

A Comparative Analysis of Korean Administrations' Public Relations Policies and the Implications for Democratic Governance*

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Abstract: This study compares each Korean administration's purposes of public relations, the communication flow of government PR, press policies, and relationships between the press and the government, in order to examine characteristics and changes in the Korean governments' approaches to government PR. The findings of the analysis show that most of the early administrations purported to provide propaganda against communism and their political rivals. Later administrations conducted PR activities for diverse purposes such as propaganda, the dissemination of public information, persuading the public, and sometimes even promoting mutual understanding. Communication flow of the government PR activities was consistently unilateral across the administrations, from the government toward the public, and mainly through the press. Although President Roh Moo Hyun attempted interactive communication between the government and the public, his idealism did not materialize in reality, and resulted in aggressive and intrusive unilateral PR activities directly toward the public. Based on the findings of the analysis, the study suggests that future government PR activities should focus on two-way communication, especially on listening to the public, probably by organizing local policy meetings and discussion groups, setting up call centers and internet sites that are easy to use and are interactive, and by planning and executing deliberative polling for policy issues.

Keywords: Government PR, Public Opinion, Relationship between the Government and the Press, Deliberative Democracy, Deliberative Poll, Press Policy

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INTRODUCTION

Every government conducts various activities to establish and enhance the relationship with the public, and all these activities that are geared to run government in effective and democratic ways through communication, informing the public about the government and its policies, and getting feedback from the public, are regarded as government public relations (PR) (Shin and Lee 2002). Public participation and support based on the public's understanding of the government and its policies is a key to realizing democratic governance. Thus, the importance of government PR is derived from the fundamental principle of democracy: that public administration should be based on the public's participation and agreement. The ways in which a government approaches PR goals and activities may closely relate to its understanding and implementation of democratic governance. Therefore, it would be important to examine how the Korean governments have conducted government PR activities, and to what purposes, over the last sixty years since the founding of Korea as an independent nation.

There have been quite a few studies that have analyzed and evaluated the government PR of a particular administration (Moon 2002; H. S. Park, Moon, and J. Y. Park 2005; Cha, Kim, and Shin 2005; Lee 2005; Shin, Lee, and Kim 2006). But research that examines the goals and methods of government PR of each administration since the founding of Korea is scarce. In order to explore previous governments' PR in a diachronic way, this study derives an analytic framework from previous discussions and theories regarding government PR, and analyzes each administration's PR goals and activities by applying this framework. Based on the results of the analysis, prospects and desirable directions of future government PR are discussed, in an attempt to suggest effective ways to realize democratic administration.

THEORIES AND PREVIOUS LITERATURE

PR Models

In order to classify the public relations of various organizations including governments, Grunig and Hunt (1984) developed four models of public relations. They divided historically developed types of PR into 4 models based on the purposes of PR, the nature of communication, and the type of organizations where PR is practiced, and so forth: a press agency model, a public information model, a two-way asymmetrical model, and a two-way symmetrical model (Table 1).

Table 1. Characteristics of Four Models of Public Relations

| Characteristics | Model | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--|
| | Press Agency/Publicity | Public Information | Two-way Asymmetric | Two-way Symmetric |
| Purpose | Propaganda | Dissemination of Information | Scientific persuasion | Mutual understanding |
| Nature of Communication | One-way; complete truth is not essential | One-way; truth is important | Two-way; unbalanced effects | Two-way; balanced effects |
| Communication Model | Source → Receiver | Source → Receiver | Source ↔ Receiver (feedback) | Group ↔ Group |
| Nature of Research on PR effects | Little; "counting house" | Little; readability, readership | Formative; evaluative of attitudes | Formative; evaluative of understanding |
| Where practiced today | Sports, theaters, product promotion | Government, Nonprofit associations, business | Competitive business; agencies | Regulated business; agencies |

Note: Excerpted from a table in Grunig and Hunt (1984, 22).

The press agency model aims at presenting propaganda messages and gaining publicity. PR practitioners often disseminate organizations' beliefs using incomplete or distorted information. In addition, communication flows unilaterally from the organization to the public. The public relations practitioners not only think that communication is less about listening to the public than about informing the public, but also that the complete truth is not necessary. In the public information model, PR doesn't necessarily aim to persuade, but rather to distribute information, and PR practitioners function as reporters inside the organizations to provide information about their organizations objectively. Again in this model, communication flows from the organization to the public in one direction. However, practitioners of the public information model are different from the ones of the press agency model, in that they feel a responsibility to report the truth.

The goal of the two-way asymmetrical model is scientific persuasion. Thus, PR in this model employs research results and social science theories about attitudes and behaviors in order to persuade the public to accept the organization's point of view. Although the practitioners receive public feedback, they only utilize it to change public attitudes and behaviors and no change occurs inside their organizations. Practitioners of the two-way symmetrical model aim to improve mutual understanding between an

organization and the public. They use social science theories and methods to achieve their purpose, but use theories of communication rather than theories of persuasion. Communication in the two-way symmetrical model not only flows from an organization to the public but also from the public to the organization. Different from the asymmetrical model, it is possible for the organization as well as the public to experience changing through two-way persuasion.

Based on these models, Grunig and Hunt (1984) suggested that government PR can be characterized in three ways: as the public information model when the government agency provides public information about policies or performs health campaigns; as the two-way asymmetrical model when the government intends to persuade the public to enact a law using a scientific survey of public opinion; and as the two-way symmetrical model when the government not only provides information to the public but also listens to the public's thoughts and opinions directed to government agencies with an intention to coordinate both sides' positions. Most Korean scholars suggest that the two-way symmetrical model, in which mutual understanding can be improved through bilateral communication, is the most desirable form of government PR (Gil 1999; Park 2006; Shin et al. 2006; Lee 2005). But as suggested by Grunig and Hunt (1984), there would be cases in which governments should provide information unilaterally for campaigns for public health, or to inform the public of safety information. Therefore, the public information model or two-way asymmetrical model could be necessary or useful depending on the situation. Except for the press agency model, in which an organization tries to propagate its belief even by fabricating or distorting information, other three models could contribute to appropriate and effective government PR. Therefore, it would be useful to examine which of the models' goals—such as the dissemination of public information, scientific persuasion, and/or mutual understanding—each administration's government PR fulfills. It would be also useful to examine whether each administration's communication flow is one-way or two-way. Thus, this study investigates the goal of PR and the nature of communication of each administration.

