~~one~~ election. Due to legal and ~~realistic~~ practical ~~deficiencies~~ inadequacies failings, however, public interest in ~~and viewing rate of~~ the debates ~~were was~~ very low. The tripartite debate formula adopted tended to amuse and ~~(but?) lack in be entertaining but lacked seriousness despite of the (?check original)~~ While the format of reciprocal questioning and answering ~~had a its merits, the~~ tripartite ~~debate~~ formula ~~adopted~~ tended to ~~rouse interest~~ amuse and ~~lack in~~ seriousness.¹³ ~~Rather~~ The ~~a~~ TV debate on candidacy unification between Roh and Chung The televised Roh-Chung candidacy unification debate, held on 22 November, drew more attention and was generally considered to contain useful information. However, it was accompanied by a controversy over the legality of a separate candidate debate, ending with a compromise that barred other such debates and granted a separate debate for opponents Lee and Kwon. though accompanied by a controversy over its legal fairness equity fairness controversy, and was said to regarded as having

~~have offered more useful contents in its discussion. A controversy about legal issues involved in relaying the candidacy unification debate produced debate produced a compromise, limiting the debate to only once only and granting a separate debate to candidates Lee and Kwon.~~ The compromise is similar in ~~nature~~ nature to the Aspen rule¹⁴ of the United States under which the problem of fairness is solved by having a civic organization administer an election debate and letting broadcasting networks relay it based on its value as bona_fide news. The TV debates in the 16th presidential election, nevertheless, left a number of legal and realistic-practical tasks unresolved. Among them are questions about the tenure of the debate committee, which institution is authorized to establish the debate committee, what elections the debate committee is authorized to cover, how to appoint debate committee members, how to differentiate talks from debates, and what format ~~to take in~~ debates should take.¹⁵

Rekindled-Resurfacing Fairness-Objectivity Controversy

Fairness-Objectivity in Korean media, or lack of it, is a problem facing problem in Korea's media faces a turning point because due to the fact in that causes factors which have threatened objectivity in the past ing fairness are slipping from shifting from political control to the pursuit of commercial profits or into the hands of media firms. themselves McQuail (1980) explains surveys the objective side and non-objective sides of media reporting and maintains that no genuinely objective news can exist, and that news is inherently cannot but be biased. Noting that the news coverage process contains both the need of to reporting things as they are and a subjective side at the same time requires ing subjective judgement judgment, he classifies the non-objective side of bias as follows:

Table 6. McQuail's Classification of Biased Reporting by Media

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		<u>Disclosed/Undisclosed Bias Whether or Not Bias Is Made Publicly</u>	
		<u>Made Publicly Disclosed</u>	<u>Not Made Publicly Undisclosed</u>
Intentional or unintentional	Intentional	Media firms' company and editorial policies, etc.	Propaganda (Camouflaged <u>sometimes</u> as objective news- <u>sometimes</u>)
	Unintentional	Media firms' internal and external matters, including their ownership structure	Ideologies

Open unintentional biases have dominated the country's political reporting. Accordingly, some assert that open and intentional biases like media firms' editorial policies should be permitted, only to be overwhelmed by nominative public opinion that emphasizes media fairnessobjectivity. As a result, intentional but unstated biases, a pattern corresponding to propaganda, prevail. Though legally obliged to be fair and not to endorse particular politicians and parties, all media firms tend to endorse specific politicians and parties in accordance with their respective interests.

Broadcasting companies, whose fairness in news coverage is required more strongly than newspapers, also are susceptible to commit entertain intentional and covert biases. Aslthough broadcasting stations proclaim to be fair in their news coverage, such intentional and covert biases and the resulting biased stories may serve to further confuse their viewers even more. Biased reporting, arising from media firms' interests, saw a conspicuous increase tended to increase conspicuously in the 16th presidential election. While report adherence to reportage that bows to authority is decreasing, reporting for one's own media company's interestreportage on behalf of network interest is increasing. The Kim Dae-jung administration's unfinished incomplete press reform, in particular, provided the biggest factor causingplayed a major role in the discords between and among broadcasting and newspaper companies. Sharp discordsconflict, threatening fairness-objectivity in election coverage, was exhibited between two groups of newspapers: companies, the nation's three major conservative dailies of (The Chosun Ilbo, JoongAng Ilbo, and Dong-A-a Ilbo, which are collectively known by the abbreviation as the "Cho Joong Dong,"); and the three minor dailies The Hankyoreh, Kyung Hyang Shinmun and Korea Daily News, (abbreviated as "Han Kyung

