Representing North Korea in US and South Korean Newspapers:

a Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis

Master Thesis Intercultural Communication

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Abstract

2017 marks a year in which North Korea has had a dominant position in the news. This study researches the representation of North Korea in US and South Korean newspapers, and aims to answer the research question: Are the different relationships between North Korea and the US, and North and South Korea, respectively, reflected in the North Korean representation in US and South Korean newspapers? A corpus of US news articles on North Korea, and a corpus of South Korean news articles on North Korea were selected, analyzed and compared through the method of a quantitative Corpus Analysis. The results of the Corpus Analysis show that the US corpus represents North Korea as a political enemy and military threat. A similar representation can be found in the South Korean corpus, but goes together with a representation of North Korea as a people with humanitarian problems. These results are then analyzed within their respective discourses through a Critical Discourse Analysis. This analysis shows that the representations of North Korea in both corpora are dependent on several factors and forces such as intergroup histories, intergroup relations and information channels.

Keywords: North Korea, representation

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1. Introduction

North Korea received much attention in 2017. From heated political discussions to memes of Kim Jong Un, North Korea has been under close scrutiny. The totalitarian regime has turned North Korea into the most closed off state in the world. Everyone is watching, but what really goes on across those state borders is a mystery to many. This leads to excessive news coverage on North Korea (Green, 2012). News provided by news outlets often enjoys the reputation of being factual and objective (Fairclough, 1989). Especially when it comes to news on the 'Other,' people tend to be not as critical (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2010). However, the way information is gathered, spread, and consumed is highly dependent on many contextual factors (Holliday et al., 2010; Bar-Tal, 1997). Therefore, what information on North Korea is provided by news outlets does not reflect an *identity*, but a certain *representation*. Representations of a certain group are shaped by systems of values, ideas and practices that are present in the group that forms the representations (Dervin, 2012). An important medium in the formation and change of representations is text. Language, particularly used in texts, is an indispensable part of social life and can bring about changes in values, attitudes and knowledge, which in turn have their effects on texts (Fairclough, 2003).

Little research has been done on the representation of North Korea, and research that has been done solely focusses on the North Korean representation in US discourse. In her Corpus Analysis, Choi (2010) codes articles from US national newspapers and classifies them into three news frames: pro-North Korea, anti-North Korea and neutral. Analysis shows that the articles are overall anti-North Korea and have a negative tone. The national image of North Korea is characterized by terms such as "evil, enemy, blackmailer, terrorist, poor country, and despotic

state" (p. 394). A similar conclusion can be found in the study on North Korean representation by Kim (2014). Her findings show that the representation of North Korea in US news outlets is very similar to the representation of Iran. She concludes that in US news, foreign countries are categorized as either positive or negative based on their political relationship.

A comparison of the North Korean representation in two different discourses has thus yet to be researched. Such a comparison, however, is necessary to uncover the underlying factors and forces that shape a representation. It changes the focus from the content of a representation, to a deeper understanding as to why and how a representation is formed. This study aims to reach such a deeper understanding by researching whether the different relationships between North Korea and the US and North and South Korea are reflected in the North Korean representation in US and South Korean newspapers.

Researching the North Korean representation in US and South Korean discourse is crucial considering the growing tensions between the three states. These tensions ask for careful consideration and de-escalation. Being aware that what is presented on North Korea is a *representation* and not its *identity* aids in shedding a different light on current issues. It opens the door to further knowledge and the ability to see through, and beyond a representation.

This study is conducted through a combination of Corpus Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. A Corpus Analysis allows for large corpora to be quantitatively analyzed, while Critical Discourse Analysis allows for the results to be qualitatively analyzed within both discourses.

It is important to be aware of any personal, Western bias. As a Dutch university student who has a bachelor's degree in Koreastudies, the researcher is influenced by her personal

background, acquired knowledge on North Korea, and the information consumed through the media on a daily basis. Being aware of these influences and possible biases is crucial in conducting this study as objectively as possible.