The Role of the Press, and the Relationship between the Government and the Press

The need for government PR activities could be justified by the democratic premise that public participation and approval should be the basis of public administration. Communication between the government and the public is essential to realize public administration that is based on the public's participation and agreement. Then the role of the press that helps to facilitate communication between the government

and the public is important. In a modern society, where government activities and social problems can be diverse, technical, and complicated, the general public who are absorbed in their own life find it difficult to perceive the government's activities and social issues on their own. Thus, without the press that reports about public issues and activities of the government, the public would be blocked from significant information that can be a foundation to form opinions. In addition, it is also difficult for the government to directly investigate and learn about how individual citizens think and live, so the role of the press is necessary in this regard as well. Thus the press carries out a very important role in assisting the public to form opinions based on correct and specific information, and in facilitating communication between the public and the government. In this regard, the relationship between the government and the public could be largely influenced by how the relationship between the government and the press is negotiated.

The existing literature on the relationship between the government and the press can be divided into studies that employ normative standards and models and examine the relationship between the government and the press in different periods, and studies that conduct surveys on government officials and journalists about their attitudes regarding the relationship between the government and the press. The first systematic attempt to establish a normative theory of the press was set out by Siebert et al. (1982) in "Four Theories of the Press." For example, the authoritative theory describes a system where journalists lack independence and the press becomes a subordinate organization to the government, and where the press is directly or intentionally used to sustain state power. The libertarian theory considers the control over the press, such as censorship, unreasonable. Since the truth can emerge through free expression and public discussion, it is considered desirable for the press to check the government (Siebert et al. 1982). Other related theories, such as developmental theory and democratic participation theory, were later developed by McQuail (1987) and other scholars. This normative theory considers how the press should be operated in a society and what is expected of the way the press will operate. In actual situations, various theoretical principles and situations are often mixed up with each other, so it is difficult to apply only one theory to a particular society. However, these normative theories are important standards by which the press system can be classified and explained.

Park and Jang (2000) discussed the relationship between the press and Korean governments, insisting that the press performed political criticism prior to the 1960s but later functioned as an authoritative press in a military regime. They also argued that as the government's control over the press strengthened, the government came to act as guardian for the press around 1987, when the press lost its autonomy and was incorporated as a tool for propaganda by the national system. They also point out that during

the political movements that led to democratization in 1987, the press was on the side of the authoritative government rather than of the reform union, took an opportunistic position depending on the way various situations developed, and finally converted to the corporatism relationship, where the press and the government establish a mutual, close relationship and exchange profits (Park and Jang 2000). In a similar context, Choi (1998) claimed that it is important to examine how much politics and the media are mutually penetrated, and categorized the relationship between media and politics as a mutual exchange relationship, a normative hostile relationship, an actual hostile relationship, and a mutual inclusion relationship. Many scholars expressed criticism that the Korean press was controlled by the government, cooperated with the government, or became powerful itself by filling the vacuum created by the weakened government authority, and thus played a very limited role for democracy, while it could have checked and watched the government for the public's right to know (Kang 2004).

There are studies that empirically tested the relationship between the government and the press. Many of these studies were conducted based on the relationship type derived from the pendulum model that Yoo and Lee (1994) developed. The pendulum model classifies the relationship between the press and the government from hostility to check, symbiosis, close ties, and unity (Yoo and Lee 1994, 33). For example, Chay and Baek (2005) solicited the opinions of journalists and government officials about the current relationship between the government and the press using this model. Most of the respondents answered that it is the check relationship, followed by symbiosis. Few answered that it is hostility or close ties. Journalists and government officials were also asked what the desirable relationship between the government and the press would be, and the answers were similar. Most respondents answered that the check relationship between the government and the press would be most helpful to enhance the public's right to know and to affect government policies (Lee 2002; Chay and Baek 2005). It was viewed as undesirable that the government and the press become so close that they would only enhance each other's interests, or become so confrontational and hostile that they would distort or block information from each other. Considering that the relationship between the government and the press could directly influence communication between the government and the public, it could also influence the performance of government PR.

While the relationship between the government and the press is determined by various factors, it is often influenced by the government's press policy. Because the government often intends to use the press as an effective political tool, it may try to exercise formal and informal power over the press. When this happens, methods used by the government to exercise its power over the press could be largely divided into two kinds: reward/motivation and punishment/coercion (Yoon 1995). Depending on

the combination of these methods and their strengths, types of press control can be categorized as 4 types shown in Table 2 (Yoon 1995, 190).

Table 2. Types of Government Control of the Press

| Coercion | Motivation | |
|----------|---------------|---------------------|
| | Weakness | Strength |
| Weakness | Laissez-faire | Cooptation |
| Strength | Repression | State Incorporation |

The repressive method of press control depends mainly on coercive sanction rather than motivation, and it is usually used in a totalitarianism society, where social order is maintained mostly by violent coercive methods. The state incorporation method uses both coercive power and strong incentives, and even the press with independent legal status is functionally incorporated and almost absorbed into a state. The cooptation method exerts influence on the press by private incentives rather than blunt and coercive sanctions, and it is mainly used during social change when a political system is in the process of democratization. The laissez-faire method minimizes intervention on the press regardless of coercion or motivation. In this circumstance, voluntary cooperation from news organizations, lawful regulation, and self-regulation by the market become the main control factors (Jung 2006). This typology seems to be a useful tool to analyze the Korean government's press policy.