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Dae,") and also between the "Cho Joong ~~TongDong~~" ~~trio~~ and ~~trio~~ and broadcasting stations. As a result, some have suggested that newspapers be ~~permitted~~ ~~allowed~~ to endorse specific candidates, in ~~not straight news items, but~~ opinion articles, ~~not in straight news items~~ (Yi Hyo-seongLee Hyo-sung, 22022002).

~~In the most recent presidential election, the media exhibited a trend of unfairness bias~~The media exhibited biases in their election coverage, especially in choosing and reporting election issues. Despite their strict quantitative fairness in covering dominant candidates, the broadcasting station exhibited considerable qualitative biases. A case in point is the so-called "new reporting directiveguideline" the opposition GNP made public in late August 2002, with which it requested ~~the-that~~ MBC ~~to~~ exercise fairness in covering the election, ~~is a case in point~~

A comparison of ~~news~~ headlines the three broadcasting stations used with regard to the alleged draft dodging by Lee's son and related issues, as shown in Table 7, ~~16~~ suggests how different they were ~~from each other~~ in covering election issues. ~~The~~ KBS covered the issue mainly from the perspective of a rivaling parties' battle. ~~Some of its news headlines read~~Among its headlines were the following: "Rivaling Parties Exchange Attacks on Tapes Backing up— Alleged Draft Dodging" (October 2); "Rivaling Parties Fuel Attack and Counterattack on Alleged Draft Dodging" (October 3); "Attack and Counterattack on Alleged Draft Dodging and ~~the Kiyang-Giyang Slush Fund~~" (October 12); and "Special Counsel Suggested on Alleged Draft Dodging - Alleged Plot Must be Investigated" (October 25). ~~MBC, on the other hand, implied, that the allegation was not thoroughly probed into~~ In a series of news reports on the alleged draft dodging, that the allegations had not been sufficiently investigated, ~~the MBC, on the other hand, implied that the allegation was not thoroughly probed into.~~ To cite some of its ~~few news~~ titles: "Conclusion Premature on Investigation about Alleged Draft Dodging" (October 3); "Han In-ok's (Lee's spouse) Alleged Receipt of 50 Million Won (US\$42,000) in Bribe Controversial" (October 15); "Follow-up on Alleged Draft Dodging: Politicians Contacted" (October 25) 24 and "Suspicion Remain Unresolved" (October 25). Immediately after the prosecution announced on October 25 the outcome of its investigations ~~of the allegation~~the allegation, ~~the~~ MBC aired a four-part feature series on the matter, pointing out what it called defects and problems in the prosecution

investigation, a ~~practice unmatched~~ line of reportage not taken up by its ~~—~~ rival networks.

In contrast, ~~the~~ SBS dealt mainly with Kim Dae-yeop, who initiated the draft-dodging allegation. Some of its news titles were: "Kim Dae-yeop May Have Forged Tapes" (October 16); "Kim ~~Dae-yeop~~ Dae-eop May be Summoned on Suspected Tape Forging" (October 16); "Alleged Draft Dodging Groundless, Prosecution Concludes Provisionally" (October 17); "Kim ~~Dae-yeop~~ Dae-eop's Punishment Appears Unavoidable" (October 17); "Alleged Draft Dodging Groundless, Prosecution Concludes" (October 25); and "Prosecution Considering Requesting Arrest Warrant against Kim ~~Dae-yeop~~ Dae-eop" (October 26). These titles, stressing doubts about the allegation and ~~alluding to Kim Dae-eop's possible —prosecution~~ possible prosecution of Kim Dae-yeop, are entirely different in ~~substance content~~ from those of ~~the~~ MBC. Regarding ~~the~~ possible prosecution ~~of Kim Dae-yeop~~, ~~the~~ KBS aired a story entitled "Kim Dae-yeop May Resist," while the MBC ~~reported broadcast a report one~~ entitled ~~—~~ "Kim Dae-yeop May Expose More Facts."