The next chapter provides a short account of North Korea's current position in the world and its relations to the US and South Korea. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework of this study and Chapter 4 explains the methodology used to conduct this study. The results are presented and discussed in chapter 5 and 6. Concluding remarks, limitations and further research possibilities are discussed in chapter 7.

2. Context

In order to analyze the North Korean representation in both US and South Korean discourse, the relationship between North Korea, the US and South Korea must be understood. This chapter therefore offers a short account of the histories and relationships of these three states , as well as an explanation for the closed off nature of North Korea and its impact on the information flow to the outside world.

2.1 A Short Account of Korean History

The history of Korea is a long and complicated one. The division of Korea after WWII is relatively recent considering the peninsula's 2000 years of recorded history. However, it is an event that has drastically shaped not only the future of Korea, but the global climate as well.

Until the division of the North and the South, Korea had been one of the oldest, continuous dynasties with one of the most homogeneous peoples in the world (Seth, 2011). The dynasties on the peninsula were unified in 676, and stayed unified until 1945. The fact that the Korean peninsula stayed united for that long is remarkable, for Korea knows a history of foreign suppression and invasion by the Chinese, Mongols and Japanese. This history created a unified people wanting to distinguish themselves from their overpowering neighbors (Seth, 2011). They did this through creating their own language and creating one political system. Up to the late 19th century there were few states that could match Korea's institutional and territorial stability, its historical continuity and its ethnic unity. This continuity ended with the Japanese colonization of Korea in 1910, which lasted until the end of WWII (Seth, 2011). The Korean people joyously celebrated their reclaimed freedom, unaware of the fact that they would soon fall victim to the power struggles between the US and the USSR. The USSR occupied the North of Korea, and the

US was quick to retaliate and occupied the South. The parties drew a line on the 38th parallel,

dividing provinces, villages and families. It was supposed to be a temporary division, but the

USSR and the US never came to an agreement. In 1950, North Korea, supported by the USSR

and later by China invaded the South, supported by the US and the UN, in an attempt to take

over the peninsula. The attack instigated a war over the Korean peninsula, which ended three

years later right where it started, at the 38th parallel. This border is now the infamous

demilitarized zone (DMZ), one of the most heavily guarded borders in the world (Seth, 2011).

In the North, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and in the South, the

Republic of Korea (ROK), went their separate ways. The Korean war had left both states in

destruction and despair. After the division, the DPRK, under leadership of general Kim Il Sung,

still received USSR and Chinese aid. Kim, however, wanted North Korea to become completely

independent. Kim closed the North Korean borders and purged officials with bonds to the

Chinese and the Russians. Only a select group of loyalists remained, with whom he started the

Juche Ideology. Juche, often translated as "self-reliance," was in North Korea associated with

"cultural independence, economic self-sufficiency, national sovereignty, and the defense of the

regime and its leaders" (Armstrong, 2014, p. 40). The *Juche Ideology* is used to instill into the

minds of the North Korean people that the US and South Korea are the enemy, and that the only

reason North Korea is still gloriously standing is duo to the brave Kim family (Myers, 2010).

The Korean war, the purging of officials and the introduction of the *Juche Ideology* caused the

state to become almost completely closed off from the rest of the world.

In the following decades, North Korea's closed off nature brought about periods of

economic implosions, impoverishment and famine. Nevertheless is the DPRK maintained by the

Kim family through limited international trade, foreign aid and national, and international oppression (Armstrong, 2014).

The Korean war left South Korea as one of the least promising states in the world for any economic development. The war had destroyed most infrastructure, there were more people than resources and there was little industrial development. The first few decades of the ROK were marked by political struggles and corruption. This unstable political climate was reflected in a society of protests, demonstrations and activism, which in the 1990s finally paved the way towards democracy. In the meantime, South Korea received US aid in the form of capital, knowledge and military protection (Seth, 2011). The aid stabilized the country and made it more attractive for economic investors, which led to an economic miracle making South Korea one of the leading economies in electronics (Armstrong, 2014).