Research Questions and Methods

Through the discussion of previous studies and theories, standards that can be used to analyze government PR of each administration may be derived: the goal of PR (publicity, public information, scientific persuasion, mutual understanding), the nature of communication (one-way or two-way), press policy, and the relationship of the government with the press. Therefore, this study attempts to analyze each administration's government PR using the following research questions: 1) what is the focus of each administration's government PR in terms of its goal? 2) what is the nature of the communication of government PR in terms of its interactivity? 3) what is the press policy of each administration? 4) what is the relationship between the press and the government? and 5) what are the implications for a future government PR that is consistent with a democratic administration? In order to compare the contexts and contents of government PR, this study classifies administrations according to the presidents. Research data are basically secondary data, including policy materials and academic literature.

ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT PR IN EACH ADMINISTRATION

In this section, each administration's PR purpose, the nature of PR communication, the press policy, and the relationship between the government and the press are analyzed.

The Rhee Seung Man Administration

After the Republic of Korea was founded and the 1st Republic established, government PR was led by the Bureau of Public Information. During this period, government PR focused on supporting the government in settling at an early stage, and later concentrated on military actions and postwar restoration (Moon 2002). In those years, government policy was geared to strengthen or maintain the alliance with other countries and to create systems in diverse areas such as economy, politics, society, and culture. At the same time, the government concentrated on strengthening national stability, especially against communism (Government Information Agency 2007). Therefore, government PR at this time also focused on inspiring anti-communist sentiment among the public. It can be concluded that the goal of government PR during this period was publicity and propaganda, rather than providing information or enhancing mutual understanding.

The 2nd Republic lasted only one year and there was social and political disorder, so it was difficult to attempt systematic government PR (Shin and Kim 1998; Moon, 2002). But in terms of the nature of communication flow, it can be interpreted as being quite one-way because PR during this period focused on informing the public of government policies and regulations, especially the president's announcements (Shin and Kim 1998).

Rhee's administration controlled the press by regulations created during the period of Japanese imperialism, such as the Newspaper Law, the National Security Law, and the US Military Law (Ha 2002). Newspapers critical of the establishment of the government were suspended and discontinued several times, and in 1958, freedom of the press was oppressed even further by the revised National Security Law which prohibited the spread of false and distorted information (Ha 2002). In addition, dissident journalists were arrested under the National Security Law, while terroristic tactics such as intruding into a newspaper plant to destroy the printing machines were taken (Lee 2004). Employing strong oppressive actions over the press and journalists who were criticizing the government, Rhee's administration frequently used physical and coercive methods, and rarely used conciliatory methods (Lee 2004). The press that was critical of the government in early days had no option other than to cooperate with the Rhee administration, partially because the press lacked funds (Ha 2002). On the other

hand, the Jang Myun and Yoon Bo Sun administrations had a libertarian view of the press and did not interfere with the press, leading to an increase of newspaper publications and a golden age for the freedom of the press, although it did not last long (Song 2006).

The Park Chung Hee Administration

The Park Chung Hee administration expanded the Division of Public Information to become the Department of Public Information, because the public's support and cooperation were needed to successfully pursue "The Five-year Economic Development Plan" that was the symbolic national project of the new government (Moon 2002). As the Park administration tried to create a positive impression of the government policies in order to bring out its citizens' support, the Park administration's policy goals were slightly different from Rhee's. In other words, in order to gain the public's trust, the Park administration tried to announce government policies without delay so as to guide public opinion and inform neighbor countries of the circumstances of Korea to gain their understanding. This indicates that the Park administration aimed not only at propaganda but also at disseminating public information. On the other side, considering that the Park administration attempted to infuse strong anti-communism sentiments in the public as well as to induce industrious attitudes, it could be assumed that pro-government publicity and propaganda were ongoing. Also, since government PR in this period was an attempt to inform its citizens and neighbor countries about Korea's economic development and increased stability, it stressed delivering a unilateral message rather than an interactive one.

Somewhat later, the 4th Republic began, as martial law and the Yushin constitution were declared on 27 December, 1972. The primary goal of the Yushin constitution was to establish an authoritarian system of government by strengthening the power of the President, while ignoring the separation of powers (Moon 2002). At this time, the Park administration tried to persuade the citizenry by repeatedly using the slogan "Indigenizing Korean-style democracy" (Moon 2002). This administration kept making an effort to convince the public that North Korea was pursuing the unification by communization using military force, and continuously infusing anti-communism sentiment to the public (Shin and Kim 1998). The administration also used the slogan "Let's live well" to promote policy for the development of agricultural areas (Ryoo 1990; Moon 2002). In summary, the 4th Republic's government PR showed an even stronger tendency to aim at propaganda compared to the 3rd Republic, and a very unilateral way of communication.

In addition, the Park administration enforced very coercive press policies. First, it

carried out pre-censorship of press organizations via martial law and consolidation of newspaper companies; this censorship increased sharply after the April 19 Revolution (Ha 2002). In 1961, the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction abolished 49 metropolitan newspapers and 27 local newspapers, based on the Press and News Agency Institutional Standard Ordinance. As a result, only 15 metropolitan newspapers and 24 local newspapers remained, and the number of news agencies decreased from 375 to 11 (Ha 2002). In the meantime, the Park administration used an appeasement policy, providing all sorts of benefits such as financing and loans, the extension of bank loans, reducing import taxes on the stock used for newspapers, and so forth (Ha 2002). In late 1960s, the press control was so intensified that government agents were directly engaged in the editing process of the press. Consequently, the press was completely degraded to the status of a PR organization of the Yushin regime after 1972 (Ha 2002). In 1975, the 9th Presidential Emergency Action for National Security and Public Order prohibited reporting on constitutional amendments, assemblies and demonstrations, and news reports about constitutional amendments or assemblies. A large number of journalists opposed to this action were laid off (Ha 2002).

The relationship between the Park administration and the press changed through these processes. Prior to the Yushin regime, a "check" relationship was possible, where journalists could criticize the government to some extent. After Yushin, the "close ties" relationship, in which the government forced the press to align with the government, or the "unity" relationship, in which the press plays a role as a tool for the government, emerged. Probably because Jang Myun and Yoon Bo Sun administrations had employed a policy of ensuring the freedom of speech prior to the Yushin regime, the journalists who strongly opposed repressive control by the government fought for freedom of speech. But after Yushin, because the government succeeded in controlling the press almost completely, the resistance of journalists against the government almost disappeared (Lee 2004). It was reported that after the 9th Presidential Emergency Action was issued, there was not even one movement for press freedom until the end of the Park administration (Lee 2004). In conclusion, the Park administration used the state-incorporated control of the press by mobilizing repressive yet placatory methods. As a result, the Park administration and the press formed a "unity" relationship, on the basis of which the government PR was conducted in a thoroughly consistent way.