Table 7. News Titles the Three Broadcasting Stations
Used on Alleged Draft Dodging and Related Issues

	KBS	MBC	SBS
Oct. 2	Rivaling parties take offensive and defensive on alleged draft dodging tapes	2nd analysis of Kim Dae-yeop <u>Dae-eop</u> 's tapes hits snags too	

Oct. 3		"Conclusion premature" on alleged draft dodging investigation	
Oct. 4	Rivaling parties fuel offensive and defensive on alleged draft dodging		
Oct. 6			Prosecution considering summoning Lee Hoi-chang's sons
Oct.11			Attacks and counter-attacks on alleged draft dodging and remittances to North Korea in parliamentary questioning of administration
Oct.12	Attacks and counterattacks on alleged draft dodging and <u>KGiyang</u> slush fund		
Oct.15		Han In-ok's alleged <u>payment</u> of 50 million won in bribe controversial_	Political circles enter a new phase over alleged fabrication of draft dodging allegation <u>정치권, '병풍' 조작 공방 새 국면</u>
		GNP dismisses alleged bribe	
Oct.16	No definite <u>judgement</u> on Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> <u>Dae-eop</u> 's tapes Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> <u>Dae-eop</u> to be present at prosecutors' office next week on petitions	Interim investigation report made public on Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> 's tapes	"Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> <u>Dae-eop</u> may have forged his tapes" Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> <u>Dae-eop</u> to be summoned soon on his suspected tape forging
Oct.17	Investigation snags unavoidable due to defiant Kim <u>Dae-yeop</u> <u>Dae-eop</u>		"No evidence in alleged draft dodging," prosecution concludes provisionally " <u>Punishment of Kim Tae-yop — unavoidable,</u> " say prosecutors " <u>Punishment of Kim Dae-eop unavoidable,</u> " say prosecutors <u>검찰, "김대영씨 형사처벌 불가피"</u>
Oct.22	Prosecution to announce outcome of its investigation on alleged draft dodging on Oct. 25	"No evidence" in draft dodging allegation	Prosecution to announce on Oct. 25 outcome of its investigation of draft dodging allegation
Oct.24	Prosecution in internal strife over outcome of alleged draft dodging investigation	Investigation follow-up, Politicians contacted	

Oct.25	MDP lawmakers visit Prosecutor General's Office in protest Investigation concluded: "No evidence in alleged draft dodging" Questions remain about Kim Dae-yeopDae-eop	Feature part 1 (<u>suspicion part 1 on draft dodging ?</u>): "No evidence" Feature Feature part 2: "Appears to have reduced body weight on purpose" Feature part 3: investigation; MDP special counsel Feature part 4: "Suspected plot" and "special counsel introduction"	"No evidence in alleged draft dodging," prosecution concludes Controversy remains over alleged draft dodging investigation Controversy remains over alleged draft dodging investigation
	Investigation leaves nothing but scars		GNP demands plot
	Rivaling parties demand Introduction of special counsel and plot investigation respectively		
Oct.26	Suspicions remain <u>unremoved (resolved?)</u> after prosecution's announcement of its investigation outcome		Prosecution considering requesting arrest warrant against Kim Dae-yeopDae-eop

Secondly, the media ~~are placed in~~face a dilemma regarding formal ~~fairness-objectivity~~ and useful reporting. Scholars have cited a number of standards of election coverage:¹⁷
~~B~~Broadly speaking, ~~useful~~ reporting must provide ~~useful~~ information valuable to the electorate ~~in's~~ making wise political decisions, and at the same time be fair as part of the overall political process. The two are contradictory, however. The easiest way to ~~realize fairness-achieve objectivity~~ in election coverage, ~~frankly~~, is to ~~mechanically~~ report issues mechanically and compare policies in a manner equal to all parties involved. This may offer ~~fairness-objectivity--or~~, strictly speaking, passive neutrality--but is of little value to the electorate. Aggressive and detailed reporting of specific issues and pledges, on the other hand, is likely to harm ~~fairnessobjectivity~~. Desirable election coverage thus appears to boil down down to how to maintaining balance between these two ~~axes~~extremes.