2.2 North Korea and the U.S.

The very first encounter between the Korean peninsula and the US symbolizes the relationship North Korea has with the US. In 1866 a heavily armed US merchant ship, the General Sherman, entered Korean waters seeking trade. Korea refused to open up to foreign trade and the crew of the General Sherman was ordered to leave. Instead of leaving, the crew fired into a crowd of people and burned surrounding boats. When the merchant ship got stuck in a low tide, a local governor ordered it to be destroyed. The ship was burned and the crew killed. This *General Sherman incident* is still celebrated in North Korea as the beginning of the Korean resistance to American imperialism (Seth, 2011). The US intervention in the Korean war, and the support that South Korea has been receiving from the US ever since, is seen by the North Koreans as an act of treason, and has led to the North Koreans seeing the US as their mortal enemy (Seth, 2011).

North Korea successfully conducted its first nuclear test in 2006 ("North Korea's Nuclear Programme," 2017). The frequency of these tests has increased in the last few years. The testing, in combination with the offensive political strategy of US president Trump has increased tension. Trump has publicly spoken against the DPRK regime saying that if missile tests are continued, they will be met with "fire and fury like the world has never seen," and that the US will "totally destroy" North Korea, including "Little Rocket Man" Kim Jong Un (Sharman, 2017). Kim Jong Un responded that Trump is "mentally deranged" and that the US will be turned into a "sea of fire" (Samuelsen, 2017). This dialogue sums up the political climate between the US and North Korea since president Trump has been elected, creating a worrisome and increasingly dangerous situation.

2.3 North and South Korea

The North and the South share a love-hate relationship. The legacy of their long, shared history is not forgotten. Indeed it is cherished by North and South Korean people alike, and both states call for unification. However, each government claims to be the only legitimate one (Armstrong, 2014). This has resulted in a turbulent relationship with periods of hopeful contact, alternating with periods of hardly any contact at all.

There are many clashes between the two countries. Big events, such as the election of a US, or Korean president, the annually joined military exercise of South Korea and the US, or the Winter Olympics in South Korea are responded to by North Korea with military parades, or missile tests (Martinez, 2017; Dillow, 2016; "North Korea holds military parade," 2018). These political circumstances continue to strain the relationship between the North and the South. Nevertheless, there are calls for unification still. The Winter Olympics of 2018, held in Pyeongchang, South Korea, have opened the way for talks (Choe, 2018a. The North sent a large

delegation of not only athletes, but also a cheering squad and a performance-art troupe (Choe, 2018b). The North and South Korean women's hockey players were combined to create a unified team (Kim, 2018). They were, however, under strict surveillance. The athletes had to mingle to some extent, but the cheering squad consisting of 230 women were under close scrutiny. They were selected on their beautiful appearance, their family background and most were students at the prestigious Kim Il Sung University. Background checks were done to ensure that they had no relations to any defectors or Japanese sympathizers. They were there to impress and change the image of the poor, malnourished North Korean people, but they were to keep their distance and not to mingle in any way (McCurry, 2018). This shows how the regime tries to keep its people isolated.

2.4 Media Coverage on North Korea

The North Korean people live in almost complete cultural, geographical and economic isolation. They only receive the selected information that the DPRK provides. The North Korean people and the rest of the world have little / limited contact. It is practically impossible to cross the demilitarized zone, and North Korea, Russia and China are separated by a guarded river. It is possible to go to North Korea as a tourist, as part of a delegation, as a journalist, or as an international student, but getting a visa is a complicated and time consuming process. Once in North Korea, a guide only shows what the government allows outsiders to see, and no communication with North Korean people is permitted, unless they have been specifically selected (Alter, 2016).

