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THE KOREAN JOURNALIST: A STUDY OF
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THE KOREAN JOURNALIST:
A STUDY OF DIMENSIONS OF ROLE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN SOCIOLOGY
AUGUST 1974

By
In-hwan Oh

Dissertation Committee:
George Y. M. Won, Chairman
Douglas S. Yamamura
Edmund H. Volkart
George K. Yamamoto
Sunwoo Nam
I wish to thank the Korean journalists for their wholehearted participation in this study. Without their understanding, this work would have never been possible.

I also wish to extend my sincere gratitude to the following organizations for their cooperation and assistance:

International Liaison Committee for Research on Korea (ILCORK)

Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii

East West Communication Institute, East West Center
ABSTRACT

This is a study of Korean print media journalists from the perspective of role study. The data were gathered by the method of self-administered questionnaire in the Summer of 1972. A 20 percent sample was drawn by stratified random sampling from a list of journalists employed by general newspapers and news agencies in south Korea. The overall return rate of completed questionnaires was 91 percent.

The objective of this study was twofold. One was practical and the other was theoretical. The practical objective was to describe the Korean journalists as of 1972 as broadly as possible. The theoretical objective was to explicate some dimensions of role concept and use the framework in analyzing the journalists' conception of their roles.

A working assumption was that the degree of role consensus varies depending on the contents of roles even if the role definer, the role performer and the situation are held constant.

A system perspective was proposed in classifying role contents into role types: Type I role was defined as an Inclusive Model, which refers to the relationship of a subsystem to its own system, Type II role was defined as a Partially Overlapping Model, which refers to the relationship between partially overlapping subsystems, and Type III
role was defined as a **Discrete Position Model**, which refers to the relationship between discrete subsystems.

Various roles of the press and journalists were classified into these three Role Types. There was found a greater consensus among Korean journalists over Type I role, an intermediate degree of consensus over Type II role, and a lesser consensus over Type III role.

Although somewhat inconclusive, there appeared some relationship of pre-job and on-the-job socialization to differential conceptions of roles according to the three different role types.

Four specific roles considered salient in the Korean context were selected for detailed analysis. The four roles were: the Enlightenment role of the press, the Watchdog role of the press, the Political Stabilizer role of the press, and the roles related to some aspects of journalist's Right and Accountability in reportorial activities.

As a whole, the system perspective in classifying role types was found useful in the study of role conception and role consensus.

The present study also suggested the advisability of introducing some historical and structural aspects in role study.
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PART I: INTRODUCTION

I. JOURNALISM AND SOCIETY

1) The General Context:

In modern societies the press occupies a strategic linkage point where vast amount of information is channeled for public review. But this channel is not a neutral one as objective reporting advocates once believed. The press acts on and reacts to events taking place in society and thereby affects the environment. On the other hand, the press itself is shaped by social forces surrounding it.

In recent years, especially with the rapid development of highly sophisticated means of communication, this reciprocal relationship has come under critical review frequently and often challenged by both the press and the public. How far can the press be allowed to move into the private sphere? What is public as against private information? Does the press shape events? If so, how much? Should the press be controlled? If so, how much control and by whom?

This debate will go on for some time. In light of this controversy and in order to place the issue in proper perspective, this section discusses the relationship between the press and society.

A social system develops its own philosophy about the nature of man, society, the state, the individual's relation-
ship to the state, and the nature of knowledge and truth. These basic assumptions are presumed to determine the functions of the press. In a society where man is assumed capable of making rational decisions in a free market place of ideas and information and where truth no longer belongs to the center of power but rather becomes something to be sought after by individuals, the Libertarian press would presume to prevail. Under the Libertarian social system, the press becomes "a device for presenting evidence and arguments on the basis of which the people can check on government and make up their minds as to policy." In this setting Upward Communication becomes a major function of the press.

On the other hand, under an Authoritarian social system, truth is assumed to be the product of a few in power and the populace are to be carefully guided by caretakers. In this system, the press is assigned the task of Downward Communication. The press under this system is defined as Authoritarian Press.

Two other modified press systems are derived from these basic press types. They are the Social Responsibility press and the Soviet Communist press. The Social Responsibility

1 Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, Four Theories of the Press, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1956, pp. 1-7. The discussions in the couple of paragraphs to follow are based on the book.

2 Ibid., p. 3.
press is a modified Libertarian press, basically oriented towards Upward Communication, while the Soviet Communist press is a more tightly controlled Authoritarian press, adhering to the process of Downward Communication. 3

Ever since the late 1950's when many new nations in the Third World started planning modernization (or industrialization), the Developmental Communication system has come to draw the attention of government leaders and communication specialists. Developmental press system seems to be a hybrid of the two major press systems. It appears to be democratic in ideals but tends to be authoritarian in practice. 4

Furthermore, among Developmental Communication specialists, the tendency is to emphasize the educational aspect of the press, that is, Downward Communication. 5

There is yet another factor--this time, non-political--that makes the position of the press in society very important.

3 Ibid., p. 2.

4 Siebert, et al., notes that, in most of non-Communist countries, the Libertarian principles serve only as a window-dressing, behind which the Authoritarian practices prevail. See Siebert, et al., op. cit., pp. 29-30, 32.

5 See, for example, W. Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," in Lucian Pye, ed., Communications and Political Development, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 30-57. He discusses six major functions for Developmental Communication. One of them is the desirability of the press serving as "the voice of national planning." This function includes both upward and downward communication. But his over-all emphasis appears to be on downward communication.
This is the ever-increasing differentiation of roles and functions. As a society undergoes structural-functional differentiation, the world relevant to everyday life becomes wider. Subsystems increase in number and at the same time become more interdependent with each other. Adequate dissemination of information concerning events taking place in interacting subsystems becomes imperative. Organizations grow both in number and size. People belong to many organizations and groups. But their participation in most of them becomes necessarily partial and superficial. People often are not aware of important happenings even in the organization of their major interest. It is under these circumstances that Horizontal Communication has come to take on importance in modern societies. This means that the press has taken this additional strategic assignment of Horizontal Communication.

It is clear, the press occupies a strategically important linkage point at the crossroad of Upward, Downward, and Horizontal communications. But this linkage point is not as neutral as advocates of objective reporting have implied. Since the latter part of the 19th century, objective reporting has been emphasized by press personnel, especially in the United States. The argument was that the press should serve as a mirror to the society. Criticism against press bias has been countered by the press with the well-known phrase: "It is like blaming the messenger for the
message."

Some commercial motive seemed to be involved in stressing objective reporting. Mass newspapers cannot afford alienating any significant segment of politically heterogeneous audiences. This has been even more true with wire services because they must sell news to papers of different policies.

Conventions of objective reporting have been: 1) separating facts from opinions, 2) presenting all sides of an issue (usually only two sides), 3) presenting all the facts, and 4) letting the reader decide what these facts mean. Technical criteria of objective reporting call for avoiding evaluating words. When pushed too far, objective reporting, as it is practiced, becomes a kind of "dead-pan reporting." "So-and-so-said-this" may be a fact. But so-and-so may be lying. There seems to be a great difference between "the


7 Ibid., p. 33.


essential truth” and "the literal truth." To many people, objectivity usually means agreement with their own views.

While arguments over possibility of objective reporting were still going on, the idea of objective reporting gained importance as a myth or fiction among journalists. It served as a major ideal goal. It offered one a ready-made defense mechanism against criticism.

But this myth was shaken in the late 1940's by the Hutchins Commission report on Freedom of the Press. Immediate outcries on the part of the press against the Commission report showed how deeply the myth was rooted. The report marked a major turning point in Western ideology about the press by emphasizing a public character of the press as common carriers of information and discussion.

The Hutchins Commission argued that: 1) flow of ideas became ever more important in modern societies; 2) the press

10 This point was raised by James B. Reston at the 1948 Associated Press Managing Editors' Convention. This is also requoted from H. Kriegbaum, op. cit., p. 7.


was failing to discharge its responsibility in this area. To the press, ideas themselves became less important as compared to "whose ideas." Such as: Is he somebody? Does he know somebody in the press? Does he have an active group behind him? 3) contents of the press are further affected by economic structure of the press, industrial organization of modern society, and publishers and/or editors of the press; and 4) "it is no longer enough to report the fact truthfully. It is now necessary to report the truth about the fact."

The Commission's report made it clear that the press was not a neutral channel of information flow. This was an important point because it was the basis upon which the press came under serious scrutiny.

2) **The Korean Situation**

This thesis has two major objectives: one is **practical** and the other is **theoretical**.

The practical objective is to describe the Korean

---

13 This opinion was expressed even before the Hutchins Commission report. One example was Leo C. Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1937. Rosten observed how news was distorted in the process of newspaper-making.
journalists of print media of modern day Korea. What are the social origins of the journalists? What are their personal predispositions? How do they perceive their roles as journalists vis-à-vis the government, the publishers, and the public or audience?

This rather wide-ranging description of Korean journalists is considered important for the following practical reasons. For one, there have been only a few rather limited studies on Korean journalists. In one major study journalists were looked at as one segment of intellectuals and

14 Journalists of electronic media are not included in this analysis. Even though they demonstrate potentialities as news media, electronic media are still basically programed and used for entertainment purposes in Korea. Among others, the amount of time allocated for news or news-related programs is too short to cover many events or deal with any issues in depth. Under this circumstance, news program of electronic media confines itself to tell the audience what has happened or will happen and let the public seek in the newspapers why it happened and what it means. In other words, newspapers far outweigh radio and television as news media. Because of this consideration together with a limited time and resources for the survey research of this study, it was decided to limit this study to journalists of print media.

its main interest was not in the journalists themselves. In another major study, which was done one year before the present study and yet unpublished, the focus was on how journalists perceived the world around them, particularly with regard to national development. It is against this background that a presentation of an overall picture of Korean journalists is considered necessary.

Another reason that makes the broad description of Korean journalists important is the timing of the present study. Korea has been undergoing some fundamental changes in its political structure for some years when this research was conducted. Not long after this research was completed, a system of "Koreanized democracy" was instituted in the fall, 1972. With this political development, the press seemed to have been transformed into an institution basically for downward communication.

Several newspapers and news agencies were closed voluntarily by the owner-publishers. Many of the newspapers in Korea were known to be operating in the red. Some owner-publishers had kept spending money to keep their newspapers

16 The measure was called "the October Revitalizing Reforms" taken "to adapt the democratic system to the realities and ideals of the nation". See, for example, The October Revitalizing Reforms of the Republic of Korea, East-West Crosscurrent Center, Seoul, Korea, 1972.
because the mere ownership of the press brought them sizeable returns in their other major businesses as well as enhanced their social status. But once the "fringe benefits" were gone, some publishers seemed to have lost their interest in maintaining the money-losing newspapers.

Among the journalists a marked change appeared to have taken place. Around 1971 they started leaving the press to enter government service. By the fall of 1972, with the introduction of a new political structure, the press was experiencing an exodus of journalists. Many of the journalists from mid-career and up had been recruited into government positions ranging from that of press officer on up to a seat in the National Assembly.

All these changes indicated that the Korean press was no longer structurally the same as before. Being the only major survey research on Korean journalists during the transition period, the present study might provide some linkage points in understanding the future trend of the press in Korea. If so, it becomes all the more important to record as broadly as possible who they are and what they thought about their occupation and roles at the time preceding these fundamental changes.

The theoretical objective of this study is an analysis of role consensus. The interest in role consensus among journalists in Korea arises again from a practical consideration. For some time Korean journalists have been subjected
to criticism from the general public and some concerned circles of the press as well. Most of the criticisms revolved around one theme, that is, the apparent lack of sense of mission on the part of practicing journalists.

These critics lamented the apparent loss of zeal and courage and a sense of mission among today's journalists which were characteristic of those journalists of a few decades ago during the Japanese occupation. College students charged that journalists today simply had given up the function of watchdog vis-a-vis the government. To the elderly journalists who still remember the days when journalism was a "calling," the present day journalists apparently had turned into mere salaried employees. Many intellectuals regretted that journalists had become too secularized and too calculative in their pursuit of personal success.

In the face of the barrage of criticisms some questions arise: Is it because the orientation or role conception of journalists themselves have changed? Or is it because the environment has changed even though the journalists' role conceptions remained more or less the same? Or is it because both of these have changed?

To answer these questions requires information about four different dimensions. The first dimension concerns whether the pressure from outside groups has increased, remained the same, or decreased. The second dimension deals with whether journalists have become more critical, about the
same, or less critical. The third dimension concerns the degree of consensus regarding definition of role among journalists. The fourth dimension deals with priority within role sets. If role priority has shifted from reporter to employee or to family breadearner, journalists are less likely to remain as critical as before.

In the absence of comparable longitudinal data, there is no way of determining whether Korean journalists have become more critical or less critical, achieved greater consensus or less consensus, or shifted their role priority. Given the situation, a strategic approach is: 1) to find out how much consensus there is among journalists with regard to major roles of the press and how critical minded they are now, and, 2) to make some inferences on the basis of these findings.
II. THE STUDY OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Ever since the press started penetrating into ever wider aspects of society, there grew increasing concern about the way in which it affected people and societies. Some critics hold the press responsible for whatever major happenings and developments. Others recognize the apparent power of the press in changing people's attitude and try to exploit this mechanism to obtain their selfish ends. Still others argue that, in an ultimate sense, it is the society that shapes the press and not the reverse. To this third group, therefore, it becomes important to look at the press as a social product in order to understand the way the press affects societies.

This chapter consists of three sections. In the first section a point will be raised about why it would be useful to view the press and journalists as a social product. The second section reviews some selected studies of the press. The third section proposes a study of role structure of journalism.

1) Messages and Communicators:

Many critics regard mass media as either an independent or intervening variable affecting social or personal behaviors. But they tend to overlook one important factor involved in the communication process, the mass communicators.
For example, major proponents of "Communication Media Technology school--Innis and McLuhan--take communication media as an independent variable but their emphasis is on the technology of communication. They argue that the medium affects societies in its own way regardless of the contents of the message it carries.  

"Developmental Communication" scholars recognize three aspects of mass media: the agent of social change, the index of social change, and the multiplier channel. But in most of their works they concentrate on one: mass media as the agent of national development and modernization.  


"Violence in mass media"--especially, in television programs--draws considerable attention from many circles. But many scholars in this area seem to be concerned about the probable effects of television violence on audience in general and children in particular. One group considers media violence as implanting or triggering violent impulses on the part of the audience. A second group sees a catharsis effect in media violence. This group believes that the audience is more likely to find in media violence some outlet of whatever violent impulse they might have harbored. For the first group, mass media become an independent variable. For the second group, predispositions of audience become more important and media programs appear to be treated as an intervening variable. 3


"Diffusion Studies" scholars and "Developmental Communication" specialists have been associated with the modernization process in developing countries. However, the two schools generally differ in interpreting the role of mass media. Developmental Communication scholars assign to mass media the role of initiating modernization, whereas Diffusion Studies specialists perceive mass media as an intervening factor. In the Diffusion Study model, literacy, education, social status, age, and cosmopolitanism usually are perceived as antecedent variables. 4

In "Election Campaign studies" mass media are more often regarded as intervening variables. Many studies of voting indicate that campaign exposure converts only a small minority of voters against voter's own predisposition. 5 First of all, exposure to media campaign is selective. Demographical and sociological characteristics of voters are known to largely determine exposure to partisan media and messages. Because of this most voting studies tend to be audience studies. 6


"Marketing studies" are generally limited to audience studies. Marketing study researchers are generally interested in consumer's motivation, emotion, rationality, personality, primary group's influence, and age, role and class differentials in media exposure. It appears that almost all factors except one are being adjusted to existent patterns on the part of present and future consumers. The one exception is the brand name of the particular product(s) offered in the market. Consumer and advertisement studies generally are based on the assumptions of association and congruence principles.

The major areas of mass media studies mentioned above appear to have one thing in common. They are less concerned with the messages to be delivered to the audience. Some of them even ignore the messages. Some others take the messages for granted. In other words, they don't seem to take the message itself as problematic. The message is perceived either as already fixed or determined by characteristics of the audiences and not by the communicators.

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So long as the message content is not taken as problem-
atic, the communicators will fall outside of the researcher's
attention and remain a missing link in the overall process of
communication. Here, the different perspectives of mass
media studies will be discussed with regard to their overt
positions or covert assumptions about the message content.
Further, whenever it seems appropriate, it will be argued
that the contents of message often pose a problem.

The Communication Media Technology School regards the
content of message as irrelevant. For Innis and McLuhan,
"medium is message." Critics, however, point out that there
are two major functions of the media. One is a means for
transmitting information. The other is one of organizing
experience. In his critical comment of McLuhan, Ricks
argues:

"McLuhan's indifference to 'message,' is as
stultifying as the old indifference to every-
thing but message. The media, after all, are
both the subrational or subliminal message,
and their contents or programming.... A
newspaper is not only what McLuhan so effect-
ively shows us that it is..., but also actual
news items, which say some things and not
others."\(^8\)

While admitting that different medium has different con-
straining force, some other critics stress that this does not
make the medium a message. For example, Burke suggests:

\(^8\) Christopher Ricks, "McLuhan," in Raymond Rosenthal,
"McLuhan could have systematically asked himself just what kind of content is favored by the peculiar nature of a given medium."\(^9\)

It is often pointed out that McLuhan's book, "Medium Is Message," is not only a medium of written communication but that it explicitly states that understanding of a dominant medium as a medium helps understand many phenomena taking place.

The Developmental Communication School assumes that mass media mediated messages in developing countries are modern in nature and content. Schramm argues that:

"A good case can be made for the argument that any part of the mass media output of a developing country is related to national development. For example, the mere existence of national radio may contribute to a sense of nation-ness. And indeed if one takes into account effects that are sufficiently indirect, doubtless everything in the mass media contributes in some way to the goals of economic and social development." (Underscore mine).\(^10\)

But as Schramm himself admits the information brought by mass media to villages is, in most cases, not the kind of information necessary to develop in villages.

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10 Wilbur Schramm, "Communication and Change," in Lerner & Schramm, eds., \emph{Communication and Change in Developing Countries}, p. 30.
"... it is the urban newspaper and the city or the national radio that come to the villages."  

Rogers and Shoemaker also observe:

"There is very little message content in the mass media devoted to agricultural innovation in less developed countries, even though farmers often constitute a majority of the population. So the potential role for mass media channels in diffusing innovations is high, even though it is not being reached in less developed countries today."  

The Developmental Communication scholars are interested mostly in expanding physical facilities of mass media. This interest has a strong point because, without first getting farmers exposed to mass media, modernizing messages would have practically no channels to reach their intended audiences. In arguing for development of mass media channels, however, they tend to empathize what the mass media should do. They don't seem to ask what the mass media have been doing and will be doing. The former is a normative question and the latter an empirical one. The two are not necessarily identical. In order to understand the practices of the mass media, it becomes necessary to study the mass media and

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13 See, for example, Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*, pp. 127-139.
communicators in the historical and social contexts.

While the Developmental Communication scholars assume the message content to be modernizing or developmental, the Diffusion Study scholars limit their message objects manifestly to "innovations--ideas, practices, and objects perceived as new by the individual." In the Diffusion Studies the nature of messages is fixed, not problematic. In an appeal for more attention to the content of messages, Rogers and Shoemaker observed: "To date (1971), the message content carried on diffusion channels has been totally ignored by researchers." By the "message content" was apparently meant the techniques of message presentation.

"Considering the channel variable alone is insufficient to explain behavior of a receiver in the innovation-decision process. Various message strategies may increase or decrease effectiveness of channel throughout the innovation-decision process. For example, a message which discusses both the pros and cons of an issue is more effective in the long run than a one-sided presentation 1) when the audience initially disagrees with the source's position, or 2) when the receivers are exposed to subsequent counter propaganda."

The Diffusion Study scholars discuss the problem of communicator in the process of innovation decision. But

14 Rogers and Shoemaker, op. cit., p. 77.
15 Ibid., p. 265.
16 Ibid., p. 265.
their "communicators" don't seem to be the communicators who produce the message. Instead, the term "communicator" refers to those delivering the message. The concern of the Diffusion specialists has been how to effectively get the message across to the intended audience. In that sense, their "communicators" serve a function of an extension of media channel.

Similar to Diffusion Studies, Election Campaigns, War-time Propaganda, and Marketing Studies are considered basically audience and/or effect studies. In the audience and effect studies the message content is generally assumed to be determined by characteristics of the audience and/or specific purposes of communication.

About Propaganda Studies, Merton and Lazarsfeld observed:

"Propaganda will not produce the expected response unless its content corresponds to the psychological wants of the audience. It is necessary, therefore, to have a continuing flow of intelligence information concerning prevalent attitudes and sentiments in the population, if propaganda is not to invite boomerangs." (Underscore mine).17

In their study of Allied propaganda toward the German troops during World War II, Shils and Janowitz observed that propaganda messages should be adjusted to the characteristics of social organization of the German army. For example, the

propaganda messages should be based on the fact that the Nazi troops were held tighter not so much through their understanding of the holy mission of war as through their identification with non-commissioned officers or platoon leaders.\textsuperscript{18}

In a \textit{Consumer Study}, Katz and Lazarsfeld characterized the communication researches as the effect study.

"... fundamentally, all of communications research aims at the study of effect. From the earliest theorizing on this subject to the most contemporary empirical research, there is, essentially, only one underlying problem--though it may not always be explicit--and that is, 'what can the media do?'\textsuperscript{19}

Myers and Raynold also contend:

"... the recipient (audience) really determines what the message will be, who will send it, and how it will be sent."\textsuperscript{20}

The problem of message in the tradition of marketing research seems to be that of presentation strategies. First, decide on the intended audience and then determine the sociological and psychological factors about the audience. Second, examine which format of presentation, under what con-

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dition, would be most effective in affecting their purchasing behavior (the formats include, for example, the one-sided or two-sided presentation, the presentation with or without conclusion, the key statement at the opening or closing part of presentation, and the like). Thirdly, fit the messages into the effective format and strategy. When the messages are determined this way, a crucial question concerning the message producer is how much they know and not who they are.

The term "communicator" refers to several different categories of people involved in the mass media communication. For example, in commercial advertisement, the communicator generally includes 1) the firm or corporation of product (or service) and, 2) the personality delivering the message. The communicator can be either one of the two or both. When loosely used, even the medium carrying the advertisement might be regarded as the communicator. This is also true in Innovation Diffusion and Election Campaign.

The communicators to be discussed in this thesis are different. They are the ones who produce the message. They are neither the source of information, nor the manuscript-readers. When the purposes of communication are set very specific, the message producers tend to become the communication engineers.

See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 276-290.
Commercial advertisements, public campaigns, innovation diffusion projects, war-time propaganda, and election campaigns all have one or two very specific purposes. The message producers (the communicators) involved in these operations are more likely to play the role of engineers. This seems to be one of the major reasons why practically no attention has been paid to message producers in studies of these activities.

On the other hand, the press in general has rather diffuse purposes. Information sources are varied and many. Information is not only given but quite often sought after. In the press, communication is partly technical and partly expressive. Involved in the communication of the press is goal-seeking as well as goal-implementation. Under these circumstances, the message producers become something more than communication engineers. In this context, the question of who they are takes on significance.

Katz and Lazarsfeld noted that one of the major theoretical breakthroughs in mass communication researches in the 1940's and 1950's was the "rediscovery of people" in the audience. Prior to this, the prevailing assumption regarding communication process put "the atomized individuals on one hand, the mass media on the other, and nothing in between."22 This assumption attributed tremendous power to

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mass media. But as certain predictions based on the assumption failed to materialize, there emerged the idea that interpersonal relations might be a relevant factor. With the discovery of "people" in the audience, the powerful mass media became an almost powerless message disseminator. Research attentions soon were directed toward various factors affecting selective exposure, retention, and perception, as well as personal influence networks, on the part of audience.

The discovery of "people" in the audience was followed by the call for a paralleling discovery of "people" in communicators. In the late 1950's Riley and Riley called attention to "the social structure surrounding the communicator."

"Like the recipient, the communicator has a cognitive structure through which he screens his perceptions and choices; he too has personal friends and reference groups; he too is part of a larger social structure made up of business concerns or manufacturers' associations or labor or farm or veterans' groups." 23

The recognition of communicator as a member of the social structure led Riley and Riley to propose a much more comprehensive "sociological model of the intercommunication between

members of communicator's groupings and of recipients." The model consists of three elements: 1) the communicator, like the recipient, is a member of a larger social structure of its own; 2) an over-all social system encompasses both the sub-system of communicator and the sub-system of recipient; and 3) between the communicator and recipient, there takes place both direct and indirect communication and feedback.\textsuperscript{24}

In the late 1960's De Fleur suggested an examination of mass media as an institution in its relationship with audiences, regulatory bodies, and financial backers.\textsuperscript{25} These components are perceived as related with other institutions through the network of mutual exchanges and direct and/or indirect feedbacks. For example, the products of mass media in the form of entertainment and advertising contents will affect the production and distribution sub-systems 1) by way of "market research and rating services" and, mostly, "advertising agencies" on one hand (mediated by money), and 2) by way of the governmental or voluntary regulatory agencies on the other hand (mediated mostly by vote or public opinion). These relationships are further perceived as being "heavily influenced by the general social, political, economic, and

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 577.

\textsuperscript{25} Melvin L. De Fleur, \textit{Theories of Mass Communication}, David McKay Co., New York, 1966, Chapter 8 "Mass Media as Social Systems," pp. 155-172. See, especially, Figure 9, p. 166.
cultural conditions that were current during the period when our mass media were developing and remain as important socio-cultural forces in the society which they operate."\(^{26}\)

Riley and Riley placed "the communicator as an individual" in the sub-systems of society. De Fleur placed "the communicator as an institution" in the context of social system. In an attempt to accommodate the two perspectives, Gerbner suggested a study of institutional pressures on mass communicators.\(^{27}\) Gerbner observed that "the collective fabric of their (communicators') 'personal' decisions" are shaped by conditions and "pressures from within and without the organization (of mass media)" such as "history and traditions, markets, creative talent, competitors, the size and location of operation, sources of supply, control over distribution channels, financial dependence and others."\(^{28}\) Mass communicators have "suppliers, distributors, and critics;...associations of their own;...professional counterparts;...clients..."\(^{29}\) All these conditions and roles have had "their cumulative impact on the mass communicator" with

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 168.


\(^{28}\) Ibid., p. 206.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., pp. 207-208.
regard to the latter's behavior as a communicator. For an analytical scheme of institutional behavior of mass communicator, Gerbner called for a more systematic study of communication along three dimensions of power: 1) power roles, 2) power sources, and 3) power functions. The thrust of the study would be to see how these dimensions affect what is being communicated.  

2) Models of Journalism

The press and/or journalists have long been under strong criticisms from both within the organization and from the larger society. The working journalists have complained about Governmental pressure and the publisher's interference in their reporting activities. The conservatives have accused the press of being too liberal and the radicals have decried the "status quo bias" of the press. The social scientists have been critical of the "trivia-filled" press.

Some criticisms are political in nature. For example, they point out that the press favors the upper class and tends to side with news sources in the Government machinery; that labor groups, minority groups, and the lower classes are rarely allowed adequate access to the press. In short, the charge is that the press is biased. Other criticisms are non-political and concerned mostly with the topics and

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types of articles printed. These criticisms charge that the press tends to prefer fact over truth, interesting over important events, action over idea, newsmaker over social structure, atypical over typical aspects and the like. In other words, the press has failed to orient man and society to the real world.

Assuming that there is some merit to these charges, a way to understand the functions of the press is to analyze it as a social product. There are seven major models representing this perspective. They are: Social Control model; Organizational Prerequisite model; Audience model; Work-Structure model; Nature-of-News model; Professionalism model; and Gatekeeper model.

The Social Control Model:
The Social Control model examines the relationship between the publisher (or executive) and working journalists (editor and/or staff reporter). This model presents a strong case that the publisher controls, either directly or indirectly, the press concerning what to print and how to treat the stories. The key elements of this model contend:
a) the publisher has his policy concerning the operations of the newspaper or radio-tv programs; b) the publisher usually has other business interests and business contacts with other industries. He is also a member of the upper class; c) the publisher usually doesn't want his newspaper to hurt his private and business interests and his personal
and business friends as well; d) the private interests of the publisher tend to operate as a latent policy; e) the press is a private business and the working journalists are employees; f) through various mechanisms the journalists have come to "sense" the policy and, for various reasons, they tend to follow the policy.

According to the Social Control model, the press is biased in favor of the private interest of the publisher who usually represents the upper class or power groups of society. One major evidence of this bias is the way the press is run and structured.

In an intensive interview study of the Washington correspondents in the late 1930's Rosten observed the unmistakable influence of the publishers' policy even in the news columns when it came to reporting a controversial matter.31 This becomes a problem because, unlike the editorial columns, the news columns ideally are supposed to be non-partisan and objective regardless of the nature of events (or issues) involved.

Rosten observed that the policy was perpetuated not so much by any kind of authoritarian device on the part of publishers but by anticipatory action on the part of correspondents. The correspondents in the nation's capital

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usually get the angles of the home office from the editorials, cartoons, features, and make-up in their newspaper. Another strong cue is the kind of treatment their own stories get in their newspapers. Correspondents have strong motivation to get their story printed and as prominently played up as possible. One sure way of achieving this is to write the story from the policy angle.\textsuperscript{32} Rosten quoted some editors as complaining that the correspondents sometimes "are trying too hard to please the boss."\textsuperscript{33}

In the early 1950's Breed conducted an intensive interview study of the publishers, editors, and staff reporters of medium-sized newspapers located in the northeastern quarter of the United States.\textsuperscript{34} Breed's findings substantiated Rosten's findings of social control in news reporting.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., pp. 225-226. Rosten also discussed some devices with which the correspondents might be able to beat the policy of the home offices. For example, "planting a story" is one of them. See ibid., p. 95. This device will be discussed later in this section in connection with the Work-structure model.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p. 226. The Washington correspondents these days seem to feel less pressure from the home offices. For example, 55\% of the correspondents in the late 1930's reported some experience of their stories played down, cut or killed for "policy reasons." But the proportion drastically decreased to 7\% in the 1960's. See William Rivers, \textit{The Opinionmakers}, Beacon Press, Boston, 1965, pp. 174-175, 177-178.

Some major conclusions reached by Breed are:

a) reporters produce the stories whose content, in most cases, conforms to the publisher's policy; b) the conformity generally is accounted for by some factors of the "dynamic socio-cultural situation of the newsroom;" c) "the newsman's source of reward is located...among his colleagues and superiors." Therefore, "instead of adhering to societal and professional ideals, he re-defines his values to the more pragmatic level of the newsroom group." In short, all these factors "conspire to induce the staffer (reporters) to 'take it easy' and follow policy as a line of least resistance."

Breed was "concerned primarily with the controversial 'policy' story in the news columns." He examined how the policy is implemented in actual practice. The key persons who see to it that the policy be reflected are editors. Breed noted that editors' relationship with their publishers seems to be harmonious with the editors anticipating the 'boss' wishes. For the staff reporters, the policy is more "sensed" than stated. According to Breed, the mechanism of "osmosis" takes many forms. For example, the reporters become aware of the policy from what appears in their papers.

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36 Breed, Newspapermen, News and Society, pp. 128-129.
37 Ibid., pp. 136-146.
They get some idea about the policy angles by observing and experiencing the way some articles are played up, cut down or killed. They also come to know the characteristics and interests of the publishers through gossip about the publisher, occasional exchange of opinion, editorial conference, house organ and others.

As implied by Rosten, Breed suspected that "a harmony of interest" exists between the publisher and outside groups (of ruling circles) and that the policy reflecting this interest is "transmitted, by sensing, down the line to the staff at his desk." On the other hand, Breed noted that there may be major factors counter-balancing the mechanism of social control.

In the early 1970's Garvey moved the research site to the newsrooms of television stations in California and tested Breed's "Social Control" hypothesis. Garvey started out initially by closely examining the character of control. He implied that the nature of control practiced in the newsroom is more likely to be "Quasi-control." Under a

38 Ibid., p. 364.

39 Daniel Edward Garvey, Jr., Social Control in the Television Newsroom, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1971. Garvey was able to get full cooperation from only 3 stations out of 24 stations approached.

40 The other two types of control are "absolute" and "limited" controls. See Garvey, op. cit., p. 93.
"quasi-control," no alternative of action is eliminated. A "quasi-control" is practiced through "manipulation of positive and negative reinforcements associated with given courses of action" which, in turn, "differentiate the attractiveness of the alternatives." The working of a "quasi-control" is "probabilistic" because what constitutes a sanction is basically "cultural" and "subjective." But Garvey assumes "various forms of reward or punishment which can be expected to be effective for most people under most circumstances." 41

Further, Garvey posits two types of control structures: "hierarchical" and "sequential." These two control structures are not mutually exclusive. In the newsroom situation, "every position in this (sequential) control (of news) is also a position in the hierarchical control structure." The hierarchical control is exercised downward. But in the sequential control of news, each news item is channeled from the bottom on upward. When these two control structures are put together, the effectiveness of control becomes dependent upon the degree of "self control" on the part of people located immediately below in the hierarchical structure. Without this "self control" anticipating the needs of the next higher level, persons in higher positions are very likely to be overburdened and the theoretically absolute

41 Ibid., pp. 59-62.
control becomes a very limited one in practice.

For Garvey, "social control in the newsroom consists of the limitations placed upon alternative courses of action in preparing the content of news program based upon the individual's subjective evaluation of the probability of each alternative resulting in approval or disapproval by other members of news staff."\(^{42}\) Garvey's concern was primarily with social control as it affects news content.\(^{43}\) He differentiates two types of control, that is, "managerial" and "social."\(^{44}\) Social control is a sub-category of "group control,"\(^{45}\) and this form of control emerges under the following conditions: a) where members of the newsroom have "both a knowledge of individual contribution to content (of program) and a close, continuing, social relationship through which control can be exercised;" and, b) where "the newsman knows his work is evaluated by his peer, and he comes to know that different social rewards and punishments are related to certain courses of action."\(^{46}\)

\(^{42}\) Ibid., pp. 102-103.

\(^{43}\) Garvey recognizes other types of control such as philosophical, legal, managerial, professional, and ethical controls.