The particular Which aspects emphasized in of the a media's election coverage

are emphasized often reflects characteristics of a country's political culture or history. Influenced by its Overshadowed by the legacy of its prolonged military dictatorships, Koreans excessively emphasizes fairness in the its media's coverage of elections, even so much so excessively as as to invite inviting a criticism of for making "meaningless election reportage, haunted by haunted by the ghost of fairnessobjectivity." Because a journalistic pattern stressing formal fairness may have a chilling effect on the media's positive-constructive role, however, a scholar Yi Chang-hyeon, as shown-outlined in Table 8, maintains that formal fairness should be diverted-translated into material fairness (Yi Lee-Chang-hyeon, 2003).

Table 8.- Two Levels of Fairness in Election Broadcasting

	Formal Fairness	Material Fairness
Media's role	Passive	Positive
Changes in voters	Fosters negative perceptions about politics	Stresses voter's political participation
Relationship of emphasis	Attaches importance to political relations	Attaches importance to citizen's need for political information
Contents of emphasis	Quantitative balance	Qualitative balance
Political changes	Acknowledges political realities	Spurs political changes

Source: Yi Lee-Chang-hyeon, (2003).

The third problem lies in fairness-centered objectivity in its of objectivity lies in the media's exclusive focus on the on the two rivaling parties. While maintaining excessively strict quantitative fairness in regard to the candidates of the ruling and major opposition parties, the broadcasting-media networks almost entirely excluded splinter party candidates in their news coverage, interviews and as their information sources. They-Such candidates were seldom invited to televised debates,--Such a practice which could have had a winnowing effect (Mun ChulCheol-soosu, 1997).

Fairness in covering election issues should apply to differences on issues as well

as candidates. The fact that the Democratic Labor Party presidential candidate, Kwon Young-gil, who had distinctly different views on the two prominent issues in the most recent presidential election, the SOFA revision and sunshine policy, ~~the two prominent issues in the most recent presidential election~~, was seldom interviewed or quoted, illustrates the ~~slanted fairness objectivity~~ slanting in favor of the two rivaling parties.

Declined Influence of Newspapers ~~and Soared Power in favor of of the~~ Increased Influence of the Internet

Most noticeable in the 16th presidential ~~election were~~ election was the decline newspapers' of the major newspapers' declined influence and the Internet's ~~soared~~ increase in power. Some have even ascribed Roh's victory to the Internet and netizens. Fallen newspaper influence was evinced by the fact that conservative 3 newspapers emphasis of the North Korean nuclear crisis and its threat on peace on the Korean peninsula during the final weeks of the election failed to have a major impact on the election outcome. According to the priming effect theory, ~~a~~ concentrated coverage by the major dailies should have predominantly played up the security issues for the benefit of the conservative candidate by dissuading progressive and neutral voters. Approval ballots ~~for~~ the conservative GNP candidate Lee Hoi-chang, nevertheless, failed to ~~jump~~ increase in proportion to the dominant newspaper coverage he had enjoyed.

On the other hand, ~~the public's~~ public mourning for ~~the vehicular deaths of~~ two teenage girls and ~~their~~ demand for a revision ng the ~~of~~ SOFA, despite ~~their~~ having been played down by the mainstream media, emerged as ~~predominant major~~ issues through the Internet in the closing phase of the election; ~~newspapers' negative agenda-setting was totally ineffective~~ (Yi Jun-ung/Lee Jun-wung, 2003a). Needless to say, the Internet media ~~are yet to overwhelm~~ is yet to eclipse the printed media in influence ~~in the future~~.¹⁸ But it is evident that many voters who lacked a political interpretation framework used the Internet as an ~~interpretation~~ interpretive guideline. As a matter of fact, ~~many prominent issues in the 16th presidential election were raised by the Internet media~~ the Internet media raised many prominent important issues in the 16th

~~presidential election~~. The alleged draft dodging by Lee's son, a dominant election issue during the earlier phase of the ~~election, election~~, was ~~touched initiated off~~ by an interview Internet news channel "~~OhmyNews~~" conducted with Kim ~~Dae-yeop~~ ~~Dae-eop, source of the allegation~~. ~~Issues involving the deaths of~~ The compelling story of the two schoolgirls and ~~thea~~ SOFA revision ~~calls emerged prominent on account of~~ came to the fore through ~~concentrated intense~~ coverage by "~~OhmyNews~~" and "~~Pressian~~," another Internet news site.