Gathering firsthand information on North Korea as an outsider is thus nearly impossible. The information that outsiders gather is often provided by the DPRK or Chinese-Korean traders who have access to more information. Much of the rest is hearsay. The news released by the DPRK is

very selective and often proven to be a distortion of reality or false.[1] The DPRK is known the

release stories on North Korean markets, which are spread and end up in South Korean news

outlets. The stories gain their own currency, and rumors become facts (Green, 2012).

Information that is only released domestically can sometimes be gathered through organizations

such as the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a US government-funded

organization that gathers foreign broadcasts (Oh, & Hassig, 2004).

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[1] It is very difficult to investigate whether information on North Korea is false or not. There are instances where outsiders suspect information to be false, but it cannot be proven, and there are instances where information is proven to be false.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework discusses theories on social representation and imagology, as well as theories on factors and forces that come into play when forming and changing representations. These theories provide the background necessary when analyzing and comparing the representations of North Korea in US discourse and South Korean discourse, respectively.

3.1 Social Representations

The way an individual views the word is socially constructed depending on historical and cultural factors. Such a social construction contains social representations (Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2010). Social representations are not formed and established by an individual, but are co-constructed and agreed upon within a group. They are created by and a reflection of the values, ideas and practices within a community. Through social representations, members within a community are able to grasp the world around them. It provides the members with a directory on social exchange and communication (Dervin, 2012).

3.2 Imagology

The study of imagology concerns itself with such representations and their constructions of realities. It particularly focusses on analyzing characteristics of a national representation when expressed textually (Beller & Leerssen, 2007). At the core of imagology is the realization that it studies *representations*, not *identities* and that there is a crucial difference. Textually expressed representations are subjectively schematized rather than statements of fact. An imagologist thus wants to uncover and analyze a representation, the actual validity of the representation "is not the imagologist's to verify or falsify" (Beller & Leerssen, 2007, p. 27). These representations are what Beller & Leerssen (2007) refer to as *imagined;* "the statement 'France is a republic' is by

and of itself not imagined; the statement 'The French are freedom loving individualists' is" (p. 27-28). The difference here are the attributes *freedom loving individualists* connected to *The French*, which makes the statement *imaginated.*

The way in which a nation is represented can differ per text. Sources are relative and the representation of the national image *(the spected)* has to be put in the perspectival context of the analyzed text or discourse *(the spectant).* It needs to be taken into consideration what type of corpus is analyzed, what effects it has and what the historical contextualization is. Furthermore, it has to be taken into account that it is not always known whether the writer identifies with the representation he/she presents (Leerssen in Hooiveld, 2015). Considering the large corpora of US and South Korean newspapers in this particular study, it is an unrealistic goal to take into account the relationship and background every writer has within the discourse. This study thus solely focusses on the contribution their work has to the national representations of North Korea.

The imagological focus on imagined national characteristics is relevant in analyzing the North Korean national representation in US and South Korean newspapers. Imagology is often applied as a comparative study; "it addresses cross-national relations rather than national identities" (Beller & Leerssen, 2007, p. 29). The US and South Korea have vastly different histories and relationship with North Korea, which makes a comparative study on the national representation from an imagological perspective interesting. The following sections clarify why these different histories and relationships make the North Korean representation such an interesting case in point.

3.3 Formation and Change of Stereotypes

Bar-tal (1997) presents an integrative model on the formation and change of stereotypes. Stereotypes are closely related to representations, and thus to the study of imagology. This model is therefore useful in concretely analyzing and uncovering a representation and the way in which such a representation is formed. The model is applied "mainly to national and ethnic stereotypes, since its major objective is to extend our understanding of international and interethnic relations which are determined, at least partially, by the stereotypic contents that the two parties in relationship hold" (p. 493). Stereotypes are social phenomena which can shed light on the nature of intergroup relations. It is thus important to understand the formation of stereotypes, as well as factors that play a role in this process.