Chun Doo Hwan Administration

In 1979, President Park Chung Hee died and the 5th Republic began with the rise of new military leadership after the 12.12. incident, when Chun Doo Hwan took over

the military. Because Chun's administration took the reins of government by oppressive means, it became embroiled in a heated debate over its legitimacy. In order to quell this dispute, the Chun Doo Hwan administration tried to establish a strong authoritative government and conducted unilateral PR activities (Moon 2002; Kim 2003). The goal was to appease public opinion against the plundered political power; thus government PR could not be positive and forward-looking and was bound to be defensive in nature. Therefore, it is difficult to describe the purpose of PR in the early Chun administration as either propaganda or public information, because it focused on repressing the source of conflict and keeping the public opinion from being disseminated through the country. It is also difficult to evaluate the nature of communication as either one-way or two-way. On one hand, there was definitely an aspect of one-way communication, as the government tried to propagate its political position to the public. On the other hand, the most salient communication traits in the Chun administration were designed to suppress and control the voluntary communication occurring among citizens. In other words, the nature of the communication of government PR in this period oppressed communication itself and obstructed information flow.

In order to suppress communication this way, strong control over the press was necessary above anything else. The Chun administration pursued coercive control and conciliatory methods, which were carried out by the Park administration even more strongly. Under martial law after the 10.26 incident, the censorship committee of the Martial Law Enforcement headquarters pre-censored the press, editing or even deleting news articles. Then, the Chun administration merged around 40 press agencies and dismissed 1,300 journalists who were uncooperative or critical of the government, by enacting the Fundamental Press Law (Ha 2002; Yoon 1994). Also, the press was controlled by a variety of means such as a continuous use of the laws, the "news report guideline" to the press, the reporter status system, a spokesperson system in each government agency, the illegal walk of journalists to the police station, and violence toward journalists (Ha 2002). In this process, news organizations that acquired the oligopolistic status became enormously big, receiving benefits from the government, including tax relief. At the same time, the government also gave economic benefits to journalists by increasing salaries and providing funds as well as political advantages such as offering a seat at the National Assembly (Ha 2002; Yoon 1994). As a result of this state-incorporated press control, the Chun administration developed a unity relationship in which the press played a role as a tool to maintain political power and acted as a part of governmental institutions. Regarding this, criticisms of a so-called "institutionalized press," that the press had become a quasi state agency, also appeared (Park and Jang 2000).

The Roh Tae Woo Administration

The Roh Tae Woo administration, established through major political and economic changes resulting from the "June struggle" in 1987, still possessed traits of a successor to the 5th Republic on the one hand, and on the other hand faced the political task of accepting new demands from society, such as breaking away from authoritarianism and resolving regional and class inequality (Shin and Kim 1998). Thus, the Roh administration put a relatively greater emphasis on the political aspect than the economic aspect of government PR, emphasizing wealth re-distribution such as welfare state internally, while promoting a unification policy towards the North and a northward-facing foreign policy targeting the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern European countries internationally (Shin and Kim 1998; Gil 1999). Government PR in this period was used to establish the status of the government itself, so it focused on informing citizens of its policy paradigm. One distinctive aspect of the government PR during this period was that public opinion surveys by newspapers and broadcasting stations were used to promote the government's position and to justify the merger of three political parties (Gil 1999). This was the first time that characteristics of the scientific persuasion model and two-way asymmetrical model appeared. Although the reason for the government's acquiring the public opinion was primarily to enhance the government's own interests, the fact that two-way communication was tried is meaningful.

Also, the Roh administration had no choice but to adopt a press policy that differed from the previous governments. At the Declaration of 6.29, President Roh, who was the chairman of the supreme council of the Democratic Justice Party at the time, proclaimed that he would guarantee the democratization of the press, stating "The government shouldn't seize control of the press nor try to do so." As the direct censorship policies such as the news report guideline disappeared and the Fundamental Media Law was abolished, the liberalization of the press was accomplished, at least on the surface, and newspapers were actively launched and revived (Song 2006). However, indirect controls continued, as the suspension of publication or cancellation of registration of periodicals could be ordered under the Law of Periodical Publications, and governmental officials selected journalists and individually contacted them to request their reporting and to receive information (Jung 2006). Also, the government employed a discriminatory co-optation strategy, by restricting access to news sources to the Hankyerae newspaper that was founded in 1988 by progressive journalists, while facilitating convenience in reporting and providing economic benefits to the reporters belonging to the official press group. The co-optation of the press at this time was usually done through indirect channels. Although the measures to liberalize the press were carried out on the surface, complete liberalization of the press was far away, and the government tried to

make the press comply with political power by loosening the coercive control and employing indirect methods (Lee, 2004). In the Roh administration, the press became an object of the government's co-optative control, and as a result, the government and the press developed a "close-ties" relationship.

The Kim Young Sam Administration

In 1992, President Kim Young Sam became the first president who was a civilian, rather than a military officer, in 32 years. Accordingly, there were high expectations that the undemocratic and coercive administration by the military regime would be cleared during Kim's "civilian" administration. President Kim showed much interest in PR and strengthened the public information function of government bureaus, as well as ordering a weekly news briefing at each ministry, stating that "The honest PR is the only way to success" (Moon 2002). The Kim administration also insisted that "Disclosing administrative information through government PR could raise the level of public's interest and improve the quality of services towards citizens." Therefore, it could be argued that the Kim administration was positive about publicizing information to the public compared with previous governments, and had the goal of disseminating information by PR. However, in practice, the PR of the Kim administration was criticized for not sufficiently differentiating itself from the past, and was criticized even more for being not only authoritative but also inefficient and incompetent. For instance, even though the Kim administration pursued active government PR using symbolic slogans, such as "Reform" and "Creation of New Korea," it was judged that the enforcement of these slogans was quite deficient (Shin and Kim 1998). As can also be seen in the cases regarding the announcement of the real-name accounting system, the Kim administration did not make any effort to predict or weigh public opinion prior to the announcement of its reform policy, and so this policy was criticized by the rightist press immediately upon announcement, providing an opportunity for the anti-reform group to challenge the policy (Shin and Kim 1998). In the latter period of the administration, as a result of reports on a corruption scandal involving the president's aides, the Kim administration's government PR became more futile (Moon 2002). In addition, when many large-scale accidents occurred, neither the government's PR ability to respond to the crisis nor its pre-preventative PR programs were obvious (Gil 1999). Therefore, although there were high expectations generated by the change of political environment, the government PR activities of the Kim administration were so inefficient that even unilateral propaganda wasn't properly carried out, let alone the dissemination of public information or scientific persuasion.