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The increased influence of the Internet media can be ~~attributed ascribed~~ to to a number of factors. Among them are a prompt and flexible delivery of news, election coverage oriented to ~~the~~ citizens, representing representation of voices of minority groups ~~like alienated people~~ and social movement groups, neglected by the established media, and ~~setting up an agenda promoting agendas promoting the their~~ rights and interests of those groups. ~~Also included are is their offering o~~ An of their attractive feature of Internet media is that it offers versatile viewpoints on any single ~~identical agenda single issues~~ and a varied mix of opinions and people ~~concerned concerned of interested people horizontally~~. Unlike the established media which are limited in space and time, the Internet media ~~are is~~ capable of covering issues persistently ~~consistently~~ consistently from their ~~raising introduction inception to through~~ maturity and resolution (Bak ~~SunSeon-heehui~~, 2003). Most importantly, Internet news outlets like ~~OhmyNews~~ and ~~Pressian~~ contributed towards boosting balloting by the young electorate. They also played an affirmative role in offering a near-live-relay coverage of stumping scenes and covering ~~the~~ presidential candidates of such splinter parties as the Democratic Labor and Social Parties.

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~~But the~~ The Internet media were ~~not-unfair, however~~, when they played up issues unfavorable to Lee like his son's alleged draft dodging, while playing down the North Korean nuclear crisis, sunshine policy and the MDP's internal strifes. Though such bias cannot be assessed by the yardstick ~~same yardstick~~ applied to ~~the~~ established media, the Internet media evidently also have problems in regard to fairness objectivity. In their reporting mode ~~too as well~~, they ~~made-produced~~ more horse-race reportage than the established media by emphasizing election projections and confrontations. They indiscriminately used such extreme phrases as "hot pursuit," "clean

sweep," "pivotal battleground," "guerilla warfare," "last-minute reversal" and "submerged operation." Such problems may ~~aggravate~~ increase in the future, given the attributes of the Internet media, as ~~external~~ regulating regulation of their contents is impossible, and as the law protects ~~their users~~ users' rights to express themselves freely.

All in all, ~~in the 16th presidential election~~ the Internet media displayed a considerable degree of possibility potential in functioning as an alternative to the established media in the 16th presidential election, and, despite ~~their~~ the limited number of ~~their~~ users, wielded considerable influence. ~~They were affirmative~~ The outlets acted positively in their attempts attempting to ~~make~~ produce in-depth reporting and presenting divergent views, but have to overcome ~~lots many of~~ obstacles in to ensuring quality and fairness objectivity in their reportage.

Conclusion

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The 16th presidential election marked a turning point in Korean politics in several respects. To begin with, it was an election opening a post-authoritarian era with marked by the passing of the three Kims who had dominated the nation's politics for over three decades ~~gone~~. Using the slogan "change and reform," Roh's victory in the election, ~~who~~ put up the slogan "change and reform," therefore, ~~is not unrelated to~~ no coincidence was not coincidental in —such a social atmosphere.

Secondly, the election marked ~~an~~ full-scale earnest entrance initiation into ~~the an~~ era of media politics ~~era~~. With the retreat of the three Kims, there were no presentations of ~~no~~ candidates with pre-fixed images ~~came forth~~; furthermore, the fixed support base for the rivaling parties was undermined by support for individual candidates. These All these changes show an increased impact on balloting of short-term factors like candidates' images and election issues, rather than long-term factors, as Flanigan and Singale-Zingale note: (Flanigan and & Zingale, 1d in 983):

Thirdly, due to the two factors cited above, the election demonstrated that a candidate successful in mounting media-friendly events and issues, rather than in party-based election strategies, can win in an election. Roh's triumph can largely be attributed to his success in raising issues and leading public opinion through such

events as the MDP's semi-primaries, dubbed "the weekend drama," and his candidacy unification negotiation with Chung.

Fourthly, the media exhibited ~~in the election~~ a distinct inclination ~~of towards~~ supporting particular candidates in the election, giving rise ~~to~~ a problem of fairness objectivity in media election coverage. Competition in election coverage between the three major conservative dailies of "Cho Joong Dong," ~~which nakedly openly who~~ undisguised supporteing Lee, and the pro-Roh dailies of "Han Kyung KoreaDae," reached ~~the a~~ dangerous level, even when taking the newspapers' independence ~~is taken~~ into account. The broadcasting networks invited ~~fairness-objectivity~~ controversies by resorting to biases in selecting election issues and covering election campaigns. ~~BeingAs part of ana partial A~~ Aftermath of the Kim Dae-jung administration's unfinished press reform-as they are, such practices should be remedied to achieve a mature political culture of democracy, essential to ~~the the current era of~~ media politics-era.