Although stereotypes are held by individuals, their meaning only emerges in the context of groups. Individuals consider themselves as group members, and perceive and evaluate others as part of a group as well. Bar-Tal (1997) argues that the stereotypical content that is formed within a group depends on many factors. These factors are not universal but culturally and individually bound, as thus are stereotypes. The model presented below displays the different factors that, according to Bar-Tal, can influence the formation and change of stereotypical content.
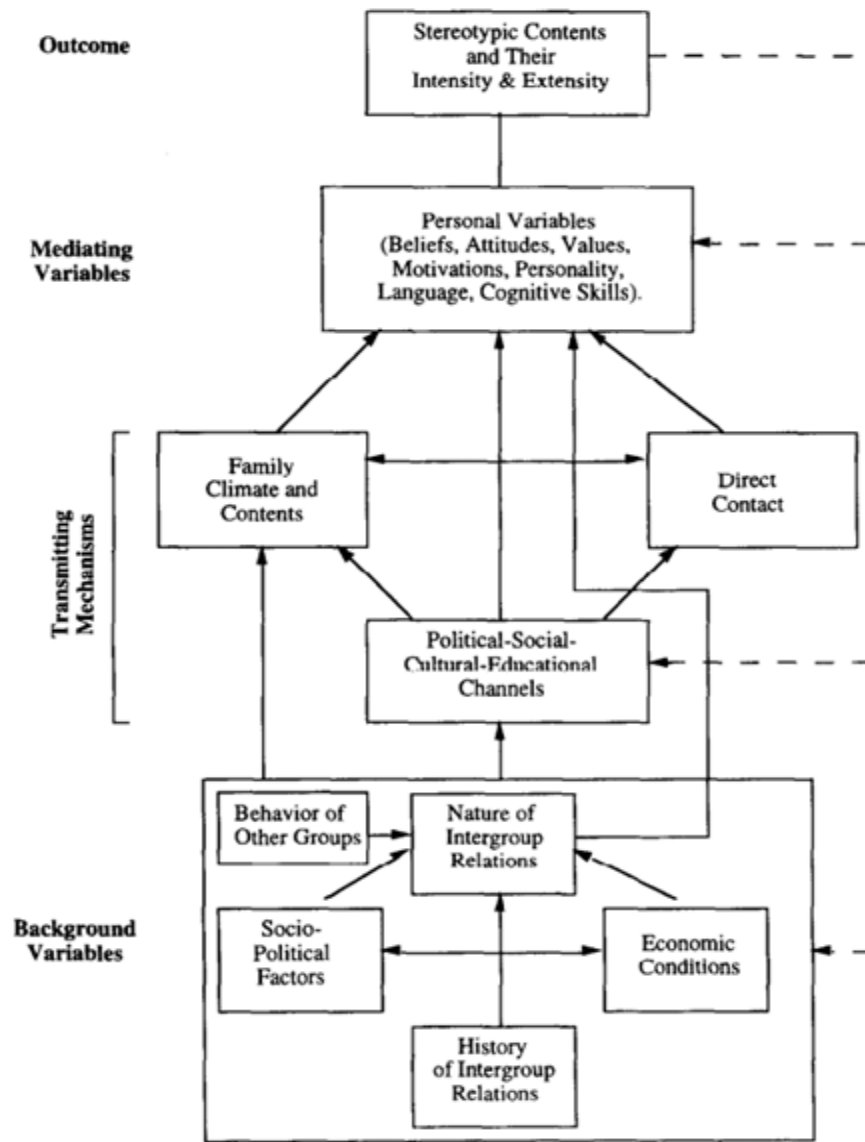
Figure 1. Model of Stereotypic Contents' Formation and Change (Bar-Tal, 1997, p. 495)

