

Running Head: Differences in the coverage of State and Private TV companies
in 2008 Korean Candlelight Vigil

American University of Central Asia

This thesis is submitted to fulfill partial requirements for Bachelor of Arts degree at the
department of Journalism and Mass Communications

**Differences in the coverage of State and Private TV companies in 2008
Korean Candlelight Vigil**

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Abstract

This study on the differences of the news coverage on the issue 'Korean Candlelight Vigil' is going to tell what the different aspects are of Korean main TV stations and how much the people get influenced by the news coverage to think of politics and it causes a big movement (problem). TV news has much power to instigate people making social demonstrations and antipathy toward government through prejudiced reports, and negative voices. The representative one out of big people movements was influenced by the media in South Korea, named of 2008 Candlelight Vigil. This paper will be the case study about this case and choose the framing theory. Based on the theory the candlelight vigil would be analyzed how it was going through the differences in news coverage which have influenced people in different ways in terms of Korean political ideologies. According to the conservative and progressive ideology, we will see how the candlelight vigil was started and declined and what each side mainly did.

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I. Introduction

Nowadays, there are many movements in Korea to express people's thoughts and share them each other through the TV news and internet blogs. The media system is rapidly expanded as much as influencing on social issues. People are everyday contacting mass media such as television, radio, and internet because the technology of media is so developed. Almost all people have smart phone and other technological things to access to internet, so they can easily get access to news reports, articles, and comments in blogs. They could share their own opinion also and spread such materials to their close people through the social media. As developed media contacts, Korean people love to use social media every time in their life. They share their life by blogging and messaging other people through social media. However, it is not the end. Sharing is going expanded the area from their life to the political participation.

Revolutions, demonstrations, and resists against government have been increasingly appeared since people started often contacting social media. People through the social media are getting much information and listening to the diverse thoughts and opinions about political issues. They usually contact social media such as Youtube, Facebook, and Twitter which could quickly spread information. Especially, Korean main broadcastings are conspicuously divided into two ideologies and according to the ideology of present president the characteristics of broadcastings become different. If the present president is the Rightists (that supports the capitalism), the right wings broadcasting reports the news supporting the president and the left wings broadcasting reports the news against the president and government. So, the viewers are easily confused by the opposite side's news because it is so difficult to discern the reality and manipulation. Mass media has a function to deliver the political information to public. But the problem is that the information is not easy to be

objective. Of course, most of reports of each media are the actual things that are based on own political ideology and aspect and reports by their subjective news or articles. It makes people stirred up to think in such ways what they intend. It is not special situation if seeing the situations of other countries, but Korean media has the difference from the other countries' in which is ideological conflict.

However, the two sides, the right wings and left wings, are a little bit different from other countries'. Korean society has been rapidly changed in recent decades and in this process the importance and role of media have been expanded. But only 60 years ago, Korea was the poorest country in the world. They had been colonized by Japan for 36 years in the early 20 century and after World War II became free and independent. And, in 1950, they went through the Korean War and divided into two countries by different ideologies so seriously declined the economy, culture, life quality, and all things. When Korea was divided into two parts by the United States and Soviet Union, there was an ideological conflict in Moscow Conference of Foreign Minister. In this conference, three countries participated for Korea; the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union, they decided the right wings would be capitalism and the left wings would be communism. And each Korea (South and North Korea) started accepting their ideologies in different way. North Korea had a strong leader who wanted to accept the Communism and South Korea had a strong leader who wanted to accept the Capitalism and Democracy. In such circumstances, the people in each country started divided into two ideologies what they support. Passing time, people in South Korean started Well-Living (New Village) Movements and challenged techniques, imported products, agricultures, industries, and many other things. Through the hard trainings Korea became the present democratic Korea (Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. New Community Movement).

Thus, in fact, Korean democracy has been settled for a short period. It makes Korean society and media have conflicts between ideology and reality. As developing the society, the media of Korea has been also developed and now Korea is the best IT country in the world, having the best speed of telecom. So, Koreans have the good connection with each other and are influenced by the other voices as blogging and surfing many different sites of internet. If there is a political happening, it is at first gossiped in internet and people start believing some materials in internet and get affected by other media. And, its effect could often cause demonstrations and vigil, or impeachment for president and government.

In 2008, there was a big candlelight vigil against government. People had strongly opposed to import the US beef because in this time there was a cow-disease in US. It was not so serious disease, but Media coverage was framed to represent the danger of disease to stimulate people to get angry. A broadcasting center of three main broadcasting centers in South Korea, MBC, Munhwa Broadcasting cooperation, broadcasted a documentary about the cow-disease how much dangerous to human it is. Actually it was started in internet that there is a mad cow disease in United States and MBC stirred people up as broadcasting the documentary to make it bigger and made people angry at the government that not cared for this and signed up the negotiation. For this, people came out the street with candles and protested against the president. And, it lasted almost 6 months.

According to this case of Korean Candlelight Vigil it showed that social media worked well to unite people, for example. This paper will analyze such case with its causes and effects and what the different effect of media is. And, the readers should think of own positions and consider what is useful for all for us.

What is Korean Candlelight Vigil?

The word 'Candlelight vigil' is an outdoor meeting. People come out the streets like

square in the city where people could easily gather or governmental official facilities are in carrying the candles and hold after sunset. It is a peaceful demonstration of Korea. In general, such events are held either to protest the suffering of some isolated people, or to memorize the lost lives from some diseases, disasters, or other tragedy. To memorize such tragedies, this event is usually called a *candlelight memorial*. When the candlelight vigil is conducted greatly, it usually has the invited speakers with a public address system and it is reported by the news broadcasting.

The first Korean Candlelight Vigil was in 1992 against charged internet service net 'Hitel'. However, the Candlelight Vigil was seriously started in June of 2002 to memorize them and inquire into the true state. This happening was the two girls of middle school were killed by an armored truck of the American Army in the suburbs of Seoul. This event in this time couldn't get attention from society because of Korean-Japanese soccer game and the 16th presidential election. During such time, a citizen suggested to cherish these two girls' memory through the internet newspaper 'oh, my news'. This suggestion was spread by netizens (network+citizen) and in November of that year the first big candlelight vigil was organized in front of Gwanghwamun (Sejong center for the performing arts in Seoul). At first, the candlelight vigil was to cherish their memory. But, as their accident was declared not guilty of the American drivers of the armored truck in the court, the candlelight vigils characteristics was changed a little to have the anti-United States characteristics. As spreading this vigil in whole country, at the moment, there was a diplomatic conflict between South Korea and United States.

This vigil was entirely peaceful till the end differed from the past violent demonstrations, so people really support this. And, after this happening, the form of meeting of candlelight vigil is settled as a culture of demonstration in Korea and it has affected on the 16th presidential election. Especially, in Korea, there was an impeachment for the previous

president in 2004 and there was a candlelight vigil against the impeachment. Finally, the party which organized this impeachment was failed to the 17th general election.

And, the Korean Candlelight Vigil in 2008, which is the case of this study, was started by the girl students of teenagers against the import of US beef. It had been spread to many citizens to participate in to insist the renegotiation of beef trade with United States. The most outstanding characteristics of this vigil are the autonomy of citizens themselves without any leading power. It was so independent meeting. There were students of middle, high school, and university, ordinary office workers, housewives carrying baby carriage, and many diverse individuals. It was nonviolent demonstration that is considered as a new challenge of direct democracy for the limits of representative democracy. And it is not regulated by the law because it is considered as a cultural event.

The candlelight vigil means the sacrifice of candle sacrificing itself and lightening surroundings, the concentration that the small light of candle could be a big light if they are gathered and the dream and desire that the fireworks wait for dawn not losing their light in the darkness.