Lastly, the election witnessed a sharply increased in influence ~~of theof the~~ Internet media. Internet media ~~undoubtedly still have theirhas~~ limitations, ~~as yet~~, such as the limited number of ~~their~~ users, lack of credibility ~~in their contents~~ and lack ~~in of~~ their public accountability. Nevertheless, ~~they it~~ made an ~~absolute imperativeimportant~~ contribution ~~to in~~ playing up special issues ~~such issues as the public's mourning for the deaths of two schoolgirls and SOFA amendments revision~~ in the presidential election, and played a big-major role in diversifying election reportage by covering the candidates of the Democratic Labor and Socialist Parties. But they have to overcome ~~their the~~ biases, ~~as~~ exhibited in their one-sided ~~support~~ sided support of Roh, ~~and~~ sensationalism, characterized by ~~their~~ horse-race reportage.

Such changes in ~~our~~ media politics are affirmative in that they complement ~~complementing~~ representative democracy, but they raise ~~thea~~ possibility that a candidate can win an election based on an electiona strategy making that makes best use of his or her personal characters and "medialities(Robinson 1976)" befitting the media ~~on the other~~. In order to ~~The development of~~ desirable media politics and overcoming such duality ~~of media politics~~, requires the evolution of elaborate legal and institutional conditions and a matured consciousness on the part of politicians and journalists is essential. In this sense, ~~our~~ Korea's media politics, as seen in the 16th presidential election, has made remarkable technological advances in technology but faces a crisis in

~~substance content~~:—Because political processes degraded into “medialities” and politicians utilizing entertainment-oriented election strategies meeting media propensities are liable to bring about mobocracy(?). ~~Even—An even a more significant~~ bigger problem lies in the fact that many media politics problems ~~seen in in~~ which surfaced in the most recent presidential election were repetitions of those observed in the 15th presidential election. ~~It is~~One must ponder—wondered how long ~~we will have to repeat~~this vicious circle ~~may be repeated~~. Desirable media politics may take roots in ~~the country~~Korea only when ~~we manage to put an end to this vicious circle will be it is~~ put to an end.

Footnotes

1. The concept of a "well-informed public" is translated as "well-informed people" by Yi Hyo-seong (2002), and "wise public" by Jang Ho-sun (2002). Both scholars, nonetheless, stress that the media should aggressively convey correct information to voters so that they may comprehend political contents.

2. In the same context, there exists a trend of a blindly following of electronic democracy through the Internet. While acknowledging the Internet's technical functionality, success or failure of the utility of electronic democracy depends on how well participating candidates and voters understand it. Immature civic conditions prevailing in the Internet, such as anonymity, irresponsibility and unethical behavior, diminish citizens' expectations of electronic democracy. See Hwang (2001).

3. As to the problems of media politics revealed in the 15th presidential election, see "The 15th Presidential Election and Media Politics," 1998 spring issue, Trends and Prospects (consecutive volume No. 37); pp. 352-376, Hwang KuhnGeun (1998b, 352-356).

4). Flanigan and Zingale classify factors influencing voters' decision-making into long-term forces like demographic attributes and identification with parties, and short-term forces like candidates' personal attributes. They claim that short-term forces

may change during an election campaign, but long-term factors seldom change. (Flanigan and Zingale, 1983: pp., -115-140-).

5). The most typical instance was a public pledge to remove the administrative capital from Seoul to Chungcheong region, central South Korea. Roh's advocacy of this proposal allowed him to win in the Chungcheong region with relative ease.

6). In Korean politics, all policy issues tend to become political. The sunshine policy of reconciliation with North Korea, for example, is a policy matter involving the South-North Korean relations. In the 16th presidential election, however, it was a political issue no less fierce than the issue of remitting a large sum of public funds to Pyongyang North.