The factors influencing the formation and change of stereotypes are divided intro the four

categories of background variables, transmitting mechanisms, mediating variables and the

outcome. Background variables form the base for stereotypical contents provided through macro-

societal variables. Bar-Tal (1997) argues that the formation of stereotypes is influenced by socio-

political factors that categorize the spectant group. "Among them are norms of tolerance, social

cohesion, solidarity, societal polarization, the openness of society, possibilities of mobility and hierarchical structure within the spectant group" (Bar-Tal, 1997, p. 501). If the spectant group is more tolerant and open, representations of spected groups tend to be more positive. These socio-political factors influence, and are influenced by the economic conditions of the spectant group. The worsening of personal economic conditions, or the deprivation of basic needs can lead to frustrations. These frustrations in turn can indirectly negatively influence the representation of a spected group. Factors that more directly influence the representation of a spected group are the history of intergroup relations, and the nature of intergroup relations. The current nature of intergroup relations only partially explain the formed stereotype. The history of intergroup relations also still exerts its influence on current stereotypes. Finally, the relations between the spectant and spected groups are influenced by other groups and their relations to either the spectant or spected group.

The transmitting mechanisms in Bar-Tal's model (1997) show the channels through which individuals receive information that influences the information and change of stereotypes. These include societal channels such as political, social, cultural and educational channels, as well as the influence exerted by family members on an individual, and direct contact between a spectant individual and an individual from the spected group.

Through the mediating variables, the model takes into account that information is absorbed and interpreted different by individuals. Finally, the model proposes in the outcome that the formed stereotype in turn exerts influence in future formations and changes of the stereotypical content. This study analyzes how these factors influence the representations of North Korea in US and South Korean discourse.

3.4 Forces of Representation

The model by Bar-Tal (1997) shows that many factors influence the formation and change of

stereotypical content. A similar model is that of forces of representation by Holliday, Hyde and

Kullman (2010).
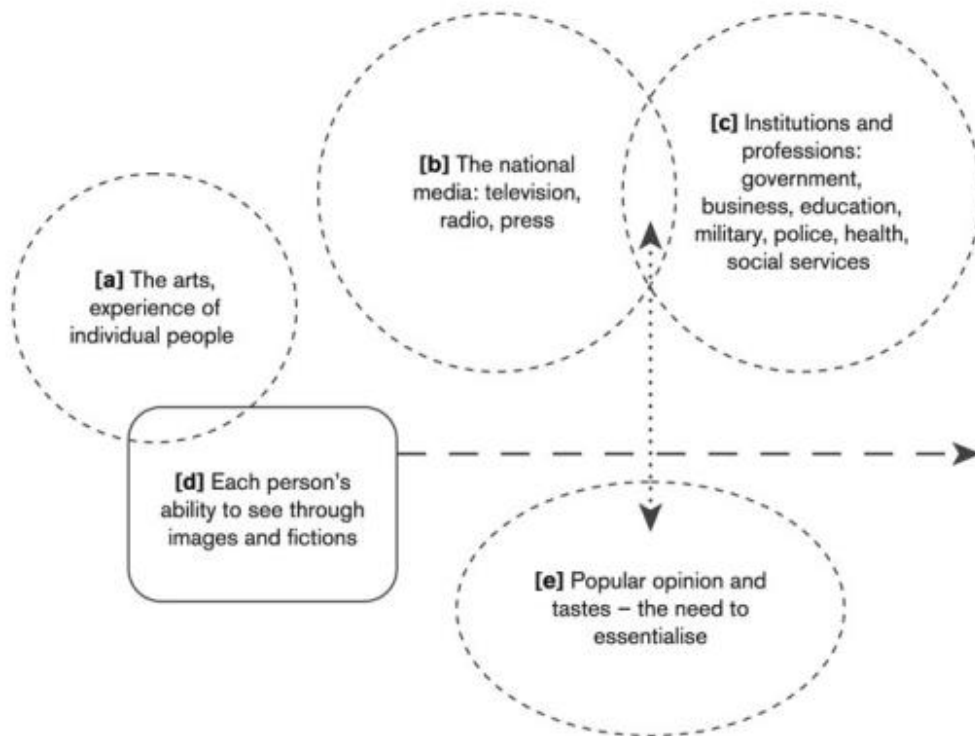
Figure: 2. Forces of Representation (Holliday et Al., 2010, p. 41)