On the other hand, some hold the view that discussions on interactive PR commu-

nication began during Kim administration (Moon 2002). After the Roh Tae Woo administration, the Kim administration as well retained the capacity for public opinion surveys within its PR organization. It seems, however, that there were many limitations because of the inaccuracy of public opinion surveys, as well as the inability to survey the diversity of public opinion (Gil 1999). After all, even though the Kim administration left much to be desired from a practical point of view, it laid the foundation for the introduction of the government PR model of scientific persuasion or two-way communication, thanks to the changes in the political environment and national consciousness.

The Kim administration, which seems to have recognized the importance of public opinion, strengthened the PR line in the Blue House, and adopted policies to enhance press relations in the security planning department of each ministry, including the Ministry of National Defense (Jung 2006). It also declared that it would abolish the "carrot-and-stick" policy on the press, which was the product of authoritarianism, stating that it would guarantee freedom of speech more than any other previous governments had (Lee 2004). Therefore, the government placed its emphasis on inducing voluntary cooperation and agreement, while maintaining its friendliness with the press, whose autonomy had been extended in the meantime (Lee 1993). Private measures, such as giving trifling presents or selectively providing high-quality information, were contrived to win journalists over (Yoon 1995). On the other hand, the Kim administration made an effort to legally regulate the press, performing tax audits on the press for the first time, and regulating unfair trading activities and unfair business practices in the newspaper market (Song 2006). In that, Kim administration sought voluntary cooperation from the press through co-optation control, and the government and the press positively formed a close ties relationship, standing on a more equal footing than before.

The Kim Dae Jung Administration

The Kim Dae Jung administration, also known as "the people's government," removed the Bureau of the Public Information which was responsible for government PR in Kim Young Sam's administration, and founded the Government Information Agency. President Kim Dae Jung employed a conciliatory policy towards the North Korea, called the "Sunshine Policy," as the main focus of government PR, and carried out consistent PR activities even when there were tensions with North Korea after naval conflicts occurred in the West Sea (Moon 2002). The Kim administration also often used symbolic slogans such as "Reform in the overall state of affairs," "Realization of national reconciliation," and "Protection of law and order," but in later days the

practice of government PR exhibited its shortcomings when the corruption scandals related to the president's aides were revealed (Moon 2002). Therefore, it is unclear whether to position the Kim administration's government PR on either the model of propaganda or the dissemination of public information, but it could be considered that PR in this administration used symbolic though unilateral communication.

The Kim Dae Jung administration established "principle and rationality" as the framework for its PR policies, based on the government's "non-intervention press policy" (Government Information Agency 2007). President Kim Dae Jung abolished the Bureau of the Public Information, which had carried out the function of press control for a long time, and in interviews with the press after his inauguration, he proclaimed his intention of a "no press policy," based on "self-regulation," "non-intervention," and a "market-oriented approach" (Lee 2004; Government Information Agency 2007). Therefore, the Kim administration, in its early days, maintained a cooperative relationship with the press, and tried to abide by strictly official options such as the press arbitration system in relation to false reports and distorted information by the press (Jung 2006; Government Information Agency 2007).

However, the "no press policy" and the cooperative relationship with the press began to change one year after the beginning of Kim's administration, when the conflict between the government and the conservative press regarding the "Sunshine Policy" towards the North Korea deepened. As the ruling party was defeated in a general election in 2000, the conservative press began to attack the political reform of the government across the board. In an attempt to encourage press reform, the government restrained the press by carrying out tax audits and investigating unfair inter-company transactions within press organizations. In regard to the relationship between journalists and government officials, trifling presents mostly disappeared, but private channels still remained active and informal ways to win the press over continued as well. In conclusion, the Kim administration adopted the co-optation press policies, where control through legal methods and appeasement through private channels co-existed. The government and the press continued their relationship of conflict and check, but private channels remained open and a close-ties relationship still existed at a private level between government officials and journalists (Nam 2007).

The Roh Moo Hyun Administration

The Roh Moo Hyun administration stressed the importance of PR more than any previous administration. Consequently, PR was given a great deal of weight in policy operations, and "scores" in the PR area acted as a one deciding factor in yearly ministry evaluations as well (Shin et al. 2006). The Roh administration attempted quite

distinct PR approaches, such as actively informing citizens of its policies and encouraging them to participate in those policies, intending to communicate with the public directly, bypassing the press in order to achieve its PR purpose, and trying to make use of new media, such as the Internet, for direct communication with the public.

The Roh administration's PR policy is closely intertwined with its press policy. It is difficult to explain the Roh administration's press policy based on one model, because the very goal of the press policy was to break the existing relationship between the government and the press. Considering the exiting relationship between the government and the press as an undesirably close tie, the Roh administration designed a variety of policies to change it. Upon the launching of the new administration in February 2003, President Roh Moo Hyun, in his first interview with "ohmynews," an Internet based newspaper, proclaimed that he would implement press reform in order to eradicate the close tie between political power and the press, and revealed plans that prohibited solicitation of news reporting and subscription to the pilot edition. Then, Roh's administration opened the pressroom and adopted an open briefing system that was allegedly designed to improve reporting environments. Rho's administration also prohibited the press from visiting government offices for the purpose of reporting and made it mandatory for government officials to report any interviews with journalists. Also, major daily newspapers stopped publishing a pilot edition one by one, because government agencies stopped subscribing to the pilot edition. The Roh administration enacted the Newspaper Law that excludes presumed market-dominating enterprises from receiving support, and revealed its intention to actively request correction and objection in relation to news reports which skewed the facts. The Roh administration also adopted the press corresponding system, which establishes a policy portal web site where overall news reports regarding the government and its policies are published, and government officials in charge of the policies in each ministry are encouraged to make remarks of "ministry's opinions and measures" to corresponding news reports while using their real names.