2008 Candlelight Vigil

2008 was the first year of new president 'Lee Myung-Bak' who was elected on December of 2007. He is conservative differed from the previous president 'Roh Moo-Hyun' who was progressive. As soon as he became a president he started the radical political changes such as the educational policy; school self-regulation allowing the supplementary lessons. It was a big change for the students and schools because they had been under the progressive educational policy not conservative; their political character is absolutely different and this new challenge was enough to make people confused. So, against this policy the teenager students were protesting and the crucial moment of students' protest was the

FTA negotiation of US beef imports. The summit conference between South Korea and the United States was close at hand, at that time, the content of the negotiation that 'the importation of U.S. beef cannot be suspended when the mad cow disease does break out at the quarantine' was released on April 19. We should have imported the US beef and could not suspend the importation though that was 30 months and had the high risk of mad cow disease.

From this confusing situation there was aired a documentary of MBC (Munhwa, meaning 'culture,' Broadcasting Cooperation – it is explained 'section VI. Analysis of 3 main broadcasting centers in Korea') broadcast program, named of 'PD notebook'. MBC aired it 'Radical report, is US beef surely safe?' and it showed the many dangerous situations related to the mad cow disease and how it is risky on April 29. Aired the documentary program, the teenagers started spreading the propaganda with the famous entertainers' pictures through the internet such as fan café that included that our singers and actors got the dangerous situation because of the sick beef having the mad cow disease and they gathered once to demonstrate against the government on May 2.

After that day, people started joining in this demonstration through the internet café 'Anti-government movement' and held the candlelight vigil every weekend. But, not only weekend but other days also if they felt necessary held the demonstration and sometimes there were participated some famous entertainers. And, it lasted until July. The candlelight vigil was going for 3 months from May until July but the troubles were going from April until November.

From the August till November the candlelight vigil was not continued because it was revealed that the information about mad cow disease in US was a wrong rumor not true. TV documentary, MBC PD note, was also framed to represent that the disease showed in documentary was actually not mad cow disease but another not related disease. They changed

the translated subtitles and aired it. So, government investigated the related people and accused them, and the court judgment was going for almost 3 months.

Korean Candlelight Vigil 2008 had a big impact to the politics, Blue House and president, and made the whole country confused which was true. There was no true and false, no regulation.

II. Set up the study issue

Set up the study issue

2008 Korean candlelight vigil was happened by the US beef trade negotiation (FTA) and there was the propensity of news in frame analysis. This study discovers the propensity of news and the political implication.

First, what is the peculiarity of the ideological news report about the candlelight vigil? During the process of candlelight vigil from the start till the end the conservative broadcasting center and progressive broadcasting center aired the news in opposite angle. Then, what are the contents of their frame and what are the difference and similarity of conservative and progressive news?

Second, how was the news frame developed and changed in each process of candlelight vigil? The core problem of this trouble in 2008 Korean candlelight vigil was that each citizen had the different character of the national identity during the five steps of process latent-lightening-pick-decline-extinction period from April 15 till July 15. So, it is discovered the different recognition of national identity and frame of the main broadcasting centers.

Each broadcasting center chose each different frame about the issue of candlelight vigil. The broadcasting center supporting the government policy selects the favorable frame and the broadcasting center in the critical side selects the critical frame. Entman shows the further way to analyze the news text than the importance of news story and topic analysis. Based on this way this study compared between conservative and progressive frame.

Problem Definition and Character	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sight to see the US beef trade negotiation • The sight to see the Candlelight Vigil
Cause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reason why the Candlelight Vigil is occurred
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different evaluations about the Candlelight Vigil
Solution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different solutions of the Candlelight Vigil

<Table 1. Comparing the frames of conservative and progressive: four steps>

So, the research questions about the construction of frames are set up in this theory to distinguish the differences of conservative and progressive frames.

First, what is the basic perspective about the US beef trade negotiation? It should be considered that if people think of the benefits of the country or they think of the prestige of the country in the equal perspective about the negotiation with the United States. Depending on the perspectives, the extent to emphasize the risky of mad cow disease would be different. The method of conservative and progressive to approach to the problem is also clearly distinct. One side exaggerates the risky of mad cow disease and the other side emphasizes the rational understanding based on the scientific evidence. Also, the sight to approach to FTA is positive by conservative but negative by progressive.

Second, who is responsible for the candlelight vigil? There is the different sight of the broadcasting centers about the candlelight vigil if it was occurred by the political back power of the progressive, anti-government, anti-US or it is pure voluntary meeting of citizens.

Third, how is the candlelight vigil evaluated? There two different perspectives in the

frame. One side is that the government entirely should accept the candlelight vigil because it is the pure movement of people and another side is that people should observe the law order because the candlelight vigil is so tough and violent.

Fourth, what solution is suggested for the candlelight vigil? Progressive broadcasting constantly asks the re-negotiation of FTA and conservative evaluates the extra negotiation of government also positively.

III. Theoretical Analysis (Framing Theory)

News is not the process to simply deliver the fact. News means the process and explanation about social phenomena by each frame of media constitutions and it means news is the tool to make up the social agreement. That is, news is not the reality as it is but the analyzed reality by the frame of news producers who perceive and broadcast it. News provides constructed fact giving the particular meaning through reconstructed framing in the regular pattern with selection and exclusion. The reason that media could have the role of the hard core in the modern society is the news frame. Depending on how the media report the reality, the political geography and relations could be changed.

The philosophical background of framing theory is constructivism. Framing concept starts from the hypothesis that human cannot perceive the reality as it is. Reality exists as it is but to perceive it is different from each other as much as human ability to perceive it because each person has the different frame to perceive the objects and phenomena. Conservative understands the objects and phenomena in the conservative frame and progressive understands them in the progressive frame. Different frames make the objects and phenomena analyzed in the different angles. It is because of selection and exclusion. The focused point of conservative frame about some phenomena is excluded in the progressive frame.

Goffman points out that a “framework allows its user to locate, perceive, identify, and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its terms.” (1979, 21) Gaye Tuchman argues that "news is perpetually defining and redefining, constituting and reconstituting social phenomena" (1978, p. 184). According to the Glasgow University Media Group (GUMG), "news is never simply a series of facts or a simple mirror of external reality. Rather, it is a cultural product and the accounts and descriptions of the world which it gives are produced from within specific interpretative frameworks" (1980, p. 3). The critical point

of view challenges the notion of social responsibility in which news provides a marketplace of ideas and objective reports of important issues. For example, the GUMG argues that "it (news) constantly maintains and supports a cultural framework within which viewpoints favorable to the status quo are given preferred and privileged readings" (p. 122). This agrees with Tuchman's argument that "news, with the web of facticity, legitimates the status quo" (p. 13). Tuchman further defines news more concretely as "an ideology, which is a means not to know: a means to obfuscate and so to legitimate the intertwining of political and corporate activity" (p. 14). Herbert Gans states more specifically that "news supports the social order of public, business and professional, upper-middle-class, middle-aged, and white male sectors of society" (1979, p. 61). Furthermore, he argues that "new news is also generally supportive of government and a variety of other national institutions, including the quality universities" (p. 61). (Mariko Tomita and Carl Bybee, 1989. *Theories of the news*, pp. 77-83.)

Frames highlight some bits of information about an item that is the subject of a communication, thereby elevating them in salience. The word salience itself needs to be defined: It means making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. An increase in salience enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it, and store it in memory (Fiske&Taylor, 1991).

Among the diverse definitions the common point is that everyone explains the news frame as the reality is reconstructed by the frame. Here is a hypothesis that media tries to influence the audience and receiver through the frame. So, it says that the audience and receiver are influenced by the text. No matter how is the candlelight vigil going on the public contacting the media must be influenced by the news frame. Then, the significant thing in framing is how news constructs the reality, in which aspect it analyzes and evaluates, or which ideology it has in this process (Park Jung Eui, 2004).