7). This appears to have been caused by the fact that reform candidate Roh, from his party's semi-primaries, advocated progressive slogans such as political reform, resulting in a conservative vs. reform ideological confrontation with his conservative rival Lee. Such ideological differences between the two candidates exerted central influence, as well as the nation's generational, regional, and ideological conflicts. Voters accordingly exhibited a trend of perceiving and evaluating such issues as South-North Korea relations and the nation's relationship with the United States in ideological terms.

8) On patterns of partiality and analysis in the media's election coverage and analysis, see Kwon Hyeok-nam (2002: pp., 41-43).

9) Scholars have noted that press coverage on TV debates is considered more important than TV debates are important, their press coverage is equally as important (Hellweg, Pfau, and Brydon, 1992; Lee Jong-su, 1997; Yang Sung-chan, 1998). In addition, published research holds that press interpretation of a TV debate may also influence voters' judgment (Benoit and Currie, 2001; Kendall, 1997; Pfau and Eveland, 1992).

An analysis of newspaper coverage of TV debates during the 16th presidential election by Yang Seung-chan (2003b), however, is more affirmative. Yang notes that

there was an increase in the instances of newspapers' evaluation of the format and contents of TV debates in comparison with that of increased from the coverage of the 15th presidential election in addition to the increased analysis of ~~with newspapers~~ comparatively analyzed differences among candidates. These changes are considered to have arisen perhaps because Baek Seon-gi's ~~Paik Son-ki's~~ analysis dealt with debates involving party candidates invited prior to September 2000, whereas Yang Seung-chan's study handled debates involving a group of candidates invited by the Presidential Election Debate Broadcasting Committee during the official campaign period.

10). Subjected to this analysis are the main evening news programs of the three major broadcasting stations over a 60-day period prior to the election date, i.e. from 18 October to 18 December.

11). Because ~~public opinion deteriorated following the presidential candidates' TV debates sponsored~~ competitively by the three broadcasting networks and newspaper firms in May and June 1997, ~~the broadcasting presidents put out a statement on~~ July 3 ~~resolving~~ resolving to "put an end to our individual debates in favor of joint debates to be held under the sponsorship of the Korean Broadcasters Association." The practice continued, however, indicating that the country's media politics, including TV debates, serves media interests, not those of politicians and voters.

12). The National Election Commission's draft revision of election-related laws, however, was rejected in the face of party objections not to clauses related to TV debates, but to a package of political reforms, such as "differentiation in return of deposits in accordance with polling rates based on the total number of valid votes cast," "raise in ~~candidate's~~ deposit to 2 billion won (US\$1.7 million)," "required ~~use of account books on political funds, received, dispensed and deposited, and of checks and credit cards,~~" and "reduced scale of political funds authorized."

13). Due to voters' strong selective exposure and perception, TV ~~election~~ debates have a limited impact on balloting rates, when compared with their high viewing rates. Because they often offer a two-way discussion, however, they are bound to attract a

high degree of public interest and a high viewing rate. The tripartite debates that took place during the 16th presidential election failed to attract great interest because they lacked in-seriousness and because of the blatant questions and answers. In contrast, TV campaign speeches commanded greater public interest and appear to have had great impact on the balloting. "Supporting Speech by Jagalchi Fish Market Lady," a campaign program mounted by the Roh camp aimed at the general public, and "Supporting Speech by a Taxi Driver," a response from the Lee camp, attracted considerable public interest despite their stronger selective exposure. This indicates that attracting interest in a television program has precedence over formal fairness in media politics.

14). The most controversial decision regarding ~~TV election~~-debates is the question of the invitees, because limited invitations are liable to raise questions of ~~constitutionality~~. In the United States, for example, ~~TV~~ presidential debates were not held from the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debate until 1976 ~~because~~ splinter party candidates made an issue out of Article 315 of the Communications Law involving equal opportunity. The Aspen Rule resolved the stalemate by ruling: "If a debate is sponsored by a non-profit organization and relayed by broadcasting firms, the principle of equal opportunities is not breached." Thus, from 1976 to 1988, the Woman Voters League sponsored TV presidential debates.

15). For details, see Yi-Lee Hyo-sueong (2003).

16) The use of biased news headlines is cited as a means of examining unfair news coverage, because television viewers tend to browse through headlines, thus getting only a distorted picture.