These institutional changes influenced different news media in different ways. Established major newspapers or the conservative press experienced difficulty because they were not able to maintain the existing routines of news gathering and reporting. They thus openly criticized the government's press policy as a way of controlling the press (Choi 2007). On the contrary, these institutional changes could benefit small media, the alternative press, and the press that shares the ideological views of the Roh administration. But each news media responded differently to each of the various institutional changes. The important change in the Roh administration's press policy is that control of or benefit to the press was implemented through legal and institutional methods only. Thus, it can be argued that the Roh administration adopted cooptation

press control through more formal legal, and institutional methods than had previous administrations.

The Roh administration's press policy seriously intensified the conflict between the government and the press that had begun during the Kim Dae Jung administration. Even during the so-called honeymoon period right after the election, newspapers aggressively published articles that were critical of the government, and rarely reported positively about the government. Even in the *Hankyerae* newspaper, which has a similar ideological stance to the Roh administration, critical tones in reporting were found, although less noticeable (Choi 2007). An analysis of the news articles related to President Roh during the first two years of the Roh administration showed that many articles were hostile toward the President, and some even showed aversion, disdain, and resentment (Choi 2005). An analysis of the news articles regarding the government, and written by reporters accredited to covering government in 2006, showed that the ratio of negative articles to positive ones was three to one (Choi 2007). This result is very different from the result of the analysis of news articles based on the press releases made by the Ministry of Finance and Economy in 2001, where articles of neutral tone made up two-thirds of the articles in *Chosun*, *Joongang*, and *Hankyerae*, and negative articles accounted for only 7-8 percent (Suh and Kim 2001). Trifling presents and special treats ceased, and informal close ties that remained through private channels also disappeared largely due to the Roh administration's press policy. Thus the press and the Roh administration seem to have developed a relationship of conflict, check, and confrontation (Nam 2007).

The most distinct trait in the government PR of the Roh administration was its attempt not to rely on the press for reporting about the government and its policies, and instead to strengthen direct communication from the government to the public. Policy portal sites and each Ministry's websites were used to provide policies and government-related information. This attempt was forward-looking in terms of its active use of new media, but it was also criticized because the contents of the web sites were very one-sided and unidirectional. There were not many places where the citizens actually could express their opinions, and even when they did, responses from the government were quite minimal.

In February, of 2004, the Roh administration introduced a Policy Customer Relationship Management Service (PCRM) that involved 43 central government agencies. PCRM is a policy method that the Roh administration promoted aggressively, applying the concept of customer management in business areas to public administration. Governments establish a database of policy customers and sent newsletters, policy-related information, and government position papers regarding news reportings to these customers, as well as collected the opinions of policy customers. PCRM was

intended as a way to collect the opinions of citizens with policy interests and to reflect their opinions in policy-making. This had the potential to realize the purpose of mutual understanding between the government and the public and to create two-way communication. However, in practice, the government collected personal information about citizens without due process or individual consent in order to create databases of policy customers, and then sent one-way email messages reflecting the government's own policy positions. There was still no specific system that could respect the public's opinion. Therefore, it was argued that this system became unethical and intrusive, and basically a one-way communication that limited the government's opportunity to hear public opinion (Woo 2008). In addition, whether the purpose of government PR was achieved by PCRMM was not clear. PCRMM did not seem to increase mutual understanding, nor to achieve the purpose of disseminating of information because many so-called policy customers received information they did not want. As citizens were degraded to becoming the objects of marketing and propaganda like this, none of the original purposes, such as promoting scientific persuasion or mutual understanding, were achieved, and rather one-way communication became fixated (Woo 2008).

One more PR activity worth discussing is a deliberative poll that was conducted by the Ministry of Finance and Economy regarding the 8.31 real estate policy. Deliberative polling is conducted in a way that participants are asked their opinions twice, once before and once after they are provided with relevant information regarding a specific policy and have had a chance to discuss its pros and cons. The deliberative polling conducted during the Roh administration was an important experiment that could replace or supplement general public opinion surveys, so that the public could have a chance to form their opinions through the process of discussion and deliberation. But due to various methodological shortcomings, and the public distrust of the government's intentions regarding this polling, this important experimental attempt did not receive the positive evaluation that it deserved, and deliberative polling of a national scope was not tried again afterwards.

The Lee Myung Bak Administration

The Lee Myung Bak administration reduced PR organization and did not seem to have a clear vision about government PR. The purpose of government PR for the Lee administration is obscure. The Lee administration has not built upon the merits of the Roh administration's active approaches to government PR, nor does it provide an alternative model of government PR. Considering the conservative inclination of the Lee administration, it is unlikely to pursue two-way communication with the public but is more likely to attempt unilateral propaganda under the government's strong ini-

tiative. For example, the national policy portal site was reorganized in a way that provides less space for public participation, especially policy discussions.

Unilateral PR towards the public becomes easier when the government maintains a close tie or a cooperative relationship with the press. The Lee administration tends to have a conservative and corporation-friendly policy propensity, which is consistent with the major newspapers' ideological positions. It remains to be seen, but for now it seems that the Lee administration will have a co-option press policy and will likely develop close ties with major newspapers. Under such circumstances it would be difficult to expect that the Lee administration would make an effort to establish two-way communication with the public and to strive for government PR activities that promote mutual understanding and mutual interests.