The reason that news frame is much important is that news provides the entire analysis about the problems of phenomena through using their words, omission and emphasis, metaphor and simile, and the visible information. The power and authority of media come out from this frame. So, studying the frame has significance and meaning to discover the ideological propensity in the implied news text. In this study the ideological propensity of media is discovered through the framing theory. Furthermore, the situation which is emphasized to participate in politics leads the media to be a great role of participation in politics and the importance to study frame is getting more.

In the result based on the hypothesis that social reality is made by the media frame, there are four frame tendencies summarized in the modern media. First, the media depend on the formed frame about the particular happening or issue. Second, the different frame is used about the same issue. Third, there is the distinction between countries about the same issue. Fourth, it might be used the opposite frames about the issue in similar character. News selects the opposite frame to distort and exclude the argument about the troubles and solutions and support the structured ideology and order even though it is the similar happening. However, the worst problem of framing analysis is under the credibility and appropriateness. It is so important for study to have the insight, judgment, and knowledge in order to discover the implied frame in news text.

Analyze the frames

2008 Korean Candlelight Vigil was started from the MBC air 'PD note' and the news broadcasting was hugely influential to the public during the period of the candlelight vigil. This study researched the news reports of the state and private TV companies about the candlelight vigil during the period from April till July and set the seven frames for the specific analysis.

1) Responsibility 1: country and government

The reports include the contents that attribute the responsibility. The contents include the fault of president, agricultural minister or foreign minister to make the problem of the candlelight vigil.

2) Responsibility 2: candlelight

It is the sight that attributes the responsibility to the demonstrators of the candlelight vigil. Specifically it sees that the candlelight vigil is systematically occurred by the progressive and anti-US power. And the reason is based on the rumors in internet, PD note, and exaggerated reports of the other side.

3) National prestige

It emphasizes the autonomy of Korea in the particular relationship with the United States. Basically it was the time to see the US beef import in negative perspectives and this time to negotiate the beef trade with US was considered as humiliated negotiation. In this perspective, news tells the high risk of mad cow disease and that is to ignore the health of nation. Also it emphasizes the damage of agriculture according to the open market.

4) National benefits

It sees that open market is positive and understands the US beef trade negotiation rationally in the frame of understanding international customs and interaction between two countries. It accepts the importance of FTA and emphasizes the meaning of alliance. Also, it is against the rumors about mad cow disease without any evidence and support the scientific rational understanding news.

5) Democratization

It is the positive perspective about the candlelight vigil. It criticizes the government as the security rule because the government confronts the demonstration by the public mind with official authority. It defines the government as a dictatorship and argues the democracy

declines in this society. And it insists that the government should accept the candlelight vigil as the public mind and public expression.

6) Solutions

It means the news focusing on the solution about the candlelight vigil. And it is the sight to press to make solutions. It includes national stability and alternatives as concerning the damage on economics and public welfare if the demonstration would press the re-negotiation or be long time period.

7) Troubles

It deals the news in side of troubles in the candlelight vigil. Government and demonstrators, government party and opposite party, Korean government and US government, candlelight and anti-candlelight, government authority and PD note, conservative and progressive, government and internet news, and etc. are in the perspective of confrontation and opposition to see the situation of candlelight vigil (Kim In Young, 2010. 2008 media frame and politics, Kyunghee University.).

And, this table shows the included contents in news.

<Table 2. News contents>

No	Frame	Key words
1	Responsibility 1	Government's fault (minister of agriculture, foreign minister, parliament, president Lee Myoung Bak, etc.)
2	Responsibility 2	Demonstrators' fault (anti-US, progressive, background, rumors, internet conferences, PD note, etc.)
3	National prestige	National autonomy, emphasis of national self-respect, critics about subordination of government, emphasis of risky of mad cow disease
4	National benefits	Emphasis of importance of FTA, relativity of negotiation, respect for international customs of negotiation, emphasis of Korean-US alliance, emphasis of trade benefits, emphasis of benefits of consumers, stimulation about anti-US
5	Democratization	Abuse of governmental authority, oppression of democracy, security rule, dictatorship, protest for democracy, public mind

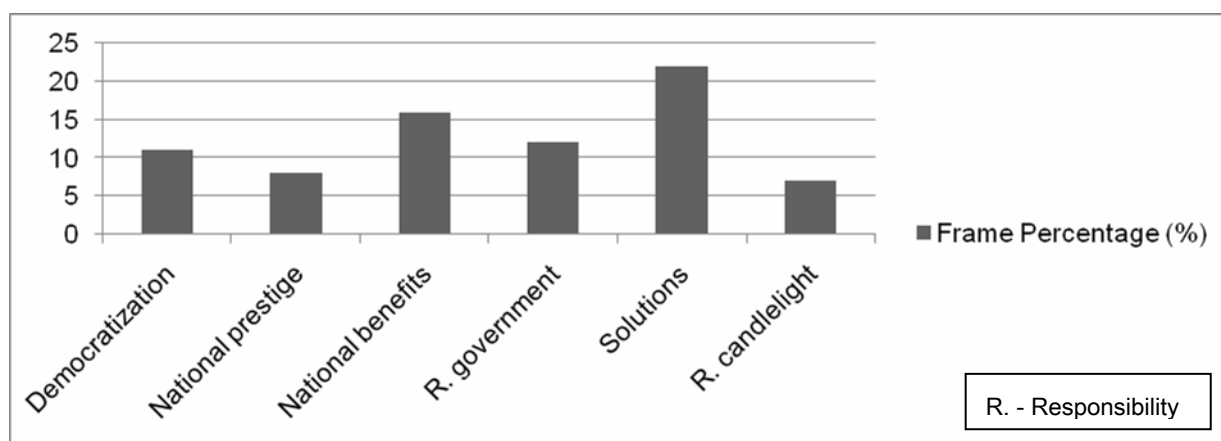
6	Solutions	Extra-negotiation, re-negotiation, economics, public welfare, national stability
7	Troubles	Government & demonstrators, government & opposite party, candlelight & anti-candlelight, government authority & PD note, etc.

Candlelight vigil became the motivation to divide the whole society of Korea into two as conservative and progressive about the US beef import. Such phenomena showed up in the broadcasting. So, as the sight and perspective to see the US beef trade negotiation, it is divided into national prestige and national benefits and where the responsibility lays to find the reason of the candlelight vigil.

According to process of candlelight vigil the news frame had been changed. The candlelight vigil against the US beef import of government policy of Lee Myoung Bak was proceed as the latent period, specific group movement to press change of policy, government reaction, and the typical trouble circulation during three months till the extinction. In each process the conservative and progressive news had the frame war.

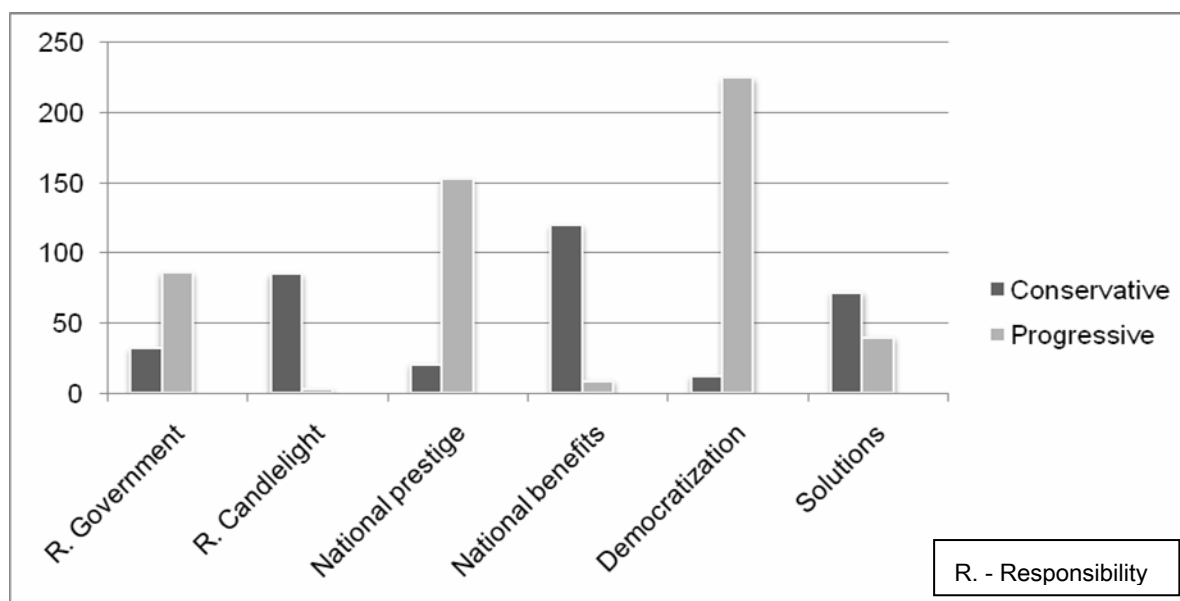
According to the study result of 1,000 news texts analysis of TV and newspaper by Ph. D. Kim In Young in Kyunghee university, the best selected frame of news report about candlelight vigil was democratization. And the next was national prestige, and then national benefits, responsibility of government.