This model proposes the nature of the relationship between individuals and the forces of

representations in a society. Much of the information necessary in forming a representation

comes from the media: "In modern society we are constantly fed images of the foreign Other by

the television, radio, internet and press, in the explicit form of news, documentaries and current

affairs discussion, which report and describe people and events across the world…" (p. 42). The

media (bubble [b]) are not the only force in forming representations, but stand within the bigger context of bubbles [a] and [c]. These forces are in constant dialogue with the popular opinion held by society. The subtlety of this dialogue, and the role of the different forces differ per society, depending on the freedom of the media. How these forces of representation influence the formation of the North Korean representation is analyzed in the results and discussion.

3.5 Main Research Question

The theories and models discussed above show that a representation of a group, society or nation is not universal. Many different factors and forces play a role in forming representations, which causes them to differ per discourse. The discussed theories have led to the following research question:

Are the different relationships between North Korea and the US, and North and South Korea, respectively, reflected in the North Korean representation in US and South Korean newspapers?

How the representation of North Korea is US and South Korean newspapers is concretely analyzed, is described in the following chapter.

In order to answer the research question, two subquestions are formulated which are used in conducting the quantitative Corpus Analysis.

1. *Which attributes are frequently used in combination with the keywords 'North Korea,' 'North Korean' and 'North Koreans' in US newspapers?*

2. *Which attributes are frequently used in combination with the keywords 'North Korea,' 'North Korean' and 'North Koreans' in South Korean newspapers?*

3. *What representations of North Korea can be uncovered from the frequently used attributes?*

4. Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the methods used in this study. It discusses the selection and gathering of the corpora, as well as the analysis of the corpora through a Corpus Analysis in Wordsmith Tools. It also discusses how the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis allows the results to be analyzed within the theoretical framework.

4.1 Materials

For this study, a corpus of US and South Korean news articles was selected. The US news articles were selected from two news outlets, namely *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post.* Research shows that these newspapers have a high number of readers in comparison to other US news outlets (Engel, 2014). Both newspapers represent moderately modern liberal[2] views (Engel, 2014). The South Korean newspapers used were *The Korea Times*, and *The Korea Herald.* These are Korean newspapers published in English, and the only two Korean newspapers available in the LexisNexis database. It must be taken into account that the English newspapers are not written primarily for domestic readers but for internationals in Korea and people outside of Korea (Hong, n.d.). The representation of North Korea in these newspapers might differ from the representation in newspapers written in Korean.

Where the South Korean newspapers position themselves on the political spectrum is not as clear as with the US newspapers. However, it is an extensively discussed topic on online forums. The *Korea Herald* is argued to lean more to modern liberal views as defined in the US

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[2] There are many different definitions and uses for the term liberal. This study uses modern liberalism as defined in the context of US politics: "Modern liberalism is geared more to the so-called welfare state and inequalities of economic power, and is not as worried about the state interfering with individual rights. Indeed, it often sees the national government as the protector of liberties against local majorities" (Pease & Wiegman, 2002, p. 518).

political context (Jxz, 2016). The *Korea Times* describes itself as the bridge between Korea and the rest of the world. It is published by the newspaper company Hankook Ilbo, which is considered to also represent modern liberal views as defined in the US context (About Korea Times, n.d.). The political leanings of the newspapers in both corpora are thus comparable.

The corpora of US and South Korean news articles were gathered through the database of LexisNexis. To select articles that offer some type of representation of North Korea, the keywords *North Korea*, *North Korean*, and *North Koreans* were used in the search engine. To analyze the current North Korean representation, the time period of 2017 was chosen. In this period, tensions between North Korea and the US had increased with the election of president Trump, and the regular nuclear testing by North Korea. Both leaders continued to aggravate and threaten each other (Sharman, 2017). Such collisions between both leaders were extensively covered in the news. However, in the summer of 2017, North Korea was also struggling with extreme droughts, which caused crop failure and increased famine among the North Koreans (FAO calls for food aid, 2017).