Prospect

The categorization of the goals of PR and the press policy of early governments was relatively easy, but as Korean society becomes more developed and diversified, it is more difficult to classify the characteristics of government PR into a single category. As time passes, the goal of government PR has tended to become diversified, but at the same time, rather equivocal, and there have been many cases where the alleged goals of government PR and actual activities of the government did not correspond to each other. In general, although the awareness of our government regarding government PR has improved, it seems that an understanding at a fundamental level regarding the meaning and role of government PR for democratic governance is still limited. Even the most forward-looking government PR of the Roh Moo Hyun administration, which was desirable in the sense that it aimed at democratic administration through communication with the public, was not different from the unilateral propaganda of the previous governments in its actual operation. Even more regrettable is the fact that, due to the limitations in this regard in addition to recent ideological situations, the importance of government PR that the Rho Moo Hyun administration understood and attempted to implement became the target of criticism, without being given an opportunity for fair discussion and evaluation. Therefore, it would be useful to explore the gap between the Roh administration's ideal goal of government PR and the actual PR practice, and try to find a way to fill the gap so that a vision of future government PR may be discovered in the process.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE GOVERNMENT PR

In this section, implications for future government PR are discussed. First discussed is what the principal purpose of government PR should be in the normative sense. Secondly, what the necessary government PR activities would be in order to achieve that purpose is discussed. Thirdly, what organizations and methods are needed to accomplish these PR activities is examined.

Enhancing Mutual Understandings with the Public through Bilateral Communication

The most distinct characteristic of PR activities of the Korean governments has been its unilateral flow of information. In other words, governments seemed to try hard to inform the public of their own positions and policies and to persuade people, but insufficient efforts have been made to listen to the public's opinions and positions. Undoubtedly, the general public tends to have little awareness of many plans and policies of the government, and there are many cases where the public does not have sufficient information enough to form meaningful opinions. This may be the reason why even a government with the best intentions ends up trying to inform and teach the public, rather than to listen and learn from the public. However, the fact that people are not fully aware of governmental and policy issues is the very reason why the government should solicit the opinions of the citizens, as well as providing information. Through this process, the government may be able to provoke the interest of the public and to induce a deliberative process by encouraging the public to think and discuss so that they can form meaningful opinions. Providing information about the government and its policies should not be the purpose of PR itself, but it should be the means to help the process of forming an opinion. The public would not only be able to have an enhanced understanding of the government and its policies through this process, they would also be able to achieve an elevated level of political efficacy and a sense of citizenship as they become more convinced they can influence policy. Considering the basic principles of deliberative democracy—that the government should be built based on the opinion and consent of the public—supporting this process of deliberation should become an important aspect of government PR activities.

Public opinion surveys often ask citizens about their preferences or their degrees of satisfaction. However, as much as the government's unilaterally ordering the people to follow its policy direction is problematic, the government's planning and implementation of policies for public satisfaction is not always desirable, and there will be no policy that could satisfy all the people equally. Therefore, before asking the public about

their opinion, the government should provide policy-related information thoroughly and attempt to create spheres for public discussion. When the public forms informed opinions through this process, the government can perform policy activities on a more solid base and in a more effective way. This is the reason why many scholars concluded that among the PR models categorized by Grunig and Hunt (1984), the two-way symmetrical model is the most desirable form of government PR (Lee 2005; Shin et al. 2006). The problem is that it is not easy to listen to the opinion of the public. It may require efforts of a different dimension from the previous PR activities. Thus, discussions regarding which PR activities are required to elevate mutual understanding by listening to public opinion follows.

Active Operations to Increase Mutual Understanding

Activities that could help the government to listen to what the public thinks include the opportunities for face-to-face, direct, or collective conversations, hearing public opinions utilizing the telecommunication and online media, and more systematic deliberative polls. First of all, opportunities such as "Policy Explanation Meetings," "Conversation with Inhabitants," and "Chats with Residents" are examples of direct conversation with the citizens. Central or local government officials can organize these face-to-face conversations and hearings, verifying obscure and doubtful parts so that the comprehension of the policy can be elevated, the cooperation of residents can be guided, and the residents' opinion can be reflected in the policy (Ko 2003). Although there has been criticism that the function of these meetings is only to fulfill the standard of formality (An et al. 2000), face-to-face conversations have great significance as the most direct method of hearing the public's opinion. Since no intermediary press is present, there is an advantage on the side of the government that its intention and details of the policy content can be fully delivered (Kim and Kim 2000). But as the purpose of these direct conversations was inclined towards inducing the participation of residents on the surface, these meetings have not been very well utilized to hear the public opinion. Studies on the effects of direct conversations have also focused more on whether the awareness of the policy increased and whether positive and cooperative attitudes were induced (Ko 2000). There has not been any research on what kinds of feedbacks appeared, and whether there have been changes in the government's policy position because of these conversations. Government PR activities in the future should not only focus on gaining the cooperation of the people by informing them of policy, but also on reflecting back the public's opinion on policy as well.

Secondly, some convenience should be provided when citizens voluntarily suggest opinions to the government through telecommunication and online media (Moon

2005). For example, a call center taking the opinion of the public through telephone, and a freeboard for opinions in the governmental website, should be made available. Such systems have been introduced as a part of administrative services, and these can be utilized as a channel for citizens to receive service or to obtain information, and at the same time as a channel for them to suggest opinions. Such bi-directional communication through call centers and websites is similar to the concept of PCRM that the Rho Moo Hyun administration adopted, but the difference lies in that PCRM viewed the public as an object of marketing and sent only unidirectional messages through establishing profiles.

Among overseas cases, the UK was the first to assign and act on CRM as the national initiative. In order to actively reflect the view of the public and to cooperate with the general public widely, government websites provided space for suggesting statements or reactions. A citizens' committee also was set up so that the committee could actively provide opinions, and the government also operates a portal for citizens named "Citizen Space" and a website for businesses named "GovTalk" (Lee, 2003). As well, the CRM of Hull Council introduced call centers and formed a personalized interface for immediate response to users. This CRM of the UK government has the purposes of providing a space where opinions from all the people can be taken into account, of making the process of providing suggestions convenient for citizens, and of promptly reflecting those opinions to policy makers.