<Table 3. Frame Percentage>



Also, the best selected frame of conservative is national benefits and the next is the frame of the responsibility of candlelight. In the progressive frame the best selection is democratization overwhelmingly.

<Table 4. Comparison the entire news amount of conservative and progressive frame>



Then, how was the news tendency of conservative and progressive developed in each process that was defined by latent-lightening-pick-decline-extinction period? It could be analyzed by the news frame.

News frame in the process of candlelight vigil

First, the latent period means the time from the US beef trade negotiation before the candlelight vigil was occurred. Latent process didn't show the troubles about the US beef trade and have the potential trouble in silence. More specifically it is from the announcement of the president that negotiated the beef trade with the United States in April 18 until MBC air of PD note about mad cow disease that hugely influenced on the occurrence of the candlelight vigil in April 29.

The beef trade with the United States has the difficult problem that there is big difference of the sides of the both countries Korea and United States. In the Korea side, they asked to import the beef less 30 months with bones but United States argued that Korea should allow importing the US beef regardless of the age and part according to the standard of OIE. So, during some time they couldn't complete the negotiation because each argument was so strong to be changed. The result that the negotiation is so profitable to the United States was informed to people and people started criticizing the problem.

The most noticeable suspicion to this negotiation is that the negotiation was passed to show the favorable attitude of the new government of Korea to the United States in order to success the United-States-Korea summit talks. It means the new government used FTA as a political tool. The hard core problem is that Korea could not stop importing by their will even though the mad cow disease would be appeared in the United States meaning to give up the autonomy and Korea allowed importing the beef aged more than 3 years. People were threatened by this negotiation and started protesting. And this problem was spread beyond the particular benefits to the national problem over the whole country.

In this period, however, there was not enough information about the negotiation so the number of news was also less and conservative perspectives announced it about the national benefits but progressive perspectives announced it about the national prestige. From the beginning there was exactly distinction and difference between conservative news and progressive news. (Han KyuRae, 2008.)

Second, lightening process (April 30 – May 22) is the period that the public opinion was getting worse after the PD note air and trying to press the government policy through the group behaviors. The public opinion against the US beef trade negotiation was gathered on-line at first and the candlelight vigil was started and getting more organized in May. April 29, MBC PD note aired 'mad cow disease, is it safety?' and showed the risky of mad cow disease

to make people get angry at the government.

Conservative news defined the mad cow disease information as a terrible rumor and did not care of the candlelight vigil much. But, progressive news was different. It was so actively participated to report the candlelight vigil and public opinion (Han KyuRae, May 16, 2008.). In this period there was much news about the responsibility of government by the progressive perspectives. Also, in progressive news, it is referred to the fault of government policy and public anger.

In the phrase of conservative news, it says, “government criticizes the exaggeration about the mad cow disease and informs its side to ask people to rationally understand this situation,” “the wrong report should be fixed as soon as possible,” and “rumor without any evidence becomes the truth.” (SBS news, May 22, 2008.) However, in the phrase of progressive news, it says, “angry public mind, do they have the system to diagnosis the mad cow disease?” and “Koreans are weaker to the mad cow disease so it is much dangerous to Koreans.”

Third, the pick period (May 23 – June 10) means that the quality and quantity of the candlelight vigil were spread out over the whole country and it was getting worse and worse. And, in this process, the progressive news was much more active than the conservative news. The conservative news included mostly the contents of the national benefits and the solutions; on the other hand, the progressive news included the frame of democratization. It was clearly showed up that progressive attributed the entire responsibility to the government and conservative attributed the responsibility to the both government and demonstrators. Conservative news tried to explain the process of negotiation and recognize the government effort for the extra-negotiation. However, progressive news emphasizes the profitable points of the United States and doesn't trust the government effort for the extra-negotiation strongly. And, it strongly doesn't believe the United States. In addition, it was constantly reporting the

hard problem to basically prevent mad cow disease.

In the third process, the conservative news also included the responsibility of government even though it reported in side of the government as ‘two faces of candlelight: peace and violence?’ and criticized the congressmen supporting the candlelight vigil. The candlelight vigil was getting intense to each other and the conservative news criticized the poor reaction of the government to emphasize the responsibility of government. While, progressive news had kept its argument and in this process reported the emphasis of democratization and criticized the police reaction as ‘candlelight vigil is the present pro-democracy movement’, ‘policemen attack citizens’, and so on.

Fourth, decline period means that after the biggest candlelight vigil in June 10 the participation in the candlelight vigil became weaker because the accumulated fatigue of the long time period of candlelight vigil and the government reacts strongly. The date is from June 11 until June 23. It mostly reported the news about the 2nd negotiation and the extra-negotiation. The most news of conservative supported the government effort to solve the problem and tried to see positively the negotiation in the rational understanding. But, progressive news sight was totally different. It still criticized the problem and weakness in the negotiation; ‘what is the matter with government that should protect the nation?’ And the candlelight vigil was getting violent and losing the purity of its meaning so it was much criticized by the conservative news. Also, conservative news attributed the responsibility to the MBC PD note.

Fifth, the extinction period means that the candlelight vigil finally got disappeared in the time of the government decision of negotiation. And the government strongly regulated the candlelight vigil and people got daunted by it. In the end, the candlelight vigil for 3 months was disappeared.

After June 20 there was appeared the public opinion that they should quit the

candlelight vigil. According to the research company this public opinion approached to 58 percent. And government started to attribute the responsibility to MBC PD note of mad cow disease rumors. In this period, the outstanding thing is that the conservative news started actively reporting about the candlelight vigil issue. And the conservative news was in contrast with the progressive news. Progressive news hardly tried to revive the candlelight vigil and conservative news tried to finish the candlelight vigil. Government directed the portal site and MBC PD note as the reason of spread of the candlelight vigil. And the conservative news started emphasizing this part of government argument. On the other hand, the progressive news refuted the conservative perspective and argued that the government was avoiding the responsibility for the public movement.

In the beginning of the candlelight vigil progressive news was mostly ahead of others but in the latter term the progressive was discovered that it couldn't recognize the right identity of the candlelight vigil because of its prejudiced propensity. Progressive news is consistent and conservative is reflective of the reality but both of them is considered as the prejudiced news report.

IV. Background of Ideological conflict in Korea

In Korea, there are different political characters, conservative and progressive, as in United States. Also, they are named of rightist (conservative) and leftist (progressive). South Korean rightist is based on the nationalism and patriotism against communism. They consider the North Korea as an opposite group not a country and consider that this group should be collapsed for Koran national development. In the contrast, South Korean leftist is favorable to the North Korea. They try to tolerate the North Korea in advance and consider them as a part of nation.