\(^{44}\) For example, the conformity arising from such factor as "mobility aspiration" is categorized by Garvey as the "managerial control."

\(^{45}\) Garvey, op. cit., p. 103.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., p. 93.
Garvey's major concern was "to determine whether or not some forms of social control in the newsroom can be identified as causing news content to conform to the policy of the management of the news-producing station."\(^{47}\)

His major findings are as follows:

a) social control takes place at some television newsrooms, but the phenomenon doesn't appear to be universal;

b) the absorption of policy doesn't seem to guarantee the conformity of news content to the policy. There can be several factors intervening between the two. One example is the possibility of misconception of policy;

c) news content would conform more closely to actual policy than to perceived managerial policy.

In connection with the managerial control Garvey discusses the impact of trade union in television newsrooms.\(^{48}\) In the theoretical framework of Breed the managerial power to fire, hire, promote, demote and assign staff journalists was assumed to play a compelling role in staff compliance with policy. But unlike the case of the newspaper newsroom, the management of television stations have little authority over personnel action because of strong unions. Promotion "out of union" into executive position is less likely to be an incentive because it often

\(^{47}\) Ibid., p. 105.
\(^{48}\) Ibid., p. 71.
means a loss of security and overtime work. If social control takes place even where managerial control is weak, there must be some other factors involved in the process. According to Garvey, at least one of the factors is "the learning process for news values." Also, Garvey contends that a strong managerial policy doesn't necessarily mean more slant or bias. He found a case where "a high degree of control appears to protect rather than damage the integrity of the news."

In the late 1960's (several years prior to Garvey's study) Bowers conducted a nation-wide mail questionnaire survey of the managing editors of daily evening newspapers to estimate the publisher's activity in directing newsroom decisions. He found that the publishers were more likely to intervene in news decisions: a) in the news of local subjects, b) in areas likely to affect the revenues, and c) in areas involving themselves and their personal activity. In smaller newspapers (circulation of 15,000 copies or less) the publishers more often directed newsroom decisions.

Bowers' findings substantiated once again that publishers do influence news, but the amount of their inter-

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49 Ibid., p. 395.
50 Ibid., p. 366.
51 David R. Bowers, "A Report on Activity by Publishers in Directing Newsroom Decisions," Journalism Quarterly, 44:1, Spring 1967, pp. 43-52. Six hundred thirteen out of 1,402 newspapers returned the questionnaires. The return rate was 43.7%. 
vention was not as extensive as generally imagined. For example, in local news—the area where the publishers were found to be most active—only 11 percent of the publishers were reported to take active part in the handling of news. Also, in these situations, the publishers' directions were more likely to be expressed than implied.\textsuperscript{52}

In another study, Donohew investigated the extent to which publishers' attitudes are reflected in the columns of their respective newspapers.\textsuperscript{53} The publishers of 17 Kentucky afternoon newspapers subscribing to one news service were interviewed concerning their attitude toward the "Medicare" issues and their estimate of community opinion on the issues. The content of their newspapers was analyzed with regard to the same issues. Donohew found: first, "publisher attitude appeared to hold up as the great-

\textsuperscript{52} It will be remembered that Breed's findings say the opposite, that is: a) there is much intervention from the publisher, and, b) their directions tend to be implied. But it appears that the two studies (Breed's and Bowers') do not contradict each other because there would be less necessity of publisher's explicit intervention so long as the newsroom staff exercise "self control" in anticipation of publisher's needs in handling controversial news.

est single 'force' operating within the news channels;"\(^\text{54}\)
and second, "there was little or no relationship between the
coverage of the papers and the publishers' estimates of
community opinion on the issue."\(^\text{55}\)

The Organizational Prerequisite Model:

The Social Control model emphasizes intra-organizational
factors as they affect staff reporters with regard to news
content. The environmental factors are examined to the ex-
tent that they are related with the publishers. The pub­
lishers' personal interests (in most cases, private and extra
journalistic) are assumed to be the major force largely
determining the news content either through the on-the-job
socialization or self-censorship on the part of staff members.

In the Organizational Prerequisite model attention is
focused on the extra-organizational or environmental forces
as constraints on the press affecting the news content
through intra-organizational dynamics. The Government,

\(^\text{54}\) Ibid., p. 67. Other factors studied were the circu-
lation of newspaper, and political, cultural and economic
variables of the counties of each newspaper. The publisher
didn't intervene in areas where his vital interests were not
involved. Therefore, a question that should be asked also
was whether the "Medicare" issues were conceived of by the
publishers to be related to their vital interests. If the
answer was yes, the finding seems more likely to hold good.
If not, an alternative interpretation could be that the
coverage has been affected by staff journalists' attitude
which happens to coincide with that of their publishers.

\(^\text{55}\) Ibid., p. 68.
regulatory agencies, competing organizations, market or audience, and financial resources are presumed to shape the presentation format and content of news product. The survival of the organization and/or its growth is assumed to be the major preoccupation that draws a rather narrow boundary for most news decisions.

One example of the Organizational Prerequisite model is offered by Epstein in his study of three Network Televisions in the United States. Epstein examined the structures imposed on Network television news from without and the effect of internal procedure of Network news. His position was that individual staff members generally modify their values over a long term period to meet the needs of their organizations.

To a television station (like a radio station) the most threatening environmental force is the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)—a Governmental regulatory agency. The periodic renewal of license requirement gives the FCC potentially powerful control over the operation of television stations. This arrangement makes television media politically vulnerable because the President of the U.S. and the

Congress can exert their influences over them through the FCC. This is why the television media refrain as much as possible from taking a political position.

Two principles stipulated by the FCC—the Fairness Doctrine and the Public Interest, Convenience or Necessity Principle (PICON)—are especially well heeded by the television media because the FCC uses these principles as crucial criteria in reviewing the license renewal applications.

The Fairness Doctrine, as interpreted by the FCC, requires the television news to present both sides of a controversial issue. What matters is not whether the report is true but whether the report included both pro and con arguments.\(^\text{57}\) According to Epstein, television news has come to take the "Dialectical model" in observance of the Fairness Doctrine.\(^\text{58}\) But the problem arises from the fact that most controversies are complex and often more than two sides are involved. When forced into a pro-con model most controversial issues become oversimplified and consequently distort the real issues.\(^\text{59}\) Furthermore, the Dialectical model of presentation tends to favor organized groups because it is expedient to let the spokesmen speak. But there are some issues over which no opposition has been or can be organized. In these cases the issues are likely

\(^{57}\) Ibid., p. 66-68.
\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 66-67, 168-169.
\(^{59}\) Ibid., p. 266.
to be reported in the "Ironical model" in order to avoid the test of the Fairness Doctrine.  

The PICON principle requires television news to provide "as much information as possible from diverse and competing sources which is relevant to the needs of the communities it serves." A democratic society requires much information and varied viewpoints. But the number of television stations to be licensed in any community are limited because the airwaves are limited. One way to fulfill the democratic needs with a few stations is to require any single station to air several viewpoints. This seems to be one of the purposes of the PICON principle.

The FCC places a relatively high value on national news. According to Epstein, national news is one of the factors that makes the local television stations (the Affiliate stations) dependent on the Networks. But the FCC characterizes the affiliate stations basically as a community organization in the service of community needs. The FCC further holds the affiliate stations responsible for deter-

60 Ibid., pp. 169-170.
61 Ibid., p. 49.
62 A fourth rule is the "Equal Time" provision. But this provision is only applicable to election campaigns. Consequently its effect on the overall structure of television stations appears to be limited in comparison with the other three principles.
63 Epstein, News From Nowhere, p. 54.
mining what constitutes the public interest in their respective communities. In other words, the Networks are dependent on the affiliate stations for "clearance" of their programs. The Networks must have as many affiliate stations clear the airwaves in their respective communities for the Network program because the "clearance" would affect the program rating and the rating in turn would determine the amount of advertisement revenue—a lifeline for the Networks. Because of this mechanism, the producers of Networks tend to become "circumspect about proposing programs on subjects that might offend certain audiences or, more important, the affiliate-owners who are the gatekeepers for those audiences."

For the television Networks it is imperative to attract and/or to maintain a large audience. Audiences are more likely "inherited" from the preceding program. In other words, the audiences flow according to "the law of inertia than by free choice." Accordingly, it becomes crucial to build the audiences early in the evening. The news programs are believed to attract a limited number of new audience at best but lose a considerable portion of audience at worst. Therefore, the emphasis is placed on audience maintenance. According to Epstein, these considerations are held respon-

64 Ibid., pp. 51-53.
65 Ibid., p. 56.
66 Ibid., p. 93.
sible for the themes of potential conflict, action, easily recognizable images and forms of fictive story. 67

Because the news programs are less likely to draw new audiences and the point of diminishing return is rather low, the budget earmarked for news operations is rather limited. This limits the number of film crews for on-the-scene reporting. One way to efficiently use the limited number of film crew teams is to anticipate major events and assign the teams in advance. This mechanism favors scheduled events over unexpected ones. 68 Because of the limited budget the Network news programs tend to cover the events in and around the several metropolises where they have their own television stations. This biases the Networks news toward "certain geographical areas of the country." 69 The limited budget also makes it expedient to "focus attention on a relatively small group of news makers who are actively engaged in conflicts or contests for office." 70

Because of the necessity to save expenditure for transmitting filmed news, the Networks very often rely on airmail shipment of filmed news instead of expensive electronic

67 Ibid., pp. 261-263.
68 Ibid., p. 136, 260.
69 Ibid., p. 261.
70 Ibid., p. 261.
relay. The airmailed stories become dated by the time they are delivered to the Networks. This is one of the major reasons why filmed news from certain remote areas of the United States and foreign countries tend to become "timeless" pieces.\(^7\)

The Networks prefer the generalist correspondents over the specialists. This preference also can be attributed to several structural constraints imposed upon the Networks. First of all, the educational level of the average television viewer is known to be somewhat lower than that of the average population. The sophisticated viewers who might seek specialized news reports are found to have almost no effect on the "audience flow." Since FCC's Fairness Doctrine prevents the Networks from taking a position on controversial issues, the generalists, unlike the specialists, are assumed less likely to get "involved in a story to a point of advocacy." Related to this is the fact that it is easier for the producer or editor to control the generalists since he is not likely to know much more about the news than the producers. On the other hand, the specialists tend to know more about the news than everyone else. Another structural constraint is that the specialist is limited to the areas of his major interest. He cannot therefore be assigned to cover diverse events. This limitation on the part of the

specialist coupled with budgetary consideration generally force the Networks to select generalist correspondents.\textsuperscript{72}

What if a correspondent ignores some of these structural constraints and keeps filing reports in a manner that is contrary to the Network's policy? If his style of reporting is feared to cause serious problems for the Network vis-a-vis the FCC, he would be put on the "black list" of producers. Here it will be remembered that television news reporting is operated fundamentally through an assignment system. The importance of one's value as a correspondent to the organization is related to the nature of the assignments.

The coverage of important events establishes and reinforces the reputation (and ergo the value) of the correspondents. On the other hand, failure to get such important assignments soon reduces the importance or value of the particular correspondent to the organization. According to Epstein, this "blacklisting" is one of the strong control mechanisms to bring the correspondents into line with the Network policies.\textsuperscript{73} The main point of Epstein's Networks study is that "the pictures of society that are shown on television as national news are largely--though not entirely--performed and shaped by organizational consideration."\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., pp. 136-138.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., p. 76.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., p. 258.
The Audience Model:

This model assumes that news stories tend to be affected by the image that newsmen have of the audience. Two levels of audience types are differentiated here: manifest and latent audiences. The manifest audience for newsmen is the general public. But evidences show that newsmen usually write their stories with their publishers or managements, news sources, and/or colleague journalists in mind. These latent audiences exert influences because they provide immediate evaluations and feedbacks. On the other hand, feedback from the general public is mostly distant, indirect, and inarticulate.

Pool and Shulman found that newsmen's image of audiences tend to bear on their story-writing. First, while writing a story, newsmen usually think of some person(s) or group(s) other than the "average middle-class man who buys this newspaper"; secondly, one type of newsmen (whose image of audiences is positive and who tries to win favor from the audiences) tends to write positive stories and would have trouble reporting negative facts, while another type of newsmen (with

a flow of unusually critical imaginary interlocutors) tends to "report good news inaccurately, for it does not serve the purpose of his fantasies"; thirdly, "the population of interlocutors" in the newsman's mind (latent audiences) tends to remain relatively constant over time.

The idea of latent audiences provides a useful common ground for some different models. For example, the Social Control model, Organizational Prerequisite model, and Workstructure model (to be discussed later) can be understood, in part, from the Audience model perspective. The publisher in the Social Control model, the management in the Organizational Prerequisite model, and the news sources in the Workstructure model all have one thing in common in that they are the latent and immediate audiences for newsmen in the Audience model.

Rosten observed that Washington correspondents were very sensitive to the feedbacks from their publisher or editors at the home offices. (The similar observation was made by Breed in his study of the newsrooms in the Eastern part of the United States.) Epstein pointed out how receptive Network TV correspondents are to their management which, in turn, is very sensitive to the FCC and the affiliate stations.

Also Rosten and Epstein noted, newsmen cannot afford to antagonize their major news sources. Here, there is a reciprocal relationship between the news source and the
newsmen. Newsmen are dependent upon the source for information and this source of information is often dependent upon the newsmen for publicity. In a study of the City Hall "beat" in a suburban California city, Gieber and Johnson found that reporters maintained closer social distance with news sources and colleague newsmen than with their anonymous readers.76 Some City Hall beat reporters were reported admitting, "with some disgust," that they "found themselves writing for the sources, not their editors or audience."77 The City Hall officials seemed to perceive "a negative loyalty" on the part of the beat reporters in the sense that "they won't do the 'city' an injustice in a dispute."78 Furthermore, the beat reporters and their sources were found to "share some elementary values" such as an avoidance of conflict.79 The sources sometimes were known to seek advice from the reporters on city business.80 Through these interactions the reporters in many cases come to "find themselves a part of the governmental process," especially, in a show-
This interdependent relationship tends to make reporters unofficial spokesmen of news sources. Many agree with this observation. But some suspect that the "consensus" approach vis-a-vis news sources may be found more often among the reporters of local papers in smaller communities, than in larger metropolitan newspapers. To put it differently, the larger the size of the community, the more likely are the reporters to take a "conflict" approach.

The third latent audience are colleague-reporters. There are two types of colleagues for reporters. One consists of reporters covering the same news area but who work for competing media organizations and the other consists of fellow reporters working within the same news organization but who cover overlapping or neighboring news areas. These reporters constitute a powerful reference group as competitors, as cooperators, and always as evaluators. Newsmen avidly read their own paper, competing papers, and papers from metropolitan centers (regional or national centers). They do this partly in search of "news" and partly because

81 Ibid., p. 296.

of an "obsessional fear" of being "scooped." Breed observed "the dendritic pattern of influence exercised by leading newspapers" with regard to both professional and technical norms. Tunstall observed that competitor-colleague norms require a sharing of routine information and some reciprocity in general exchange of information. On the basis of this observation he hypothesized that "cooperation would be greatest where competition is thought to be greatest" and also where "the pressure from the news organization towards competition and 'scoops'" is strongest.

The Audience model points out that latent audience exerts great influence in news reporting. But there has been no serious attempt to analyze the relative effects of the three major latent audiences on different reporters and in relation to issues or events.

The Work-Structure Model:

In both the Social Control and the Organizational Pre-requisite models the staff journalists are not given much independence in news decisions. They are perceived as

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84 Breed, op. cit., pp. 194-196.
generally conforming to the publisher's policy and organizational constraints. But the Work-Structure model, like the Professionalism model, recognizes some room for independent maneuvering on the part of the journalists.

There are two main positions in the Work-Structure model. First, the newsman's work is done generally beyond the reach of observation by the management. The less observable the work, the less subject to control it becomes. In other words, there is some built-in work structure whereby newsmen maintain considerable amount of autonomy in their news activities. Second, newsmen develop some mechanism with which to manage and reduce the uncertainty and competition to a tolerable level. Informal exchange of information among colleague-journalists and "planting stories" in newspapers other than their own are some forms of cooperation among journalists to "beat" the policy. Both Rosten and Breed recognized this mechanism even though their respective studies were based on the Social Control model.

Rosten observed among the Washington correspondents in the 1930's a practice of exchanging carbon copies of news articles. This form of cooperation was possible and seemed necessary because of: 1) variations in news markets (e.g., when a correspondent from the eastern area comes across stories relevant to the western region, he passes the information on to a friend correspondent from the western region); 2) variation of readers' interest (e.g., a
correspondent whose major audiences are farmers can give industry-related news to a colleague correspondent whose major audiences are industrial workers); and 3) differences in newspaper policy (e.g., a correspondent working for a Republican paper passes pro-Democrat news to his colleague correspondent working for a Democratic paper). 86

An interesting co-operative device was (and still is) to "plant a story" in someone else's newspaper. This device was employed when a correspondent wanted to circumvent the policy of the home office. For example, a correspondent digs out very important news. But he knows that his newspaper would kill the story because it doesn't conform to the controller's policy. So, he leaks some piece of the news to the correspondent from a competing newspaper and lets him break the news before he himself files in a fuller and in-depth story to his newspaper. Since management cannot ignore a big news, his story is unlikely to be shelved even if it is counter to policy. 87

Breed relates the degree of autonomy for working newsmen with the type of news stories depending on the story initiator. For example, newsmen have virtually no autonomy in policy or campaign stories. They also don't

86 Rosten, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
87 Ibid., p. 95.
have much leeway in handling the stories assigned by the editors. Concerning the stories covering the "beat," they tend to enjoy more autonomy. But when it comes to self-initiated stories, newsmen are given greater freedom. 88

One effective device of newsmen in imposing their own marks vis-a-vis the policy of the publisher is built in the report-news source relationship. 89 This device is especially effective for those assigned to cover important agencies of the government. Rule number one for newsmen is to "keep news sources open." Mass media depend heavily upon the quality of relationship that their newsmen maintain with important news sources. Even if the policy of newspaper requires it, newsmen cannot always write articles critical of their news sources because these sources provide information generally in exchange for favorable publicity. 90 

In the case where the policy of newspaper is pro-source, reporters often employ some devices (e.g., "planted story") to get anti-source articles printed. By maintaining a delicate balance between pro- and anti source or pro- and anti policy postures, newsmen enhance their prestige and


89 Ibid., pp. 368, 401, 403, 407.

90 There are other reasons. Inter or intra organizational conflict or personal strife sometimes lead to news leakage. Also for purposes of trial balloon the government officials provide information to newsmen.
thereby increase their autonomy. In fact, newsmen are more loyal to their "beats" than to their news organizations. Obligation to the sources, pressure from the sources, or socialization into the sources' value system are attributed to be the reasons newsmen become "spokesmen" for their beats.

In his case study of a major metropolitan newspaper,91 Stark examined the conflicting needs of policy implementation and organizational survival. Loyal reporters ("locals") were less qualified for the job and therefore dysfunctional to the organization for survival in a competitive market. On the other hand, qualified reporters ("pros") were less loyal and consequently dysfunctional to the organization in policy implementation. The organizational necessity to keep some qualified reporters provides the "pros" with "independent power resources" to withstand the policy pressure to some extent.92 Stark saw three major "weapons" to "beat the policy or control."93 One is the weapon of commission, that is, "the


92 The sources of power for the "pros" include two other related factors. One is that the "pros" tend to have contacts with important news sources. The other is that they usually have more relevant facts available.

93 Stark, op. cit., pp. 27-29. On the other hand, Stark also discusses the various mechanisms that the management employs in order to keep the management-pros conflicts from getting out of control. See ibid., p. 23.
techniques for getting anti-policy material into print."
The "pros" can sometimes distract their editors (the publisher's man) away from his article by handling an important news item casually thereby bypassing the policy man. The "pros" can now and then file in an important story just before the deadline, practically depriving the editor of control. The "pros" can also resort to the device of the "planted story."

The second weapon is one of omission, that is, "the ways of keeping policy material out of print." This can be done: 1) by holding back materials that can be played up "out of proportion" for policy purpose, and, 2) by taking time in locating materials necessary for policy articles.

The third weapon is, "the styles of writing which moderate policy without actually censoring it." Stark explains this by quoting one editor: "You can make a man write clearly and correctly, but you can not make him put guts and jazz into copy when he doesn't want to."\textsuperscript{94}

Tunstall revealed two types of autonomy among special correspondents: 1) autonomy from news sources, and 2) autonomy from their news organization. In the former case, Tunstall categorized goals of articles: Advertising goals (e.g., fashion and motoring stories), Audience goals

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., p. 28.
(e.g., crime and football stories), Mixed goals (e.g., aviation, education, and labor stories), and Non-revenue goals (e.g., parliamentary stories and foreign news). Advertising goal newsmen are under strong control by news sources especially when these news sources coincide with prominent advertisers. The degree of autonomy from news sources is likely to increase as the stories relate more closely to non-revenue goal type. In this regard, foreign correspondents have greater autonomy in relation to news sources. 95

According to Tunstall autonomy from news organization is related to the degree of observability. An activity is more likely to enjoy autonomy when it takes place beyond the reach of direct surveillance. Here, Tunstall differentiates between two types of newsmen: the newsgatherer and the news processor. 96 The news processors work in the newsroom and come under direct surveillance of the controllers. The newsgatherers spend more of their working hours outside the newsroom and consequently enjoy more autonomy. 97

The degree of autonomy for the newsmen seems to be greater: 1) when he maintains good relationships with important sources, 2) when he has specialized knowledge in the areas he handles, 3) when he enjoys higher status and

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95 Tunstall, *Journalists at Work*, pp. 119-120, 149.
96 Ibid., pp. 30-36.
97 Ibid., p. 138.
greater prestige, and 4) when he has extra income sources and, therefore, is less dependent on the news organization.

In the process of news gathering, Tunstall feels that there is more cooperation among colleague newsmen on the same "beat" to reduce uncertainty (e.g., of being scooped) and to increase their autonomy when there is more competitive pressure from the news organization.98

The Nature-of-News Model:
This model assumes that the news dictates a story. In this model newsmen are given the role of a passive gatekeeper since events are perceived to come to them. When put in an extreme form, this model tends to regard the press as a mirror reflecting the society. Also there are two views regarding news as events. News is generally defined as unexpected happenings. But another view regards news as events expected but unpredictable. According to Park, "If it is the unexpected that happens, it is not the wholly unexpected that gets into the news...births and deaths, weddings and funerals, the condition of the crops and of business, war, politics and the weather. These are expected things, but they are at the same time the unpredictable

98 Ibid., pp. 218-249.
things...things that one fears and that one hopes for...”

Also, not all the news is printed in newspapers or broadcast through electronic media. The limited space and time require some selectivity in the news. The question then is: what kinds of news assert themselves through newspaper space or airwaves? In a study of the structure of foreign news reported in Norwegian newspapers Galtung and Ruge examined various aspects of events that are considered more likely to get the events printed.100 They first classified two groups of factors. One is held to be relatively "culture-free" and the other considerably "culture-bound." Under a "culture-free" condition an event is more likely to be reported by mass media: a) the more similar its frequency101 is with that of media, b) the stronger its signal and the greater its amplitude, c) the less ambiguous, d) the more culturally close and relevant.


101 The term "frequency" refers to "the time-span needed for an event to unfold itself and acquire meaning."
e) the more predictable, f) the more unexpected,\textsuperscript{102} g) to the extent it was reported before, and h) to the degree it is under-represented as compared to other areas of news.\textsuperscript{103}

The "culture-bound" factors are differential orientations "influencing the transition from events to news." They are: a) elite nation centered vs. non-elite nation centered, b) elite people centered vs. non-elite people centered, c) person centered vs. structure centered, and d) negative centered vs. positive centered.\textsuperscript{104}

According to Galtung and Ruge, the social system and historical stage would determine the differential combination of these four aspects and, consequently, the structure of news. For example, the news structure in the Western countries is more likely to be oriented toward elite nations, elite person, personification, and negativization. On the other hand, in the Soviet Union the news is more likely to be structured around elite nations and elite persons (big power orientation) and social structure and positive aspects (socialist orientation). But with regard to news of Capital-

\textsuperscript{102} It will be recalled that Robert E. Park defined news as events expected but unpredictable. To the extent that news is perceived as something people know about, Park and Galtung seem to be in agreement.

\textsuperscript{103} Galtung and Ruge, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 261-265, 269-270.

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 265-269.
ist countries, the news structure of the Soviet Union might take a different form, such as negativization and a combination of personification and social structure. In the case of newly independent developing nations the news structure would take a pattern of "non-elite nation, elite person, personification, and positive aspects" for reports concerning themselves, but a different pattern for news involving former colonial powers.105

In a study of television news editors in some Midwestern states, Buckalew found that news facets or dimensions of news would affect the probability of the news stories being used.106 A pool of 64 news stories representing various facets of news were presented to 12 television news editors for sorting in rank order from "most probably use" to "least probably use." News stories were found more likely to be chosen when they contained conflict, high impact, proximate, and timely elements. Although the editors were generally alike in their selection of news stories, small community editors appeared to value proximate items high whereas large community editors played up timeliness and conflict items.

105 Ibid., p. 269. Galtung and Ruge discuss these news structures mostly in the form of hypothesis requiring empirical test.

In another study of newspaper and television news editors, Clyde and Buckalew found conflict, proximity, and timely news elements more highly valued than high impact or known principal elements.¹⁰⁷

The Professionalism Model:

This model assumes that news content is controlled to a considerable extent by the professional orientation or ethics of newsmen. The professional orientation or ethics help newsmen maintain their standards against pressures from publishers and news sources. In contrast to the Social Control and Organizational Prerequisite models, the Professional model tends to empathize with the aspect of upward control of news content.

Recently some mass media scholars began to show interest in professionalization of newsmen. Their interests were not so much in the professionalization of the press as an occupation but, instead, the professional orientation of individual newsmen. By assuming that some newsmen are more professionally oriented than others, they shifted the concept of professionalization from an attribute of the press to a variable in the occupation.

McLeod and Hawley constructed a Professional Orientation index and demonstrated its usefulness in their study of editorial employees of two Milwaukee newspapers. The Professional Orientation index is based on the newsmen's subjective evaluation concerning 24 job characteristics. McLeod and Hawley also constructed a Professional Implementation index with 13 questions involving several aspects of their performance and activities. They found that the professionally oriented newsmen strongly desire changes in the direction of Professional Implementation.

In a replication of the McLeod and Hawley study, Eapen found that the more professionally oriented Indian journalists more strongly want professional enhancements in journalism. On the other hand, Nayman found that the differential degree of Professional Orientation does not have significant effects on the Professional Implementation score among Turkish journalists. All the Turkish journalists


109 McLeod and Hawley also found: a) "the Professionals use somewhat different standards of judgement,... b) "the Professional group exhibits the more distinctive set of specific judgements," c) "the Professionals exhibit significantly greater homogeneity of judgement," and, d) "the Professionals are more critical of their newspapers."

generally subscribed to more professional enhancement.\footnote{111}

In the early 1970's Lattimore and Nayman took another approach and examined the relationship between subjective Professional Orientation and actual performance reflected in newspaper columns.\footnote{112} They obtained a Professional Orientation score for individual journalists of 26 daily newspapers in Colorado. For a Performance index they selected 10 out of 26 newspapers and developed an index score for each of the 10 newspapers by analyzing article content.\footnote{113} The relationship between Professional Orientation and Performance was examined for the 10 newspapers for which the Performance index was computed. Lattimore

\footnote{111 Oguz B. Nayman, \textit{Professional Orientation of Metropolitan Turkish Journalists: A Communicator Analysis}, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970. Nayman speculated several reasons for the phenomenon. One interpretation is that the professional orientation among the metropolitan Turkish journalists may be actually high. The other reason is that differences among the three professional groups may not have been detected because of a ceiling effect. The third alternative explanation is that Turkish journalists may have reacted indiscriminately with naive enthusiasm because they had just begun experiencing the coming of age after a century of neglect and oppression. See \textit{ibid.}, pp. 224-225.}


\footnote{113 Significance, Accuracy, Diversity, and Comprehensiveness were the four aspects of news coverage involved in the Performance index.}
and Nayman found a positive and significant relationship between subjective Professionalism and actual Performance.

Most of the studies discussed above also examined who were more likely to be professionally oriented. The comparisons were between newsmen or between newsmen and non-editorial employees. Somewhat different from these studies was the study by Leroy who tried to compare the levels of Professionalism of television newsmen with those of 12 other occupations.114 Leroy used Richard Hall's 50-item Professional Scale involving 5 dimensions of Professionalism: 1) professional organization as a reference group, 2) belief in public service, 3) belief in self-regulation, 4) sense of calling to the field, and, 5) feeling of autonomy.

According to Leroy, the level of professionalism of the television newsmen in his sample fell between the 9th and 10th ranks of Hall's 12 occupations. Television newsmen alone (excluding cameramen and other miscellaneous personnel) occupied the 9th rank.115 In addition, Leroy selected 6 background variables to see which one explained the variation in professionalism among television newsmen. The background variables included market size, age, years in


115 Ibid., p. 54.
broadcast journalism, years of education, college major and newspaper experience. Out of these 6 variables only the size of market showed a significant association with the degree of professionalism. According to Leroy "market size does not 'cause' higher professionalism, but it perhaps facilitates and rewards its existence in television journalists." 116

In another study Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman examined the Professional values of newsmen. 117 By "Professional Values" they meant orientation concerning "Media Functions," which, in effect were similar to the "Professional Implementation" concept. This study draws attention because it is probably the first nation-wide study of mass media communicators ever attempted in the United States. The study also cut across all major mass media--daily and weekly newspapers, news magazines, wire services, radio and television stations, and networks.

From the responses to 8 questions about media functions they constructed a typology of newsmen--participant and neutral newsmen. American newsmen were found oriented more to "participant" than to "neutral" media functions.

116 Ibid., pp. 57-58.

Investigative reporting and analysis-interpretation appeared to be highly valued by newsmen. 118

Several aspects of newsmen's social and professional characteristics were examined to find out how these aspects were related to "participant" and "neutral" orientation. A regression analysis indicated that "participant" newsmen are more likely to be found among younger journalists with high education, working in an urban environment and in closer social relations within the professional community. On the other hand, "neutral" newsmen are more likely to be found among older journalists with more responsible organizational position, living in a smaller city, and with a wider community involvement. 119

The Gatekeeper Model:

In a broad sense, any study of journalists and their news activities is a gatekeeper study. But the term "Gatekeeper model" has a very special application. Comparisons with the Social Control and Work-Structure models will reveal the difference.

First, the Social Control model deals mostly in gatekeeping on a collective basis, while the Gatekeeper model is concerned generally with gatekeeping on an individual basis.

118 Ibid., p. 527.
119 Ibid., pp. 536-540.
Second, the Social Control model examines structural and/or situational aspects of news gathering and processing, whereas the Gatekeeper model probes into the effects of newsman's personality and/or attitudes on news activities. Third, the Social Control model assumes a downward control. The Gatekeeper model, on the other hand, stresses the importance of upward control exercised by the rank and file reporters. Fourth, the Social Control model gives the publishers the power of commissioning news stories, whereas the Gatekeeper model sees the power of reporters in omitting news materials. In short, the two models are diametrically opposed to each other.\textsuperscript{120}

The Gatekeeper model is different from the Work-Structure model in one aspect. For the former, one major question is how the personality and attitude of reporters affect news contents. For the latter, an important question is what aspects of work structure help reporters preserve their autonomy and in what way. On the other hand, the Gatekeeper and Work-Structure models have one thing in common. Both models deal with some aspects of upward control of news content, that is, how the journalists control the management and/or publisher.

\textsuperscript{120} The comparisons of the two models are based mostly on Garvey, \textit{Social Control in the Television Newsroom}, pp. 49-50.
In the late 1940's White examined how one wire editor of a Midwestern newspaper selected the news. White found that gatekeeping is subjective and is based on the person's own set of experiences, attitudes, and expectations.

In a study of telegraph editors of 16 Wisconsin dailies receiving only one wire service, Gieber contradicted White's observations and concluded that "his (editor's) personal evaluations rarely entered into his selection (of news items) process." In terms of the reasons for selecting any news item there were considerable differences among editors. But in terms of the types of news items selected and displayed there were no major differences. Gieber attributed this phenomenon to "the pressure exerted by the reality of the newsroom bureaucratic structure and its operation" and "the values of his employers." Gieber contended that "the reporter's individuality (in handling news) is strongly tempered by extra-personal factors."

Van Tubergen examined both attitudes and stereotypes of editors and reporters with regard to their impact on handling


news involving a minority race (negroes). His findings show that one type of newsmen tends to describe negroes in traditional-positive ways and another type depicts negroes as contemporary middle-class peers, and that a third type of journalists tends to picture them in traditional-negative way.

Flegel and Chaffee studied reporters as gatekeepers. They found that: 1) "...the reporters on both papers were strongly directed in their reporting by their own opinions. The views of their editors and readers, at least where they differed from their personal opinion, were much less influential." And, 2) "...they (reporters) ignored external social pressures, including those within their own occupational bureaucracies, but did not ignore their own personal convictions...and that this process was apparently a very conscious one."  


125 Ibid., p. 650. Flegel and Chaffee consider these findings "quite tentative" because "the sample of reporters is small and control variables are missing. Correlational data data are open to many interpretations" and further because it is plausible that "their editors may deliberately select them (reporters) to report on persons or positions with which they (reporters) sympathize."
3) **A Role Dimensions Model:**

The seven models discussed in the preceding section generally describe the major aspects of forces involved in the flow of news. Considered separately, each of these models offers a coherent and convincing perspective. What would be interesting is to examine the possible interactions between and/or among the different forces. A perspective of role model proposed in this thesis is hopefully a step in the direction of an integrated approach.

This thesis takes two positions. One is that, with all the restrictions imposed on journalists, it still seems important to examine how journalists define their roles and to what extent the upward control of news operates. This position is based on the principle of "self-fulfilling prophecy."  

In this context, role study takes on significance because people are likely to act out roles in which they believe are appropriate. But the understanding of conceptions of various roles in isolation may not be of much help. Like cognition and attitude, roles also are presumed to have structures among themselves. To that extent, it seems appropriate to broaden the areas of roles and examine their structures. This is the second position of this thesis.