17) Yi Hyo-seong Lee-Hyo-sung (2002), for instance, cites four basic principles applicable to media coverage of elections: ~~truth~~, fairness, usefulness and independence.

18). According to Yang Seung-chan (2003a), the greatest incentive to use newspaper media is to report policy pledges during an election period, and newspaper coverage of the 16th presidential election was highly assessed in terms of its "accurate factual reporting" and "fair evaluation of candidates" in comparison with the 15th presidential

election in 1997. But the assessment was lower in terms of "objective reporting," "reflection of divergent views" and "presentation of problems involved in election issues." This appears to indicate that newspapers' election coverage, while still exercising considerable influence in the interpretation of issues, falls behind in "objectivity and diversity" and "raising of issues needed by the electorate." The public's consequent dissatisfaction with newspapers is thought to have encouraged its reliance on the Internet media.

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5) The most typical instance was a public pledge to remove the administrative capital from Seoul to Daejeon in central South Korea. Owing to his advocacy of this, candidate Roh Moo-hyun could win in the Chungcheong region with a relative ease.—

6) In Korean politics, all policy issues tend to become political. In fact, the sunshine policy of reconciliation with North Korea is a policy matter involving the South-North Korean relations. In the 16th presidential election, however, it was a political issue no less fierce than the issue of remitting a large sum of public funds to Pyongyang.—

7) This appears to have been caused by the fact reformatory candidate Roh, starting from his party's semi-primaries, advocated progressive slogans like political reform, resulting in a conservative vs. reformatory ideological confrontation with his conservative rival Lee. Such ideological differences between the two candidates exercised influence, coupled with the nation's generational, regional and ideological conflicts. Voters accordingly

~~exhibited a trend of ideologically perceiving and evaluating such issues as South North Korea relations and the nation's relationship with the United States.~~

~~8) On patterns of partiality in the media's election coverage and the analysis of their instances, see Kwon Hyok-nam (2002; pp. 41-43).—~~

~~9) Scholars have noted that though a TV debate itself is important, no less importance should be given to its press coverage (Hellweg, Pfau and Brydon, 1992; Lee Jong-su, 1997; Yang Sung-chan, 1998). In addition, published researches have it that press interpretation of a TV debate may also influence voters' judgement (Benoit and Currie, 2001; Kendall, 1997; Pfau and Eveland, 1992).—~~

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~~10) Subjected to this analysis are the main evening news programs of the three major broadcasting stations over 60 days prior to the election date, ie from October 18 to December 18.—~~

~~11) As harm was done in and the public opinion deteriorated on the TV debates of presidential candidates the three broadcasting networks sponsored in May and June, 1997 in competition, their presidents on July 3 resolved to "put an end to our individual debates in favor of joint debates to be held under the sponsorship of the broadcasters' association." The evil practice is still repeated, however, an indication that the country's media politics including TV debates serves media interests, not those of politicians and voters.—~~

~~12) The Central Election Management Committee's draft revision of election-related laws, however, was rejected in the face of party objections to not clauses related to TV debates, but a package of political reforms, such as "differentiation in return of deposits in accordance with polling rates based on the total number of valid votes cast," "raise in a candidate's deposit to 2 billion won (US\$1.7 million)," "required use of account books on political funds, received, dispensed and deposited, and of checks and credit cards," and "reduced scale of political funds authorized."—~~

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and because of diagrammatic questions and answers exchanged. In contrast, TV campaign speeches commanded greater public interest and appear to have had no small impact on the balloting. "Supporting Speech by Jagalchi Fish Market Lady," a campaign program the Roh camp mounted with plain folks targeted at, and "Supporting Speech by a Taxi Driver," a response from the Lee camp, despite their stronger selective exposure, attracted considerable public interest. This indicates that attracting interest in a television program has precedence over diagrammatic fairness in media politics.

14) Most controversial about a TV election debate is who are invited to take part in it, because limitations in invitation are liable to cause unconstitutionality. The United States saw no TV presidential debates held since the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debate until 1976 because splinter party candidates made an issue out of Article 315 of the Communications Law involving equal opportunity. The Aspen Rule resolved the stalemate by ruling: "If a debate is sponsored by a non profit making organization and relayed by broadcasting firms, the principle of equal opportunities is not breached." From 1976 to 1988, the Woman Voters League thus sponsored TV presidential debates.

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