Some scholars say that there is no distinguishable difference between conservative and progressive, rightist and leftist, but there is a power protecting or not protecting constitutional law. Nowadays, the biggest differences of ideologies could be about the relationship toward North Korea and the United States, and free economic relationship. Generally, the rightist is strong to North Korea and supports the United States but the leftist is the opposite side. For example, leftists support the economic freedom without the government control and have the favorable attitude for North Korea and against the United States. (Shin Joong Sub, 2009. Political Analysis of Ideology)

Korea had been troubled with the world powers in the early 20th century; Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States, and China. Becoming independent from the colony of Japan, Korea did not have the foundation of self-government and were in process to make it but during this time we had the Korean War because of the different ideology. An educated person in Northern of Korea strongly believed communism that he learned from the Soviet Union and another educated person in Southern of Korea so supported democracy that he learned from the United States. These two persons are Kim Il Sung, who made the North Korea, and Lee Seung Man, who studied in the United States and made the South Korea.

Because of this reason Korean War brought Korea the trusteeship of the Soviet Union and the United States. So, Korea was divided into two parts according to two world powers and its inner division was based on different ideology. People supporting the communism went to North Korea but who supporting the democracy came to South Korea. It was the start of ideological conflict because many people were just remained where they were and in South Korea there were remained many supporters of communism.

Since that time the ideological conflict has been going in South Korea. The reason of ongoing conflict of ideology is Korea is a divided country by different ideology. And the politics use the ideology for their power as stirring people up divided and making them fight. Among this conflict the politics get what they want, which is not for the nation but themselves. For this, they make the media a tool to control the conflicts.

In such particular circumstances, the power of ideology is so big to control people's mind. And in 2008 it extremely worked through the candlelight vigil. KBS and MBC had the opposite ideology against the government and wanted to disturb the policy, thus, MBC manipulated the information and aired it by pretending it was real. It had a great power to motivate the people who don't support the government, eventually the ideology of government. It couldn't be denied fact that we can see.

V. Different aftereffects

In May of 2008, the candlelight vigil was started with the girls of middle school students as the leaders. It was shocking to society because they are teenager and teenager made the big scale demonstration. Because of this the president 'Lee Myung Bak' who became a new president of Korea 4 months ago should have apologized to the nation even two times. It was first a small demonstration but gradually extended the scale as appearing the street demonstrations. The climax of candlelight vigil was from May 24 till June 10. During this period the candlelight vigil was expanded as much as tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people attended and police started to put down this demonstration.

May 22, the president Lee published a comment to the whole nation from the Blue House (in Korea, they call the presidential house not White House but Blue House) as an apology. He said that he accepted the criticism that he neglected to care the nation's heart and apologized 4 times. (Chosun Ilbo, May 23, 2008.) But, he didn't change the decision of negotiation with the United States.

May 24, 25, the street demonstration was appeared and there was a physical conflict with the police. Eventually the candlelight vigil was such a cultural event, however, it was actually candlelight demonstration. There were around 3,000 citizens and students attending in candlelight vigil in the square of center in Seoul. 1,000 people out of them evaded the police and arrived nearly at the Blue House. The square demonstration was broken up themselves in the evening, but another demonstration was sporadically lasted overnight around the Blue House and the square. (KyungHyang Sinmun, May 26, 2008.)

May 27, there was a demonstration of reserve forces. The appearance of 'reserve

forces' demonstration' was taken by a posted writing of a netizen (network+citizen). One netizen wrote his suggestion in the internet; 'Reserves should protect the peaceful demonstration!' which stirred up the reserves to join in this demonstration. (KyungHyang, May 31, 2008.) The number of reserve forces with the reserves in service uniform was a small amount around several tens of people. And, passing time, the information was spread out through the internet and the number of participants became hundreds of reserves. They were standing between police and demonstrators to protect the demonstrators from the police but sometimes they prevented the demonstrators' violence to police and escorted the injured people during the demonstration, so the reserve forces became a star of the candlelight vigil as the loved one by the demonstrators and focused by the press. (ChungAng Ilbo, May 30, 2008., KyungHyang, May 31, 2008.)

May 29, people started the movement to suppress the conservative press by protest calling against the companies which put their advertisements in the conservative newspapers 'Chosun Ilbo', 'ChungAng Ilbo', 'DongA Ilbo'. These newspapers have the rightist propensity in side of the president Lee. (It is explained about the different ideologies in South Korea in Section 5, Ideological Conflict.) In internet portal site 'Agora', the notice board in internet and the most famous site of discussion about US beef trade, many people posted the writing to stimulate to not consume the products of those companies which put the advertisements in the conservative newspaper mentioned ahead; Chosun, ChungAng, DongA. The movement against the US beef import was approached to the companies because the conservative press didn't certain the risky of mad cow disease and it didn't make sense for the demonstrators that

the companies put the advertisements in such unrighteous newspapers. (KyungHyang, June 2, 2008.) After that, this movement was called 'homework' among netizens and actively expanded. The portal site 'Agora' kept posting the contacts of the companies and the writing postscript notes of participating in this movement. Also, in this day, there was a street demonstrate of baby carriages. It means that the mothers who have little babies came out the street and demonstrated. This demonstration was called as 'baby carriage forces'. It was first organized and had demonstration officially. This movement was informed through the internet with the postscript notes and photos and people really liked it. After this, other participants sometimes had the street demonstration by following behind 'baby carriage forces'.

May 31, the portal site 'Agora' hosted the demonstration with the flags and packets and went to the Blue House, so police made decisions to react with the water guns. As using the weapons of police, the extreme confrontation between police and demonstrators was started. June 1, at dawn the news flash about the violation of a policeman for a girl was aired and the demonstration became more intense. KBS and MBC made such news flashes every moment in candlelight vigil and people got angry at this as much as the candlelight vigil was getting extreme.

June 4, the local special election was held to fill the vacancy and in this election the government party was failed by the opposition parties. It presented the anti-government movement and also the appearance of ideological conflict (government party is rightist and opposition party is leftist). Many news reports said it is the result from the US beef trade problems but eventually it had the ideological confrontation stimulated by the different

ideological coverage of TV.

June 10, the host of the candlelight vigil planned 'a million candlelight march' and the big candlelight vigils were held in each city over the country at the same time. In this day, there was not such big trouble between demonstrators and police but the demonstrators attacked the internet homepage of Blue House to be troubled with access. So, some members around 5 thousands of 'national behavior center' and 'new-light union' organizations were gathered in the Seoul Square and held the demonstration 'to protect law and order and to press FTA negotiation with US to ratify.' Also, 'ex-soldiers' association' and 'the association of the participated men in war' held the photo gallery to recall 6.25 Korean War of 1950 with North Korea because they wanted to be against the demonstrators of candlelight vigil. It shows that this candlelight vigil is not only the fight between government and citizen but the different ideologies also.

After June 10, the protestors against government and the protestors against the anti-government demonstrators made the demonstrations spread out over the country.

VI. MBC PD note

In April 29 of 2008, a documentary 'PD note' of MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Cooperation), one of the 3 main broadcasting center, was aired as the topic 'US beef, is it safe from the mad cow disease?' which connected US beef with the mad cow disease to enhance the argument that it was so dangerous. Distrust about US beef was spread over the country from the air.

PD note showed how much influential TV is to society when it comes out to drive the public opinion by its particular intention. TV led by image and word brings out the viewers' thoughts and emotion. TV expression can be anytime changed into TV violation. ... The strange story about US beef in TV has much exaggerated contents. ... However, the rumor, 'US cows has mad cow disease', is constantly spread out because the opposites against Korean-US FTA are using this rumor to stir people up against US and the government.' (Chosun Ilbo, May 2, 2008.)