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In terms of control patterns, the seven different models (discussed in the preceding section) can be grouped into three major perspectives. The Social Control and Organizational Prerequisite models examine mostly the process of downward control. The Professionalism, Nature-of-News, and Gatekeeper models explore chiefly the process of upward control. The Work-Structure and Audience models occupy the position between the two perspectives, sometimes working in one direction and other times in the opposite direction, depending on specific situations.

What are the kinds of restrictions that journalists are placed under? The Social Control model regards the publisher's policy as one major constraint. The Organizational Prerequisite model considers the government regulations and audiences to be constraining factors. Parts of both Audience and Work-Structure models take news sources (of the established agencies) as a significant factor, influencing journalists in their news activities. A discussion of these constraining factors follows.

In his study of three television Networks, Epstein revealed how seriously the regulations of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) affects Network news.¹²⁷ But the FCC regulations are concerned generally with the format of

¹²⁷ Epstein, News From Nowhere.
news presentation. For example, the Fairness Doctrine—one of the key regulatory criteria—requires television news to include pro and con arguments of any important issues. The Doctrine doesn't appear to decide which issue is important. The decision appears to be left very much at the discretion of newsmen. So long as newsmen can decide on which issues are worth reporting, there remains much room for newsmen to report events they consciously or unconsciously consider appropriate.

In many countries the government controls not only the format of news presentation but also the content of news. However, in most of these countries, the government's control of news content is not comprehensive. So long as the press doesn't attack their political sacred cow or threaten the power base, many authoritarian governments are not involved in severe censorship.128

Restrictions imposed by the publisher's policy generally apply to policy stories. The proportion of non-policy stories generally is fairly large. Bowers reported that even in controversial areas, the publishers in the United States are not very active in influencing "use, content or display of news." For example, "approximately two-thirds of the publishers (of the newspapers sampled) were reported (by managing

128 There remains one important question: What else is left to be worth reporting if issues fundamental to politics are not allowed to be reported and discussed?
editors) seldom or never active" in the most active area, that is, local news. When it comes to foreign and international news, 88 percent of the publishers were reported seldom or never active.129

The publisher's policy becomes a constraint to the newsmen only when it clashes with their news value and role conception. As Breed indicated, there can be several different relationships between the newsmen's orientation and the publisher's policy.130 Some examples of these relationships are: 1) newsmen have an orientation similar to that of the publisher; 2) newsmen who have been socialized into making the publisher's policy their own through on-the-job association; and 3) newsmen who follow the policy for fear of possible dismissal or unattractive assignment.

The third type of relationship poses a genuine problem. One major mechanism that makes the publisher's social control of newsmen possible is managerial unilateral action (e.g., hiring, assigning, firing). However, it should be remembered that newsmen are rarely fired for policy reasons. Also, the emergence of the union organization has almost made impossible such unilateral action. As Garvey pointed out in his study of television stations in the United States, management has


little authority over personnel action because of strong unions.131 This counter-vailing influence of unions seems to have a sweeping effect. In France the journalists of two leading newspapers recently won editorial control from the management. In Germany the staff members of one weekly won the right to select their own editor-in-chief. In the United States, at least at one newspaper, the appointment of a joint journalist-management committee was agreed upon to "guarantee honesty in the news."132 In Japan the trade union of journalists at some news agencies and newspapers is known to be very strong. In Korea the staff members of one leading newspaper recently won the right to organize a union.133 It appears that newsmen had begun to raise a serious question: "Is freedom of the press only the publisher's freedom? What about the journalist's freedom?"134

There are other work-related factors that may operate to oppose the policy of the publisher. First, events deter-

131 Garvey, Social Control in Television Newsroom, p. 71.


133 See, for example, "Dong-A Ilbo Kija-nojo ui Sung-myongsuh" (Announcement by the Reporters' Union of the daily Dong-A Ilbo), Kija-hyophoe-po (the Organ of the Korean Reporters' Association), April 5, 1974, p. 3.

134 Rivers, et al., op. cit., p. 3. It seems, however, that the immediate goal of journalists' unions, in many cases, may be directed not so much at the freedom of press as at the security of job.
mine the universe of news. A publisher can hardly force a newsman to report non-existent events. Also the frequency and diversity of news events make close managerial supervision virtually impossible. Furthermore, as discussed in connection with the Work-Structure model, newsmen, not the publisher, are in close touch with news events and news sources. In general newsmen are in a position to screen the initial input into the news processing channel which, in turn, is very likely to shape the day's news.

News sources are also known to impose constraints upon newsmen. This is possible because it is necessary for newsmen to keep their news sources open. When a newsmen has been assigned to a specific "beat" and develops friendship with news sources, he is very likely to become a spokesman for the news source. But there are two types of newsmen in their attitude toward news sources. One is "in" newsmen. The other is "out" newsmen. The "ins" tend to play along with their news sources and generally protect their sources. But the "outs" generally snoop around, delve into investigative stories, and, unlike the "ins," do not hesitate to ask critical questions.135 The "ins" also try to instill in their news sources the tradition of journalism in order

to maintain a balance between favorable and unfavorable stories.\(^{136}\)

What has been revealed so far is that, in spite of constraints imposed upon them, there can actually exist considerable room for newsmen to exercise some freedom in their reporting. These potentialities of upward control of news reporting have some structural guarantees. The limited visibility of news-gathering activities and cooperative measures among competing newsmen provide a structural setting whereby newsmen can maneuver to exercise their freedom and express their views in the newspapers.

There are many restrictions imposed upon journalists in the process of their enactment of self-conceived roles. But as revealed in the preceding discussions, not all the restrictions are all-embracing, formidable, and consistent. Pressures from two different sources are likely to offset each other, leaving some room where people can realize somewhat their self-defined roles. Role enactors can sometimes

\(^{136}\) Before going further, one reminder may be in order. Discussions of constraints imposed upon newsmen tend to imply that the undesirable biases of the press arise from all these controls over newsmen. But unless working journalists are assumed to be perfect, all-knowing, and without self-interest, this is not true. It is argued that strong control from the publishers sometimes can help preserve the integrity of news reporting. See, for example, Walter Gieber, "How the 'Gatekeepers' View Social Civil Liberties News," Journalism Quarterly, 37:2, Spring 1960, p. 202; Garvey, op. cit., pp. 365-6, 374-5; Rosten, op. cit., pp. 234-5; and Tunstall, op. cit., p. 125.
maneuver in such a way that they can play off one pressure with another pressure. ¹³⁷ Even when external restrictions are strong, the urge to act out self-conceived roles may not be totally suppressed. Situations often emerge where one's self-conceived role is given the opportunity to emerge and exhibit itself.

To the extent that it stresses the upward control of news process, the role model of this thesis shares the general orientation of the Professionalism, Nature-of-News, and Gatekeeper models. But the role model is not a mere aggregate of the three models. First of all, the area of study is expanded to include role sectors concerning the press-society relationships. Also, major efforts are made to seek theoretically relevant bases that will provide a coherent explanation for the apparently diverse areas of roles. These will be the tasks assigned to the following two chapters.

¹³⁷ This maneuvering seems to be possible only if pressure sources have relatively the same degree of powers and their interests are conflicting. In other words, news­men are likely to have much more leeway in a society where subsystems enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy. But this doesn't seem to be the case in many countries where the government exercises a disproportionately greater power over all other subsystems.
III. AN ANALYSIS OF ROLE THEORY

1) The Concept of Role:

The concept of role has been recognized for some time to be very useful in studying human behaviors and society in general. According to Parsons, role is one of the major building blocks of the social system. When actions are structured, they constitute role(s). When roles are organized, they become institutions(s). When institutions are integrated, they form social structure(s).\(^1\) Katz and Kahn give role concept a central place in their theory of (formal) organization by defining organizations as role systems.\(^2\)

Gerth and Mills use the concept of role as a key term in their study of personal character and social structure. For them, social role represents the meeting point of individual organism and the social structure.\(^3\) According to them, the concept of role makes it possible "to link the private and the public; the innermost acts of the individual with the widest kinds of social historical phenomena."\(^4\)

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4 Ibid., p. xvi.
Berger and Luckmann consider the concept of role particularly important in the analysis of mediations between the objective and subjective reality. They observe: "the two analyses (macroscopic and microscopic) can be brought together only if one inquires into the ways in which the individual, in his total social activity, relates to the collectivity in question. Such an inquiry will, of necessity, be an exercise in role analysis." 5

Turner also regards the concept of role as "central in those sociological analyses which seek to link the functioning of social order with the characteristics and behavior of the individuals who make it up." 6

With all these potentialities and frequent uses in studies, there seems to be a "lack of consensus" concerning the concept role. Neiman and Hughes characterized the status of role concept as "still rather vague, nebulous, and non-definitive." 7

In an effort to seek elements of similarity in usages


and implications of the role concept, Neiman and Hughes categorized various definitions of role concept into three groups. Their criterion seems to be the areas of study interest in terms of the levels of human organization. The first group includes the definitions of role "in terms of the dynamics of personality development." This group is subdivided into two: "role as the basic factor in the process of socialization" and "role as a cultural pattern." The second group comprises the "functional definitions (of role) in terms of specific groups." This group also is sub-divided into two: "role as activated status" and "role as assumption of, or assignment to the performance of a member of a group." The third group consists of the "functional definitions (of role) in terms of society as a whole." This group again is sub-divided into two: "role as a social norm" and "role as a synonym for behavior."8

Gross and his associates categorized the definitions of role into three major groups: 1) "role as normative patterns," 2) "role as actor's orientation to his situation," and 3) "role as behavior of actors occupying social positions." They attribute these definitional variations to the differences in the definer's disciplines and interest areas. For example, anthropologists generally define role in terms of normative patterns and focus their attention to "positions

8 Ibid., pp. 142-147.
in a total society." Sociologists tend to see both normative standards and actual behaviors in the concept of role and pay special attention to "interaction situations." Psychologists are likely to narrow the scope of role concept to the "individual's perception of a single interaction situation."9

On the basis of the recurrent common elements that Neiman and Hughes found in their extensive literature review, the concept of role can be defined as "organized and integrated patterns of behavior" defined by individual(s) or group(s) in connection with a specific situation.10 On the other hand, according to Gross and his associates, role can be defined as behavior expected of individuals in social locations (positions or status).11

When the two definitions (Gross, et al., and Neiman and Hughes) are combined, the concept of role can be defined in terms of 4 dimensions. They are: 1) attitude (or intended behavior, 2) expected by whom, 3) of whom (occupying what position), and 4) under what circumstances.

In Table 3-1-1, the major definitions of role are compared in terms of these four dimensions. Only the elements


10 Neiman and Hughes, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

explicitly stated are chosen to fill the cells. Some definitions do not include all of the four dimensions. Some definitions carry some implied elements. Elements vaguely implied are not spelled out. In the following discussion the major definitions of role will be examined by these dimensions.

There seems to be two perspectives in the first dimension. Some refer to role as attitude or intended behavior. Others perceive role as actual behavior. In order to avoid conceptual confusion, terms like enacted role, role enactment, or role performance often are used to clarify role as behavior.

In some cases role is used in conjunction with the concept status. Linton regarded role as representing "the dynamic aspect of a status," and, therefore, the two concepts are considered inseparable. Znaniecki defined one's status as his total "rights" and one's function as his total "duties." To Znaniecki, status refers to "common standards or abstract conceptual schemes," whereas role is "a factual application of such a scheme by a particular individual agent." Again, to avoid the definitional confusion, status will be used in this thesis to denote one's position in a social network.

With respect to the second dimension concerning the role definer, there seems to be wide differences among scholars in terms of both the culture-society-group-individual axis and the other-self axis. Linton conceives role as ascribed by the culture. Together with Turner and Bennet and Tumin,
Table 3-1-1: Definitions of Role Concept Schematically Presented in terms of Scholars involved and Dimensions used *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholar</th>
<th>Dimensions of Role</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attitude or Intended Behavior expected</td>
<td>Definer (by whom)</td>
<td>Actor (of whom)</td>
<td>Situation (under what circumstance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linton</td>
<td></td>
<td>attitudes, values, behavior</td>
<td>culture or society</td>
<td>members of society; any or all persons occupying status; self; others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Znaniecki</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior</td>
<td>social circle</td>
<td>social self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior</td>
<td></td>
<td>individual in a given position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsons</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior attitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>individual actor</td>
<td>situation; interaction between ego and alter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior attitude</td>
<td>society</td>
<td>individuals placed in society</td>
<td>recurrent type of situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomb</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior</td>
<td></td>
<td>individual occupying position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3-1-1: Definitions of Role Concept (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholar</th>
<th>Dimensions of Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitude or Intended Behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sargent</td>
<td>behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarbin</td>
<td>belief, cognition, conduct</td>
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<td>Cameron</td>
<td>attitudes, responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottrell</td>
<td>conditioned responses</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 3-1-1: Definitions of Role Concept (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scholar</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitude or</td>
<td>Definer (by whom)</td>
<td>Actor (of whom)</td>
<td>Situation (under what circumstance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intended</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai</td>
<td>conception</td>
<td>individual (self)</td>
<td>individual (himself)</td>
<td>social situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett &amp; Tumin</td>
<td>behavior</td>
<td>society</td>
<td>individual occupying given position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neiman &amp; Hughes</td>
<td></td>
<td>individual (self) or group</td>
<td></td>
<td>specific situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross, et al.</td>
<td>attitude</td>
<td>individual; specified self and/or others</td>
<td>individual occupying specified position; self and/or others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3-1-1: Definitions of Role Concept (continued)

* The discussions of Table 3-1-1, unless otherwise indicated, are based on the following works.

Linton also regards role as defined by the society.

Znaniecki discusses role in terms of one's social circle, which is much narrower and more specific in its scope than society. Sargent and Neiman and Hughes also include in their role concept roles defined by group(s). Cottrell, Dai, Neiman and Hughes, and Gross and his associates examine role defined by individual(s).

Role definers range from a diffuse entity (e.g., culture or society) to a specified entity (e.g., group or individual). The degree of diffuseness (or for that matter, specificity) of role definer seems to be one of the major aspects of role study.

Role definers can also be categorized along the other-self axis. Some conceive of role defined by others as referring to group(s) or individual(s). Znaniecki, Young, Sargent, and Cameron belong to this group. Others like Cottrell and Dai perceive role as defined by the self. Still others, like Neiman and Hughes, and Gross and his associates, consider it very important to examine role as defined by others in connection with the role as defined by the self.

The third dimension of role concept deals with persons of whom role behavior is expected. The problem of one's position (status) is accounted for in this dimension because terms like father, daughter, teacher, and president are positional and locate people in social networks. This
"expected-of-whom" dimension can also be examined in terms of the diffuseness-specificity and other-self axes. For example, "any or all people" and "any or all members of society" refer to a diffuse category of people. Anyone or all persons occupying a particular position (e.g., all mothers, all students, and all employees) refer to less diffuse categories of people. Likewise, Davis, Newcomb, Young, Sarbin, Cottrell, and Benett and Tumin specify the categories of role performers. But Dai and Gross and his associates specify role actors one step further and ask about role expected of you yourself as, say, a superintendent or behavior appropriate to them as such and such. As in the case of role definer, there are found some differences in terms of level with which scholars specify role performers.

The fourth dimension deals with the circumstances under which a role is supposed to be performed. Linton does not specify the "under-what-circumstance" aspect, implying "under all circumstances." Znaniecki, Davis, Newcomb, Young, and Benett and Tumin also do not seem to pay much attention to this dimension. Some others, however, specify the circumstances. Some examples of circumstances are: interaction between ego and alter; recurrent type of situation; interaction situation; personal interaction; social situation; self-other relation; and specific situation.

The preceding discussion is schematically summarized in Table 3-1-2.
Table 3-1-2: Dimensions of Role Concept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Behavior or Attitude</th>
<th>expected By Whom</th>
<th>Of Whom</th>
<th>Under What Circumstances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attitude or intended behavior</td>
<td>diffuse entity</td>
<td>all people</td>
<td>all circumstances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>specified entity</td>
<td>specified person</td>
<td>specified circumstances</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To use the elements in Table 3-1-2, "role" can be defined as "attitude or intended behavior, expected by either unspecified or specified entity, of either unspecified or specified person, under all or specified circumstances."

2) Values, Norms, and Roles:

When defined by these dimensions, "role" doesn't seem to be much different from "value" or "norm." They are related to each other in that both are standards to regulate human behaviors or interactions. According to Williams, values are "standards or desirability that are more nearly independent of specific situation."\(^{12}\) (Underscore mine)

Values are more general than norms. When removed from particular circumstances, norms enter into the area of values. But this does not necessarily mean that one value encompasses several norms. In some cases, one norm can be made up of many values.13

Like norms, roles are less general than values. To use Turner's words, "social values take the place of organizational goals as major anchorages for roles...Roles for interaction tend to be fitted into a framework of social values."14

If values provide a basic framework under which both norms and roles are to be organized, what would be the relationship between norms and roles? Definitions of the two concepts do not seem to offer much help. For example, compare the following definitions.

"A description of, or concept held about, a behavior pattern likely to be exhibited by a person or group."

"A set of standards, descriptions,...or concepts held (by anyone) for the behaviors of a person or a position."

The two definitions seem to refer to the same thing. But Biddle and Thomas entered the former definition under


the heading of norm and the latter under the heading of role. 15

Or compare the following statements.

"An idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ..., are expected to do, under given circumstances. "16

"(things that) may more or less specifically what should or should not be done by particular type of actors in given circumstances. "17

"The behavior expected of the occupant of a given position or status. "18

The first statement is Homans' definition of norm.
The second statement is Williams' definition of norm. The third statement is Sarbin's definition of role.

Katz and Kahn differentiated norm and role in terms of generality. According to them, roles are related to task performances which are prescribed and sanctioned by


norms.\textsuperscript{19} Roles are considered more specific than norms. Roles provide "differentiating principles," while norms, together with values, function as "integrating principles."

One of the major characteristics of norm is that it is a "cultural (shared) definition of desirable behavior."\textsuperscript{20} To the extent that norm is more general than role, the more a rule for behavior is shared, the more it can be defined a norm. To use the formula in Table 3-1-2, an attitude (or intended behavior), when expected (or defined) by a diffuse entity like culture or society, becomes a norm. On the other hand, if it is expected by any specified others or self, an attitude is more likely to be called a role.

The third dimension in Table 3-1-2 (i.e., the "expected-of-whom" dimension) specifies the scope of norms or roles. The scope of any norm or role is broadest when the norm or role is expected of all members of the group. The scope is limited if any intended behavior is expected of a specified category of individuals within the group.

The preceding discussion reveals that the concept of role has been loosely defined. Some people tend to use the term role but actually refer to something approximating value. Some others often use the term role in their analysis


\textsuperscript{20} Robin Williams, Jr., "The Concept of Norms," p. 204.
of what might be defined as norm. This definitional confusion seems to arise from an apparent failure to recognize the dimensions involved and the levels of generality in each of the dimensions.

The schematic formula of Table 3-1-2 helps distinguish between value, norm, and role. The fourth dimension specifying "under what circumstances" can be named the "value dimension." Any attitude or intended behavior can be defined as value if it is expected "under all circumstances." On the other hand, if the circumstances are specified, the attitude would more appropriately be called something short of value, that is, either norm or role, depending on the degree of specificity involved in the second dimension.

The second dimension specifying the categories of definers can be called "norm-role dimension." If the definer is a diffuse entity such as the culture or society, that attitude can be defined as norm so long as the circumstances are specified. If both the definer and the circumstances are specified, the attitude can be defined as role.

When restated, a value is an attitude (or intended behavior) expected by the society of all people under all circumstances. The scope of a value is broad when it is expected of all people. But when it is expected only of specified individual(s), the scope of the value is limited.

A norm is an attitude expected by the society of all people (or specified person(s)) under specified circumstances.
A role is an attitude or intended behavior expected by specified people of specified person(s) under specified circumstances. 21

One example might be in order. The dictum "be honest" is recognized as a value. But according to the formula just described, the dictum becomes a value statement only when it implies that the society expects all people to be honest under all circumstances. The dictum becomes a norm if the statement goes like this: the society expects all people (or you) to be honest in association with their (your) friends. But if an employer expects his employees to be honest in handling his business, the dictum can be more appropriately characterized as a role.

3) Role Consensus:

"Consensus" is another major concept in understanding human behavior. A society requires a certain degree of

21 This leaves out three other possible combinations. One is an attitude expected by specified person(s) of all people under all circumstances. The other is an attitude expected by specified person(s) of all people under specified circumstances. The third is an attitude expected by specified person(s) of specified person(s) under all circumstances. Even though there seems to be no appropriate terms to refer to the three combinations, it might be interesting to look into any cases of this nature. These definitions bring up another problem, that is, if each of the dimensions involved is conceived of as constituting continuum, then how diffuse is diffuse or how specific is specific?
consensus among its members on functionally important mechanisms for its survival and growth. "How much consensus on what behaviors is required for a society to maintain itself?" "How much disagreement can a society tolerate in what areas?" As Gross and his associates pointed out, these are some of the questions of practical significance.\(^22\)

According to Newcomb, Cooley's "the self" and Mead's "the generalized other" are all consensual products of symbolic interactions.\(^23\) Scheff points out how the concept "consensus" can be useful in "systematizing the various basic concepts, such as norm, role, and institution...(and) rigorously defining their interrelationship."\(^24\)

In the studies of consensus there seems to be two main traditions.\(^25\) One tradition tries to ascertain the extent to which individuals agree concerning certain objects, either concrete or abstract. This tradition is interested in the objective degree of consensus. The other tradition stresses the perceived consensus. The notion of perceived

\(^{22}\) Gross, et al., *Exploration into Role Analysis*, p. 31.


\(^{25}\) Ibid., pp. 32-46.
consensus seems to be important because of the possibility of pluralistic ignorance. The majority of members of a group may actually agree to some idea. But it is possible that each mistakenly believes that the rest are against the idea. Consequently, this perception of the others may result in non-action. In that sense, a distinction between actual agreement and perceived agreement is considered important.26

Newcomb focuses on "the co-orientation of individuals A and B, toward an object X." This model is interested in getting not only the respondent's personal opinion as to a common object but also the respondent's perception of other's opinion.27 In this model consensus refers to the "inter-subjectivity consensus," which is one level higher than the individual's subjective opinion.

Laing and his associates go one level further.28 They define three levels of consensus: agreement, understanding, and realization. If, for example, a husband's orientation to object X is identical with his wife's orientation to the same object, there is an agreement between the couple.

26 Ibid., p. 33.


This is the zero level consensus. If his estimation of his wife's orientation to object X coincides with his wife's actual orientation to the object, there is an understanding between the couple with regard to object X. This is the first level consensus which Newcomb calls "perceived consensus." Extending this one step further, if his estimation of wife's estimation of his orientation to object X is identical with wife's estimation of his orientation, then, there is established a realization between the couple concerning object X. This is called the second level consensus.29

Analytically, this procedure can be pursued further to the third, fourth, or whatever level of consensus one wants to obtain. But in practice, it becomes very complex at the second level. Beyond that level it becomes too complex and confusing.

In a previous section discussing the concept role, four dimensions were delineated according to how different scholars applied the term. In role consensus studies some of these dimensions are more heavily emphasized than others. For example, Gross and his associates were interested primarily in the definer and (presumed) actor dimension. Their conceptual scheme is shown in Table 3-3-1-A.

29 Scheff, op. cit., p. 37. Also see R. D. Laing, et al., op. cit.
## Table 3-3-1: Some Formulae of Role Consensus Studies

### Dimensions of Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes</strong></td>
<td><strong>expected by whom</strong></td>
<td><strong>of whom</strong></td>
<td><strong>under what circumstance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. <em>attitudes concerning 6 role sectors</em></td>
<td><em>you (focal position)</em></td>
<td><em>you</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>other (counter position)</em></td>
<td><em>other(s)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>the third position holder</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. <em>behavior affecting your friend</em></td>
<td><em>you</em></td>
<td><em>you as a public position holder</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>behavior affecting you</em></td>
<td><em>you as a close friend</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>behavior affecting a third person A</em></td>
<td><em>third person A</em></td>
<td><em>A's friend B as a citizen</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>A's friend B as a friend</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3-3-1: Some Formulae of Role Consensus Studies (continued)

Dimensions of Role

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>expected by whom</td>
<td>of whom</td>
<td>under what circumstance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>* punitive actions against cheating exam taker</td>
<td>* you</td>
<td>*you as an exam proctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* your friends</td>
<td>* you as a friend of the cheating exam taker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* university authorities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>* behaviors concerning democratic principles</td>
<td>* you (respondent)</td>
<td>* unspecified people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* specified people (e.g., negro, communist, …)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Gross and his associates the specification of role definers is very important. In a study of the school superintendents' role they disputed the postulate of role consensus. Their argument was that role consensus had been taken for granted because the role was assumed to be "ascribed by the society" without recognizing that there could be many other role definers.\(^{30}\) In examining the degree of consensus among the sample superintendents and also among the sample school board members with regard to six different performance and attribute sectors, they tried to determine why the same position holders agreed (or disagreed) with each other over some role areas and not others.\(^{31}\) Also they introduced in their scheme a group in a third position such as politicians, parents, and so forth, and tried to see how the superintendents perceived the third position holders' (e.g., politicians') expectation of the superintendents' behaviors with regard to certain role areas.\(^{32}\)

Stouffer and Toby used the role definer and role performer dimensions in their study of the relationship between personality types and role conflict resolutions.\(^{33}\) Their


\(^{31}\) Ibid., p. 116-143.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., pp. 244-280.

formula in the study is schematically presented in Table 3-3-1-B. They examined how different personality types resolved their conflict between obligations to friendship and obligations to society. They found that a person with a particularistic personality (as compared to a person with a universalistic predisposition) is more likely to choose the particularistic horn of a conflict resolution. Further, their analyses suggested that the responses are more likely to be clear and consistent when the respondent himself is pictured as confronting the dilemma.34

In dealing with role conflict, Stouffer applied the circumstance dimension in addition to the role definer and role performer dimensions.35 In the role definer dimension Stouffer had three different categories; you, your friends, and the university authorities. The punitive actions that the respondent is supposed to take against a cheating student were perceived as stricter when the assumed role definer was the university authorities rather than the

34 Stouffer and Toby, in one occasion in this study, included the circumstance dimension by specifying the differential degree of risk involved. But this dimension was more fully incorporated in the study to be discussed following this study.

respondent's friends. The role performer dimension includes two categories: you as an official position holder (exam proctor) and you as a close friend. More strict punitive actions were expected of the respondent as an official position holder than as a private friend. (See Table 3-3-1-C.)

What is new in this role formula is the circumstance dimension. Stouffer specified two different situations. Under one circumstance it was presumed that both his friends and the university authorities were least likely to discover the cheating. Under another circumstance the university authorities were presumed very likely to find it out no matter what the role performer did. In the first situation almost no risk of being exposed was involved on the part of the examination proctor even if he acted "as if nothing had happened and did not report him for cheating." But in the second situation the risk involved was very high for the examination proctor to be held responsible if he let the cheating student go as if nothing had happened. In the no-risk situation the punitive action expected to be taken by the proctor was found likely to be less strict than was the case of greater-risk situation.

When all three dimensions are put together, one can say: 1) that the expected punitive actions are likely to be less strict when the role definer is the respondent himself, taking action in the capacity of friend, under the no-risk circumstance; 2) that the punitive actions tend to be more
strict when the presumed role definer is the university authorities, expecting the respondent to act as an examination proctor, under the greater-risk circumstances; and 3) that varying degrees of expected punitive actions are likely to fall between the two extremes in the case of the other combinations of the three dimensions.

Prothro and Grigg also used the role definer, role performer, and circumstance dimensions in their study of role consensus with regard to major democratic principles. Their language, when transformed, fits into the formula presented in Table 3-3-1-D. They specified the role performer dimension into two categories: one very diffuse and the other very specific. They also postulated two situations: one very diffuse and the other very specific. Their study showed that: 1) the degrees of consensus are very high when basic principles of democracy are put in abstract terms; but, 2) consensus breaks down when the broad principles are put into more specific propositions. By "abstract terms" they meant a diffuse role actor combined with a diffuse circumstance. On the other hand, the "specific proposition" referred to a specific role actor combined with a specific situation. In this sense, Prothro and Grigg's dimensions of role are compounded.

Up to now the discussions involved three dimensions of role concept: role definer, (presumed) role performer, and situation. Scholars using these dimensions tend to attribute differential role conception to differential specification in at least one of the three dimensions. In other words, the three dimensions are conceived of as varying in terms of type or degree of specification. A change in the degree of specification in any or all of the dimensions will change the consensual degree of role definition.

The present study will focus attention on the first dimension of role concept, that is, the attitude (or intended behavior) dimension. This is important because the attitude dimension also seems to have some factors influencing the degree of role consensus. In other words, if the elements in the other three dimensions are held constant, there still will be differential degree of role consensus, depending on the areas or sectors of role to which attitudes are directed. The question involved here is "attitude concerning what?" The following discussion addresses itself to this aspect of role.

An examination of the literature reveals that contents of role (here, in a broader sense) are classified generally on the basis of three dimensions. One dimension dichotomizes role into "ideal" and "behavior" categories. The second dimension arranges roles along the "abstract" and "concrete" continuum. The third one postulates "less salient" and "more
salient" roles. These three dimensions are not necessarily independent of each other. For example, "ideally" conceived roles tend to be "general" and also are more likely to be "less salient" to role performers in a real life situation.

These classifications of roles imply differential degree of consensus. In many discussions and studies it is generally assumed that consensus is greater in one category of roles (e.g., "ideal," "general," "behavior," "specific," and "more salient" roles). For example, Linton distinguishes four different levels of culture: Total Culture Construct, Culture Construct, Real Culture Patterns, and Real Culture.37 The first two belong to the realm of ideal of which apparently no assumption is made about variation. On the other hand, the last two refer to the sphere of behavior of which variations were assumed to take place within certain limits.

Bierstedt postulates two kinds of culture: "ideal" and "real."38 In the "ideal" culture individuals are assumed to conform to the same degree, whereas in the "real" culture actual conformity is conceived of as varying to some extent. Homans also differentiates between "norms" and "behavior" and assumes more consensus among the members of a group.


"in their norms...than in their overt behaviors."

This perspective includes those who assume more consensus over "ends" than over "means," or more homogeneity concerning "functions" than "ways of carrying them out."

But, as Gross and his associates pointed out, the problem with these assumptions is that one can as well propose an opposite assumption. Individuals may exhibit more uniformity in behavior than in ideal because observable behavior is more likely to be subject to social sanction.

As mentioned earlier, Prothro and Grigg used the "abstract-specific" dimension in their explanation of differential consensus about democratic principles. They found that people tend to show more consensus in their opinion when democratic principles are phrased in general terms. Gremer offers another example. In his study of television news directors, he found that editors tend to agree on what news directing ought to be "in the abstract," but are more likely to disagree on what news directing should be "in practice."


40 Gross, et al., op. cit., p. 41.

This assumption based on the "general-specific" dimension requires some qualification. According to Lazarsfeld, the American people generally agree with the Socialist programs "when presented separately," but disagree to Socialism "if the general term is used."42 This means that Americans maintain consensus in both cases (of specific or general presentation) even though their responses to the specific and general are in opposite directions.

The third major dimension concerns "saliency" of roles. In one of the studies of the American soldier, there was consensus between officers and men over events and things to which their hierarchical order was not salient. But when it came to the subject matters relevant to rank status, consensus broke down.43

Gross and his associates used the "saliency" argument in their inductive explanation of differential consensus with regard to different role sectors.44 The role sectors include those of "division of labor," "superintendent per-


formances," "superintendent attributes," "school board member performances," "superintendent participation," and "superintendent friendship." Superintendents and school board members showed marked disagreement concerning all of the items included in the "division of labor" role sector. On about 70 percent of role items concerning "superintendents performances," the two groups exhibited significant disagreement. The role sector over which most consensus was recorded was the "superintendents friendship" areas. Gross and his associates further classified the "superintendent performance" role items on the basis of recipient of superintendent's behavior. When they involve school committee or staff teacher and, therefore, become relevant to school board members, role items of "superintendent performance" were found to elicit disagreement between the two groups. These findings led Gross and his associates to pose a hypothesis for later empirical tests: "The more directly concerned expectations are with relationship between the incumbents of two positions, the less agreement there will be between them." 45

Smith, Brunner, and White found that people tend to resort to ready-made attitude (either ideal or stereotypical) when asked about things remote to them. 46 To the extent that

45 Ibid., p. 139.

closely-felt things are apt to be considered salient, there is likely to be more consensus concerning things that are remote.
IV. STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

1) System-Subsystem Dimension of Role:

Gross and his associates suggested five models of relationships between (or among) role positions. The five models include: the "dyad," "position-centric," "system," "hierarchic system," and "multiple systems" models. The "dyad" model posits the focal position (the position under study) as against one counter position. In the "position-centric" model the focal position relates itself with several counter positions. The "system" model is different from the "position-centric" model in that the former posits the relationships also among the counter positions. The "hierarchic system" model posits direct relationships only between adjacent positions. Non-adjacent positions are perceived as linked indirectly with each other. The fifth model--"multiple systems" model--postulates a system and some subsystems. The focal and counter positions are considered constituting parts of a subsystem.

The first four models have one common characteristic. They all place the focal position against counter positions. They are, in a sense, discrete position models. The fifth model implies that the system under study can be viewed as a subsystem of a larger system. The focal and counter

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1 Gross, et al., Exploration into Role Analysis, pp. 50-56.
positions form a subsystem vis-a-vis other subsystems. In this case there emerge several different relationships: first, between positions within subsystem A; second, between positions within subsystem A and subsystem A itself; third, between subsystems A and B; fourth, between positions within subsystem A and subsystem B as a subsystem; and fifth, between subsystem A and the system encompassing subsystems A and B. In this sense, the "multiple systems" model seems to open up a new dimension of role study. Gross and his associates did not explore this aspect of role in their superintendent study. Instead, they confined their exploration to position-specific roles.