In the case of the USA, as a part of CRM service a rapid and personalized call service was implemented through the "311" service (Lee 2003). The city of Sapporo in Japan also shortened the service processing time by setting up the "Sapporo Call Center" which provides one-stop services to civil appeals received by telephones, faxes, and emails. The French government is also improving service by enhanced telephone processing and personalized services through governmental portals, and made the public service available anywhere in the whole country by the hotline "3939" for improved accessibility. In this way, government could improve public services and provide convenient channels for citizens to make suggestions, by strengthening the functions of promptness and convenience when citizens voluntarily approach the government through portal sites or call centers. The PCRM of the Korean government should also aim at reinforcing the communication from people to the government, rather than vice versa.

In addition, the interface of websites and the will of the government are important for accepting the public opinion through policy portals to be realized. At present, there are places where people can express opinions at websites, but their accessibility is low because most of the resources were placed at the bottom of the sites. Also the government tends not to be responsive to these opinions. It is necessary to make sure to dis-

close whether the opinions have been delivered to the person in charge of the corresponding policy, whether answers or reactions have been provided, and whether there are cases when the policy has been influenced. Also, since most websites adopt the system of real-name identification, voicing criticism of the government and policies is not easy. The most effective way to hear the true opinions of people is to ease the system of real-name identification in order to allow anonymous suggestions.

Thirdly, deliberative polling can be a meaningful process in encouraging the discussion and participation of the public for deliberative democracy (Fishkin, 1991). Because deliberative polling shows what would be the opinions of people when they are given the time and resources to think about issues, it could help realize democracy that is one step higher than the ordinary public opinion survey (Fishkin, 1991). Deliberative polling not only increases the knowledge of participants about issues through the process of participation and discussion, but it can also influence the strengthening the people's sense of citizenship and their political efficacy (Andersen & Hansen 2001; Kim and Chung 2003). Thus, it would be very meaningful if government PR could promote these deliberative processes. Methods essential to actually implement various activities for hearing the public opinion are discussed in the following section.

The Organization and Human Resources of Government PR

In order to collect people's opinions and encourage greater participation, it is essential to have a specialized organization of planning and implementation that goes beyond PR activities for individual policies and media relations. Despite having the strengthened PR organization, the Roh Moo Hyun administration was not able to execute or analyze opinion polls and placed outsourcing orders to private PR companies, which may not necessarily have expertise in government PR or understand the concept of deliberative democracy. The deliberative poll on the real estate policy also received much criticism of its methodological drawbacks, and skepticism was expressed about the qualification of the private company that carried out this polling. Because public opinion polling requires a very specialized planning, budgeting, and expertise, it is difficult for an individual organization such as a single government department or a citizen group to perform such an activity. Therefore, in order to devise and implement creative PR activities for democratic administration such as deliberative polling, policy explanation meetings, face-to-face conversations, and opinion collecting services through telecommunication and the Internet, an independent PR organization at the national level is necessary.

Although it is important for the individual agency in charge of a particular policy to hear the opinions about the policy, the possibility that the government agency's own

interests might interfere with the communication between the government and citizens cannot be overlooked. Collecting and listening to public opinion should not be an option according to the situation and convenience of the policy-drafting department, but should be an obligation and a purpose. In order to achieve this, establishing a central organization with a specific mandate for communication with the public is preferable. During the Rho Moo Hyun administration, government officials in charge of PR in separate departments tended to think that a central department undertaking the full PR affairs was inappropriate, or that it was less efficient and disturbing compared to the policy department's taking charge of PR activities (H. S. Park et al. 2005). Undoubtedly, unnecessary intervention or meddling by the central division should be minimized, but in order to disclose and provide detailed information on policies, it is necessary for the central division to support the policymakers of individual departments and their PR officers. Even in the Roh administration, where the importance of PR was emphasized, there have been many cases when the person in charge of the policy was unable to answer promptly and sincerely to the public's request of information; therefore the support or the supervision of the central PR organization is oftentimes need.

The principal aim of the national PR organization should be to invent various methods of two-way communication with citizens, and to plan and implement scientific methods of listening to public opinion. As well specialized human resources within the organization are needed. Until now, government officials in charge of PR have continuously mentioned the insufficiency of their budget and the lack of specialized human resources (H. S. Park et al. 2005). The specialization of human resources should be reinforced through education or through hiring specialists, but caution should be taken. Recently the government appointed civil specialists to take charge of PR affairs, and most of them have a working background in news media. Because of this, activities needed to cope with the press, such as the analyses of press reports, efforts to establish agendas through the press, and advance requests to the press for cooperation have been strengthened, but they were inadequately skilled at understanding the public and at measuring and supplementing the influence of PR activities, according to the evaluation of the government PR (Shin et al. 2006). Consequently, in order to improve the specialization of government PR, human resources not only from the press but also from various other backgrounds and specializations should be hired, and continuous education within various branches is necessary. Especially, experts with an academic background in such fields as public relations, public administration, public policy, politics, sociology, and psychology, as well as empirical research backgrounds, would be helpful.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzes the public relations of previous governments on the basis of the goals of PR, the nature of communication, the press policies, and the relationship with the press. The early administrations clearly showed that the goal of PR was based on propaganda. However, as time went on, the purpose of PR was became diversified towards propaganda, the dissemination of information, scientific persuasion, and so on, while it also showed the tendency to become more obscure as well. The direction of communication through public relations was unilateral in most cases, and even repressive in some cases. Although some attempts were made at two-way communication, they were no more than one-time attempts or declaratory ones. The Korean government's PR is yet to aim at promoting mutual understanding through bilateral communication with the public. The importance of listening to the public cannot be overemphasized if we are to practice democratic governance.

This study employed Grunig & Hunt's PR models, Yoon's four types of press control, and Yoo and Lee's pendulum model of the relationship between the government and the press as its frameworks for comparative analysis. There were differing degrees of difficulty in attempting to categorize each administration's government PR, press policy, and the relationship with the press according to these frameworks, as noted before. It might be helpful to modify the standards of models in future research in order to overcome the limitations of such diachronic analysis. As well, further research using the methods of meta-analysis or surveys would be useful.

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