Chosun Ilbo, one of the most famous newspapers, insists that PD note did not purely intend to air the documentary about the US beef negotiation but exaggerated the risky of mad cow disease with a particular intention. Chosun Ilbo directs the documentary contents of PD note was false broadcasting and PD note framed to represent the truth and lied audience. And it directs the reason of spread of public opinion to doubt the safety of US beef is PD note and the anti-US powers against Republic of Korea – The United States FTA negotiation. It is the sight that a particular power controls the public opinion through TV. PD note identified the mad cow disease with the downer cow as the same disease but the downer cow could be caused by not only mad cow disease but metabolic disorder, fracture, and other various reasons. Also, the cause of the death which was presumed as the human form of mad cow disease in the documentary of PD note, in fact, was not the human form of mad cow disease

(vCJD – new variant Creutzfeldt-Jacob Disease – Human form of mad cow disease). The reason of human form of mad cow disease could not be explained with only a particular gene but PD note calculated the percentage of risky of vCJD by using a particular gene only. And the most shocking thing is the subtitles of translation in interview about vCJD were manipulated. It was not true. They interviewed the American family of a dead person because of the disease ‘CJD’. (Creutzfeldt-Jacob Disease – Human disease not related to mad cow disease which is being bored and making many holes in brain like sponge. It can be appeared to more 60 aged people.) They aired this interview and put the subtitles of translation ‘vCJD’, that is, the information is manipulated by the broadcasting to make public opinion against the US beef. (Choi Joon Bong, 2011. Study of 2008 candlelight vigil process, p.56-57).

PD note influenced people to perceive the mad cow disease in negative even wrong side to feel afraid of the negotiation by US. People heard the news about manipulated report of PD note but it didn’t work well in this time because it was already spread out among people and people were angry about that fact. Rather people were against the news that criticize PD note. People perceived once the negative fact and it was not easily changed. Even people started criticizing the news telling about manipulation of PD note were supporting the government for their political position. It means people didn’t believe any good things after perceiving the negative things. It was the start of 2008 Korean candlelight vigil.

VII. Different news reports of state and private broadcasting center

KBS news [Korean Broadcasting System] – State

KBS is the Korean broadcasting system. It was established in 1972 starting the radio station and became the Seoul central broadcasting center. This broadcasting center was the first state company which made the radio station at first in Korea. Its goal is to recover the dignity of man, to report justice, to form the democratic public opinion, to make the healthy culture of sentiments, to have the national ethnic sense of community, and to be advanced in the Global era.

KBS news included many voices of citizens in the spot of the candlelight vigil. Their interviews were taken by less kind of people and the explanation of reporters was more taken up. And, the public opinion was expressed by mostly 20 – 30 aged young people.

<Table 5. Analyzed characters in KBS news>

Performer	Main performer	Students (university), ordinary citizens, professions
	Opponent	Police group
Target	Main performer	Voluntary and peaceful participation, active reaction
	Opponent	Illegal meeting
Method	Main performer	Participation in meeting, street performance, live air of demonstration (internet or video camera)
	Opponent	Strong reaction, compulsory suppression, water gun

The main participants in the candlelight vigil were the main performers and the opponents are the police. So, these two groups were in trouble in the candlelight vigil. It replied that there was the organized group with the political purposes like the labor union and students of university among the ordinary citizens who are the participants. So, not only were participated the ordinary people in the candlelight vigil.

“I want to stay here for the demonstration. But, I’m so scared. I hope such terrible things would not happen again” an interviewee said in the news. The spot of the candlelight vigil was not peaceful place anymore. People still cried for non-violence in the candlelight vigil but police broke out it at once and they were portrayed as a violent and dangerous group threatening the demonstrators. So, the demonstrators of the candlelight vigil were getting changed from the peaceful attitude to the active reaction against the police. The demonstrators showed the peaceful candlelight crying for non-violence even though the police suppressed them by violence. Demonstrators were becoming angry at the violence of the police and some of them started to criticize the government directly; “resign the dictator!”

The participants in the candlelight vigil evaluated internet in positive sight and considered the inter-communication of new media as the high peculiarity. “It is possible to report lively the spot of candlelight vigil through wi-bro communication and many people access to see it. As you see, people are sharing their opinion and information in chatting room and we are talking to them also” said a participant. The live broadcasting of the spot of the candlelight vigil through the internet made anyone producer and consumer of news and it has the advantage to deliver the information very quickly using the peculiarity of the inter-communication.

In the KBS news it is so emphasized that the candlelight vigil made people actively interact and it means that whole nation had the same mind about this problem. Also, the participants in the candlelight vigil were so afraid of the risky of mad cow disease and their purpose to demonstrate was mostly to break off the US beef trade negotiation. In addition, people had the opposite mind against the president Lee Myoung Bak and the government. So,

these participants made the candlelight vigil the demonstration and they joined in voluntarily even though the ordinary citizens and the organized citizens were together. And, they appeared in the peaceful reaction to the violence of the police.

Most people participating in the candlelight vigil considered the most important thing was the health right of nation, that is the right to be safety from the risky of mad cow disease. An interviewee, a high school student, participated in the candlelight vigil voluntarily and was so interested in the social issue. And he considered the US beef problem as more significant thing than studying in the school. He said, "I escaped from the night self-studying in high school and came here. I may be scolded tomorrow. But, doesn't it work well when the industry is alive and our country is alive? It does not make sense if we are forced to study and get some knowledge in the situation nothing is going well. I will come out to participate next time and after next time also though I would be so scolded by the teachers."

There were the students from elementary school, too. "All is from the wrong policy of the president Lee Myoung Bak," "president should fix up the wrong policy," said the students of the elementary school. And their teacher was there with them. He said, "Our children started not eating beef of school lunch since a month ago and have asked me often to go to participate in the candlelight vigil." It showed that the US beef trade problem was not only the wrong policy of the new government but life problem. People came out to stand the line to protect their life.

Among the demonstrators there were the members of the progressive group. A member of the progressive group said, "Did the citizens copy all these pamphlets? People are

not dying because of the US beef that they have been eating and nothing is changed after the negotiation. But, why do they come out to the street? Is it simply happening?"

Like this, the various people participating in the candlelight vigil have their own purpose and reasons.

In the KBS news, the participation of the students of elementary school was outstandingly appeared. The method to participate in the candlelight vigil was totally different between teenagers and adults. Teenagers used internet and sms to interact in sharing information with people and people worried them about the extreme behaviors by the exaggerated information. The participants in the candlelight vigil were so diverse. There were the teenagers, ordinary citizens, labor union, students' organizations of university, and the political groups also. They participated in candlelight vigil not only against the US beef import but with own individual interests and they were harmonized in one place.

The opponents were the conservative members and police. Police maximized the troubles in the spot of the candlelight vigil by the violence. And the conservative people insisted there might be the background power behind of the candlelight vigil or the anti-US and anti-government power had the other political intention for this. Demonstrators who got angry at the police violence moved their step to the Blue House and changed their slogan from 're-negotiate the US beef trade!' to 'resign the president and the government' against the present policy. And they still had the peaceful candlelight vigil despite the police violence.

MBC news [Munhwa Broadcasting Center] –private

MBC is the Culture Broadcasting. 'Munhwa' is a Korean word which means 'culture'.

MBC was established in 1961 as a private broadcasting and it was also started with radio station. And it was registered to be the main channel in the whole country. Their goal is to produce programs and broadcast them in television and radio.

MBC news also showed many various people participating in the candlelight vigil.