Perrow's model of goal analysis provides an extension of Gross and his associates' discrete position model. Perrow considers it very important to distinguish between "official" (system's) and "operative" (subsystems') goals in the analysis of complex organizations. According to him, "operative" goals: 1) "are tied more directly to (sub) group interests and... bear no necessary connection with official

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goals."; 2) "... in a sense, are means to official goals, but, since the latter are vague and of high abstraction, the 'means' become 'ends' in themselves when the organization is the object of analysis."; and 3) are of great help in examining the actual "process through which eventual goals are to be arrived at." Perrow's points seem directly applicable to role study involving organization if the term "roles" is substituted for his term "goals."

On the other hand, the concept of social system goals has its origin in Talcott Parsons' AGIL functions of social system. Parsons suggests that "a general classification of the functional imperatives" will help "identify the principal mechanisms necessary to bring about the attainment of the goal or the organization purpose."3

A distinction between operative (subsystem) and system roles seems salient to role study. If it is an operative role involving subgroups with goals of more or less their own, the role is likely to become position specific. If so, there will grow consensus among those holding the same positions. But between those occupying different positions there may result greater dissensus. Therefore, when all the members of a system are taken as a whole, consensus is presumed to decrease with regard to position-specific roles.

Here it will be remembered that Perrow's operative goal model is more or less similar to Gross and associates' discrete position model. However, Perrow contrasts subsystems to system. A system incorporates subsystems within itself. In that sense the system model can be called an inclusive model. As implied by Perrow, system roles tend to be general. If so, it is more likely that the degree of consensus would be greater among the members of the system as a whole.

Between the discrete position and the inclusive model there can be a third model, that is, a partial overlapping model. Figure 4-1-1 shows the three models.

In the discussions above, it was indicated that there would be less consensus over role definition applicable to the discrete position model. Also implied was that there would be more consensus with regard to role definition relevant to the inclusive model. If so, it can be assumed that the degree of consensus would fall in between when it comes to role definition related to the partial overlapping model.

At this point it seems necessary to distinguish between 1) role definition relevant to relationship within a system and, 2) role definition related to external relationships of a system vis-a-vis another system. The system's internal role definition can further be subdivided into two categories. One class of role definition refers to relationships between subsystems. The other class of role definition concerns
Figure 4-1-1: Three Models of Relationships Between System and Subsystems
relationships of subsystems vis-a-vis their own system. The system's external role definition can also be subcategorized into two: One is role definition concerning one system vis-a-vis another system and the other is role definition relating subsystems of a system to another system.

Members of a system are likely to have less consensus over intra-system role definition than over extra-system role definition. In that sense, the distinction between the two kinds of role definition becomes important. In Table 4-1-1 the discussion is schematically presented.

The degree of role consensus is likely to increase as subsystems increasingly overlap each other. As the subsystem structure moves from A to C, members of a system as a whole are presumed likely to show more agreement among themselves.

At the same time, the degree of consensus tends to increase as area of role object shifts from the internal to external relationship of a system. That is, more consensus is likely to be expected among members of a system as the role definition shifts from 1 to 4.

A combination of these two dimensions will predict least consensus in Cell A1 and most consensus in Cell C4. The 12 Cells in Table 4-1-1 can be grouped into 6 and arranged according to the presumed degree of role consensus: (from more to less consensus) (C4), (B4, C3), (A4, B3, C2), (A3, B2, C1), (A2, B1), and (A1). But in actual situations these groupings are likely to undergo some modifications
Table 4-1-1: Factors Affecting Role Consensus: Subsystem Structures And Role Objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsystem Structure</th>
<th>Dissensus</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Consensus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intra System</td>
<td>Extra System</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsystem-subsystem (1)</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsystem-subsystem (2)</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>B2</td>
<td>B3</td>
<td>B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsystem-other system (3)</td>
<td>C1</td>
<td>C2</td>
<td>C3</td>
<td>C4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsystem-other system (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dissensus: Discrete position model (A), Partial overlapping model (B), Inclusive model (C)
Consensus: All models in system.
depending on the relative strength of the two dimensions involved. One can say that C4 would be included in the group of Cells where consensus is more likely to be highest, whereas A1 would be included in the group of Cells where consensus is assumed to be lowest. Beyond this, the relative degree of consensus of each Cel is something to be determined empirically.

In this thesis the press is taken as a system. The nation-state can be conceived of as a supra-system which incorporates the press system as its subsystem. The government and the audience (public) is placed on the same level with the press.4 The publisher, editor, and reporters are defined as subsystems of the press. Figure 4-1-2 shows the relationships.

This thesis will discuss the Korean journalist's roles in terms of all three models. Areas of roles to be discussed are: 1) those involving publisher, editor, and reporter, 2) those involving the government, the press, and the audience, and 3) those relating the press to the nation-state. In terms of the formula in Table 4-1-1, these role areas refer to Cell A1 (between discrete subsystems), Cell B1 (between partially overlapping systems), and Cell C2 (between partially overlapping systems), and Cell C2 (between partially overlapping systems).  

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4 This is only partially true in the Western idea of the press. Discussions to follow in the body of the present thesis.
Figure 4-1-21: The Press as a System and its Relationship to Other Systems
Some explanation seems to be in order with regard to the relationships between the government, the press, and the audience as presented in Figure 4-1-2. In the partial overlapping model the press is placed on the same level of system as the government and the audience. This may be only partially true in the Western model of the press. As shown in Figure 4-1-3, the model of "Libertarian" press postulates the press independent of the government (or news sources). But the relationship of the press with the audience (or people) is not that clearcut. Sometimes it is considered totally a part of the audience. At other times it is conceived of as partially overlapping with the audience. Occasionally, it is regarded as being independent of the audience as well.

In the "Social Responsibility" model the press is viewed as partially overlapping with the government. The audience (or people) is assumed to incorporate both the press and the government.

The model of "Developmental Communication" press includes both the press and the government as parts of the audience. But in this model the press is often treated as a subsystem of the government.

In the "Authoritarian" model the press is one arm of the government. The government uses the press to mobilize and manipulate the people to follow its programs.
Figure 4-1-3: Relationships Between People, Government, and Press under Different Press Systems
Also, some studies indicate that journalists are likely to identify themselves partly with the government (or news sources) and partly with the audience (or people). If so, the relationships among the three systems can fit into the partial overlapping model.

The discussion up to now helps generate the first hypothesis of this thesis. This hypothesis deals with differential consensus among Korean journalists with regard to various aspects of their roles.

The press is a part of the nation-state. The inclusive model applies to the relationships between the press and the nation-state. As mentioned earlier, role definition applicable to the inclusive model is more likely to obtain consensus. Furthermore, role definition relating the press to the nation-state is likely to be very general and abstract. This generality or abstractness of role definition is presumed to bring about greater consensus.

Also, the press partially overlaps both the government (or news sources) and the audience (or people). Role definitions applicable to this model are assumed to enjoy less

consensus compared to those related to the inclusive model.

Publisher, editor, and reporter are discrete positions in the press organization. Role definitions of the discrete position model are assumed to obtain the least degree of consensus. Moreover, these role definitions tend to be rather specific.

From this the following general hypothesis regarding the structure of role consensus among Korean journalists is posed.

Hypothesis One:
Role consensus among Korean journalists is likely to be:

a) greater with regard to the role of the press in the nation-state;

b) intermediate concerning the role of the press vis-a-vis either the government or the audience; and

c) least over roles of publisher, editor, and reporter in the process of newspaper-making.

2) Socialization and Role Conception:

Hypothesis Two focuses on factors that may differentially affect different types of roles. The assumption here is that different factors would explain differential conceptions of each of the three types of roles discussed in connection with Hypothesis One (e.g., roles related to the inclusive, partially overlapping, and discrete position models). Hence, the question posed is what kinds of factors would be more salient to each of the three types of roles.
Various factors have been found affecting one's conceptions of roles. The factors usually include: role definer's background, present status, personality and politico-religious orientations, and organizational and social situations surrounding the role definer. It is generally reasoned that similar background or situations are likely to bring about exposure to similar influences which, in turn, lead to similar role definition.

Gross and his associates tried to explain differential role conceptions by introducing such variables as: age, sex, religious affiliation, political orientation, personality type; socialization process and professional training that role definers have undergone; socio-economic status of role definers; type or size of formal organization which role definer belongs to; and characteristics of community where role definer is living and working. Some of their hypotheses involving these variables were confirmed, some others were partially supported, and still others were found untenable.

Protho and Grigg included the subject's regional subcultures, educational and income levels in their search of the factors affecting degree of consensus on democratic principles. All these variables were found to affect one's

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7 Protho and Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy."
opinions about democratic principles. When democratic principles were put in specific terms, regional and class related factors were discovered to influence one’s political attitudes most. Prothro and Grigg suspected that age, sex, and party affiliation would have possible influence on one's democratic orientation. Rytina, Form, and Pease found considerable disagreement between higher and lower status people in their evaluation of American opportunity structures. 8

Stouffer and Toby demonstrated that one’s particularistic or universalistic personality predisposition affects his definition of role obligations. 9

Lieberman found that positional changes in the formal organization tend to bring about changes in organization-related attitudes. 10 He observed that factory workers tend to become pro-union when elected stewards, whereas they are likely to become pro-management if promoted to foreman.

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9 Stouffer and Toby, "Role Conflict and Personality."

10 Seymour Lieberman, "The Effects of Changes in Roles on the Attitudes of Role Occupants," Human Relations, 9, 1956, pp. 385-402. Lieberman's findings are considered significant because his longitudinal study provided strong indications about causal directions between position and role conception.
The attitudinal changes, however, were found to be more pronounced and widespread among new foremen than among stewards. As Lieberman explained it, this difference is because foremen are representatives of the management and their positions are supposed to be permanent and full time. On the other hand, stewards are representatives of the union and their positions are temporary and part time.

What makes Lieberman's findings interesting is the second phase of his study. He studied those workers who were demoted from foremanship as well as those workers who returned from stewardship. Among the ex-foremen, attitudes tended to fall back to pro-union. But among ex-stewards, no marked tendency of attitude reversion was observed. This is understandable because, as mentioned earlier, there were originally not much attitudinal change when the workers were made stewards.

In the present thesis no attempt will be made to find new variables that would affect role conceptions. Instead, the relative influence of the already discovered variables will be examined as they relate to different types of roles. In this respect, relationships between socialization and role conception deserve attention.

It is generally observed that general values and basic roles are more likely to be internalized in early childhood and to remain relatively stable all through one's life. Goodman cites many research findings to show how important
one's childhood and adolescence are in his basic value-attitude formation. For example, American children by the age of five, develop culturally patterned values and attitudes. Anthropological studies show that children in many traditional societies are expected by the age of six to know and observe the rules of proper behaviors. Peck and Havighurst believe that one's patterns of moral behavior and character structure at the age of ten generally perpetuate into late adolescence and, most likely, for the rest of his life.

Adult socialization theorists see socialization taking place throughout the life cycle. Becker defines socialization as change in the self and claims that "society is perpetually engaged in changing the selves of its members." Becker regards "all of society as a socializing mechanism which operates throughout a person's life, creating changes in his self and his behavior."


13 Secondary quotation from Goodman, op. cit., p. 179.

He points out that one "constantly takes the roles of others" in his social interaction. To him, "all studies of social organizations of any kind are...simultaneously studies of adult socialization."

The present thesis deals mostly with the roles of the press and journalists. To the extent that the press can be considered an integral part of the political system, it becomes important to look at some aspects of political socialization.

Hyman, in his inventory of political socialization studies,\textsuperscript{15} observes that, "Individuals learn gradually and early their political orientations. This is what provides much of stability of their adult political behavior."\textsuperscript{16} (Underscore mine.) He provides considerable research evidence to show that the individual's political orientation in general and party affiliation in particular are "products of socialization essentially within the family."\textsuperscript{17}

Hyman also documents influences of other groups such as "friends, teachers, co-workers, and wives" that one gets in touch with as one "grows away from exclusive attachment


\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 19.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 85, 92.
to parents." He notes that social and geographical mobility offer people opportunities to encounter new groups and become exposed to different political cultures.\(^{18}\)

Langton and Karns attempted to find out the relative influences of "family, school, and peer group" on the political socialization of Jamaican secondary school students.\(^{19}\) Their dependent variable was "political efficacy," that is, "an individual's belief that he can effectively participate in politics and in this way he has some control over the action of political decision-making."\(^{20}\) Their findings showed that "the family has the greatest impact on the development of political efficacy."\(^{21}\) When class background was held constant, family's influence was greater than either peer group or school among the lower and middle classes, while peer group emerged as the dominant influence over family among the students from the upper class.\(^{22}\)

\(^{18}\) Ibid., pp. 109-111.


\(^{20}\) Ibid., p. 142.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., p. 155.

\(^{22}\) Ibid., p. 159.
Brim's perspective of socialization incorporated both child and adult socialization perspectives. He posited two dimensions. One is the value-behavior dimension and the other is the motivation-ability-knowledge dimension. As one moves through the life cycle from childhood to adulthood, the emphasis in socialization moves from value to behavior in one dimension and also from motivation through ability to knowledge in another dimension. In early childhood, values and motivation are stressed in socialization. In adulthood, socialization tends to deal with overt behavior and knowledge aspects. What is particularly relevant to the present thesis is Brim's observation that early socialization is concerned with "general demand of society," while later-life socialization deals mostly with "role-specific expectations."

For a study of roles related to occupations or professions, it is more useful to differentiate between pre-job and on-the-job socialization than to differentiate childhood and adulthood socialization. In the case of journalists, the pre-job socialization may include social origin, educational background, and some others. The on-the-job social-

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ization may consist of organizational variables such as the location of work place, type of publisher, orientation of the press, hierarchical position within the organization, and the like. Personality types of journalists themselves may be considered a product of interactions between the pre-job and on-the-job socialization.

On the basis of the discussions up to now, the types of roles (examined in connection with Hypothesis One) now can be related to socialization factors. It will be remembered that the first type of roles deal with the press' role in the nation-state, which is of very general nature. General and/or basic roles are known to be internalized in early part of socialization. Therefore, pre-job socialization variables are presumed more likely to affect the journalist's conception of the press' role in relation to the nation-state. The second type concerns role of the press vis-a-vis the government and the audiences. Since these three entities partially overlap each other in the journalist's news activities, roles related to them are considered less general. Therefore, both pre-job socialization and work-related organization variables are likely to affect the journalist's conception of the press' role vis-a-vis the government and the audiences. The third type deals with roles regarding relations between reporter, editor, and publisher. Since these roles are position specific and very close to daily work, work-related organ-
ization variables are more salient and account more for differences in role conceptions.

From the preceding discussions, the following general hypothesis is generated.

Hypothesis Two:

a) **Type I role is more likely to be affected by pre-journalism background factors**;

b) **Type II role is more likely to be affected by both pre-journalism background and work-related organizational factors; and**

c) **Type III role is more likely to be accounted for by work-related factors.**

3) **Organizational Variables and Role Sectors:**

Hypotheses One and Two set a broad framework for the present thesis. However, Hypothesis Two is too general to explain any particular role. All it says is that differential conception of specified and lower level roles are more likely to be attributable to differences in organizational and situational variables. It does not indicate which of the variables will explain which roles and in which direction. Here, it becomes important to introduce another factor. This is areas of roles.

Some roles may be on the same specific (say, lower) level of abstraction but the areas of the roles can be different. Accordingly, it can be assumed that different organization and situation variables take on saliency in different areas of roles.
Four role areas or items will be examined in the present study in a series of hypotheses. They are: the Enlightenment role of the press, the Watchdog role of the press, the role of the press as Political Stabilizer, and the Right and Accountability involved in reportorial activities. These four roles have been closely related issues of the Korean press ever since the appearance of the first modern commercial newspaper the "Tongnip Shinmun" (The Independent) in 1896.

Early Korean newspapers (1896-1910) emphasized the enlightenment and watchdog roles. This can be explained to some extent by the historical circumstances at that time. The first Korean newspapers began to appear right after Korea started its "open door" policy under the pressure of the onrushing foreign powers: European nations, the United States of America, and partly Europeanized Japan. Early Korean journalists along with other intellectuals saw Korea powerless by the intrusion of those powers. In an effort to preserve some sovereignty for the nation, they firmly believed in the strength and potentiality of an informed and enlightened people. Once this task was done, they thought, Korea could become stronger and repulse this encroachment of foreign colonial powers.

To a considerable degree, the early Korean newspapers were modeled after their counterparts in the Western culture. Some of the pioneers actively involved in newspaper publish-
ing were either educated in the United States or educated at the American-sponsored schools in Korea. They believed in the sovereignty of the people as against the sovereignty of the King. It was understandable that they placed emphasis on the press' critical role vis-a-vis the government.

Since around the turn of the century when Japan began to assert its claim for hegemony over Korea, Korean journalists formed a common front against Japan's colonizing scheme. The preservation of the nation's independence became their immediate common goal. During the period of Japanese rule (1910-1945), the ultimate goal of nationalist journalists was to help restore national independence. Their action took the form of opposition against the Japanese rule. As Edward Shils pointed out about the press in India before its independence, in Korea also journalism became "the service of a higher cause, not a profession or a business."\(^\text{25}\) As in the case of the Indian press under the British rule, the Korean press was strongly opposition-minded. This opposition policy was accepted and justified by the Korean people in its struggle for a national independence.

At the end of World War II in 1945 when Korea was liberated from the Japanese rule, the nation was divided into two parts. The northern half of the country fell under the Communist rule. No opposition by the press has been tolerated there. But in the southern half which came under the American influence, the tradition of opposition that had developed during the Japanese rule was maintained. The idea of a free press that was reintroduced into Korea along with the system of Western democracy complemented the already established opposition orientation of journalists.

From the early 1960s when the nation's economy started to grow under the economic development plans, the government strongly advocated that journalists should channel more of their resources into "freedom for" nation building. The government convinced the people that industrialization was an immediate and urgent task to solve. A developed economy was presumed to be essential in order to peacefully win over Communist north Korea and finally achieve that cherished goal of a unified Korea. In order to achieve this economic development, the government argued that it was necessary to have a stable government. In this regard, the press was urged by the government to cooperate and help achieve political stability.

By political stability the government seemed to mean uncritical support to its policies and administration. The government started actively seeing to it that the press
would comply with its call for stability. Sometimes, this took the form of "friendly request for cooperation" from some government officials. This situation brought up the question of press freedom again in the late 1960s, which was sidestepped because of the promising signs of economic upswing.

Externally the problem was that of press freedom. But internally the problem was who reserved the right to write and from what perspective. When the journalists received a request from the government through their own publishers who, in turn, needed favorable treatment from the government to support their extra-journalism interests, then the question became more complicated: Who has the right, the publisher, the editor, or the reporter? Also, when any news article became subject to investigation for reasons of national security, with a strong possibility of someone being indicted or jailed, another question was asked: Who should be held accountable? The reporter who wrote the article? The editor who was in charge of the reporter? Or was it the newspaper as an organization?

The four roles were selected in the context of this historical development. These roles are different in some ways. One of the most apparent differences is that they relate journalists to different "counter positions": the general populace (Enlightenment role, the government (Watchdog and Political Stabilizer roles), and publisher, editor,
or reporter (roles related to Right and Accountability). To that extent, it can be generally hypothesized that journalist's conception of the four specific roles is likely to be affected by different factors in different ways.
V. METHODOLOGY

1) Population and Sampling:

The field work of this survey research was conducted in the three Summer months (June, July, and August) of 1972 in Korea.

The sampling frame was Who’s Who in the Korean Press (Jonkook Unlonin Bangmyongnok), published by the Press Center of Korea, as of November, 1971. During the six-month period from November, 1971, to June, 1972, when the field work was launched, it was assumed that some had newly joined the profession, others had moved to other newspapers or news agencies, and still others had moved out of journalism. The personnel change columns in the weekly organ of the Korean Reporters’ Association (kija Hyophoe-po) were checked and the listings of the Who’s Who in the Korean Press were brought up-to-date.

From the corrected sampling frame a 20 per cent sample of journalists was randomly drawn from each of three status-

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1 Journalists were defined here as those who were engaged "substantively" in the flow of news. Included in the categories of journalists are: 1) those who write news stories, commentaries, and feature stories; 2) those who edit stories and write headlines for articles; 3) those who direct news-gathering activities; and 4) those who write editorials. Excluded from this study are those who are "technically" involved in newspaper-making, such as proof readers. Publishers and board directors are not included because of practical difficulty involved in administering a questionnaire survey to them.
positions (reporter, editor, and editorial writer) of each newspaper and news agency. The method of stratified random sampling was adopted in order to assure a fair representation of sample from the newspapers and/or news agencies as well as between status-positions. This was considered necessary because the general research objectives focused on the organizational unit as well as individual journalist.

It was decided to have the questionnaire self-administered. In order to ensure a high rate of return a two-point strategy was adopted: 1) making the most of the researchers' acquaintances relying on personal appeal for cooperation, and 2) having the questionnaires collected by someone from within the organizations—e.g., a close personal friend or one who expressed strong interests in the study.

It took about one and a half months to complete the field work, from mid-July to late August. The overall return rate recorded 91 percent. Out of the 31 general newspapers and news agencies, all but 4 responded to the survey. The 4 newspapers that failed to respond were all located in the Provincial areas. Three of them were very small in size, but the fourth was of considerable size for

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2 See Appendix A for the names of general newspapers and general news agencies that participated in the present survey.

3 See Appendix B for more details.
a Provincial newspaper.\textsuperscript{4} But to the extent that these four newspapers were not uniquely different from other Provincial newspapers, and since they were not clustered in any particular area, it was assumed that no serious bias would be introduced into the picture of the Provincial general newspapers by their absence.

Table 5-1-1 shows the return rates by two major categories of newspapers and news agencies. The rates were 98 percent for the Seoul General Newspapers\textsuperscript{5} and 80 percent for the Provincial Newspapers.

Table 5-1-1: The Sampling Distribution and Return Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SGN</td>
<td>PGN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20% Sample</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Questionnaires</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return Rate</td>
<td>97.7%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{4} See Appendix A for the names of four Provincial newspapers that failed to respond to the present study.

\textsuperscript{5} For the sake of expediency, the term Newspapers refers to both newspapers and news agencies in Seoul. There was no news agency in the Provincial areas. From now on, unless otherwise mentioned, SGN will refer to Seoul General Newspapers and News Agencies, and PGN to Provincial General Newspapers.
2) **Questionnaire: 6**

The questionnaire used for the present study consisted of three major parts. Part One dealt with various roles of press and journalists. Some of the roles were those relating press and journalists to the nation-state. Some others were those positing press and journalists to the government and/or the general public. Still others were those involving intra media organization relationship between reporters, editors, and publisher-management. Some items tapping on professionalism orientation were included in this part.

Part Two of the questionnaire was interested in journalist's evaluation of journalism as an occupation. Status evaluation, job satisfaction, opinions about their publishers, and journalist's orientation toward their audience were solicited here.

The last part of the questionnaire dealt with aspects of family and educational background, and occupational career.

Most of the question items were close-ended ones, asking journalists to check one of the categories offered. Write-in or open-ended questions were very few in number. In the pre-test on the field it was found that journalists spent an average of 35 to 40 minutes to fill out the questionnaire.

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6 See Appendix C for the questionnaire translated from Korean into English.
3) **Analysis Techniques:**

Most of the data to be used in the present thesis are ordinal. Therefore, percentage differences will be used as a chief means of analysis. But when composite indices are constructed, mean scores will be used for analysis. The "t" scores based on percentage or mean differences will be employed to test hypotheses.
PART III: KOREAN JOURNALISTS AND THEIR ROLE IN SOCIETY

VI. THE PRESS AND JOURNALISTS IN KOREA

This chapter has three main purposes. The first is to briefly describe the history of the Korean press and journalists. Major aspects of the Korean press will be discussed in connection with the political and social changes in Korea. The second purpose of this chapter is to describe the professional setting in which the press and journalists find themselves. Specifically, the press-related professional organizations will be discussed. Also, the college education of journalism and its functional relationship with the press will be explained. The third purpose is to describe the subjects of the present study: the Korean journalists as of 1972. Main structures of the press organization will be discussed. The journalists' social and educational background and their personality types will also be described. This chapter, in a sense, will provide relevant background in preparation for the chapters to follow.

1) A History of Print Media in Korea:

a) The Political Situation and the Press:

In the late 19th century the Korean government of Lee Dynasty started to open the door of the hermit Kingdom under the pressure of gunboat diplomacy of Japanese and European powers. Reformist circles in the government at
that time felt it necessary to enlighten the people by providing relevant information for successful adjustment to the situational changes. The government started publishing a newspaper bulletin, the Hansong Soonpo, three times a month in 1883. The language used was the classical Chinese. This bulletin paper was burnt down by a "reactionary" political mob in 1884.¹ The government paper was revived as a weekly called the Hansong Chupo in 1886. The official weekly used Korean language mixed with classical Chinese. It was suspended two years later in 1888.

Despite the forerunners of the two government papers, the appearance of the newspaper Tongnip Shinmun (The Independent) in 1896 was widely credited to have opened the era of modern Korean newspaper. The Tongnip Shinmun was run by a group of early nationalist-reformist leaders. This paper used all Korean alphabets and no Chinese characters which was considered revolutionary at that time.² The Tongnip Shinmun started out as a tri-weekly and became a daily in 1898. The paper ceased publishing in 1899 when the political organization affiliated with the paper was banned under pressure from the conservative "reactionaries."³


² The Tongnip Shinmun used one of its four pages for English-language articles.

Since around the turn of the century Japan began to assert its claim for hegemony over Korea. Then, nationalist Korean newspapers formed a common front against Japan's colonizing scheme. In spite of this effort Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910.

Newspapers in Korea before 1910 can be categorized into seven groups. The first group was the Korean-run, Korean-language, and nationalist newspapers in Seoul, the capital city of Korea. The Tongnip Shinmun was one. The daily Hwangsong Shinmun (1898-1910), the daily Jekook Shinmun (1898-1910), and the daily Taehan Maeil Shinbo (1904-1910) were three other major nationalist newspapers.

As shown in Table 6-1-1, the second group was the Korean-run, Korean-language, but pro-Japanese newspapers in Seoul. As Japan's influence tremendously increased over Korea after winning two wars (against China and Russia) pro-Japanese Koreans formed a political organization called "Iljin Hoi." The "Iljin Hoi" people started publishing their organ, the Kungmin Shinbo (1906-1910). The daily Taehan Shinmun (1907-1910) was another Korean newspaper of pro-Japanese orientation.

The third and fourth groups were the Japanese-run,

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Table 6-1-1: Development of Newspapers in Korea prior to 1945

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Years of Important Happenings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Korean-run</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean-language</td>
<td>Tongnip-SM* (1896)→</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hwangnung-SM (1898)iston</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jekook-SM (1898)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taehan-maeil-SB* (1904)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>several others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro-Japanese</td>
<td>Kungmin-SB (1906)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean-language</td>
<td>Taehan-SM (1907)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taehan-111 (1910)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-run</td>
<td>several others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean-language</td>
<td>Taedong-SB (1904)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyungsung-SB (1896)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-run</td>
<td>Kanjyo-Shinpo (1894)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>several others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Korean-run</td>
<td>Kyungnam-IB (1909)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 papers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean-language</td>
<td>(1909)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-run</td>
<td>Chosun-111 (1907)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Korean-language</td>
<td>(1907)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-run</td>
<td>10 newspapers in present South Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese-language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 newspapers in present North Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 papers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* SM refers to Shinmun, SB to Shinbo, and IB to Ilbo.

Japanese-language, and Japanese-run, Korean-language newspapers in Seoul. With the growth of Japanese influence came the Japanese settlers to Korea. The Japanese-language daily Kan'yo Shinpo started publishing in Seoul as early as in 1894. This paper was one of the overseas organs of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. In 1896 this paper started publishing its Korean language edition called the Hansong Shinbo. After Japan made Korea its protectorate, the Japanese Residency-General purchased the Kanjyo Shinpo (along with its Korean language edition, the Hansong Shinbo) and the Taedong Shinbo and turned them into its organ, the Keijo Nipo (Japanese edition) and the Kyungsong Ilbo (Korean edition), in 1906.5

In the Province areas there were few Korean language newspapers. The Kyungnam Ilbo was published by the Korean nationalists. The Chosun Ilil was run by the Japanese. But there were some 17 Japanese-run, Japanese-language papers, ten of them in the present south Korea and the remaining seven in the current north Korean areas.6

With Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese colonial government banned all Korean and Japanese newspapers in Seoul, except its own organs:

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6 Ibid., p. 194.
the Japanese edition called the Keijo Nipo and the Korean edition, this time, called the Maeil Shinbo. In the Province areas all Korean language newspapers were closed down. Seventeen Japanese language papers were allowed to continue publishing. This "blackout" measure left the Korean people without their own newspapers for the following ten years.

In 1919 the Korean people organized a mass demonstration across the country asking for an independent Korea. In the face of the massive revolt the Japanese colonial government felt it necessary to ease somewhat its tight control. In 1920, as a part of the policy of readjustment, the Japanese authorities allowed Koreans to publish newspapers. Three Korean language papers appeared. But only one of them--the Dong-A Ilbo--was a nationalist paper. The other two--the Chosun Ilbo and the Shisa Shinmun--were pro-Japanese papers. 7

The Shisa Shinmun, however, ceased publishing in 1921. In early 1924 the Sidae Ilbo--the second nationalist paper--obtained publication license from the colonial government. This paper, however, ran into financial trouble soon after and underwent a series of change of name before it ceased publishing in 1937. Much earlier in 1924 the Chosun Ilbo

7 Ibid., pp. 204-205.
turned to the nationalist camp and joined the Dong-A Ilbo in its campaign of resistance to the Japanese colonial rule. 

In 1940 the Japanese colonial government ordered the Dong-A Ilbo and the Chosun Ilbo to close down. During the 5 year period up to 1945 when Korea was liberated from Japan, the only Korean language newspaper in Korea was the Maeil Shinbo, one of the organs of the Japanese colonial government.

At the end of World War II in 1945, Korea was liberated from the Japanese rule, but politically divided into two parts. Five northern Provinces fell under the Communist control. The experience of the press under Communism cannot be documented here. The present study can only relate the nature of the press in South Korea.

Since 1945 Korean press experienced two short periods of free but chaotic journalism and one period of disrupted journalism. From 1945 to 1948 during which south Korea was under the control of the United States Army military government, many newspapers of different political orientations appeared. Rightist, middle-of-the-road, and leftist papers waged ideological warfare among themselves in the hope of winning the people's mind. The U. S. Army

\[8\] Ibid., pp. 243-244.
military government first adopted a free press policy but soon after introduced a license system under the provisions of the U. S. Army military government ordinance No. 88 to suppress leftist papers. But the leftist papers already in publication were not subject to the regulation. 9

The leftist newspapers were all closed down soon after the Republic of Korea was established in south Korea in 1948 through a general election. From then on, the characteristics of journalism have changed from the rightist-leftist clashes to the government-opposition conflicts.

During the Korean War (1950-1953) the capital city of Seoul was occupied by Communist north Korea for a total of seven months. After the war was over in 1953, the press returned to normal operation. But the government of the Liberal Party became more and more dictatorial. The Liberal government was toppled in 1960 amidst the student uprisings protesting election riggings. After a short period of a caretaker government, the government of the Democratic Party was elected to power. At this time the system of press licensing was repealed. All of a sudden, there appeared many print news media. Most of them were nominal without the necessary equipment and manpower. The Korean press was never before as free as this period.

9 Ibid., pp. 357-358.
They enjoyed a freedom close to licentiousness. Even a major leftist newspaper was allowed to publish.

The Democratic government lasted less than a year with the military takeover of the government in 1961. One of the first measures taken by the military government was to purge the nominal and "pseudo" newspapers and news agencies. In Seoul the number of general newspapers was 10 at the end of the Liberal government. The number increased two times to 20 during the Democratic government but decreased to 8 under the military government. The number of specialized newspapers in Seoul increased from 4 to 37 before being cut back to 3. The general news agencies in Seoul maintained their number at 4 throughout the period. But the specialized news agencies in Seoul drastically increased in number from 10 to 228 but dropped to 7 under the military government.10 In the Provincial areas newspapers and news agencies mushroomed under the Democratic government but decreased in number under the military government.

Through a general election in 1963 the military government handed its power over to the civilian government of the third Republic. But the leadership remained intact. After

a brief honeymoon period the press was again subjected to ever growing pressure from the new government.

As indicated in the discussion above, the press in south Korea after 1945 can be categorized into five groups. In the capital city of Seoul there have been in existence General Newspapers, General News Agencies, Specialized Newspapers, and Specialized News Agencies. Seoul General Newspapers and News Agencies are nation-wide presses. Seoul Specialized Newspapers and News Agencies handle mostly economic affairs and their circulation outside Seoul is negligible. In the Provinces there have been General Newspapers which are basically local press.

Table 6-1-2 shows the history of major newspapers and news agencies since the end of World War II in 1945. Because of the limited space, only major General Newspapers and News Agencies in Seoul are mentioned by their titles in the Table.

The description above brings the history of the Korean press up to the present (1972), when the survey for the present study was conducted. Soon after the survey, a new Constitution was adopted and a political system of "Koreanized Democracy" was instituted in 1973. Under the new system the President and his administrative branch were given an unprecedented enormous power. At the same time a major realignment took place in connection with the press. In Seoul one general newspaper, one general news agency, and one specialized newspaper voluntarily closed down in the Spring,
Table 6-1-21: Development of Newspapers in Korea after 1945

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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>General News Agencies</td>
<td>Hapdong (1945)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tongyang (1952)</td>
<td>Donghwa (1956)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Specialized Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 papers (52-59)</td>
<td>5 papers (60-69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Specialized News Agencies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 agencies (46-49)</td>
<td>1 agency (1951)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>General Newspapers</td>
<td>11 papers (45-48)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 papers (50-59)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>Communist papers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Many leftist papers appeared mostly in Seoul and in Province as well but soon closed down (45-48). Major interruption and disruption due to KOREAN WAR (50-53). Many small papers and news agencies appeared both in Seoul and Provinces but soon closed down (60-61).
1973. In the Provinces one general newspaper closed down in Mokpo city in the Spring, 1973; two general newspapers merged into one in Taegon city during this same period; three general newspapers merged into one in Jeonju city in the Summer, 1973; and, three general newspapers merged into one in Kyunggi Province in the Autumn, 1973.

Two factors account for these major realignments. First, the government apparently believed that there were too many newspapers. At the same time an increased governmental control of the press seemingly made ownership of the press less attractive to some publishers. This might be so especially with the publishers who owned newspapers or news agencies operating in the red. Under these circumstances it was very likely that interest of some publishers coincided with the wishes of the government, leading to voluntary close-down or mergers.

b) Policies of Newspapers:

Almost all Korean newspapers and news agencies have had explicitly stated "corporate policies ("Sashi" in Korean). For example, Tongnip Shinmun (1896-1899) pledged to itself and the people that it would do its best in contributing to: 1) implanting democracy, 2) enlightening the general public, 3) critically watch over the government officials, and 4) upholding the national independence. The Dong-A Ilbo (1920-present) declared that it would work
in the interest of nationalism, democracy, and cultural development. The Kyunghyang Shinmun (1945-present) adopted the policy of: 1) fair, speedy, and correct reporting in reflecting the people's mind, 2) guidance of public opinion to help build a happy and stable society, and, 3) maintaining the dignity and quality of the newspaper in pointing to the national goals from a long-term perspective.

As these examples indicate, the corporate policies of the Korean press usually consist of several items and are couched in very general terms. The corporate policies are the ideals that the Korean press believe they are expected to pursue. In that sense, the policies indicate the orientations of the press and journalists at the time of policy formulation. The policies are usually taken up at the time the newspaper is being organized. Once set, they rarely change. For example, the Dong-A Ilbo and the Chosun Ilbo still carry the policies that were adopted in 1920.

Generally, the Korean nationalist newspapers during the period of 1900-1910 emphasized enlightenment of the people, patriotism, and nationalism. This was the period when Korea started modernizing after it opened its door to foreign powers. This was also the period when Korea was being encroached by imperialistic Japan. Under these circumstances the Korean press came to believe in the potentialities of an informed citizen and tried to help uphold patriotism and nationalism among the people. The nationalist
papers under the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945) added to their mission the causes of economic development and social justice. This added change came about when the Koreans began to realize that the power of a nation is dependent on economic self-reliance and industrialization.

The major newspapers and news agencies that started during the period of 1945-1949 continued to place emphasis on political and educational journalism but put as much stress on the professional aspects of journalism. When the Liberation in 1945 brought a divided Korea, ideological clashes immediately took place among Koreans. In the earlier period the press saw the confrontation of Koreans against the Japanese rule. But with the Liberation the press soon recognized the need for mediation among Koreans. It was in this situation that the press began stressing impartial reporting.

The newspapers and news agencies that began publishing after 1950 faced this issue of professionalism directly. Their policies emphasized impartial, speedy, and factual reporting as well as a free press.

To the extent that press policies reflect press orientations, one can say that the Korean press started out as political and educational press but has evolved into a professionally oriented press.

But what should be noted here is that the corporate policies of the press are manifest policies. Manifest poli-
cies are not necessarily identical with latent ones. Not much data are available on latent policies of the Korean press. But from some observations impressionistically made by journalism scholars and journalists themselves, it is strongly suspected that manifest and latent policies overlapped considerably before 1945 and that this overlapping has significantly decreased since then.

c) Newspaper Circulation, Publishers, and Journalists:

Newspaper circulation has grown steadily in Korea. As of 1972 the circulation was estimated to have reached the UNESCO "minima" of 10 copies per 100 inhabitants.\(^{11}\)

Table 6-1-3 shows the circulation size as of late 1969 of newspapers published in Korea. The largest newspaper was the Dong-A Ilbo with a circulation of almost 400,000 copies a day. A great majority of general newspapers in Seoul belong to the circulation category of 100,000 to 300,000 copies per day. Most of the Provincial and all of the

\(^{11}\) Data on newspaper circulation before 1945 were scanty. Even today newspaper circulations are not publicly announced and validated. Korean newspapers still maintain their policy not to make public their exact circulation data and tend to shun away from the idea of forming a Korean version of Audit Bureau of Circulation. In the absence of circulation statistics published by newspapers, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information of the Korean Government, through its machinery and for its own purpose, started collecting data on mass media distribution across the country. The Government published the statistics of the number of newspaper copies, radio receivers, and television sets by county and city in 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1969.
Table 6-1-3: **Daily Circulation of Korean Newspapers by Type of Newspaper and Location**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily Circulation (in thousand)</th>
<th>General Location</th>
<th>Specialized Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 - 400</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 300</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 or less</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: This Table is based on the figures reported in *Jeonkook Shinmun Pokeup Shiltae: 1969* (Circulation of Newspaper Across the Country as of 1969), The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, Korean Government, Seoul, 1969.

** The circulation size in this Table is an estimated total which included home-delivery and street-sale copies.

* Two English language and one Chinese language dailies are not included.
specialized dailies had a circulation of less than 50,000 copies. About two out of every five newspapers in Korea had a circulation of less than 10,000 copies a day.

Per-household analysis by urban and rural areas reveals a differential newspaper circulation.\textsuperscript{12} The number of daily copies per 100 households was 60 in Seoul in 1969 as compared to 22 in rural (county) areas. In terms of per 100 household circulation almost 3 times more newspapers were subscribed in Seoul than in rural areas. When all the cities were put together, the per 100 household circulation dropped to 50. But the urban-rural ratio was more than 2 to 1.

Types of owners or publishers of newspapers have changed as Korea underwent many historical changes. Table 6-1-4 shows the distribution of principal occupation of the owners of newspapers and news agencies in Korea as of 1972.\textsuperscript{13} All owners of print media hold multiple positions in several different enterprises. The classification in Table 6-1-4 is based on the best knowledge and judgements of three


\textsuperscript{13} Almost all the press organizations have two top positions. One is the president and the other is the chairman of board of directors. Some organizations are owned by the presidents and some others by the chairman.
Table 6-1-4: Principal Occupations of Press Owners in Korea as of 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press Owner's Principal Occupation</th>
<th>Seoul General Newspapers &amp; News Agencies</th>
<th>Province General Newspapers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Specialized newspapers and news agencies published in Seoul are not included in this Table because the present study is limited to the General newspapers and news agencies in Korea.
newspaper editors who provided the information.

Among the owners of general newspapers and news agencies in Seoul, three were principally in journalism, four others were business, en, another three were politicians, and one belonged to other category. Among owners of Provincial general newspapers, six were in journalism, six others in business, another six in politics, and the remaining two in other lines of work.

No comprehensive data are available on the number of newsmen before 1962, but since 1963 the Press Center of Korea has published every year the Who's Who in the Korean Press in which all the executives, journalists, and some major managerial personnel were listed along with their respective positions. According to this Who's Who, the number of print media journalists in Korea doubled from 1,473 to 3,107 in the period of 7 years from 1964 to 1971.\(^\text{14}\) A breakdown shows that the number of journalists increased two times to 1,664 for Seoul General Newspapers and News Agencies and almost twice to 910 for Province General Newspapers. In the case of Seoul Specialized Newspapers and News Agencies the number more than tripled to 533. During the 7 year period the number of print media organizations

\(^{14}\) "Jeonkook Ulnonin-eun Myotmyong Inga" (Number of Journalists by Years), Kija Hyophoe-po (an organ of Reporters' Association), March 3, 1972, p. 3.
did not change for the Seoul General Press, but increased by only 1 to 22 for the Province General Press, and by 4 to 9 for the Seoul Specialized Press. This means that, for the Seoul and Province General Press, the increase in the number of journalists was due to an expansion of media organizations. But the tripling of journalist manpower for Seoul Specialized Press was attributable both to the increase in the number of organizations and the expansion of each organization.

2) Professional Associations and Journalism Education.¹⁵

As shown in Figure 6-2-1, there are four major associations of newspapermen in Korea. Two of them are the organizations of publishers or executives; one for newspapers and the other for news agencies. The former is called the

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Figure 6-2-1: Press-related Professional Associations, Research Organizations, and Journalism Education at College
Korean Newspapers' Association and the latter the Association of News Agencies. The other two are the organizations for working journalists: the Newspaper Editors' Association and the Reporters' Association.

The Korean press comprising the four main associations is linked to the International Press Institute (IPI) through the Korean National Committee of the IPI. This committee is composed of prominent journalists most of whom are in status of publisher, executive or senior editor. The National Committees of IPI in Korea and Japan organize Korea-Japan seminar for editors twice a year.

The Korean press is one of the founding members of the Press Foundation of Asia (PFA). The National Committee of PFA was organized in 1968. Full members of the committee should be the publishers of newspapers or news agencies. The PFA has its Readership Research Center set up in Seoul. The Reporters' Association is a member of the International Federation of Journalists.

The Press Ethics Commission provides a linkage to the public or news sources by handling their complaints against the press. The commission also examines articles in the print media to check on possible violation of the Code of Ethics and Standards of Conduct of Newspapermen. The commission was set up in 1961 and restructured in 1964. The commission is composed of 13 members: 3 publishers, 2 editors, 2 reporters, 2 Congressmen, 1 professor, 1 lawyer,
and 2 others from outside the press. The commission is basically a self-regulatory organization. When a complaint from outside the press is found justified or unethical handling of stories is detected, the commission can issue warnings to the press concerned, ask the press to correct or withdraw the stories and/or to make apology to the injured person or organization. The commission is financially supported by its member organizations as well as the government.

The Korean Press Institute promotes, through its journal Shinmun Pyongron (Journalism Review), discussions among professional journalists concerning problems and issues related to the press. The institute also organizes seminars for newspapermen and offers training courses for beginning reporters. The institute was founded in 1963.

The Kwan-hun Club is a fraternity of working journalists organized in 1959. The club publishes a quarterly called Shinmun Yongu (Study of the Press). The purpose of the group is to "exchange ideas and opinions in order to ensure a sound development of professional standards." It is an associate member of the International Federation of Journalists.

The associations and organizations described above are related mostly to journalism profession. But there is one foundation that provides linkages between the journalism profession and academic circle and between journalism practices and communication researches. This is the Sunggok
Foundation of Journalism, which was established in 1965. The foundation sends mid-career journalists to the United States, Japan, or other countries for advanced study at academic institutions. It financially helps arrange short-term seminar programs for mid-career journalists at the Graduate School of Mass Communications, Seoul National University. It also provides journalists with scholarship to attend the above-mentioned Graduate School. The Sunggok Foundation of Journalism also gives research funds for journalism professors.

The Korean Society of Journalism and Mass Communication Studies is an academic organization of journalism professors. The society was organized in 1959 but it was after 1968 that the society has become active in communication studies.

College Education of Journalism

The first journalism department in Korea was established in 1954 at Hong-ik College. But this program was abolished in 1962 under an educational reform measure to the government. In the meantime, departments of journalism or mass communication began to emerge at several other universities. As shown in Figure 6-2-1, currently six universities offer the Bachelor's degree, two universities both the Bachelor's and Master's degrees, and one university the Master's degree only. As of 1973 some 900 students were enrolled in the undergraduate program for journalism at 8 universities. Some 120 students were working for the Master's degree at the
Graduate School of Mass Communications, Seoul National University.

The proportion of journalism majors entering the press has been very small. According to a survey conducted by the Korean Press Institute in 1973, the journalism departments have produced a combined number of 1,400 graduates since the first journalism department was established in Korea. But less than 10 percent of them were working at print or electronic media. Only 2.5 percent of print media reporters across the country were journalism majors.16

Two factors seem to account for the small proportion of journalism graduates in the press. The first factor is a competitive job market. Employment of reporters has long been by examinations conducted by respective media organizations. The examinations are open to any college graduates. Because of the tight job market many social science majors and humanities graduates take the examination. Journalism majors constitute only a fraction of the large number of reporter aspirants.

The second factor is an apparent difference between journalism educators and journalism practitioners with regard

to the qualification for journalists. Journalism schools seem to emphasize theories of mass communication (or mass media) and techniques or article writing. But the press prefers those with substantive knowledge of social phenomena to those with technical knowledge of how to write articles. Journalism practitioners tend to believe that good journalists first need economic, sociological, political, and legal knowledge. In other words, how to write comes after what to write. Because of this orientational difference, four years of journalism education does not greatly help journalism majors in their competition with other discipline majors.

3) The Korean Journalists in the Contemporary Setting:

This section presents a brief description of the press organization in Korea and the kind of people who occupy the function of journalist. Since the field work was initiated and completed during the Summer, 1972, it is presumed that the general organizational characteristics have changed little since then.

a) Organization of the Press:

The journalists in this study represent 31 general

17 Keun-ho Shong, "Baramjikhan Shinmuhnagewa Kyoyuk" (Restructuring of College Education of Journalism to be desired), Shinmun Pyongron, Nov., 1973, No. 45, pp. 30-34.
daily newspapers and news agencies (wire service) in Korea.\(^{18}\) Eleven of the newspapers and news agencies are situated in the capital city of Seoul. These eleven break down into 8 general newspapers and 3 general news agencies. They are very similar to each other in many aspects such as organizational structure and news-gathering activities. They are national (nation-wide) presses in terms of their circulation as well as their intended audiences. For the purpose of this study, they will be grouped into one category and will be referred to as the Seoul General Newspapers (SGN).\(^{19}\) The remaining 20 are general newspapers situated outside of Seoul city, mostly in the Provincial capitals. They are local papers in nature and will be called the Provincial General Newspapers (PGN).

Table 6-3-1 shows that the ratio of Seoul journalists to Province Journalists in the sample of this study was almost 2 to 1. The actual ratio of Seoul to Province journalists was about 3 to 2. The ratio of Province journalists

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\(^{18}\) Excluded from examination in the present study were seven Specialized Newspapers and four Specialized News Agencies located in Seoul. These newspapers and news agencies specialize in economic and business aspects. They are local press in nature because they address themselves mostly to economic and business circles in Seoul and their circulation is largely confined to the Seoul area. Reasons for their exclusion were: 1) there were no counterparts in the Provincial areas; and 2) their influence on the general public seemed to be rather limited. Also excluded were two English-language and one Chinese-language dailies in Seoul.

\(^{19}\) Hereafter, this abridged form will be used in the text most of the time.
was somewhat reduced because 4 out of 20 Province newspapers failed to respond to this survey research. Three of the four non-responding Province papers were very small in size. The fourth was of considerable size for a Province paper. But to the extent that these four newspapers were not uniquely different from other Province newspapers, and since they were not clustered in any particular area, it was presumed that their absence would introduce no serious bias in the analysis of the Province journalists.

**Table 6-3-1: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Job Status and Newspaper Location**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Status</th>
<th>Seoul General Newspaper</th>
<th>Province General Newspaper</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managing Editor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Mag. Editor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant Editor</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 100% 100% 100%

Total Number of Cases = 206 112 318

In a broad sense the term reporter refers to journalists as a whole and includes editors and editorial writers as well. But in the present study the term "reporter" is used in a narrow sense to refer only to the journalists below the rank of editor. The term "editor," on the other
hand, is used here in a broad sense to include assistant editors, editors, deputy managing editors, and managing editors.\textsuperscript{20}

For practical and theoretical reasons, "editorial writers" were excluded from the present study. In Korea editorials are written mostly by those belonging to the board of editorial writers which is independent of the news department. Both in theory and in practice, editorials are understood to reflect the policies of the respective press organizations. News articles and commentaries, on the other hand, are presumed to be independent of publisher or management policies. This is so at least in theory. Also, the number of editorial writers is relatively small. A 20 percent nationwide sample totaled 24. Although 19 returned the questionnaire, the number was considered too small for any first or second order partial analyses that would be employed in the present study.

Table 6-3-1 shows that two thirds of the journalists were reporters. The proportions of sub-categories of editor

\textsuperscript{20} The term "journalists" sometimes refers to publishers and members of the board of directors of news media. It is understood that, without a fair understanding of this group of people in the uppermost echelon of the Korean press, any survey of journalists would not be complete. But because of practical difficulties of administering a questionnaire to this group, they were not included in the present study.
rank were: 13 percent, assistant editors; 11 percent, editors; 5 percent, deputy managing editors; and 4 percent, managing editors. These editors accounted for 33 percent of the total sample. Province papers were found to have a greater proportion of editors than Seoul papers. The ratio of reporters to editors was 5 to 2 for Seoul General Newspapers and 3 to 2 for Province General Newspapers.

Another major organizational feature of the news department is the division between "beat" and "non-beat" sections. Journalists of "beat" sections go out to gather news. "Beat" sections comprise those covering politics, economics, city or social affairs, culture or academic events, and sports. Journalists belonging to "non-beat" sections stay in the office and handle mostly in-coming news articles. Examples are editing-layout and foreign news sections. All managing editors and some deputy managing editors are above the "beat" and "non-beat" sections and, therefore, do not come under either classification.

Table 6-3-2 shows that 54 percent of journalists belonged to "beat" sections and 42 percent to "non-beat" sections. For both Seoul and Province papers the ratio of "beat" to "non-beat" journalists was about the same, that is, 5 to 4.
Table 6-3-2: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Work Section and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Section</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beat</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Beat</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inapplicable</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Social Background:

Table 6-3-3 shows that almost two thirds (63%) of Korean journalists were born in urban areas: 16 percent in the capital city of Seoul, 23 percent in Province capitals, and 24 percent in other small-to-medium size cities. Thirty four percent were of rural origin. A small proportion (3%) of Korean journalists were born in foreign countries. The proportion of the rural born were about the same for both Seoul journalists (35%) and Province journalists (32%).
### Table 6-3-3: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Birthplace and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul Province</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province Capital</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other City</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Area</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 100% 100% 100%

Total Number of Cases = 204 112 316

Number of No Answers = 2 0 2

An examination of father's level of education revealed that almost a half (46%) of them had attained only an elementary education or less.21 This category includes "self taught," "elementary school," and "Chinese classics." The sub-category "Chinese classic" poses a problem because it

21 Another measure of one's social origin is occupation of one's father. But the problem with this measure was that almost one fourth of journalists failed to indicate clearly father's occupation either by checking "other category" or by leaving it unanswered. The large proportion of uncodable information made "father's occupation" a questionable variable to be used in the present analysis.
does not differentiate its levels involved. Some fathers might have studied "Chinese classics" to a very high level comparable to some college education in its philosophical, ethical, and historical content. But considering the fact that middle-high schools had already begun to open up at the time when these parents were in school age and, therefore, education beyond elementary level was most likely to be pursued through the modern educational institutions such as middle-high school and college, most cases of "Chinese classics" education can be fairly safely presumed to be elementary. As shown in Table 6-3-4, one third (33%) of fathers had attended middle-high schools and one fifth (21%) had attained a college education or more. When compared to the Province journalists, the Seoul journalists were more likely to have come from higher educated families. Twenty four percent of fathers for Seoul journalists were college educated. The proportion for Province journalists was 15 percent. The proportion of fathers with elementary education or less was 15 percent higher for Province journalists (55%) than for Seoul journalists (40%).
Table 6-3-4: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Father's Educational Level and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Educational Level</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or less</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle &amp; High Schl.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or more</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases = 203 112 315
Number of No Answers = 3 0 3

As presented in Table 6-3-5, ninety-five percent of the Korean journalists had attained college education or more. The proportion of journalists whose highest education was middle-high school was only 5 percent. For both Seoul and Province journalists the proportion of the college educated was about the same; 80 percent and 79 percent, respectively. But there appeared some difference between the two groups of journalists when it came to graduate school or middle-high school categories. A greater proportion of Seoul journalists had gone through graduate school (19% as against 9%). On the other hand, the proportion of middle-high school only was 11 percent higher.
among Province journalists than among their colleagues in Seoul (13% as against 2%).

Table 6-3-5: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Educational Level and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalist's Educational Level</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle &amp; High Sch.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Sch.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases = 205 112 317
Number of No Answers = 1 0 1

Table 6-3-6 shows that about one half of the journalists had studied in the social sciences and almost one fourth had majored in the humanities. The proportion of journalists with natural science background was only 3 percent. In general, there were no significant difference between Seoul and Province journalists in their college education.
Table 6-3-6: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Major in College and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College Major</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No College Attended</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total = 100% 100% 100%
Total Number of Cases = 206 112 318

c) Age and Personality Type:

Journalism in Korea appears to be an occupation for the younger people. As shown in Table 6-3-7, some 85 percent were in their thirties or younger. The largest age bracket was the 30 to 34 age group. This age group accounted for 46 percent of the journalists in Korea.
Table 6-3-7: **Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Age and Newspaper Location**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29 Yrs. or below</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30 - 34 Yrs.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35 - 39 Yrs.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40 Yrs. or above</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Number of Cases</strong></td>
<td>206</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next largest group was the 35 to 39 age bracket, accounting for 26 percent. The proportions of journalists over 40 and below 29 were about the same: 14 percent for the former and 15 percent for the latter groups. There was no significant difference in age distribution between Seoul and Province journalists.

There was found a high correlation in Korea between journalist's age and their job-status. Among Seoul General Newspaper journalists, 83 percent of the reporters were under the age of 34, whereas 86 percent of editors were over the age of 35. Among Province General Newspaper journalists, 85 percent of reporters were 34 years old or under, while 70 percent of editors were 35 years old or over.
This phenomenon may be attributable to three factors. First, most Korean journalists start out their career at about the same age group as cub reporters. Second, even in the few exceptional cases of hiring, the age factor is generally given due consideration in order not to disturb the balance between age and status that permeates the cultural sentiment. Third, if any journalist feels that he is by-passed too often in promotion to editorship, he is very likely, under psychological pressure, to quit the occupation. All these reduce the likelihood of reporters being older than editors.

The journalist's personality orientation was measured by an image of life index. This index was constructed by combining the responses to two statements. The first item read: "Man can do nothing about his fate. So he might just as well accept it." Those who voiced disagreement to this idea were coded as "non-fatalist," whereas those who either agreed or were not sure about the idea were termed as "fatalist." The second item read: "Nowadays with the social conditions the way they are, it is wise to live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."22

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22 These two items were taken from Bernard C. Rosen's "Achievement Syndrome" inventory and slightly re-worded. See Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, April, 1956, 21:2, pp. 207-208.
Those rejecting this idea were regarded as "futurist," while others were considered "nowist." When cross-tabulated, the two variables showed a high positive relationship. Those with both "non-fatalist" and "futurist" attitude were referred to as "free-will" oriented; all others were labeled "determinist" oriented.

When measured with this image of life index, 45 percent of the journalists exhibited the "deterministic" orientation and 55 percent showed the "free-will" orientation. Table 6-3-8 shows that there was little difference between Seoul and Province journalists in terms of personality type.

Table 6-3-8: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Personality Type and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality Types</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deterministic</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free-Will</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of No Answers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Chi square = 61.447, df = 1, p < .001, $\phi = .4489$, N = 306

24 The terms "free-will" and "determinist" orientations were borrowed from Earl R. Babbie, Science and Morality in Medicine, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 86-128.
VII. ROLE CONSENSUS STRUCTURE

This chapter provides an empirical test to the theory and hypotheses presented in an earlier chapter. The three major hypotheses are tested in the form of a series of sub-hypotheses, which are presented at the beginning of each section.

1) Role Structure and Role Consensus:

Hypothesis One:

Consensus among Korean journalists is likely to be:

a) Greater with regard to the role of the press in the nation-state;

b) intermediate concerning the role of the press vis-a-vis either the government or the audience; and

c) least over roles of publisher, editor, and reporter in the process of newspaper-making.

In connection with Hypothesis One three different types of roles are stipulated. One is a type of role expected of a subsystem vis-a-vis its own system. In the sense that a subsystem is a part of system, this type of role is referred to as the Inclusive Model or Type I role. The second type of role is that expected of a subsystem vis-a-vis another subsystem which partially overlaps with each other within the boundary of the same system. This type of role is called the Partially Overlapping Model or Type II role. The third type of role is one expected of a subsystem vis-a-vis another subsystem which, in this case, does not overlap with each
other. This type of role is called the \textit{Discrete Model} or \textit{Type III} role. (Hereafter, the terms Type I, Type II, and Type III will be used instead of the Inclusive Model, the Partially Overlapping Model, and the Discrete Model).

Hypothesis One stipulates different degrees of consensus for different types of roles as perceived by Korean journalists. It predicts a greater consensus for Type I role, and intermediate degree of consensus for Type II role, and least consensus over Type III role.

Earlier discussions in Chapter IV reasoned that, in the context of the present study, the role of the press in the nation-state can be considered to be related to Role Type I. To the extent that journalists partly identify with either news sources or the general public, the role of the press vis-a-vis either the government or the audience can be compared to those associated with Role Type II. The roles of publisher, editor, and reporter in the process of newspaper-making can be taken as those related to Role Type III, especially when it comes to questions of right and accountability.

In order to test Hypothesis One, it is necessary first to locate and identify role items for three role types and to see whether there are differential degree of consensus as predicted.

Six role items are grouped as Type I role. A critical criterion for this type of role is whether they refer to
the role of press "in the country," "of the country," or "for the country." The six items selected define the role of press as a contributor to: 1) social justice in the country, 2) democratic potentiality of the nation, 3) democratic political system in the country, 4) cultural development of the country, 5) an eventual unification of the country (Korea has been divided into north and south Koreas), and 6) improved living standard of the people.¹

Ten other role items are classified as roles related to Type II role. A critical criterion in the selection of role items here is whether the press is placed in counter position to the government or the audience. The ten items selected define the press as: 1) an informer of facts to the audience, 2) a reflector of people's minds to those in responsible positions, 3) a mirror of social reality (to those concerned), 4) a helping hand for viable opposition parties, 5) a watchdog over the administration in power, 6) a preserver of status quo, 7) a contributor to political stability, 8) a supporter to the government, 9) a leader or guide of the general populace, and 10) an advocate of reforms (to social forces concerned).

¹ See Appendix D for a complete listing of Types I, II, and III role items.
Another six items were selected as those that approximate the kind of acts related to Role Type III. They are closely related to daily reportorial activities and involve such questions about who should be intitled to what and who should be held accountable when things have gone wrong. These role items include: 1) How to write news articles from what perspective should be reporter's right, 2) Editors should be consulted for opinion with regard to how to write specific news stories, 3) Publisher's (or management's) policies should be taken into account concerning how to write news articles, 4) If any news article becomes a target of investigation for national security reasons, with a strong possibility of someone being indicted or jailed, those that should be held accountable should be reporters that wrote the article concerned, 5) editors that were in charge of the reporters, and 6) newspaper as an employing organization.

Table 7-1-1 shows how Korean journalists conceived their roles classified here as Type I roles. The first column presents response patterns of all journalists. More than 90 percent of journalists agreed to 5 out of 6 role items. As to the remaining one role item, 85 percent expressed their agreement. When examined item by item, practically all journalists believed that their role should be: 1) to help establish a social justice in the country (97%), 2) to help nurture democratic potentiality of the
Table 7-1-1: Percentage Distribution of Responses by Korean Journalists to Type One Role Items by Newspaper Location and Job Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type One Role Items</th>
<th>Newspaper Location</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Journalists N=318</td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td>Job Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=148</td>
<td>Editor N=58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Press is to contribute to:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Social Justice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Democratic Potentiality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Democratic Political System</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-1-1: (continued) Type One Role Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Press is to contribute to:</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>N=148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cultural Development</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Country's Unification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Living Standard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.e.</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nation (98%), 3) to help develop democratic political system in the country (96%), and 4) to help elevate culture of the country (94%). Ninety percent of journalists agreed to an idea that press should contribute to an eventual unification of the country. When it comes to a role of press as a contributor to improving living standard of the country, 85 percent of journalists agreed to the ideal.

Between Seoul and Province journalists (compare sub-total columns) there appeared no significant difference with regard to all 6 role items. Between reporters and editors both in Seoul and in the Provinces there also were no major differences in all 6 role items. In general, newspaper location and job status had no significant effect on the journalist's definition of Type I role.

Table 7-1-2 presents how Korean journalists define their roles classified here as Type II roles. The first column shows the response patterns of all journalists. A very high proportion of journalists believe that the role of press should be to: 1) inform facts to the audience (96%), 2) represent the people's minds (94%), and 3) reflect the social reality (91%). A moderate proportion of journalists agreed to ideas such as: 1) that the press should help make the opposition party viable in competition with the ruling party (77%), 2) that the press should be watchdog for the administration in power (77%), and 3) that the press should help preserve political stability (65%). On
Table 7-1-2: Percentage Distribution of Responses by Korean Journalists to Type Two Role Items by Newspaper Location and Job Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Press is to:</th>
<th>All Journalists N=318</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=148</td>
<td>N=58</td>
<td>N=206</td>
<td>N=66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Inform facts to audience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mirror people's mind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Reflect social reality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-1-2: (continued) Type Two Role Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Press is to:</th>
<th>All Journalists N=318</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Report N=148 Editor N=58 Total N=206</td>
<td>Reporter N=66 Editor N=46 Total N=112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Support opposition party</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Watchdog the Gov't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Preserve status quo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-1-2: (continued) Type Two Role Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Two Role Items</th>
<th>All Journalists N=318</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=148</td>
<td>Editor N=58</td>
<td>N=206</td>
<td>Reporter N=66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Preserve political stability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Support the Gov't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Lead the general populace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7-1-2: (continued) Type Two Role Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Press is to:</th>
<th>All Journalists N=318</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=148</td>
<td>Editor N=58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total N=206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=66</td>
<td>Editor N=46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total N=112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Advocate reforms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>100%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the other hand, disagreement was voiced by 70 percent of the journalists to the idea of press instrumental to status quo. Sixty-two percent disagreed that the role of the press is to provide support to the government. On the other hand, 60 percent agreed that the press should lead the general populace. Finally, the role of the press as an advocate of reforms was agreed upon by 55 percent of the journalists.

In 5 out of 10 role items there appeared no significant differences between Seoul and Province journalists (compare sub-total columns). The 5 role items were the role of the press as: a fact informer, a mirror of people's minds, a reflector of social reality, a guide of the general populace, and a reform advocate.

But in the other 5 role items, Seoul and Province journalists showed 10 to 24 percent differences. Compared to Province journalists, Seoul journalists were proportionately more in agreement in defining the press as a supporter of the opposition party, more in disagreement with the press as a preserver of the status quo, more in agreement to the press being a watchdog over the administration in power, and more in disagreement to the press being a government supporter. On the other hand, compared to Seoul journalists, Province journalists were proportionately more in agreement to the press being a political stabilizer.

Between reporters and editors there appeared significant differences in their definition of the role of the press.
In Seoul, more reporters than editors were in agreement to the press being an advocate of reform, in disagreement to the press helping to maintain the status quo, and also in disagreement to the press mainly supporting the government in power.

In the Province areas, editors were more in agreement that reporters in defining the press as watchdog over the government. However, more reporters than editors disagreed with defining the press as a preserver of the status quo.

From another perspective, job status (editor vs. reporter), and newspaper location may be viewed as having some effect on how specific role definitions apply to the press. In Seoul, reporters looked at the press differently from editors in regard to the press' role as supporter of the government and advocate of reforms. However, in the Province areas, there was disagreement between editors and reporters in regard to the role of the press as a watchdog of government. There appeared only one area of general agreement between editors and reporters in both Seoul and the Province areas. Both disagreed in general to the idea of the press being a preserver of the status quo.

Another interesting observation with regard to Type II role is the marked increase in the proportion of journalists giving "not certain" responses, although still showing evidence of maintaining consensus. Though it is difficult to measure precisely how each item functions in this "over-
lapping" idea in the Type II role, this increasing ambiguity in response lends support to the idea that each of the subsystems has had its effect in causing this uncertainty.

Compared to Seoul journalists, Province journalists were proportionately more "not certain," about the press being the preserver of the status quo, supporter of the government, and as watchdog over the administration in power. On the other hand, Seoul journalists were more "not certain," than Province journalists regarding the press as a political stabilizer.

Between reporters and editors there appeared differences over some role items in the proportion of "not certain" responses. For example, in Seoul, editors were more "not certain" than reporters about the press being an advocate of reform, as a preserver of the status quo, and as supporter of the government. In the Province areas, editors were more "not certain" than reporters of the press being a preserver of the status quo.

It is interesting to note that in those cases where more than 10 percent differences were exhibited between reporters and editors in the proportion of "not certain" responses, the editors were the ones with the greater proportion of uncertainties.

Table 7-1-3 shows how the Korean journalists perceived the role of the press classified here as Type III. Type III
role here deals with right and accountability involved in the daily reportorial activities: Who should have the right over how to write news articles: the reporter, the editor, or the publisher (management)? Who should be held accountable when things go wrong? The reporter, the editor, or the publisher?

The first column presents the response patterns of all journalists. Sixty four percent of the journalists agreed that reporters should have the right over how to write news articles. About editor's opinion being consulted in news articles, 50 percent considered it acceptable. Only 18 percent agreed that publisher's (or management's) policies should be given due consideration with regard to news writing. Fifty percent expressed a negative attitude. On the question of accountability, 55 percent disagreed that the reporter alone be held accountable, while 61 percent agreed that the editor should be held accountable. Only 41 percent agreed that the newspaper as an employing organization should be held accountable.

Between Seoul and Province journalists, there were no major differences in 5 out of the 6 role items. Seoul journalists were as likely as Province journalists to endorse reporter's right, editor's accountability, and editor's right. Also, Seoul journalists were as likely as Province journalists to disagree to the ideas of "reporter-alone-accountable" and "publisher-also-has-right."
Table 7-1-3: Percentage Distribution of Responses by Korean Journalists to Type Three Role Items by Newspaper Location and Job Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Three Role Items</th>
<th>Newspaper Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul Job Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose Rights?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose Accountability?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Reporter's Rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Editor Accountable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Reporter Accountable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=318
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Three Role Items</th>
<th>All Journalists N=318</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
<th>Sub-total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whose Rights?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter N=148</td>
<td>Editor N=58</td>
<td>N=206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose Accountability?</td>
<td></td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Publisher's Rights</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Editor's Rights</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Press Org.</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountable</td>
<td>n.c.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
But on "accountability of newspaper as employing organization," a greater proportion of Seoul journalists endorsed the idea.