<Table 6. Analyzed characters in MBC news>

Performer	Main performer	Middle & high school students, mothers, fathers, university students, ordinary students, director of union for national health care
	Opponents	Police (policeman, police commandos)
	Positive evaluator	Professor, commenter on contemporary topic, lawyer of lawyer organization for democracy
	Negative evaluator	President, congressman of the government party, minister and directors of agriculture
Target	Main performer	Asking invalidity of US beef negotiation, pressing re-negotiation of US beef trade, expressing the distrust and anger at government
	Opponents	Illegal behavior
	Positive evaluator	Government is the reason of candlelight vigil process and changes, expressing the voice of nation
	Negative evaluator	Asking interruption of candlelight vigil, using the word anti-US & anti-government
Method	Main performer	Participation in candlelight vigil, demonstrating in streets, marching to Blue House
	Opponents	Water gun, police shield, compulsory suppression
	Positive evaluator	Delivering information through interviewing, expressing opinions, analyzing phenomena
	Negative evaluator	Inauguration, announcement, radio interview

The participants in candlelight vigil gave their voice out directly in the spot of the demonstration through news interview; while the government, minister of agriculture, and the congressmen of the government party gave their voice used indirect method such as announcement, inauguration, radio interview, and other previous broadcasting materials. And

the main participants, commenter on contemporary topic, lawyer of lawyer organization for democracy, and so on, argued the possibility and fairness of the re-negotiation and expressed their negative opinion about the government and their solutions. There are professors of sociology among the professors and they criticized the lack communication of the government with the nation and the extra-negotiations.

Especially, there were mothers of children and their purpose was to protect their young children from the mad cow disease. The news reporter said, "The rate of mothers' participation is so high. They are talking about the distrust and dissatisfaction to the government and saying they don't know what they should let children eat."

Main performers were the ordinary citizens. Their appearance was showed up the peaceful and voluntary and the police was appeared as their opponents. They considered the police as the strong opponents and a participant said, "Police must not do that. It is absolutely abuse of the governmental authority. We didn't pay the national taxes so that you fired the water gun to the citizens." And as the news showing the threatening policemen by their shields to break off the citizens with troubles in the demonstrators the sight to see the police was so negative. The direct troubles were on the communication between the government and the citizens but the real troubles were in the place of the candlelight vigil. It was emphasized that the police did violence to the participants in the candlelight vigil and showed the scene repeatedly.

The news reporters explained the behaviors of the police. Police was showing up directly but it was actually indirect appearance by the reporters' explanation. The reporter

said, "Policemen start the compulsory suppression to the citizens trying to open the road by pushing the police car and they fired the water gun." Also, "Which was waiting for the people that tried to deliver the seriousness of this happening directly to the president and went to Blue House? It was touch water gun," said the MBC reporters. "People got fired by the water gun of high pressure but they don't move off even one step. More pressure of water gun, more slogans of demonstration," "physical fighting, holding up, and the streets are messed up," "demonstrations in the street. Citizens went to Blue House. Police and demonstrators are standing face to face. Getting late, there is no one who leaves this place."

Also, the violent suppression of the police was explained by the reporter and comparing between candlelight and water gun the police violence and non-violence of the candlelight vigil were extremely maximized. "After the water gun, the police commandos were joined. They just brought a man who fell down in the crowd. They fired the water gun stronger. Citizens started falling down because of the high pressure of the water gun. A man fired is suffered from the pain." The situation that the policemen who should protect the citizens fired the water gun indiscriminately made people enraged at the attitude of government.

MBC news reported only the damage of the demonstrators by the police not the police by the demonstrators. The fact that the police fired the water gun to the demonstrators was mostly informed and people know that. However, it didn't report about the damage of the policemen who checked the extreme violence of the demonstrators toughly protesting. Many

policemen got injured arms, nose, and rib by the demonstrators and were brought by the ambulance. MBC news absolutely didn't deal with this side. And they still emphasized the peaceful method of demonstrators of the candlelight vigil.

SBS news [Seoul Broadcasting System] –private

SBS is Seoul Broadcasting System. This is the private and commercial broadcasting of television and radio. At first, it was broadcasted in Seoul and the surrounding cities of Seoul but now it is one of the main channels in Korea.

SBS news has no special character between the government and the demonstrators. However, if this broadcasting center is defined by one side, it could be the government side. SBS news was a little passive to report the candlelight vigil but later it reported the side of the government. It can be considered as the conservative differed from KBS and MBC which were progressive. Some citizens participating in the candlelight vigil plainly expressed the dissatisfaction as saying "I don't want to take interview with SBS." SBS didn't actively move on the issue of the candlelight vigil and kept the intervention. And sometimes it reported the news in sight of the conservative. So the record of SBS was not remained because it was not concentrated by the society.

Comparing the broadcasting centers

In KBS and MBC the main interviewees were the participants in the candlelight vigil. And their common thing was that the participants in the candlelight vigil were ordinary people who were against the US beef trade negotiation and had dissatisfaction with the president and the present government.

KBS news mostly dealt with the teenager participants. Teenagers, of course, had dissatisfaction with the government policy but considered the candlelight vigil as a festival. So, the start of candlelight vigil was teenagers and they made their new culture based on non-violence. Free speech and some performances might make them feel rather comfortable to participate in the demonstration than the hard and boring demonstration. After the first candlelight vigil in May 2 the candlelight vigil was only struggle for life protection so there were less other organizations for the political purpose. KBS news showed the participants in the candlelight vigil from teenagers and ordinary citizens to labor union, students groups, etc. for the political purpose extended.

MBC news showed not only the participants in the candlelight vigil but opponents, positive evaluator, negative evaluator, and etc. various people in the candlelight vigil also. The most shown up people in the news were the ordinary citizens against the US beef import like KBS news. There were so various people such as working men who came to candlelight vigil on their way home, students, families, participants, from the mothers carrying baby carriage to the old people aged more than 70. These people were the ordinary citizens differed from the background power that conservative argued.

The opponents of the candlelight vigil in MBC were the police and the members of the conservative group. There were people who were against the candlelight vigil in the place of the candlelight vigil. The conservative group members included the ordinary citizens, famous representative of newspapers, and even UN ambassador. The members of conservative group strongly argued there was a background power which was opposite side of the government behind the candlelight vigil and the candlelight vigil was the waste of the national power. They insisted that the innocent citizens were being used by the profit group of politics and pointed KBS and MBC as the instigation center of the progressive group who spread out mad cow disease rumor and made the nation confused.

Especially, the common opponent of KBS and MBC was the police. They were mostly portrayed by the narration of the news reporters. In the candlelight vigil, the relationship between the participants and police was seriously antagonistic. In their news, the appearance of the police was only violence. They brought water sprinkling car and fired the water gun to the people, some of them threatened the citizens with their shields, and sometimes they were changed into the commandos seriously threatening the people. And MBC news showed the scene that an ordinary person got seriously injured and carried by ambulance. Their news repeated to show such extreme violence of the police. And MBC reported such news more than KBS. KBS also stressed the police violence but not as much as MBC.

KBS and MBC both reported the situation that people so distrusted the government. Especially, MBC outstandingly emphasized the extremely opposite appearances of so violent and extreme police and non-violent and peaceful candlelight vigil participants. In this process the character of the peaceful and silent candlelight vigil that marched to Blue House to express their opinion by holding the flags was changed into the active appearance. They extended their request from the re-negotiation of the US beef trade to the resignation of the government, overthrow of the dictatorship, and other various slogans with political character.

KBS and MBC news had no any efforts to solve this problem. Only the trouble situations inside and outside of the candlelight vigil were repeated.

VII. Conclusion

This study is to set the news frame problem and the 2008 Korean candlelight vigil according to the frame. And the frame divides the prejudiced news reports and the opposite ideological perspectives. For the analysis, the problem analysis is the difference between conservative and progressive news and their characters. So in frame setting there were seven frames to analyze this situation; national profit, national prestige, responsibility of government, responsibility of candlelight, democratization, trouble, and solution frame. These frames set the analysis of the conservative and progressive.

They made the standard of the candlelight vigil and the US beef trade negotiation by the sight to see them, the definition of the problem and character, the reason, evaluation, and solution. Conservative frame includes the national profit and responsibility of candlelight and progressive frame includes the national prestige, responsibility of government, and democratization. The difference between the conservative and progressive is so clear and different.