Unlike newspaper's location, journalist's job status was found to have considerable effect on conception of Role Type III. For example, both in Seoul and in the Provinces, reporters were more likely than editors to endorse the idea of "reporter's right." On the other hand, editors in Seoul and in the Provinces were more likely to agree to the idea of "editor's right." With regard to the idea of "editor-also-accountable," editors were unexpectedly more likely to agree regardless of newspaper location. But the discrepancy was greater in Seoul (33%) than in the Provinces (11%). Reporters of both Seoul and the Provinces were more likely than editors to show a negative attitude regarding publisher's right. On reporter's accountability, there appeared a considerable difference between reporters and editors in Seoul but no difference between reporters and editors in the Provinces. Concerning the idea of "newspaper-also-accountable," job status did not have effect both in Seoul and in the Provinces.

It is interesting to note that the proportions of "not certain" answers were rather stabilized around 25 percent level in most cases irrespective of newspaper location and journalist's job status. Between Seoul and Province journalists there appeared no major difference in proportion of
"not certain" answers. Between reporters and editors no major difference was observed except for a few cases. The exceptions were: Seoul reporters were more "not certain" regarding editor's rights and more "not certain" regarding editor's accountability. Province reporters were more "not certain" on editor's accountability.

From the general description above of all role items in Hypothesis One, one can get a general feeling about structures of role conceptions among Korean journalists. The next task is to present all these items in a summary form in order to test Hypothesis One.

It will be recalled that Hypothesis One predicts a greater consensus among Korean journalists with regard to Type I role, an intermediate degree of consensus over Type II role, and least consensus with respect to Type III role. Consensus is defined here in a statistical sense. As indicated earlier in the discussion of role consensus there seems to be two different definitions of consensus. One is perceived consensus mediated through inter-subjectivity. The other is objective consensus. In the latter's sense, there exists a consensus when a considerable majority of people agree to any particular idea whether they perceived the other's idea correctly or not. In testing Hypothesis One, the second type of consensus measure will be used. In this statistical sense of consensus, the more people agree, the greater the consensus.
When there are only two categories of responses in which an opinion can be expressed, such as yes or no, or agree or disagree, the proportion of the larger category determines the proportion of the other category, thereby setting the shape of opinion structure. The larger category can range from a maximum of 100 percent to a minimum of 50 percent. Consensus is greatest when one of two categories has 100 percent. Consensus decreases as the larger category approaches 50 percent. When the larger category hits the level of 50 percent, the curve becomes flat resulting in dissensus. The issue becomes more complex as the number of response categories increases, for example, as in Hypothesis One where role item responses are trichotomized: agree, not certain, and disagree. Figure 7-1-1 shows major variations of opinion structures that can arise when the number of response categories are three.²

² As a measure of consensus Gross and his associates used the variance of distribution. In this case a smaller variance means a greater consensus. See Gross et al., op. cit., Chapter 7, pp. 95-115, especially, p. 107.

V. O. Key, Jr., also used patterns of distribution in his study of public opinion. Three major patterns of opinion ion distributions in his study were consensus, conflict, and concentration. With regard to consensus, he differentiated supportive, permissive, and multiple consensus depending on the shapes of opinion distributions. Concerning conflict he took note of bimodal and multimodal opinion distributions. For more information, see V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, Knopf, New York, 1961, especially, Part 1, pp. 27-93.
All the role items being examined in the present section have three categories: Agreement (A), Not Certain (NC), and Disagreement (D). These are some extreme examples. It should be noted that there can be wider variations in degrees not shown in the Figure.

Figure 7-1-1: Schematically Presented Relationship Between the Proportions of the Largest Response Categories and Resulting Patterns of Distribution *
Suppose that the largest response category of three has 80 percent. There can be three different shapes of opinion structures. In one case 80 percent expresses agreement. In the second case 80 percent shows uncertainty. In the third case 80 percent exhibits disagreement. They are different in content. But they have one thing in common: They all exhibit a high degree of consensus in one way or another. Suppose again that the largest category carries 60 percent. There will appear four different shapes of opinion structures. The first three can be considered consensus structure of opinion even though the degree of consensus is reduced. But the fourth opinion structure deserves attention. Opinions are divided into two categories (agree and disagree) with only a small proportion taking up in between. This is a conflict situation. Suppose that the proportion of the largest category decreases further to somewhere around 40 percent. There will be left not much room for opinion structures to vary. The opinion shape becomes flat. The result is dissensus.

The examples in Figure 7-1-1 are schematic ones. In a real situation there can be a continuum in the proportion of the largest response category ranging from 100 percent down to 34 percent. The examples were meant to indicate that, even in the case of a three response category opinion structure, the proportion of the largest category can fairly well tell the degree of consensus. However, one has to check
the opinion distribution in order to note any possible conflict structure.

In order to test Hypothesis One, a mean of percentages of the largest response categories was calculated for each of the three Role Types and the fiducial limits for each mean were obtained at the 5 percent level. If the fiducial limits of the means of the Role Types do not overlap, it can be concluded that the degree of consensus of one type of role is significantly different from the degree of consensus of another type of role.

Table 7-1-4 shows that, among Korean journalists, the mean consensus score of Type I role items was significantly greater than that of Type II role items, whereas the mean consensus score of Type III role items was significantly lower than that of Type II role items. The mean percentages of the largest response categories of role items was 93 percent for Type I roles, 75 percent for Type II roles, and 54 percent for Type III roles. The fiducial limits at 5 percent level ranged from 97 percent to 89 percent for Type I role items, from 84 percent to 66 percent for Type II role items, and from 60 percent to 48 percent for Type III role items.
Table 7-1-4: Mean Consensus Score Measured in Percentage for Different Role Type Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Type</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of role items</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Percentage of Largest Answer Categories</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-1-4 provides a clear empirical support to Hypothesis One that predicted greater consensus over Type I role, intermediate degree of consensus over Type II role, and lesser consensus over Type III role.

For both Seoul and Province journalists the predicted relationship between role types and consensus was found to hold true. (See Table 7-1-5.) In the case of Seoul journalists, the mean consensus score was 94 percent for Type I role, 76 percent for Type II role, and 55 percent for Type III role. There was no overlapping of the fiducial limits of the mean consensus scores for the different role types. In the case of Province journalists, the mean consensus score was 94 percent for Type I role, 71 percent for Type II role, and 51 percent for Type III role. The fiducial limits of three mean consensus scores did not overlap.
Table 7-1-5: Mean Consensus Scores Measured in Percentage for Different Role Type Items by Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Type</th>
<th>Seoul N=206</th>
<th>Province N=112</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of role items</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Percentage of Largest Answer Categories</td>
<td>93.5%</td>
<td>76.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Error</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fiducial limits for the three mean consensus scores require further consideration. The ranges were about 10 percent for both Type I and Type III role items. But when it comes to Type II role items, the range increased to almost 20 percent. As indicated in the discussion of role items earlier in this section, this rather broad fiducial limits of the mean consensus score for Type II role items can be attributed to three "high" consensus and two "low" consensus role items that were classified as Type II on the basis of conceptual criteria. The three "high" consensus role items were those defining the press as a fact informer to the general populace, as a mirror of the people's mind, and as a reflector of social reality. One after-the-fact interpretation suggests that the journalist respondents might have perceived the terms like general populace, people's
mind and social reality as identical to the nation, the country, or the society. If that was the case, it is probable that the three role items would belong to Type I roles in the minds of journalists.

Also interesting to note is an apparent relationship of some historical aspects of Korean press to the differential degree of role consensus. As discussed earlier in connection with the explicitly stated policies of newspapers, Korean newspapers in the early 20th century emphasized enlightenment of the people along with patriotism, and nationalism. During the period of Japanese rule (1910-1945) Korean newspapers maintained the same orientation. A new addition to their policies was an emphasis on economic self-sufficiency. But for the newspapers that emerged after 1945, especially after 1950, the policy emphasis moved away from enlightenment orientation and toward professional orientation such as impartial, speedy, and factual reporting as well as maintaining a free press. To the extent that the manifestly stated policies reflect the orientation of the press and journalists at the time of policy formulation, one can say that, among contemporary journalists, the enlightenment orientation might have become passe and professional orientation has become the new ethic. In this respect, it is interesting to note that the two "low" consensus role items are related to aspects of enlightenment role of press (a guide of the general populace
and an advocate of reforms), whereas the three "high" consensus role items are related to aspects of professional role of press (a fact informer and/or a social mirror).

The "high" consensus role items reflect the key positions upheld by journalists in the name of objective reporting. These positions have been used by the press and journalists in their defense against charges of press bias and distortion. Typical responses to attacks upon the press have been the following: "Don't blame the messenger for the message," and, "Don't blame the mirror for reflecting your face as it is." Journalists in Korea, like newsmen in many other countries, have been socialized into believing in these mottoes. There has rarely been agreement between major social forces over what constitutes fact. The question of "whose version of fact" has always been there. But catch phrases such as "factual reporting" and "mirror role of press" have rapidly gained acceptance among journalists.

On the conceptual level, the five role items belong to Type II role since they relate the press to the audience or general populace. But the historical and situational aspects mentioned above might have worked on them in the direction of either greater or lesser consensus.

Thus, even though Type II role items pose some problems, it is reasonable to conclude from the evidence that Hypothesis One is tenable. In particular, there was high consensus among Korean journalists with reference to Type I role items,
thereby supporting Hypothesis One-a; there were some deviating cases but, for about one-half of Type II role items, consensus degree was "intermediate" among the same journalists, thereby giving good support to Hypothesis One-b; and there was low consensus for Type III role items among these journalists, thereby giving strong support to Hypothesis One-c.

2) Socialization and Role Conception:

Hypothesis Two:

a) Type One role is more likely to be affected by pre-journalism background factors;

b) Type Two role is more likely to be affected by both pre-journalism background and work-related organizational factors;

c) Type Three role is more likely to be accounted for by work-related factors.

Hypothesis One examined the degree of consensus regarding the different role definitions of the press. Hypothesis Two assumes that the different role types would be affected by different factors. Similar background and/or situations are likely to expose people to similar influences which in turn may bring about similar role conceptions. To that extent, pre-journalism background (early socialization factors) and newspaper organization factors (on the job socialization and/or situations) are considered salient influences explaining differential role conceptions.

General and/or basic roles are very likely to be inter-
nalized during early socialization or in the course of formal education. The Type I role items examined in the present study are of a very general nature. Therefore, Type I role is presumed more likely to be affected by pre-journalism background factors. Type II role items relate the press to the government and to the audience, all of which are sub-systems of the nation-state. These role items are less general but more job-specific. To that extent, Type II role is likely to be affected by both pre-job backgrounds and work-related organization factors. Type III role items reflect the relationships between reporters, editors, and publishers with regard to daily reportorial activities. These role items are job-specific. Therefore, Type III role is more likely to be accounted for by work-related variables.

Before proceeding to test each of the general hypotheses, indices were constructed for each of the role types. In the case of Type I role, the 6 items were used to construct a composite "Index of Nationmindedness." Each of the items was trichotomized into three response categories: More, intermediate, and less. For example, those who agreed to the role of the press as one to establish social justice in the country were classified as "more nationminded"; those who were not certain about this issue were categorized as "intermediate nationminded"; and those who disagreed were classified as "less nationminded."
The six role items proved to be mutually supportive. That is, if a journalist agreed to one of the items regarding the definition of the press' role, he was more likely to agree to the remaining five role items. Since they were found to be mutually supportive, it was decided to use all of the six role items in constructing a composite index of "Nation-mindedness" role conception. For each of the six role items "agree" was given a score of 2, "not certain" a score of 1, and "disagree" a score of 0. These scores were summed up to make an index with scores ranging from 0 (least nation-minded) to 12 (most nation-minded).

When measured by this index, 78 percent of the journalists were "most nation-minded," meaning that they agreed to all of the six Type I role items. Twelve percent agreed to five role items and were not sure about one role item. The mean index score was 11.6. The distribution is shown in Table 7-2-1.

Table 7-2-1: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists along the "Index of Nation-Mindedness" Role Conception

| Index Score of "Nation-Mindedness" Role Conception | least | | | | | most |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| f | 5 | 5 | 3 | 19 | 38 | 248 = 318 |
| % | 1.6 | 1.6 | .9 | 6.0 | 11.9 | 78.0 = 100% |

Mean Index Score = 11.59

Standard Deviation = .96
Second, with regard to Type II role items, one composite index was constructed to represent the "Index of Actives" role. All 10 items representing Type II role were used in this index. Each of the items was trichotomized into the following response categories: "high active," "intermediate active," and "low active." For example, those who agreed to role of the press as a watchdog over the administration in power were categorized as "high active," those who were not certain about this were classified as "intermediate active," and those who disagreed with this role conception were classified as "low active." The same criterion and procedure were followed in trichotomizing 7 other role items (press as: a fact informer, a reflector of the people's mind, a mirror of social reality, a helping hand for a viable opposition party, a political stabilizer, a guide for the general public, and an advocate of reforms). In order to keep the direction of responses consistent, responses to the two remaining role items (press as a preserver of the status quo and a supporter of the government in power), were checked in the reverse order. For example, "disagreement" with these two items were categorized as "high active" responses, "not certain" as "intermediate active" responses, and "agreement" as "low active" responses.

A tentative measure of validity of these items was checked by examining the relationship of all 10 Type II role items. Of the 45 possible paired relationships, 40 were
mutually supportive. Simply put, if a journalist was "high active" on any one role item, he was likely to be "high active" in every other role item. The 5 remaining paired relationships, though weak and therefore not mutually supportive, were kept as part of the index because it was felt that they did not significantly affect the general pattern established by the other 40 paired relationships. Part of the reason for this decision was the fact that none of the items deviated from the general pattern.

In placing the individual on the "active" index the following procedure was followed: "High active" was given a score of 2, "intermediate active" was given a score of 1, and "low active" a score of 0. The sum of the scores to all 10 items became the "active" score for each individual journalist. When measured by this index, about 10 percent of the Korean journalists were "High Active" on all 10 role items. The mean index score was 17.10 points out of a maximum of 20 points. Table 7-2-2 presents the distribution of Korean journalists along this "Active" index score.

Table 7-2-2: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists Along the "Index of Actives" Role Conception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index Score of &quot;Active&quot; Role Conception</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 4 9 13 32 39 65 79 42 31</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.3 .9 1.3 2.8 4.1 10.1 12.3 20.4 24.8 13.2 9.7</td>
<td>= 100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Index Score = 17.10
Standard Deviation = 1.95
Unlike Type I and Type II role items, Type III role items make up two dimensions. One dimension deals with an aspect of right concerning the writing of news articles. Whose right is it to decide how to write news articles? The reporter, the editor, or the publisher (management)? The other dimension is related to an aspect of accountability when news articles come under investigation for reasons of national security. Who should be held accountable then? The reporter, the editor, or the newspaper as an employer organization? Two indices were constructed along the clear distinction made above in terms of status/role: 1) "Index of Right," and 2) "Index of Accountability."

The "right index," was constructed in the following manner. For the role items referring to the editor's right, those who agreed were given a score of 3; those who were not certain, a score of 2; and those who disagreed a score of 1. Also, with regard to the role item concerning the reporter's right, agreement was assigned a score of 3; uncertainty a score of 2; and, disagreement, a score of 1. Then to arrive at an index score, the score based on responses to each item with reference to reporter's right was subtracted from the score based on responses to the items referring to editor's right. The resulting index ranged from -2 (most favorable to Reporter's Right) to 2 (most favorable to Editor's Right). In other words, those who agreed to Reporter's Rights but disagreed to Editor's Rights
scored -2, those who agreed to Reporter's Rights but were not
certain about Editor's Rights or those who were not certain
about Reporter's Rights but disagreed to Editor's Rights
scored -1 point on the index. Journalists who scored 0 point
on the index were those who showed identical responses to
both Reporter's Rights and Editor's Rights. Those who be­
lieved that both reporter and editor have the right (77 out
of 318 journalists), or those who were not sure about either
rights (19 journalists), or those who disagreed to both
(6 journalists) scored 0 point on the index. On the other
hand, journalists who agreed to Editor's Right but were not
sure about Reporter's Right, or journalists who were not
sure about Editor's Right but disagreed to Reporter's Right
scored 1 point. Those who agreed to Editor's Right but
disagreed to Reporter's Right scored 2 points. To put it
differently, a negative index score means more support to
Reporter's Right than Editor's Right, whereas a positive
index score indicates more support to Editor's Right as
compared to Reporter's Right. When measured this way,
41 percent of the journalists were found to be more in
favor of Reporter's Right, 32 percent were neutral, and
27 percent were more in support of Editor's Right. The
Distribution is shown in Table 7-2-3.
Table 7-2-3: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists along the "Index of Right" Role Conception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score of &quot;Rights&quot; Index</th>
<th>Most favorable to reporter</th>
<th>Most favorable to editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Index Score = -0.23
Standard Deviation = 1.27

The same procedure was followed in making an "Index of Accountability." Index score -2 was assigned to those who would hold accountable reporters but not editors. Index score -1 was given to those who believed in the accountability of reporters but were not sure about the accountability of editors, or to those who were not certain about reporter's accountability but disagreed to the idea of editor's accountability. Index score 0 was assigned to those who would hold both reporter and editor accountable (8 out of 318 journalists), or to those who were not certain about both reporter's and editor's accountability (42 journalists), or to those who disagreed to both reporter's and editor's accountability (9 journalists). Index score 1 was given to those who agreed to editor's accountability but were not sure about reporter's
accountability or to those who were not sure about editor's accountability but disagreed to reporter's accountability. Index score 2 was assigned to those who would hold editors accountable but not reporters. Simply put, negative index score means more accountability to reporters, whereas positive index score indicates more accountability to editors. When measured with this index, 19 percent of the journalists assigned more accountability to reporters than editors, another 19 percent took a neutral position, and 63 percent assigned more accountability to editors than to reporters. The distribution is presented in Table 7-2-4.

Table 7-2-4: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists along the "Index of Accountability" Role Conception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score of &quot;Accountability&quot; Index</th>
<th>reporter alone accountable</th>
<th>editor alone accountable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean Index Score = 0.78  
Standard Deviation = 1.44
Initially, three variables were selected as representing pre-job background factors. They were journalist’s birthplace, father’s educational level, and journalist’s educational level. Between journalist’s birthplace and father’s educational level there appeared a significant positive relationship.³ The urban born journalists were found more likely to have a more educated father. But father’s educational level did not show a significant effect on the journalist’s educational level. The journalist whose father was less educated received as high an education as the journalists whose father was more educated. Also, journalist’s birthplace was found not related with journalist’s educational level. By this process, journalist’s birthplace and educational level were selected to represent pre-journalism background variables.⁴ As newspaper organization factors, 4 variables were initially selected. They were: newspaper’s location (Seoul vs. Province General Newspapers), job status (reporter vs. editor), work section (non-beat vs. beat sections), and the number of years in journalism. Between job-status and the

³ Chi square = 18.921, df = 4, p < .01  C = .242, N = 318

⁴ Father’s occupation very often is used as an important background variable. But, as mentioned earlier in a footnote, Section 3, Chapter VI, the proportion of uncodable information was considerably large, turning father’s occupation unusable.
length of journalism career there was a significant positive relationship.\(^5\) Out of the necessity to reduce the number of variables to a manageable level, the career length variable was excluded.

Hypothesis Two specified only two groups of factors to be used as independent variables: pre-journalism background and newspaper's organizational variables. But there is another group of variables that can be considered incorporating the sum products of both background (past) and organizational (present) variables. Age and personality are two major variables of this nature.

Age can be treated as a background variable because it certainly contains a characteristic set of experiences associated with the past. For example, journalists in the late forties or older at the time of this survey were brought up during the period of the Japanese rule, whereas journalists in their late twenties or early thirties were raised mostly after the country's independence. On the other hand, age can reflect a characteristic relationship to work. In this case, age is presumed related to organization variables such as the position one occupies. In Korea the older ones are very likely to occupy higher positions. Because of this dual nature, age can be assigned a position independent of

\(^5\) Chi square = 156.923 \( \text{df} = 2, \ p < .01, \ C = .5779, \ N = 318.\)
background and organization variables.

Personality is presumed to be formulated in the process of continuous interaction between early and adult socialization. Background variables can serve as good indicators of early pre-job socialization. On-the-job socialization can represent a major part of adult socialization. Consequently, personality, as a product of interaction between the two socialization processes, can appropriately be given a status independent of both groups of variables.

In summary, Hypothesis Two predicts that Type I role can be explained by background factors, Type II role by both background and organization variables, and Type III role by organization variables. With regard to Type II role the discussion above suggested additionally that it may be accounted for by some variables incorporating both background and organization factors, such as age and personality.

Table 7-2-5 shows the relationships of 7 independent variables to the Type I role index indicating the "Nation-mindedness" role conception. The "t" test using mean index scores was employed to see how significant the differences in mean index scores are between subpopulations.

The "Index of Nation-Mindedness" role conception has a maximum of 12 points (most "nation-minded"). The mean index score for all journalists was 11.6 points, indicating that Korean journalists were very "nation-minded" in their role conception. Birthplace, Education, Personality, Job Status,
Table 7-2-5: Korean Journalists as Measured by "Nation-Minded" Index along Selected Subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Subcategories</th>
<th>Mean Index Score *</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>&quot;t&quot; Test at 5% two tails</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>11.59</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban born</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural born</td>
<td>11.61</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>11.61</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grad. schl.</td>
<td>11.51</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 34 yrs.</td>
<td>11.66</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 35 yrs.</td>
<td>11.48</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determinist</td>
<td>11.63</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free will</td>
<td>11.63</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reporter</td>
<td>11.62</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>editor</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Section</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-beat</td>
<td>11.55</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>11.62</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper Location</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>11.59</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>11.59</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The index scores range from 0 (least "Nation-Minded") to 12 (most "Nation-Minded").
Work Section, and Newspaper Location did not produce any significant differences among journalists in terms of the "Nation-Mindedness" role conception. Age showed some effect. The younger journalists were more "nation-minded" than the older journalists. But the mean index score difference between the younger and older journalists was not statistically significant ("t" = 1.52 1.96). All in all, none of the seven independent variables explained the "Nation-Mindedness" role conception. The conclusion is that Hypotheses Two-a is not substantiated.

Hypothesis Two-b maintains that the "Active" role conception can be explained by both background and organization variables. Table 7-2-6 shows the relationships of 7 independent variables to the "Active Index." This index has a maximum of 20 points ("High Active"). The mean index score for all journalists was 17.10 points, indicating that Korean journalists were considerably "Active" in their conception of press roles.

Birthplace, Education, Age, Job Status, and Work Section did not produce significant differences among journalists in terms of the "Active" role conception. But journalist's personality and newspaper's location did exert significant influence on this role type. Journalists with "free will" orientation were found more likely to have more "Active" role conception as compared to journalists with "determinist" orientation. Also, Seoul journalists tended more likely to
Table 7-2-6: Korean Journalists as Measured by "Active Role" Index along Selected Subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Subcategories</th>
<th>Mean Index Score</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>&quot;t&quot; Test at 5%, two tails</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>17.10</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban born</td>
<td>17.11</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural born</td>
<td>17.04</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>17.04</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grad. schl.</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 34 yrs.</td>
<td>17.18</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>193</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 35 yrs.</td>
<td>16.98</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determinist</td>
<td>16.80</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free will</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reporter</td>
<td>17.20</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>editor</td>
<td>16.91</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Section</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-beat</td>
<td>17.27</td>
<td>1.97</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>17.06</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper Location</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>17.29</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>16.77</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The index scores range from 0 ("Low Active") to 20 ("High Active").
be "High Active" than Province journalists.

Would the relationship of personality to "Active" still hold true if location is held constant? In other words, would the "free will" journalists be "More Active" than the "determinist" journalists both in Seoul and in the Provinces?

It was found that in the Province areas, the "free will" journalists were significantly more likely than the "determinist" journalists to be "High Active." On the other hand, in Seoul, the difference was not significant between the "free will" and the "determinist" journalists. Still, the tendency was that, in Seoul also, the "free will" journalists were more likely to be more "Active" as compared to the "determinist" journalists.

In the analyses above it was found that newspaper location and journalist's personality explained the differences among journalists in conceiving Type II role. Hypothesis Two-b, however, had another component predicting that background factors also would explain the differential conception of Type II role. But neither birthplace nor educational level was found to affect it. Therefore, Hypothesis Two-b was only partially supported.

Hypothesis Two-c predicts that Type III role is more likely to be explained by organization factors. As already discussed, two indices were developed from Type III role; one related to journalist's right and the other related to journalist's accountability. If the hypothesized relation-
ships hold true, both the Right-related and the Accountability-related role conceptions should be explained by job-status, work-section, or newspaper's location.

Table 7-2-7 shows the effect of 7 independent variables on who should have the right to decide how to write news articles. The "Right" index scores ranged from -2 (most favorable to Reporter's Right) to 2 (most favorable to Editor's Right). Negative score means support to Reporter's Right. Birthplace, Education, Personality, Work Section, and Newspaper's Location were found to have no significant impact. On the other hand, Age and Job Status appeared to exert significant influence on the "Right" role conception. The older journalists (over 35 years of age) were more likely than the younger journalists (under 34 years of age) to be in support of Editor's Right. Also, editors were more likely to endorse Editor's Right as compared to reporters.

Since, in the Korean context, editors are more likely to be older than reporters, it seems necessary to check which would be the real explanatory factor: Age or Job Status, or both. As compared to reporters, editors were found less likely to support Reporter's Right and more likely to support Editor's Right among both the younger and the older journalists. But among the younger journalists, the effect of job status was found to become somewhat weaker. As a whole, Age and Job Status were found to exert
Table 7-2-7: Korean Journalists as Measured by "Right" Index along Selected Subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Subcategories</th>
<th>Mean Index Score</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>&quot;t&quot; Test at 5%, two tails</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban born</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural born</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>college</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grad. schl.</td>
<td>-0.41</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 34 yrs.</td>
<td>-0.48</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 35 yrs.</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determinist</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free will</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reporter</td>
<td>-0.44</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>editor</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Section</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-beat</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper Location</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The "Right" index scores range from -2 (most favorable to Reporter's Right) to 2 (most favorable to Editor's Right). Negative score means support to Reporter's Right.*
cumulative effects on the conception of the "Right-related role." The older editors were most likely to endorse Editor's Right, whereas the younger reporters were least likely to support Editor's Right.

Table 7-2-8 shows the effects of 7 independent variables on the Accountability Index. The "Accountability" index scores range from -2 (Reporter Most Accountable) to 2 (Editor Most Accountable). Positive score means Editor's Accountability. Birthplace, Education, Work Section, and Newspaper's Location did not have significant effects on Accountability. On the other hand, Age, Personality, and Job Status significantly affected the journalist's attitude toward Accountability. The older journalists, the "determinist" oriented, and the editors were more likely to hold editors accountable. Examination of relationships between the three independent variables showed cases of specification. The relationship of "the-older-more-likely-than-the-younger" did not hold true among reporters. The relationship of "editors-more-likely-than-reporters" was not maintained among the younger journalists. And the relationship of "the-determinist-more-likely-than-the-free-will-oriented" did not persist among editors.

Hypothesis Two-c was partly supported with regard to both the Right-related and the Accountability-related role conceptions.
Table 7-2-8: Korean Journalists as Measured by "Accountability" Index along Selected Subcategories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables and Subcategories</th>
<th>Mean Index Score*</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
<th>&quot;t&quot; Test at 5%, two tails</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entire Sample</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban born</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural born</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>grad. schl.</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 34 yrs.</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 35 yrs.</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determinist</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free will</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>169</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reporter</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>editor</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Section</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-beat</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>173</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper Location</td>
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<td>Seoul</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>206</td>
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<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>112</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The "Accountability" index scores range from -2 (Reporter Most Accountable) to 2 (Editor Most Accountable). Positive score means Editor's Accountability.
In summary, Hypothesis Two was not supported with regard to the "Nation-Minded" role conception, partly confirmed with respect to the "Active" role conception, and also partly endorsed in connection with both the "Right" and the "Accountability" role conceptions. In other words, Hypothesis Two-a was found untenable, whereas Hypothesis Two-b and Hypothesis Two-c were found partially tenable.

3) **Specific Roles: Examination of Sub-Hypotheses of Hypothesis Three**

**Sub-Hypotheses:**

**Enlightenment Role of Press:**
1) Journalists of Province local newspapers are more likely than their colleagues of Seoul nation-wide presses to be strongly oriented toward the Enlightenment role.
2) Between reporters and editors there would be no significant difference in terms of orientation to the Enlightenment role.
3) Journalists with "free will" personality are more likely than journalists with "determinist" personality to believe in the Enlightenment role of press.
4) The older journalists are more likely than the younger journalists to be strongly oriented toward the Enlightenment role of press.

**Watchdog Role of Press:**
1) The younger journalists are more likely than the older journalists to exhibit a strong Watchdog role orientation.
2) Journalists with an image of man as "free will agent" are more likely than those with a "deterministic" image of life to be the "strong Watchdog oriented."
3) Seoul journalists are more likely to be strongly Watchdog-oriented than Province journalists.
4) a) Among Seoul journalists, reporters and editors are likely to demonstrate almost the same degree of Watchdog orientation.
4) b) Among Province journalists, however, reporters are less likely to be strongly Watchdog-oriented than their editors.

Role of Press as a Political Stabilizer:
1) The younger journalists are less likely to care much about political stability than the older journalists.
2) Editors are more likely to entertain a stability orientation in politics than reporters.
3) Seoul journalists are less likely to exhibit strong orientation toward a political stability as compared to Province journalists.
4) Journalists with a "deterministic" view of life are more likely to accept the government's argument for a political stability as compared to journalists with a "free will" personality.

Roles related to Right and Accountability:
1) a) Reporters are more likely to claim that they alone have the right to decide on how to write news articles.
   b) Editors also are more likely to claim that they also have the right to be consulted as to how to write specific news articles.
2) a) Reporters are more likely to throw the burden of accountability on the shoulder of editors.
   b) Editors also are more likely to throw the burden of accountability on to the shoulder of reporters than on to themselves.
3) Both reporters and editors are likely to assign publishers (or management) more accountability than right.

Four specific roles are selected for analysis in this section. They are: the Enlightenment role of press, the Watchdog role of press, role of press as a Political Stabilizer, and the Right and Accountability involved in reportorial activities. The major assumption presented here is that these four roles relate the journalists to several "counter
positions" (e.g., the general populace, the government, and other press people such as reporter, editor, and publisher), and consequently different factors would affect the journalist's conception of each of these roles.

The analyses in the preceding section showed that newspaper's location, journalist's job status, age and personality were the four most relevant variables related to the four roles to be discussed here. These four independent variables can appropriately be categorized into two types: 1) situation-specific and 2) situation-non-specific. Newspaper's location and journalist's job status belong to the situation-specific type and journalist's age and personality to situation-non-specific type.

Situation-specific variables are work-related ones. In which direction these variables would affect any particular role definition will depend on several things. For example, what is the nature of the role? How does the role relate journalists to the government, the general public, and some other major counter positions? To which areas of the country is the role of the press more salient, urban or rural areas? Does the role involve newspaper's location more than journalist's job status? Or vice versa? Or both? These situational contexts will be examined in the discussions of each of the four roles in an attempt to pose specific hypotheses for testing.
With regard to situation-non-specific variables one can postulate generally their effects on role conception without specifying work context. Concerning the effect of age it is assumed that the younger are more likely to be idealists in thinking and fighters in behavior, whereas the older are more likely to be realists and educators. Regarding personality, the "determinist-oriented" are presumed more likely to resign themselves to accepting whatever is being enforced. On the other hand, the "free-will-oriented" are more likely to act on things toward personally or generally desired ends.

**Enlightenment Role of Press**: The responses to two related role items were used to make a composite index of Enlightenment role of the press. They were: 1) role of the press as a leader or guide of the populace, and 2) role of the press as an advocate of reforms. Though the relationship was not very strong, these two variables showed a mutual reinforcement\(^6\), that is, the greater the orientation toward a leadership role of the Press, the greater the feeling that the Press should be an advocate of change. If a journalist agreed to the idea that the Press should lead the populace, he was categorized as enlightenment oriented. Also, an agreement to the idea of the Press being an advocate of

\(^6\) Chi square = 2.06075, df = 1, \(p > .05\), \(\phi = .0839\)
change was classified as enlightenment orientation. Those who showed enlightenment orientation on both aspects were referred to as "strongly" oriented to enlightenment role of the press. All others were grouped as "weak to no" enlightenment orientation. When measured by this index, about 36 percent of Korean journalists were strong in their enlightenment orientation.

Considering that the Korean press started out with this role as one of its key missions, this showing is not surprising. The earlier analyses of manifest policies of newspapers showed an apparent change from political and enlightenment orientation to professional orientation. Not many of the recently organized newspapers appeared to stress leadership or the guidance role of the press. Instead, they pledged to the public speedy, unbiased factual reporting. A managing editor of a large circulation daily in Seoul recently observed this change from a different perspective.7

According to him, up to three or four decades ago in Korea, newspapermen were encyclopaedic. They knew about many more things and much more about these things than most of their readers. At that time journalists were in a position to teach and guide the general populace. But more recently

7 Jae-hee Nam, in a panel discussion "Pyonjip Kukjang Ron" (About Managing Editors), Shinmun Pyongnon, Seoul, Jan., 1974, No. 46, pp. 35-41, especially, p. 39.
the situation has changed. As the society moved more towards specialization, journalists find themselves surrounded by many people who know more and upon whose expertise they now depend in their daily reportorial activities. Proportionately, it is still true that there are many people with a lot less knowledge than the journalists. But the changes in work structure and environment have reduced the journalist's orientation toward an enlightenment role.

The Enlightenment role no longer seems to be an issue of the day among Korean journalists. Unlike the Watchdog role of the press the government has been somewhat indifferent to this Enlightenment role. But there is another important counter position for the press. It is the general populace or newspaper readership. In fact, the Enlightenment role has been basically a relationship between the press and the general public. Urban and rural readerships seem to be different in many ways. First, in rural areas there are less opportunities for higher education as compared to urban areas. If they can afford educational costs, people send their children out to larger cities for a college education and the college educated youth usually settle down in urban areas. Exposure to mass media is far less in rural areas than in urban areas. The way of life and value orientation are more traditional in rural than in urban areas. Modernization means increased
empathy with things outside one's own communities and readiness to try and adopt new and more efficient ways of doing things brought by advancing science and technology. For these and other reasons, if there is a need for enlightenment today, it is in the rural areas more than the urban areas. If the press and journalists are presumed to respond to the needs of the public, then, journalists of Province local newspapers are more likely than their colleagues in Seoul nation-wide presses to be strongly oriented toward the Enlightenment role.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. Table 7-3-1 shows that there was no significant difference between Province and Seoul journalists in this orientation. The proportion of strong Enlightenment orientation was 33 percent for the former and 37 percent for the latter. Also, no significant difference appeared between these two groups of journalists when job-status, age, and personality were held constant.

Table 7-3-1: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightenment Orientation</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong ..................</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak  ....................</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = .72 \]
\[ p > .05 \]
Some research findings indicated that the audience as perceived by the writer or speaker affects the organization of materials as well as attitude. Some other research findings emphasize the importance of differentiating between the manifest and latent audiences and argue journalists are more likely to address their articles to their latent audience (e.g., news sources, editor, or publisher) and less likely to their manifest audience (e.g., the general public or man in the street). In light of these two findings, one explanation could be that Seoul and Province journalists were not significantly different in their Enlightenment orientation probably because the types of latent audiences were more or less same for them.

As far as the Enlightenment role is concerned, there seems to be no work-related difference between reporters and editors. If so, there would be expected no significant difference between the two positions. Table 7-3-2 shows this


to be the case. Reporters were not significantly different from editors in their orientation to the Enlightenment role. About as much proportion (36%) of reporters exhibited strong orientation as that (35%) of editors.

Table 7-3-2: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Job Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightenment Orientation</th>
<th>Reporter</th>
<th>Editor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong ..................</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak  ....................</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...................</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
t = .18 \\
p > .05
\]

Job status discriminated the orientation neither among Seoul journalists nor among Province journalists. As shown in Table 7-3-3, the proportional difference between reporter and editor was not significant among Seoul newsmen (1%) as well as among Province newsmen (5%).
Table 7-3-3: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Job Status with Newspaper Location Controlled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightenment Orientation</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Editor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong ...................</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak .....................</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ....................</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases ...</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>t = .13</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>p &gt; .05</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to effect of personality, people of free-will personality were assumed more likely to act on things in the belief of managed and planned change. If so, journalists strong in free-will orientation are very likely to believe in the Enlightenment role of the press. This appeared to be the case as shown in Table 7-3-4. Among the free-will oriented journalists 41 percent exhibited a strong orientation toward the Enlightenment role. The proportion was 30 percent among the determinist oriented.
Table 7-3-4: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Personality Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightenment Orientation</th>
<th>Determinists</th>
<th>Free-Will</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases 136 169 305*

\[ t = 2.01 \]
\[ p < .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 13.

When job status was held constant, the relationship of free-will-more-likely-than-determinist disappeared among editors. Table 7-3-5 shows that the proportion of editors with strong Enlightenment orientation was 35 percent for the determinist-inclined as against 36 percent for the free-will-inclined. But among reporters the free-will-inclined were found far more likely than the determinist-inclined to go along with the idea of press performing educational role. The proportion was 43 percent for the former as against 27 percent for the latter.
Table 7-3-5: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Personality Type with Job Status Controlled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Status</th>
<th>Reporter</th>
<th>Editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>Determinist</td>
<td>Free-will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlightenment Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t = 2.45</td>
<td>t = .10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p &lt; .05</td>
<td>p &gt; .05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age-related assumption was that the younger are more likely to be fighters, whereas the older are more likely to be educators. If this is so, the older journalists would be found more likely to be strongly oriented towards the Enlightenment role. Table 7-3-6 shows that there was some difference between journalists younger than 34 years of age and journalists older than 35 years of age. Forty percent of the older journalists were found oriented strongly to the educational role of the press. The proportion among the younger journalists was 32 percent. This relationship of The-Older-More-Likely-Than-The-Younger held out when con-
trolled by either personality, job-status, or newspaper location.

Table 7-3-6: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Enlightenment Orientation and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightenment Orientation</th>
<th>34 yrs. or under</th>
<th>35 yrs. or above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong ..................</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak ....................</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...................</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases 193 124 317*

\[ t = 1.45 \]

\[ p > .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 1.

To summarize, newspaper's location-type did not show any significant effect on journalist's orientation to the Enlightenment role. Seoul journalists were found to be not much different from Province journalists in this orientation. Job-status presented a case of what is called spurious non-correlation: 1) no association in the initial table, and 2) some relationship emerges when controlling on a third variable but the directions are opposite. As to personality the free-will-inclined journalists were found more likely to be strongly oriented to the Enlightenment
role both among the younger and the older, also both among Seoul and Province journalists, and among reporters but not among editors. Age alone was found to consistently explain the differential orientation to the Enlightenment role. The older journalists (35 years of age or above) were found always more likely than the younger (34 years of age or below) to exhibit a strong Enlightenment orientation.

**Watchdog Role of Press:** Two role items were chosen to make a composite index measuring watchdog orientation. One referred to the watchdog role of press, and the other referred to the role of the press as helping develop viable opposition parties. These two role items were mutually supportive. 10 Journalists who endorsed both roles were considered "strongly" oriented to a watchdog role of the press. All others were categorized as "weak to none" watchdog oriented. When measured by this index, 64 percent of Korean journalists were found to be strong in their watchdog orientation.

With regard to effect of age it was assumed earlier that the younger would be more likely to be idealists in thinking and fighters in behavior. One of the reasons for their idealism might be found in that less time has gone by since they

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10 Chi square = 26.687, df = 1, \( p < .01 \), \( \phi = .296 \).
left the school where they have been exposed to an ideal picture of roles of institutions and systems. The Watchdog role has been one of ideal roles of press as taught and internalized at schools in Korea. If this line of reasoning is adopted, the younger journalists would be presumed more likely to exhibit a strong Watchdog role orientation.

But this prediction was contradicted by the data. As shown in Table 7-3-7, the older journalists (over 35 years of age) were found slightly more likely to be Watchdog oriented. Sixty-nine percent of the older journalists as against 61 percent of their younger colleagues exhibited a strong Watchdog role orientation. This relationship, however, was not statistically significant.

Table 7-3-7: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Watchdog Orientation and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Watchdog Role Orientation</th>
<th>34 yrs. or under</th>
<th>35 yrs. or above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong ................</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak  ....................</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...................</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>317*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.47 \]
\[ p > .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 1.
As to effect of personality it was assumed earlier that the free-will-inclined are more likely to act on things hopefully in the direction of their ideal. If so, journalists with image of man as "free will agent" are more likely to be the "strong Watchdog oriented" as compared to journalists with a "deterministic" image of life.

As shown in Table 7-3-8, this hypothesis did not receive empirical support. There appeared a slight tendency as hypothesized. Sixty eight percent of the "free-will" journalists as against 60 percent of the "determinist" journalists exhibited a strong Watchdog role orientation. But the relationship was statistically not significant.

Table 7-3-8: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Watchdog Orientation and Personality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Watchdog Role Orientation</th>
<th>Personality</th>
<th>Determinist</th>
<th>Free Will</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong ...................</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak ....................</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...........</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>305*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.44 \]

\[ p > .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 13.
In the analyses above the assumptions related to two situation-nonspecific variables (age and personality) proved to be inoperative. The age-related assumption appeared even to be contradicted. Question, then, is why. One probable explanation would be that the Watchdog role is sensitive to the situation-specific or work-related variables (newspaper location and job-status). If so, it would be possible that effects of location or job-status might have suppressed or overpowered whatever small effect that age and personality might have worked on. To explore this possibility it becomes necessary to examine three aspects of Watchdog role.

First, it is important to see what Watchdog role means in the Korean context. Watchdog role is basically that of press vis-a-vis the government. In Korea the government refers to the central or national government in Seoul. In the usage of Korean language there is no counterpart of the English terms like city or state government. For example, the Korean term for Province government, when literally translated, is "Province Office" which doesn't carry any connotation of government. Local governments are considered simply the branches of the central government. Furthermore, local autonomy (which means the popularly-elected legislature at different administrative levels) was suspended in the early 1960s and has not been practiced ever since. Under these circumstances the Watchdog role refers to a role of press vis-a-vis the central government.
Secondly, it also seems necessary to examine structure of reportorial activities as related to the central government. It will be recalled that Seoul General Newspapers are national or nation-wide press, whereas Province General Newspapers are local press. Therefore, news activities of Seoul newspapers are revolving mostly around the central government in Seoul. Seoul journalists directly cover the central government affairs. The Province newspapers also extensively carry news about the central government. But they rely heavily or entirely on the Seoul general news agencies for such news. A few Province newspapers have their own correspondents stationed in Seoul. But the number of the correspondents is too small to reduce their dependency on the wire services from Seoul. In other words, their coverage of the central government affairs is indirect.

This differential involvement between Seoul and Province journalists in handling news of the central government carries some important theoretical implications. Among others, differential involvement in activities related to a role under discussion is assumed to create differential
sensitivity to the conception of the role concerned. Under a certain condition where one group deals directly with role-related activities it is more likely that the group has a clearer conception of the role. On the other hand, if a group is only peripherally involved in the role-related activities, its members are more likely to entertain less clear ideas about the role. Furthermore, daily contacts are likely to contain potential clashes between journalists and government officials over how to interpret any particular policies or their implications. Through these frictions journalists are more likely to become conscious about disparity from what it is supposed to be. Daily and direct contacts also provide chances for journalists to not only deepen their understanding of difficulties involved in government, but also observe the seamy side of politics. A good government is generally considered what they are supposed to. But no matter how small it might be, misgovernment should be guarded against. In this context, direct contacts are likely to provide occasions for journalists to reaffirm the necessity of Watchdog role.

11 Harvey L. Smith stressed differential sensitivity. His position was that social differentiation within professions creates differential sensitivity. He seemed to attribute the differential sensitivity to, among others, which group(s) has what kind of interest and who has which skills. To these two criteria one can add "who is engaged in what activities." See Harvey L. Smith, "Contingencies of Professional Differentiation," American Journal of Sociology, January 1958, 63:4, pp. 410-414.
Thirdly, greater influence of Seoul newspapers draws closer attention from the government. The government has always been trying to place newspapers, particularly Seoul newspapers, under control, either formal or informal. This sensitivity of the government to Seoul newspapers, in turn, is likely to put Seoul journalists on constant alert, making them watchful of government actions.

These examinations of work-related context suggest a probable relationship of newspaper's location to journalist's Watchdog role orientation: Seoul journalists are more likely to be strongly Watchdog-oriented than Province journalists.

Table 7-3-9 shows that the hypothesis held good. Seventy two percent of Seoul journalists as against 50 percent of Province journalists were found to exhibit strong orientation to the Watchdog role of press. The difference was statistically significant. The relationship of Seoul-Journalists-More-Likely-Than-Province-Journalists persisted when any of age, personality, or job-status was held constant.
Table 7-3-9: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Watchdog Orientation and Newspaper Location

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Watchdog Role Orientation</th>
<th>Newspaper Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seoul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong  ...........</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak   .............</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...........</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 3.88 \]

\[ p < .05 \]

As to possible effect of job-status it once again becomes necessary to examine work structure to hypothesize its relationship to the Watchdog role orientation.

In the case of Seoul General Newspapers most of the journalists are directly involved in covering and processing news about the central government. Reporters are out at the front of news gathering, while editors and assistant editors remain in the office. But this does not mean that editors are only indirectly engaged in news flow. They always give their directions to reporters concerning what events to cover and how to cover them. They screen and rewrite the news stories turned in by reporters. Sometimes, they go out themselves to cover important events and write interpretative stories. In other words, there is not much difference between editors and reporters in terms of degree
of involvement in covering national affairs. Province General Newspapers receive most of national news through wire service sent out by general news agencies in Seoul. Those involved in processing these national news are most likely to be editors. Reporters are mostly involved in handling local news. Under this kind of structural setting news concerning the central government is very likely to become something outside of reporter's actual work.

As shown true in the relationship of newspaper's location to the Watchdog role, if direct involvement in handling news about the national government would increase orientation to the Watchdog role, it can be hypothesized that:

1) Among Seoul journalists, reporters and editors are likely to demonstrate almost the same degree of Watchdog orientation.

2) Among Province journalists, however, reporters are less likely to be strongly Watchdog-oriented than are their editors.

Table 7-3-10 provides empirical support to this hypothesis. Among Seoul journalists, reporters were found as much likely as their editors to exhibit strong Watchdog orientation. The proportion was 72 percent for reporters and 71 percent for editors. The difference was small and statistically not significant. On the other hand, among Province journalists, editors were found far more likely than reporters to
go along with the idea of Watchdog role. The proportion of the strongly Watchdog-oriented was 61 percent for Province editors and 42 percent for Province reporters.

Table 7-3-10: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Watchdog Orientation and Job Status with Newspaper Location Controlled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper Location</th>
<th>Seoul</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Job Status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re- Editor</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchdog Role Orientation</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ........</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t = .14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p &gt; .05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To summarize, as far as the Watchdog role orientation is concerned, work-related situational context alone was found to provide a consistent explanation.

**Press Role as a Political Stabilizer:** Two role items chosen for a composite index to measure this role orientation were: 1) the press should contribute to political stability, and 2) the press should provide support to the government. The two role items were found to be positively
related to each other. If journalists expressed agreement to the first role item and, at the same time, did not disagree to the second role item, they were regarded as "strongly" oriented to political stability. When measured by this index, 31 percent of Korean journalists were found to be strong in their political stability orientation.

Before going into examination of journalist's orientation toward stability in politics, it seems necessary to see the relationship between the Watchdog and the Political Stability orientations. At face value these two orientations seem to be merely two different sides of a same coin. Those with strong Watchdog orientation may not believe in the role of press as a political stabilizer. If this would prove to be the case, there would not be left much justification to study the political stability orientation.

Officials of the government and ruling party might consider that strong Watchdog would result in Political Instability. From their point of view newspapers perhaps would contribute to political stability by refraining from comments critical of the government and its policies. But there is considerable reason to suspect that Korean

\[ \text{Chi square} = 18.094, \quad df = 1, \quad p < .01, \quad \phi = .25 \]
journalists may not see a zero-sum principle between these two orientations. From journalist's point of view newspapers would contribute to a real political stability by faithfully discharging their Watchdog role. There seems to be a strong tendency on the part of the government and ruling party to interpret the interests of administration as broadly as possible to the extent to identify it with the interests of the country. On the other hand, journalists tend to differentiate between these two interests. Ninety one percent of journalists of this study agreed to an idea that the interest of government in power is not necessarily identical with that of the nation-state.

In Table 7-3-11 the Watchdog role orientation was found not negatively related to the Political Stability role orientation as it should be if the former was merely the opposite of the latter. The Political Stability orientation appeared to be independent of the Watchdog role orientation. Those with strong Watchdog orientation were found no more or no less likely to be oriented to strong Political Stability than those with weak Watchdog orientation.
Table 7-3-11: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Watchdog Orientation and Political Stability Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Stability Orientation</th>
<th>Watchdog Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = .19 \]

\[ p > .05 \]

This indicates that explanatory factors and their effects might be different from the former to the latter. If so, it seems worthwhile examining journalist's orientation toward a role of press as a Political Stabilizer.

As to age's effect it was assumed earlier that the younger would be more likely to be fighters. If this is the case, younger journalists would be less likely to care much about political stability.

Table 7-3-12 appeared to support this hypothesis. Journalists with 34 years of age or younger were found less likely to go along with the idea of press as a Political Stabilizer as compared to journalists with 35 years of age or older (25% as against 39%).
Table 7-3-12: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Political Stability Orientation and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Stability Orientation</th>
<th>34 yrs. or under</th>
<th>35 yrs. or above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases 193 124 317*

\[ t = 2.60 \]

\[ p < .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 1.

But, as shown in Table 7-3-13 the relationship between age and the Political Stability orientation turned out to be spurious when controlled by job-status. The relationship of The-Younger-Less-Likely-Than-The-Older vanished among reporters as well as among editors. The proportion of those strongly oriented to political stability was 24 percent for the younger reporters and 25 percent for the older reporters. Among editors the proportion was 38 percent for the younger and 44 percent for the older groups. This means that age did not have genuine effect on the Political Stability role orientation. Thus, whatever relationship that age appeared to have was found to be attributable to job-status.
Table 7-3-13: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Political Stability Orientation and Age with Job Status Controlled

| Political Stability Orientation | Reporter | | | Editor | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|
| Age                            | 34 yrs.  | 35 yrs. or or | 34 yrs.  | 35 yrs. or or |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>under</th>
<th>above</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>under</th>
<th>above</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = .13 \]
\[ t = .45 \]
\[ p > .05 \]
\[ p > .05 \]

What, then, would be work-structure that made job-status relevant to the Political Stability orientation? Reporters are usually assigned to one or two government offices, public agencies, or social organizations. They usually cover the assigned offices for quite some time, frequently for some years. Different offices or organizations usually develop their own interests. These interests are often found to be in conflict. The news stories filed by reporters are very likely to reflect these interests. Editors are supposed to maintain some sort of balance among these conflicting interests to give their newspapers some
integrity for professional reasons and make them at least tolerable to the greatest number of people for commercial reasons. If and to the extent that a balanced approach is likely to lead to stability notion, editors are presumed more likely to entertain a Stability orientation in politics.

A comparison of two sub-total columns in Table 7-3-13 appeared to support this hypothesis. Forty three percent of editors as against 24 percent of reporters were found to express a strong orientation to political stability.

But, as shown in Table 7-3-14, when controlled by newspaper's location, job-status was found to have effect only among Seoul journalists. In Seoul editors were found more likely than reporters to go along with the idea of press as a political stabilizer (41% as against 16%). But when it comes to Province journalists, job-status did not show any influence. Among editors as well as among reporters the proportion of the strongly stability-oriented was 46 percent.

Question, then, is why so. A probable answer to this question may be found in relationship between community size and newspaper's approach.\(^\text{13}\) Some researchers observed that

Table 7-3-14: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Political Stability Orientation and Job Status with Newspaper Location Controlled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Stability Orientation</th>
<th>Seoul Job Status</th>
<th>Province Job Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-Edit-Total</td>
<td>Re-Edit-Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>16 41 23</td>
<td>46 46 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>85 59 77</td>
<td>55 54 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101% 100% 100%</td>
<td>101% 100% 101%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Number of Cases: 148 58 206 66 46 112

\[ t = 3.51 \] \[ p < .05 \]

\[ t = 0.0 \] \[ p > .05 \]

Local papers of small communities are more likely to take "consensus" approach in news handling, whereas national papers serving large areas of diverse communities tend to resort to "conflict" approach. In this regard it will be recalled that Seoul newspapers are nation-wide press while Province newspapers are local papers. Against the background of these reasonings an ad hoc explanation could be ventured: job-status did not have any effect on the political stability orientation among Province journalists probably because effects of "consensus" approach arising from
smaller size of communities were strong enough to overcome whatever effects arising from difference in job-status. 14

The introduction of newspaper's location partially altered the relationship of job-status to political stability orientation. This finding turns one's attention to newspaper's location and its probable relationship to the Political Stability role orientation.

Role of press as a political stabilizer is basically related to the expectation of, and more often request to, newspapers from the government in power. At the time when the survey research for the present study was conducted (Summer 1972) newspapers in Korea had been printing, already for some time, articles and commentaries in general support of government's policies and policy implementation. In this respect there was not much difference between Seoul and Province newspapers. In terms of actual behavior represented by news articles both Seoul and Province journalists had been putting out mostly pro-government materials. But in terms of process whereby the same behavior was produced, there seemed to be significant structural difference between Seoul and Province journalists. The government, it will be recalled,

14 As an indirect support to this suspicion it may be interesting to note the following: When the Province journalist part of Table 7-3-14 was further controlled by either personality or age, there appeared no significant change. Job-status did not show any significant effect on the Political Stability role orientation among the Province journalists.
was always aware of manifest and latent influence of Seoul newspapers. Because of this potentiality the government has always tried to impose formal and informal control upon Seoul journalists. The government has also been trying to solicit cooperation from Seoul journalists through persuasion. It was under these strong pressures that Seoul journalists had produced news materials in support of government. But situation was different for Province journalists. They have been heavily relying on wire services from Seoul for important news materials. These wire service materials were most likely to be at least not negative to the government. All that Province journalists had to do was select some items from among these materials. In other words, Province journalists were not under direct pressure from the government to print materials almost always in support of the government.

What do these structural differences mean to Seoul and Province journalists in terms of their orientation to political stability? A finding from some psychological experiments bears on the significance in this context. These findings show that behavior induced with smaller reward or under smaller pressure is more likely to produce a greater cognitive dissonance and, therefore, bring about greater attitude change in congruence with behavior under the prin-
ciple of strain toward consistency between behavior and attitude. To put it differently, if some one was induced to do some behavior under strong pressure that could provide handy and unmistakable excuse either to himself or others, he is less likely to suffer from cognitive dissonance and, therefore, likely to maintain his own original attitude even though the attitude is not in accord with the induced behavior. When applied to journalists in Korea in connection with political stability orientation, this theory would reason as follows: News writings in support of the government are less likely to induce attitudinal change among Seoul journalists in the direction of the induced behavior because of strong pressure imposed upon them. On the other hand, dealing with the same kind of news items is more likely to bring about attitudinal change to that direction among Province journalists because it is being done under no direct pressure. If this is the case, it can be hypothesized that Seoul journalists are less likely to exhibit strong orientation toward political stability as compared

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15 See, for example, Arthur Cohen's psychological study at Yale. He had student write articles to justify police brutality at a student riot on the campus. He paid different amounts of money (ranging from $10 to 50¢) to different students for their writing articles. Students who were paid smaller amounts were found more likely to become significantly more favorable towards the police actions as a result of writing the articles. J. W. Brehm and A. R. Cohen, Explorations in Cognitive Dissonance, New York, Wiley, 1962, pp. 73-77.
to Province journalists.

A comparison of two sub-total columns in the earlier Table 7-3-14 provides empirical support to the hypothesis. Forty six percent of Province journalists as against 23 percent of Seoul journalists were found to agree to the idea of press as a political stabilizer. The relationship was statistically significant. Furthermore, the relationship of Province-Journalists-More-Likely-Than-Seoul-Journalists was maintained while holding constant either age, personality, or job-status. This means that the relationship is very likely to be genuine.

An alternative reasoning with the same hypothesized direction seems to be possible. That is, people in the countryside are likely to be conservative. The conservative are likely to prefer political stability. Therefore, Province journalists are more likely to be strongly oriented to political stability. There was no indicator in the questionnaire for the present study to measure directly a conservative orientation. As an indirect indicator one's birthplace was used to test this alternative reasoning. Some justification can be found for this substituted indicator because people born in rural areas are considered more likely to be conservative oriented. Table 7-3-15 shows the relationship of newspaper's location to the Political Stability role orientation when birthplace is held constant. Birthplace was found to have no significant effect on the relationship
of Province-Journalists-More-Likely-Than-Seoul-Journalists. Assuming that the rural-born are conservative, the effect of newspaper's location should have vanished or considerably decreased when controlled by birthplace if the alternative reasoning based on conservative argument were true.

Table 7-3-15: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Political Stability Orientation and Newspaper Location with Birthplace Controlled

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Born</td>
<td>Rural Born</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong .......</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak .........</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ......</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( t = 2.57 )</td>
<td></td>
<td>( p &lt; .05 )</td>
<td>( t = 3.37 )</td>
<td>( p &lt; .05 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to effect of personality it will be remembered that the determinist-inclined were assumed more likely to be accepting whatever being enforced. If so, journalists with a deterministic view of life are more likely than journalists with a free-will-agent perspective to accept the government's argument for a political stability.
In Table 7-3-16 this hypothesis was found to hold good. Forty percent of the determinist journalists as against 22 percent of the free-will journalists exhibited strong orientation toward political stability. This relationship persisted under the statistical control of either age, job-status, or newspaper's location, indicating a strong likelihood of a genuine relationship.

Table 7-3-16: Percentage Distribution of Korean Journalists by Political Stability Orientation and Personality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Stability Orientation</th>
<th>Personality</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Determinist</td>
<td>Free Will</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>305*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 3.41 \]

\[ p < .05 \]

* The number of missing cases is 13.

To summarize, journalists in Province rather than in Seoul and also journalists with determinist inclination rather than with free-will inclination were found more likely to go along with the idea of press as political stabilizer. These two factors had cumulative effect. The
proportion of journalists accepting a stabilizer role of press was 62 percent for the determinist journalists in Province areas and only 12 percent for the free-will journalists in Seoul.

A similarity between the Watchdog and the Political-Stabilizer role orientations in terms of explanatory factor was: Seoul journalists were more likely to exhibit strong Watchdog orientation and, therefore, less likely to show strong Political Stability orientation. If confined to this aspect alone, the two orientations appeared to be the head and tail of a same coin. But there was found some significant difference also. First, personality was not a consistent explanatory variable in the case of the Watchdog role, but was found to be so with regard to the Political Stability role. Second, job-status did not have significant discriminatory power among Seoul journalists in the case of the Watchdog role orientation, but did not show significant effect among Province journalists when it came to the Political Stability role orientation.

Whose Right and Whose Accountability?: In Korea there have apparently been developing considerable degree of differentiation of interests among those involved in newspaper-making: first, between publishers and working journalists and, then, among working journalists themselves, for example, between editors and reporters. Increasingly more often
journalists have come to see their own perspective not making to the newspaper columns while someone else's opinion being pushed into the news columns. Also, more often than before journalists have come to be held accountable, formally or informally, for their news articles. It is under these circumstances that journalists began to seriously raise two questions: 1) Who is it up to how to write news articles? 2) If something goes wrong for political or national security reasons, who should be held accountable?

With regard to this problem a "we-other" dimension seems to take on saliency. In the questionnaire for the present study, questions concerning right and accountability were asked with reference to job-status, such as reporters, editors, and publishers (or newspaper as an organization). Therefore, in the analyses to follow job-status will be taken as an independent variable.

Related to the problem here was one of the findings by Gross and his associates in their exploration into role study. They found that people tend to assign greater responsibility (right), to themselves than others do.16 When extended, this reasoning leads to another assumption that

16 Their specific hypothesis was: School board members and superintendents, in defining the division of responsibilities between their two positions, would each assign greater responsibility than the other to his own position. This hypothesis was empirically supported. See Gross, et al., Exploration into Role Analysis, pp. 123-125.
people tend to assign greater accountability to others than to themselves.

In the context of the present study this suggests 5 specific hypotheses to be tested. These will be discussed one by one.

First, reporters are more likely to claim that they alone have the right to decide on how to write news articles (not what to write. Reporters are often told what to write). Table 7-3-17-a shows that this, in fact, was the case. Sixty nine percent of reporters claimed that "we, reporters" alone have the right, while 44 percent of reporters agreed to an idea that "they, editors" also have the right. The proportional difference between the two items was found statistically significant in "t" test at .05 level. This relationship of "We-Rather-Than-They" held good among Seoul as well as Province reporters, among the younger as well as the older reporters, and among the determinist as well as the free-will reporters.

Secondly, editors also are more likely to claim that they also have the right to be consulted as to how to write specific news articles.

Table 7-3-17-b appeared to indicate the direction as hypothesized. Sixty three percent of editors claimed that "we, editors" also have the right, whereas 50 percent of the same editors agreed to an idea that "they, reporters" alone
Table 7-3-17: Right involved in Reportorial Activities as Claimed by Reporters and Editors
(in percentage)

Who Has The Right Concerning How to Write?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a) As Claimed by Reporters</th>
<th>We, Reporters alone</th>
<th>They, Editors also</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agree ..................</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not agree ..............</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ...................</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases ...</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 5.379 \]
\[ p < .05 \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b) As Claimed by Editors</th>
<th>They, Reporters alone</th>
<th>We, Editors also</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agree ....................</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not agree ..............</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total ....................</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>101%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases ...</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 1.896 \]
\[ p > .05 \]
have the right.\textsuperscript{17} Furthermore, when controlled by newspaper's location, the relationship of "We, Editors-Rather-Than-They, Reporters" almost disappeared among Province editors. These analyses show that the principle of "We-Rather-Than-They-Have-Right" did not hold good among editors when the question was "Whose right should it be to decide how to write news articles?" Korean editors were found to recognize that reporters have as much right as editors themselves to decide on how to write.

Thirdly, reporters are more likely to throw the burden of accountability on the shoulder of the editors.

Table 7-3-18-a shows that this hypothesis held good. Only 23 percent of the reporters accepted the idea that "We, Reporters Alone" should be held accountable for whatever "We, Reporters" wrote. On the other hand, 54 percent of the same reporters believed that "They, Editors Also" should be held accountable. The proportional difference

\textsuperscript{17} One methodological note about wording. The question of "reporters alone have the right" was asked before the question of "editors also have the right." Logically, anyone who agreed to the first idea cannot agree to the second idea because the term "alone" implies mutual exclusiveness. This means that the proportion of editors agreeing to the second idea is not supposed to be greater than 34 percent because 66 percent of them have already agreed to the idea of "reporters alone have the right." But the actual proportion of editors endorsing the idea of "editors also" was 53 percent, 19 percent greater than it logically was supposed to be. From this it is suspected that journalists responded to the context of questions without paying much attention to the term "alone."
Table 7-3-18: Accountability involved in Reportorial Activities as Claimed by Reporters and Editors

(in percentage)

Who Should Be Held Accountable
When Things Have Gone Wrong?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>We, Reporters</th>
<th>They, Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agree alone</td>
<td>not agree also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) As Claimed by Reporters</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( t = 6.955 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( p &lt; .05 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>They, Reporters</th>
<th>We, Editors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>agree alone</td>
<td>not agree also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) As Claimed by Editors</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( t = 12.12 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( p &lt; .05 )</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
was statistically significant in "t" test at 5 percent level. Furthermore, the relationship of "Accountability-To-Others-Rather-Than-To-Us" survived several tests of statistical controls and was maintained among Seoul as well as Province reporters, among the determinist as well as the free-will reporters, and also among the younger as well as the older reporters.

Fourthly, editors also are more likely to throw the burden of accountability on to the shoulders of reporters rather than on to themselves.

Table 7-3-18-b contradicted this hypothesis. Editors were found more likely to express that "We, Editors Also" should shoulder the burden without letting "Them, Reporters Alone" be held accountable. Seventy seven percent of editors expressed that "We, Editors Also" should be held accountable, whereas only 13 percent of the same editors believed that "They, Reporters Alone" should be held accountable. This pattern held out when controlled by either newspaper's location, journalist's age, or personality. This means that the principle of "Accountability-Is-To-Others" did not hold true among editors over the question of "who should be held accountable, reporters or editors?" Editors were found more likely to recognize their part of accountability in a capacity of those in charge of reportorial activities.

Fifthly, both reporters and editors are likely to assign publishers (or newspapers as employing entity) more
accountability than right because they both as working journalists are likely to regard publisher (or newspaper) as others.

Table 7-3-19 shows that this, in fact, was the case. Forty percent of reporters wanted newspaper organization also to share accountability, whereas only 14 percent of the same reporters recognized publisher's share in news story decisions. Forty three percent of editors agreed to an idea that newspaper as an organization should also be held accountable, while 25 percent of the same editors believed that publisher's policies should be taken into account in news story decisions. For both reporters and editors this pattern was maintained under the statistical control of either newspaper's location, journalist's age or personality.

A considerable difference was observed between reporters and editors with regard to publisher's right in news story decisions. Editors were more likely than reporters to assign right to publishers (25% as against 14%).

To summarize, the hypothesis of "Our Right But Others' Accountability" was found to hold good among reporters in their relations to editors and also among working journalists (reporters and editors together) in their relations to publishers (or newspaper as an organization). Editors did not see things that way vis-a-vis reporters. As to news story decision editors believed that reporters had as much
Table 7-3-19: Publisher's Right and Accountability involved in Reportorial Activities as Seen from Reporters and Editors (in percentage)

a) As Seen from Reporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Publisher Also Have Right</th>
<th>Publisher Also Accountable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not agree</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 6.337 \]
\[ p < .05 \]

b) As Seen from Editors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Publisher Also Have Right</th>
<th>Publisher Also Accountable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not agree</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Cases</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t = 2.79 \]
\[ p < .05 \]
right as they themselves did. With regard to accountability editors tended to believe that they themselves were the ones to be held accountable rather than reporters.

Summary

In this chapter Hypotheses One, Two, and Three were empirically examined. **Hypothesis One** was confirmed. As predicted, there was a greater consensus among Korean journalists over a group of roles that the press is supposed to take as a subsystem of the nation-state (Type I roles), an intermediate degree of consensus over a group of roles that the press is supposed to play vis-a-vis other subsystems of the nation-state, that is, the government and the audience (Type II roles), and a lesser consensus over a group of roles related to rights and accountability between intra-media-organization positions (reporter, editor, and publisher) in connection with reportorial activities (Type III roles).

**Hypothesis Two** was partially confirmed. In contradiction to Hypothesis Two-a, none of background factors explained the differential conception of Type I role (measured by the index of "nation-minded" role conception). In a partial support to Hypothesis Two-b, one organization factor significantly discriminated differential conception of Type II role (measured by the index of "active" role conception) but none of background factors did. Again,
in partial confirmation of Hypothesis Two-c, one organization factor turned out to affect conception of Type III role (measured by two indices of "right" and "accountability" in reportorial activities) but there appeared other factors which were not hypothesized but found to have some discriminatory power.

Hypothesis Three was comprised of sub-hypotheses concerning four specific roles of the press considered salient from the Korean experience. The four roles were: the Enlightenment role of the press, the Watchdog role of the press, the Political Stabilizer role of the press, and the intra-media-organization roles involving journalist's Right and Accountability in reportorial activities. The four specific roles relate the press to different counter positions (either the government or the audience). Therefore, it was generally hypothesized that the four specific roles were likely to be accounted for by different factors in different ways.