The performers in the spot of the candlelight vigil were the participants and the opponents were the police and conservative group. But the natural conflicts were between government and demonstrators in the candlelight vigil (nation). Mostly the demonstrators of the candlelight vigil were portrayed as voluntary participation and peaceful protest and they pointed the reason of the candlelight vigil was the US beef trade negotiation which was suspended with mad cow disease and the distrust about the government and the president Lee Myoung Bak.

Of course, the conservative groups were appeared in the spot of the candlelight vigil and made the situation harder. Also, the president, officials of the US beef trade negotiation, surroundings of the president, and ministers were showed up to public indirectly and

announced through inauguration, information talk, and other indirect methods. So, the participants in the candlelight vigil were active to directly deliver their opinion but the government used only indirect things and repeated their previous material scenes.

At first, if we see the people showing up in KBS and MBC news, the main performers in the candlelight vigil were the participants. Commonly they were ordinary citizens and participated in the candlelight vigil to protest against the government and the US beef trade negotiation. Especially, KBS news dealt with the teenager participants that they gathered the information through internet and sms and discussed the participation in the vigil. Also they perceived the candlelight vigil as a festival. The participants in the candlelight vigil were expanded from the teenagers to the ordinary citizens, labor unions, students' group, and organization for the political purposes.

MBC showed the various people not only the participants but the opponents, positive evaluators, negative evaluators, and etc. also. The people were the workers, students, families, young mothers carrying the baby carriage, even 70-aged-adults, and so on. They were far from the background power that the conservative group argued. And they referred to the opponents that were the police and the member of conservative groups. The members of conservative groups insisted that there was the background power, the candlelight vigil is the time wasting, and somebody controlled and instigated the pure citizens and teenagers to participate in the candlelight vigil.

In both KBS and MBC news, the common opponent was the police group. They were mostly portrayed by the explanations of the reporters and the participants were hardly in conflicts with the police group by the violent suppression. They fired the water gun, focused some citizens to attack, threatened the candlelight demonstrators, and sometimes changed into the commandos as the dangerous group for people. KBS and MBC reported repeatedly this extreme suppression of the police in the spot of the candlelight vigil so the police

violence was stressed.

In this process, the character of the candlelight vigil was totally changed into the active attitude from the silent candlelight. KBS and MBC reported the distrust of the nation toward the government and the president and the public mind was alienated from the present government. And the broadcasting centers reported only the injured citizens by the police in the spot of the conflicts between the police and the participants. Especially, in MBC news, there were many negative evaluators. They expressed their opinion directly.

We couldn't see the efforts in the news reports to find the solution. There was only repetition of the confrontation and conflict situation inside and outside of the candlelight vigil.

Focusing on the teenager, KBS criticized the old generation that had the responsibility to make them go out to street. For them, the old generation meant the government and the officials that made them afraid of the risky of mad cow disease. They actively participated in the candlelight vigil because they knew that the beef would be used at first in the schools if the US beef would be imported. The request for the re-negotiation from the demonstrators was not accepted by the government and the participants gave up the moderate attitude and went to Blue House to directly hear the answer from the president. It meant the hard attitude toward the government that would not wait for the answer anymore as just sitting in the square with the candles. Also inside of the candlelight vigil were the irrational instigation and stimulation. KBS news worried that the participants in the candlelight vigil were losing the direction and assimilated to the movement of the president resignation. This part could be considered as the state broadcasting centers' role even though they were in the opposite side of the government.

While, MBC focused on the absence of the communication, of course, the responsibility of the absence of the communication was the president Lee Myoung Bak and his government. Most of all, the difference of perception was so big. The nation believed that

the US beef was infected by mad cow disease and the government argued that their thoughts were the exaggerated misunderstanding and the US beef was cheap and its quality was also good. Also the government thoughts that there was the background power for the candlelight vigil made the participants angry. MBC said that the solution was the government should listen to the citizens' voice. That is, the real solution would be the government attitude that doesn't suspend the people and seriously listen to the nation with the open mind.

The features to repeatedly report only conflict situations in the candlelight vigil were the typical trouble reports to instigate the troubles between the opposite sides. Reporting repeatedly and instigative broadcasting may stimulate the feeling of the receivers and make the public mind worse. KBS and MBC news have some regrets that they didn't report the essence of the conflict. Especially, showing the scene that policemen threatened the people by their shield instigated the receivers to have the antipathy feeling to the government and extended the troubles and conflicts.

To analyze by frame includes the period from April 15 till July 15. According to the latent-lightening-pick-decline-extinction steps of the candlelight vigil, in the first period the perception of the government and the news reports about the US beef trade negotiation was insufficient. As the candlelight vigil was appeared, the second and third period was dominated by the progressive perspectives. But, after the pick of the candlelight vigil the situation started declining and seemed to be extinct, that is, the fourth and fifth period could be analyzed as a big counterattack period of the conservative perspectives when the still progressive was superior yet. According to the entire period of the candlelight vigil, the conservative perspective and the progressive perspective were so opposite side to tell about the candlelight vigil process. Especially, in the fifth period, the difference of the both perspectives was maximized because the progressive news tried to make the candlelight vigil revival and conservative news tried to finish this situation before the extinction of the

candlelight vigil.

Progressive news told about the candlelight vigil that it was the protest right of the nation against the false policy of the government and the supplementation of the imperfect democracy. So it should be lasted until the authority would accept the national voice. Also, this candle could be anytime fired if the government would do wrong against the public mind or abuse the power of authority. While, conservative news considered it as the fire of a moment. The government policy made that but the candles should be gone out as soon as possible. Long time of the candles is the confusion of government offices, the factor of the instability in economics, and the encroachment of the public welfare.

Such the extreme opposite side of news is caused by the deep-rooted ideology and factor in the political party of the conservative and the progressive news. The prejudiced news ideology of both conservative and progressive failed to let people perceive the exact identity of the candlelight vigil. Candlelight vigil had the public opinion and the ideological perspectives but in the beginning the conservative missed the public opinions part and progressive missed them in the late of the candlelight vigil. The government also missed the public opinions so failed to do right reaction to the people and the candlelight vigil was lasted for a long time. The government recognized the public opinion only when the candlelight vigil was becoming stronger and in the beginning and the latter term it went through with the ideological reaction. It was basically equal with the conservative news perspectives.

The conservative government of the present president Lee Myung Bak was established by destroying the 10-year-old progressive government. During the election campaign, he pointed the previous president No Moo Hyun as the progressive and acknowledged himself to be the conservative identity. From the first of the new government he tried to pull out the root of progressive policies and met the strong protests of nation. The US beef trade negotiation was the propelled policy that was based on the market perception

to repair the Korea – the United States union. However, the government didn't understand well about the susceptibility and propelled the policy without enough conversation with the nation. It made the national demonstration.

But, the government of Lee Myung Bak perceived the beginning of the candles as the protestors against the conservative government and organized political protesters of the disobedience groups for the result of the election. The reaction based on this perception, as a result, brought out the long time period of the candlelight vigil by the failure of the beginning reaction.

Now 2008 Korean candlelight vigil could be considered as an ideological news conflict. And people were participated in their conflicts as framed features. The strong opposite ideologies in Korea, conservative and progressive, were used in news reports and as centered news media people made their expressions and opinions. It is still continuing the news media ideological conflicts not only for case candlelight vigil but any political issues. Therefore, Korean news media should reflect themselves what is good for their country not concentrating the insistence for own ideology or profits. If they want to have the exact frame and way to direct people, they could do it not as fighting each other or insulting the opposite side of them. Being away from the each profit for own profits, it is the time to think of the national harmony and seek after the whole union in Korea and the news media should take the lead of nation.

Running Head: Differences in the coverage of State and Private TV companies in 2008 Korean Candlelight Vigil

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