Some findings for each of the four roles are as follows:

Enlightenment role of press: Strong orientation to this role was more likely to be found among the older journalists than the younger journalists.

Watchdog role of press: Strong orientation to this role was more likely to be found among journalists working for nation-wide press in the capital city of Seoul than among journalists working for local press in the Province areas.
Political Stabilizer role of press: Strong orientation to this role was more likely to be found among journalists in the Provinces and journalists with "deterministic" view of life than among journalists in Seoul and journalists with "free will agent" image of man.

Roles related to Right and Accountability: The hypothesis of "our right but other's accountability" was found to hold good among reporters. On the other hand, among editors, a prevalent orientation was "as much right to them - reporters but more accountability to us - editors."
PART IV: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This was a study of working journalists of general newspapers and news agencies in Korea as of the Summer, 1972. The major focus of this study was placed on aspects of role definition and role consensus among Korean journalists. How did practicing journalists define their roles in the nation-state, vis-a-vis the government and the audience, and among themselves? On what roles were they more in agreement with each other? On what roles were they more in disagreement? What were the factors that accounted for differential role definition and role consensus? These were the questions posed in this study.

These questions were considered important for two practical reasons. First, Korea has been undergoing rapid changes especially in the political, economic, and social fields. Both information flow and information control have become all the more important for maintenance and development of the country. The press and journalists are located at the crossroad of upward, downward, and horizontal communication. But journalists are not merely a transmission belt. Their definition of the situation and conception of roles are presumed to influence the content and perspective of information being related. To that
extent, a study of journalists would provide a bridge in understanding the society.

Secondly, already for some time, Korean journalists have been subjected to severe criticism from both the general public and some concerned circles of the press. A major criticism was an apparent lack of a sense of mission on the part of working journalists. The question, then, was: Has the orientation or role conception of journalists themselves changed? Or, has the environment changed even though the journalists' role conception remained more or less the same? Or, have both of them changed? In the absence of comparable longitudinal data, these questions can not be dealt with directly. Under the circumstances, a reasonable approach is to make some inferences on the basis of how Korean journalists define their major roles and the extent to which they agree or disagree over these major roles. It is in this context that a study of Korean journalists from the perspective of role study takes on significance.

The theoretical objective of this study was to explicate some dimensions of role concept and use the framework in analyzing the Korean journalists' conception of their roles. Particular efforts were made to discover some theoretical bases for greater or lesser role consensus.
An investigation of the literature revealed 4 dimensions of role concept. These were: 1) attitude (or intended behavior) expected, 2) by whom, 3) of whom (occupying what position), and 4) under what circumstances. The status of role concept was found, to use Neiman and Hughes' phrase, to be "still rather vague, nebulous, and non-definitive" because some definitions do not include all of the four dimensions and some others carry some implied elements.

In this thesis, the "under-what-circumstance" dimension was named the "value dimension," the "expected-by-whom" dimension was labeled the "norm-role" dimension, and the "expected-of-whom" dimension was referred to as the "applicability scope dimension." Using this framework, the concept of role was differentiated from the concepts of value and norm. If an attitude (or intended behavior) is expected by the culture or society of all people under all circumstances, it can be defined as a value. The scope of a value is broad when it is expected of all people. But when it is expected only of specified individual(s), the scope of the value is limited. A norm is defined as an attitude expected by the society of all people or specified person(s) under specified circumstances. A role, as defined in the present thesis, refers to an attitude or intended behavior expected by specified people of specified person(s) under specified circumstances.
In many role studies, differential role conception or role consensus were attributed mostly to differential specification in at least one of three dimensions: role definer, (presumed) role performer, and situation. These three dimensions were conceived of as varying in terms of type or degree of specification. For example, a role defined by a diffuse entity, expected of a wide variety of people, under various circumstances, were presumed more likely to obtain a greater consensus among people.

In the present thesis, however, the main attention was focused on the first dimension of role concept, that is, the attitude (or intended behavior) dimension. This shift of attention was considered important because the attitude dimension also seemed to have some factors influencing the degree of role consensus. The point of departure in the present thesis was that, depending on the areas or sectors of role to which attitudes are referred, there will be differences in the degree of role consensus even if the elements in the other three dimensions are held constant.

Three different models were postulated on the basis of how a subsystem is related to its system or to another subsystem. An inclusive model refers to the relationship of a system to its subsystem(s). A partially overlapping model refers to the relationship between subsystems which share some common ground with each other. But as compared to the inclusive model, the area of common ground for the partially overlapping model is smaller. A discrete position model
refers to the relationship between subsystems which share no common ground with each other.

In the present study the press was perceived as a part of the nation-state. Role items relating the press to the nation-state (Type I roles) were assumed likely to be very general and abstract. This generality or abstractness of role items tends to bring about greater consensus among journalists. Also, the press as a subsystem was perceived to be partially overlapping with the government (or news sources) and the audience (or the general populace) in the work of journalists. Role items relating the press to the government and the audience (Type II role), therefore, were assumed to have an intermediate degree of consensus. Publisher, editor, and reporter were considered discrete positions in the press organization. Role items related to right and accountability between them (Type III role) tend to be specific and, consequently, were assumed to have least consensus. From this reasoning the following Hypothesis One was developed:

Consensus among Korean journalists is likely to be:

a) greater with regard to the roles of the press in the nation-state;

b) intermediate concerning the roles of the press vis-a-vis either the government or the audience; and

c) least over roles of publisher, editor, and reporter in the process of newspaper-making.
The next major assumption was that different factors would explain differential conceptions of each of the three types of roles (Types I, II, and III roles). What was particularly relevant to the present study was Brim's observation that early socialization is concerned with "general demand of society," while later-life socialization deals mostly with "role-specific expectation."

Type I role deals mostly with the press' role in the nation-state, which is of a very general nature. General and/or basic roles are known to be internalized in early part of socialization. Therefore, pre-job socialization variables were presumed more likely to affect the journalist's conception of the role of press in the nation-state. Type II role relates the press vis-a-vis the government and the audience. As compared to the roles of the press in the nation-state, this type of role is likely to be less general and more job-specific and, therefore, presumed more likely to be affected by both pre-job socialization and work-related organization variables. Type III role dealing with right and accountability between publisher, editor, and reporter is position-specific and very close to daily work and, therefore, presumed more likely to be accounted for by organization factors. In this context, the following Hypothesis Two was tested:

a) Type I role is more likely to be affected by pre-journalism background factors;
b) Type II role is more likely to be affected by both pre-journalism background and work-related organizational factors; and

c) Type III role is more likely to be accounted for by work-related factors.

The third major assumption was that different factors would take on saliency if areas or sectors of roles are different even though the roles may be on the same specific level of abstraction. Four specific roles were selected on the basis of historical and situational relevancy. They were: the enlightenment role of the press, the watchdog role of the press, the role of the press as a political stabilizer, and right and accountability among journalists concerning reportorial activities. A major difference between these specific roles is that they relate journalists to different "counter positions": the general populace (enlightenment role), the government (watchdog and political stabilizer roles), and publisher, editor, or reporter (right and accountability). Therefore, a general assumption of Hypothesis Three was that:

Journalist's conceptions of the four roles are likely to be affected by different factors in different ways.

Findings

Empirical tests showed that Hypothesis One is tenable. There appeared a clear pattern in the relationship between types of roles and degrees of consensus. In terms of con-
sensus degree measured by the percentage of the largest response category, a greater consensus was found among Korean journalists over Type I role, an intermediate consensus degree over Type II role, and a lesser consensus over Type III role. The mean percentage of the largest response categories of role items was 93 percent for Type I role, 75 percent for Type II role, and 54 percent for Type III role. The general pattern of relationship between role types and consensus degree was maintained even when newspaper location was controlled. Among Seoul as well as among Province journalists, the mean consensus score was greater for Type I role, intermediate for Type II role, and least for Type III role. However, item analysis revealed that some of Type II role items deviated in the direction of greater or lesser consensus, suggesting a further elaboration, both conceptually and empirically. But as a whole, Hypothesis One received empirical support.

In testing Hypothesis Two it was decided to construct summary measures for the three role types. A composite index of "Nation-mindedness" role conception was constructed, using all of 6 role items classified as Type I role. When measured with this index, Korean journalists were found to be very much "nation-minded." Another composite index of "Active" role conception was made with all of 10 role items categorized as Type II role. In terms of this composite index Korean
journalists were found to be fairly "active" in their conception of roles of the press vis-a-vis the government and the general populace. Two indices were constructed to measure the journalist's conception of roles related to the aspects of right and accountability in reportorial activities. When measured by these indices, Korean journalists were found to be more in favor of reporter's right than editor's right but assigned more accountability to editors than reporters.

Hypothesis Two predicted that Type I role is more likely to be affected by pre-journalism background factors, Type II role by both pre-journalism background and work-related organization factors, and Type III role by work-related organization factors. With regard to Type I role, Hypothesis Two was not supported because none of background factors significantly discriminated the journalist's "Nation-mindedness" role conception. Concerning Type II role, Hypothesis Two was partially confirmed because at least one of organization factor (newspaper location) affected significantly the journalist's conception of "Active" role of press. However, none of the background factors produced significant differences among journalists in terms of the "Active" role conception. As to Type III role, Hypothesis Two was partly supported. As hypothesized, one of the organization factors (job status) was found to affect the journalist's conception of roles related to both right and accountability. But there also
appeared other factors (age and personality) which were not anticipated in Hypothesis Two, but were found to have significant discriminatory power with regard to the Right and/or Accountability-related role conceptions.

Hypothesis Three comprised sub-hypotheses exploring four specific roles of press considered relevant in the Korean context. In explaining the four specific roles, two types of independent variables were employed: situation-specific and situation-non-specific ones. The former included newspaper location and journalist's job status. The latter comprised the journalist's age and personality. In the case of situation-specific independent variables, the nature of role and the role-related work structure were examined in order to hypothesize effects of the variables on differential conception of roles concerned. On the other hand, with regard to situation-non-specific independent variables, their probable effects and directions were postulated without specifying work context. The findings of the four specific roles are as follows.

Enlightenment role of the press: Age was found to be the only variable of the four that consistently explained the differential orientation to this role. The older journalists (over 35 years of age) were more likely than the younger newsmen (under 34 years of age) to exhibit a strong Enlightenment role, regardless of newspaper location, job status,
and personality type. Personality type was the next best explanatory variable. The "free-will" journalists were found more likely than the "determinist" journalists to be strongly oriented to the Enlightenment role, independent of age and location. The relationship was not maintained among editors.

Watchdog role of the press: Work-related situational context was found to provide a consistent explanation for differential conception of the Watchdog role. The Watchdog role relates the press and journalists to the central government in Seoul in the Korean context. Because of the potentially greater influence of Seoul nation-wide newspapers the government guards against Seoul journalists and tries to place Seoul presses and journalists under control, either formal or informal. This, in turn, put Seoul journalists on alert, making them watchful of government actions. As this reasoning suggests, Seoul journalists were found more likely than Province journalists to be strongly Watchdog-oriented.

Role of the press as a political stabilizer: Both situation-specific (location) and situation-non-specific (personality) were found to affect consistently the journalist's role orientation. Journalists in the Province rather than in Seoul and also journalists with a "determinist" inclination rather than those with a "free-will" inclination were more likely to endorse the role of the press as a political stabilizer.
The Watchdog and the Political-Stabilizer roles appeared to be the head and tail of the same coin. For example, Seoul journalists were more likely than Province journalists to exhibit a strong Watchdog orientation and, therefore, less likely to show a strong Political-Stability orientation. But when cross-tabulated, the two apparently opposite role orientations showed almost no relationship. A suspected relationship of the more-Watchdog-the-less-Political-Stability did not result. Furthermore, there also was some difference in terms of explanatory factors. Personality type was not a consistent explanatory variable in the case of the Watchdog role, but was so with regard to the Political Stability role.

Intra media organization roles involving Reportorial Right and Accountability: The assumption that people usually assign more right to themselves but shift more accountability to others was only partly confirmed. The hypothesis of "Our Right but Other's Accountability" was true among reporters in their relations to editors and also among working journalists (reporters and editors together) vis-a-vis publisher or management. But editors deviated from the hypothesized pattern in some aspects. Editors assigned as much right to reporters as to themselves. But, on the question of accountability, editors contradicted the hypothesis by assigning more burden to themselves rather than to reporters.
Implications

One of major theoretical contentions of the present thesis was that the degree of role consensus vary depending on types of roles even if other dimensions of role (e.g., role definer, role performer, and situation) remain the same. In this regard, three different types of roles were posited on the basis of how the role concerned relates a subsystem to its system or a subsystem to another subsystem(s). As a whole, the hypothesized relationship between types of roles and consensus degree was found to hold true. But, as discussed earlier, one type of role posed some problem that requires further consideration in terms of its possible theoretical implication. A type of role relating the press to the government and/or the audience was hypothesized to produce an intermediate degree of consensus. But some role items belonging to this type of role were found to deviate in the direction of either "high" or "low" consensus.

Interestingly, however, this deviation appeared to be related to some historical aspects of Korean press. "Low" consensus role items were those related to aspects of enlightenment role of the press which was once a major orientation of earlier Korean journalists, but appeared to have become passe among contemporary journalists in Korea. On the other hand, "high" consensus role items were those related to aspects of professional role of the press (a fact
informer and/or a social mirror) which seemed to have become a professional fiction among Korean journalists ever since 1950s. This orientational change from the enlightenment role to the professional role is related to a unique historical development in Korea. This strongly suggests the advisability of introducing some historical aspects in the study of role definition or role consensus.

This study was initiated out of some practical concerns related to the press and journalists in Korea. One of them was the severe criticism both from the general public and some concerned circles of the press that contemporary journalists have lost their sense of mission for the cause of people and the country, and have come to easy compromises to secularized interests of their own. But, as far as the present study indicated, Korean journalists appeared to uphold strong orientation and dedication to the people and the country, and also to a free press. However, this orientation apparently has not been demonstrated. This situation turns one's attention to structural aspects of the press in its relation to other subsystems, for example, the political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions.

Under circumstances whereby some structural guarantees exist, an important question is how to maintain and strengthen orientation and commitment on the part of its members. The following quotation represents this sentiment.
"The important question is not whether a formal guarantee exists but, given the formal guarantee, whether or not democracy exists in fact. This requires a commitment on the part of both leader and their constituents to democratic values and a willingness to actively participate in fulfillment of the obligation inherent in this set of values."¹

The point of the above sentiment is that both structural guarantees and personal orientations are necessary to maintain and develop values cherished among the people concerned. The above statement, when major emphasis is shifted to concerns over structural guarantee, summarizes the sentiment of this study.

APPENDIX A: GENERAL NEWSPAPERS AND NEWS AGENCIES IN KOREA

SEOUl

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul Shinmun</td>
<td>Kukje Shinbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hankook Ilbo</td>
<td>Pusan Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chosun Ilbo</td>
<td>Kyunggi Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Kyunggi Maeil Shinmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taehan Ilbo</td>
<td>Yunghap Shinmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyunghyang Shinmun</td>
<td>Kangwon Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shin-A Ilbo</td>
<td>Taejon Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chung-ang Ilbo</td>
<td>Youngnam Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyounghnam Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyounghnam Maeil Shinmun</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chunbuk Ilbo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chunbuk Maeil Shinmun</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chunnam Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chunnam Maeil Shinmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honam Maeil Shinmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheju Shinmun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maeil Shinmun (Taegu city)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jungdo Ilbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honam Ilbo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chungchong Ilbo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROVINCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tongyang Tongshin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donghwa Tongshin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapdong Tongshin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Four Province newspapers that failed to respond to the present study.
APPENDIX B: METHOD EMPLOYED IN COLLECTING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The co-researchers of this study first paid a series of courtesy calls on their acquaintances at general newspapers and general news agencies in Seoul, the capital city of Korea, and were assured full cooperation. All of the journalists visited were those occupying either upper-upper or lower-upper positions in the respective organizations. The researchers visited each of them again with the list of sampled journalists and the questionnaires. There the sample list was checked once again and if any one of them was no longer working at the newspaper or news agency concerned he was replaced with someone occupying more or less the same hierarchical position in the same section. But the number of journalists replaced in this quota sampling method was negligibly small. While distributing the questionnaires and the sample list, it was stressed that it was crucial to get the questionnaire back from those in the sample list and not from anyone to fill the quota in terms of numbers. A brief session on questionnaire collection technique seemed to have worked. Several days later, the researchers started visiting the newspapers and news agencies to collect the returned questionnaires. In one week's time about 80 percent of the questionnaires were collected this way. It took another two weeks or so to get back most of the remaining 20 percent of questionnaires.

For general newspapers in the Provincial cities, the same general strategy and procedures were followed, except for the initial contact. The researchers selected some journalists from each of the organizations concerned and wrote personal letters to them. Then the list of sampled journalists and the questionnaires were personally delivered to these persons. The completed questionnaires were mailed by the cooperating journalists concerned. It took about 4 weeks to have most of the questionnaires returned from the general newspapers in the Provincial areas.
APPENDIX C: THE QUESTIONNAIRE *

July 1972

Dear Sir,

This study is an attempt to examine how Korean journalists define their roles at this time of significant changes in all aspects of Korean life.

The purpose of this study is primarily academic and the results will not be used for any other purposes. Your answers will be processed statistically by using computer machine. This way the anonymity of your answers will be guaranteed.

For more academic understanding of journalists in Korea, your cooperation is cordially requested.

If you have any question about this study or questionnaire, please give a call to us at the Graduate School of Mass Communication, Seoul National University.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

______________________________
Co-researchers

Instructions:

This questionnaire consists of three parts. Part One is about newspaper, news agency, and journalist; Part Two is about journalism as an occupation; and, Part Three is about your family background and professional career.

Please keep the following in mind while answering the questions.

1) Please don't try to analyze the questions. Try to give immediate answers on the basis of your usual belief or thought.

______________________________
* Translation of original questionnaire written in Korean.
2) Please try to answer all of the questions.

3) The figures and blanks at the right edge of each page are for computer processing of data. Please don't be bothered.


Please answer each of the following four questions with a check mark ( ).

1) Your newspaper or news agency is located in:
   1) ___ Seoul
   2) ___ Pusan
   3) ___ Province capital
   4) ___ Other Small City

2) Your newspaper or news agency is classified as:
   1) ___ General Newspaper
   2) ___ Specialized Newspaper
   3) ___ General News Agency
   4) ___ Specialized News Agency

3) Your status at the office is:
   1) ___ Desk or above
   2) ___ Below Desk

4) The department or section you belong to is:
   1) ___ Non-beat section
   2) ___ Beat section
   3) ___ Inapplicable

5) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

   The newspaper and news agency should:

   a) help develop a democratic political system in Korea. ___ agree ___ not certain ___ disagree

   b) contribute to improving living standard of the people. ___ agree ___ not certain ___ disagree
5) (continued)

- c) help the nation prepare for an eventual unification of the country.
  agree  not certain  disagree

- d) help establish social justice in the country.
  agree  not certain  disagree

- e) help develop the culture of the country.
  agree  not certain  disagree

6) Of the five aspects mentioned above, which do you think is most important and which least important under the present circumstances in Korea? Please answer the following questions of priority with a, b, c, d, and e, representing the items headed by the same letter in the preceding question.

1) most important role ( )
2) second most important role ( )
3) least important role ( )
4) second least important role ( )

7) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

The newspaper and news agency should:

- a) help preserve political stability.
  agree  not certain  disagree

- b) help establish opposition parties in viable policy competition with the ruling party.
  agree  not certain  disagree

- c) help develop democratic potentiality of the nation.
  agree  not certain  disagree

8) Of the three aspects mentioned above, which do you think is most urgent and which least urgent? Please answer the following with the letters (a, b, and c) that identify the statements.

1) most urgent aspect ( )
2) least urgent aspect ( )
9) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalist's major roles are:</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) to lead the general populace.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) to inform facts to the general populace.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) to watchdog the administration in power.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) to provide support to the government.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) to help maintain status quo.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) to advocate reforms to social forces concerned.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) to represent the minds of the people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) to reflect the reality of society.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

10) Of the eight aspects mentioned above, which do you think is most, second most, and third most important under the present circumstances in Korea? Please indicate your opinion with the letter a, b, c,....., h, referring to the items headed by the same letters in the preceding question.

1) most important aspect ( )
2) second most important aspect ( )
3) third most important aspect ( )

11) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The press should:</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) help develop a sense of nation among the people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Certain</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>get voice of national planning communicated among people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>provide people with new know-how required in national development.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>help expand effective market by providing adequate information of economics and goods.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>help people play new roles required in rapidly developing society.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f)</td>
<td>help people play their own roles appropriate in the community of nations.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12) Of the six aspects mentioned above, which do you think is most, second most, and third most important under the present circumstances in Korea? Please indicate your opinion with letter a, b, c, ..., and f, referring to the items headed by the same letters in the preceding question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Most Important Aspect</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>must important aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3)</td>
<td>second most important aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4)</td>
<td>third most important aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Not Certain</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Important quality of journalists is:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) ability of good writing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) sociability.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) analytical power.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) sense of justice and courage for action.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14) Of the four aspects mentioned above, which do you think is most or least important? Please indicate your opinion with letter a, b, c, and d, referring to the items headed by the same letters in the preceding question.

1) most important ( )
2) second most important ( )
3) least important ( )

15) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

a) A journalist should have expert knowledge in specialized fields. [agree not disagree]

b) A journalist should not work for a newspaper or news agency if he strongly disagrees with its editorial policy. [agree not disagree]

c) A journalist should be willing to go to jail if necessary, e.g., to protect the identity of his news sources. [agree not disagree]

d) There is nothing wrong for a journalist to be an active member of a political party. [agree not disagree]

e) If a journalist acts unethically from the professional viewpoint, he should be disciplined by the press organization. [agree not disagree]

f) Journalists should go on strike to collectively bargain for better wages. [agree not disagree]

g) Journalists should be encouraged to attend periodically professional training or refresher courses offered at college or other institute. [agree not disagree]

h) As to qualification, training, and competence, journalists should be certified by a press
15) (continued)

organization, not by the government.  

i) Journalist applicants should be encouraged to undergo journalism training at college.  

j) A journalist should seek opportunities where he can develop and demonstrate his ability and competence even if he has to move to other newspaper or news agency.  

k) For a journalist it is desirable to remain an active writer than to try to move up the formal hierarchy of newspaper or news agency organization.  

l) Journalists should compete media wise with each other beyond the boundary of their own organization.  

m) Once a topic has been chosen whether assigned by editor or chosen by the writer himself, a reporter should have ultimate right concerning how to write the news articles.  

n) In writing news stories or commentaries, a reporter should take into account opinions of the editor or managing editor.  

o) In writing news stories or commentaries, a reporter should give due consideration to the policies of the publisher.  

p) In case that a news article becomes a target of investigation for reasons of national security, only the reporter
15) (continued)

q) Under the circumstances mentioned above, the editor or managing editor should also be held accountable.  

r) Under the circumstances mentioned above, the newspaper or news agency as an organization should also be held accountable.  

s) Journalism as an occupation is more important for income source than for public service.  

t) Journalists are also ordinary people who have to take care of their families and aspire for worldly success. They alone can not be expected to be losing heroes.  

16) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

a) To protect the national interest and security, it is necessary to curtail press freedom to some extent.  

b) The interest of the state is not necessarily identical with that of the administration in power.  

c) Western countries developed stage by stage over several centuries and therefore could handle one problem at a time. But developing countries are now facing many big problems all at once. Under these
16) (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

circumstances the press must be controlled to some extent in order to coordinate the national priorities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d) The Korean press is now given as much freedom as the present situation, both domestic and international, can allow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

17) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( )

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Press freedom should be:</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) the right of the people.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the right of the government.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) the right of the publisher.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) the right of editors or editors-in-chief.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) the right of working journalists.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The source of troubles faced by the Korean press today arises mostly from:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f) pressures from outside.</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>not certain</th>
<th>disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g) the way the press is owned, organized, and run.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) the way journalists think and behave.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part 2. Journalism as an Occupation.

18) Where do you think you as a journalist belong in the following dimensions of status?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>upper</th>
<th>middle</th>
<th>lower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) educational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prestige</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19) How satisfied or dissatisfied are you in terms of the following aspects?

e.g., satis for satisfied
dissa for dissatisfied

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>much</th>
<th>neither</th>
<th>much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>satis</td>
<td>satis</td>
<td>dissa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nor</td>
<td>dissa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) job itself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) occupational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prestige</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) job security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20) Since you became a journalist, have you ever thought of changing occupation?

1) _____ Yes
2) _____ No  (If no, please move to Question 24)

21) If the answer is yes, how often?

1) _____ very often
2) _____ sometimes
3) _____ rarely
22) What are the occupations that you've thought of shifting to?

__________________________

23) What are the major reasons that made you think of occupational change?

__________________________

24) Do you have close friends who you think are more successful than you?

1) ___ yes
2) ___ no (If no, please move to Question 27)

25) If yes, what is (are) their occupation(s)?

__________________________

26) Why are they generally considered more successful than you?

__________________________

27) Below are some major occupations in Korea listed in order of occupational prestige. The relative prestige of occupations is taken from a survey research conducted by a Korean sociologist some 10 years ago. Please compare each with journalism in terms of occupational prestige and answer the questions.

1) professor  
2) medical doctor  
3) lawyer  
4) engineer  
5) politician  
6) military officer  
7) journalist  
8) gov't official (dept. chief)  
9) big firm employee (dept. chief)  
10) minister or father  
11) owner farmer  
12) primary school teacher  
13) company clerk  
14) retail-shop owner  
15) railwayman  
16) contractor (chongboo eupja)  
17) policeman  
18) tenant-farmer  
19) car driver

a) Occupations considered more prestigious than journalists are:

__________________________

b) Occupations considered as prestigious as journalists are:

__________________________
28) The stories (news, commentary, editorial...) that you write are mostly: (Please check only one)
1) ____ stories that you want to write
2) ____ stories that you think are helpful to readers
3) ____ stories that you think most readers want

29) In order to understand your stories your readers are required to have the educational level of:
1) ____ functional literacy (no formal schooling)
2) ____ completion of elementary school
3) ____ completion of middle school
4) ____ high school graduate
5) ____ college graduate

30) How often do you get feedback to your stories from unknown readers?
1) ____ often
2) ____ sometimes
3) ____ seldom
4) ____ never

31) Listed below are four major roles which a journalist is supposed to play. If there occurs a serious conflict between these roles and you have to choose only one of them, which would you choose?
1) citizen's role
2) professional role of journalist
3) family breadwinner's role
4) newspaper or news agency company employee's role

a) the most important role you would choose ( )
b) the second most important role you would choose ( )
c) the least important role you would choose ( )
32) How seriously do you think the national security of Korea is threatened domestically and internationally?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>degree of threat to national security</th>
<th>serious</th>
<th>not so serious</th>
<th>existent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) domestically</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) internationally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33) The political orientation of your publisher is:

1) _____ favorable to the government and its policies
2) _____ independent
3) _____ critical to the government and its policies

34) The commercial orientation of your publisher is:

1) _____ strong
2) _____ not so strong
3) _____ not existent

35) In discharging social responsibility of the press, your publisher is rated:

1) _____ high
2) _____ intermediate
3) _____ low

36) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please indicate your opinion with a check mark ( ).

a) Man can do nothing about his fate, so he might just as well accept it. _____ _____ _____

b) Nowadays with the social conditions the way they are it is wise to live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. _____ _____ _____
36) (continued)  

c) Society has changed a lot.  
But the eldest son still  
should stay with his parents  
and support them.  

 agrees certain disagrees  
37) Listed below are some categories of social groups or  
forces.  

1) management, editors, or reporters of your company  
2) politicians  
3) gov't officials  
4) big-business men  
5) white collar workers  
6) blue collar workers  
7) farmers  
8) college students  
9) housewives  
10) others (please specify __________________)  

a) To which social groups do you address yourself mostly?  
Please choose three.  

(____) (____) (____)  

b) From which social groups do you feel pressure when  
you write your stories? Please choose three.  

(____) (____) (____)  

c) Which social groups do you feel you should have more  
dialogue with for national development? Please  
choose three.  

(____) (____) (____)  

Part 3. Family Background and Occupational Career.  

38) Your educational background is:  

1) _____ elementary school or less  
2) _____ middle school  
3) _____ high school  
4) _____ college  
5) _____ graduate school or more
39) What was your major at college or graduate school?
   a) (____) univ., (____) college, (____) dept.
   b) (____) univ., (____) graduate school, (____) dept.

40) Have you attended professional training sessions or workshops for journalists since you became a journalist?
   1) ____ yes
   2) ____ no   (If no, please go to Question 42)

41) If yes, where and how many times have you attended?
   a) ____ in Korea (____) times
   b) ____ abroad (____) times

42) When did you become a journalist?
   in 19____

43) If you regularly read journals, magazines, weeklies, and dailies of the following categories, please write down their names.
   a) journalism magazines or journals, either Korean or foreign
      (__________________________________________)
   b) foreign monthlies or weeklies
      (__________________________________________)
   c) foreign newspapers
      (__________________________________________)

44) Was journalism your first job after your graduation from school?
   1) ____ yes, it was (If yes, please skip to Question 46)
   2) ____ no

45) If no, what was (or were) the preceding occupation(s)?
   (__________________________________________)
46) Your present status at office?
   1) ____ staff reporter
   2) ____ assistant editor
   3) ____ editor
   4) ____ assistant chief editor
   5) ____ chief editor
   6) ____ editorial writer
   7) ____ other (please specify ______________________)

47) Which section do you belong to?
   1) ____ political
   2) ____ economics
   3) ____ city
   4) ____ culture, arts, sports, science
   5) ____ editing or make-up
   6) ____ foreign news
   7) ____ other (please specify ______________________)

48) How many times have you moved from newspaper to newspaper (or news agency) since you became a journalist?
   1) ____ none
   2) ____ moved (____) times

49) Since you became a journalist, have you had the opportunity to go abroad?
   1) ____ no
   2) ____ yes (____) months altogether
50) Which aspect of journalism most attracted you to the job of journalist? Please check one.

1) _____ occupational prestige
2) _____ income level
3) _____ power or influence
4) _____ service to society
5) _____ freeness (less bureaucratic)
6) _____ action and experience
7) _____ stepping-stone to other jobs
8) _____ job security
9) _____ others (please specify ________________)

51) Your family's monthly expenditures total:

1) _____ W 30,000 or less  
2) _____ W 30,001 to 40,000
3) _____ W 40,001 to 50,000  
4) _____ W 50,001 to 60,000
5) _____ W 60,001 to 70,000  
6) _____ W 70,001 to 80,000
7) _____ W 80,001 to 90,000  
8) _____ W 90,001 to 100,000
9) _____ W 100,001 or more

52) Your sex?

1) _____ male
2) _____ female

53) Your marital status?

1) _____ single
2) _____ married
3) _____ separated, divorced, or widowed
54) Your age (on your last birthday)

1) _____ 24 or under
2) _____ 25 to 29
3) _____ 30 to 34
4) _____ 35 to 39
5) _____ 40 to 44
6) _____ 45 to 49
7) _____ 50 to 54
8) _____ 55 to 59
9) _____ 60 or over

55) Where were you born? Where did you attend your middle-high school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>province</th>
<th>other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Pusan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capital</td>
<td>city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>rural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) birthplace

b) location of middle-high school

56) Your religious affiliation?

1) _____ none
2) _____ Confucianism
3) _____ Buddhism
4) _____ Chondo-gyo
5) _____ other Korean or Oriental religion
6) _____ Protestant
7) _____ Catholic
8) _____ others (please specify _____)

57) Your father's educational background?

1) _____ self study
2) _____ classic Chinese
3) _____ elementary school
4) _____ middle-high school
5) _____ college
6) _____ graduate school or more
58) What was your father's occupation when you were attending middle-high school?

1) _____ landowner 2) _____ owner-farmer
3) _____ owner-tenant farmer 4) _____ business executive (big firm)
5) _____ shop owner (medium to small) 6) _____ clerical-sale
7) _____ gov't official 8) _____ professional (M.D., lawyer)
9) _____ teaching 10) _____ laborer
11) _____ others (please specify ______________________)

59) How would you define press freedom in an ideal sense without taking into consideration the specific situation of any country? Please explain briefly.

60) If you have anything to say about this questionnaire or other aspects of this study, please comment.

Thank You Very Much for Your Cooperation.
## APPENDIX D: ITEMS CLASSIFIED AS TYPES I, II, AND III ROLES

### Role Type I: Inclusive Model

The Press should:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>help develop <em>democratic potentiality</em> of the nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>help establish a <em>social justice</em> in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>help develop a <em>democratic political system</em> in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>help develop the <em>culture</em> of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>help prepare for an eventual <em>unification</em> of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>help improve the <em>living standard</em> of the country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Role Type II: Partially Overlapping Model

Major Roles of Press and Journalists are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>to inform <em>facts</em> to the <em>general populace</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>to represent the <em>minds of the people</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>to reflect the <em>reality of society</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>to help establish <em>opposition party</em> in viable policy competition with the ruling party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>to <em>watchdog</em> the administration in power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>to help maintain <em>status quo</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>to help preserve a <em>political stability</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>to provide <em>support to the government</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Role Type II: Partially Overlapping Model (continued)

Role Item 15: to lead the general populace.

Role Item 16: to advocate reforms (to social forces concerned)

Role Type III: Discrete Model

Right and Accountability involved in reportorial activities

Role Item 17: Once a topic has been chosen whether assigned by editor or chosen by the writer himself, a reporter should have ultimate right concerning how to write the news articles (reporter's right).

Role Item 18: In case that a news article becomes a target of investigation for reasons of national security, editors should also be held accountable (editor's accountability).

Role Item 19: (Under the circumstances mentioned in Role Item 18) only the reporters concerned should be held accountable (reporter's accountability).

Role Item 20: In writing news stories or commentaries, a reporter should give due consideration to the policies of publisher (publisher's right).

Role Item 21: In writing news stories or commentaries, a reporter should take into account opinions of editor or managing editor (editor's right).

Role Item 22: (Under the circumstances mentioned in Role Item 18) newspaper or news agency as an organization should also be held accountable (organization's accountability).
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