The search in LexisNexis provided more than a 1000 hits per newspaper. To select the most relevant articles, the articles were sorted on relevance in LexisNexis, and the first 400 articles were chosen. This resulted in 800 US articles, and 800 South Korean articles.

4.2 Procedure

The procedure of this study consisted of two parts inspired by other studies. The Corpus Analysis, conducted through the use of the program Wordsmith Tools, was inspired by a study on the representation of migration in the news by the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford (The Migration Observatory, 2013). The results of the Corpus Analysis were then linked

to the theoretical framework through the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, which was used in the master thesis by Hooiveld (2015).

4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be approached in a number of different ways. This study used Fairclough's approach (2003), which is "based upon the assumption that language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life, so that social analysis and research always has to take account of language" (p.2). The analysis of texts is thus a crucial part of CDA, but is not its main goal. CDA moves beyond text analysis and places the results of text analysis in the contextual framework of the discourse. By doing this, a Critical Discourse Analysis can help uncover dominant structures in a discourse based on the historical and social contextual aspects (Fairclough, 2003).

The method of CDA is thus bipartite. It asks for the analysis of a body of texts, after which the results need to be placed and analyzed within the contextual aspects of the discourse. For example: the Corpus Analysis uncovered that the US corpus contains many aggressive verbs when representing North Korea. Through a Critical Discourse Analysis, these findings were linked to the context of US discourse, showing that the aggressive verbs are a reflection of the US and North Korea's hostile relationship. This bipartite method thus allowed the researcher to move beyond the question of *how* North Korea is represented, and answer *why* North Korea is represented in such a way.

The methodology of CDA has received criticism on several aspects. CDA is used for qualitative studies. The text analysis in CDA is therefore a time consuming task which leads to analyzing data that is too small and fragmented. The small body of data also raises the issue of

the representativeness of fragmented data. The body of data may not be representative even though it is selected randomly. What fragments are chosen to be analyzed and how is then highly subjective, influencing the results (Bang, 2003). In order to resolve these issues, this study combines CDA with the quantitative and more objective method of Corpus Analysis.

4.2.2 Corpus Analysis

Corpus Analysis is the studying of patterns in language use (Stubbs, 1996). The biggest advantage of combining CDA with a Corpus Analysis was that the data is computer-held. This provided the researcher with the possibility to research a much larger corpus, combining qualitative with quantitative research. Corpus Analysis diminished the level of subjectivity criticized in CDA. By using a computer program "findings can be replicated on publicly accessible data. The patterns found in the corpus can be replicated when conducting the analysis again" (Stubbs, 2001 as cited in Bang, 2003, p. 17). A computer-held analysis can provide collocations and patterns that the researcher might not have found having done the analysis by hand (Bang, 2003). However, using Corpus Analysis did not take away all subjectivity. The interpretation of the results can differ depending on the agenda and the perspectives of the researcher (Bang, 2003).

The Corpus Analysis in this study was conducted with the use of the program Wordsmith Tools. This program has several features which are interesting for this study. The Wordlist function in Wordsmith Tools shows how often a word occurs within the selected corpus. This function can thus reveal what topics and descriptive words occur in the corpus most often (Scott, 2015). Another interesting function is the concordance list functions. With this list, the program provides the possibility to analyze collocations: words frequently used around a selected

keyword. In this study the concordance list shows the five words left and right of the keywords *North Korea*, *North Korean* and *North Koreans.*

L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	**KEYWORD**	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5

Words appear together in patterns that convey meaning. Quantitative tests can uncover these patterns by analyzing large bodies of text in an objective manner, rather than coming from a researcher's bias or intuition. By analyzing frequently recurring words around keywords, a pattern of language use can be detected. This pattern can reveal what the keyword is associated with and offers "a way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text" (Baker, 2006 as cited in The Migration Observatory, 2013).

However, there are some limitations to this method. The analysis of the ten words surrounding a keyword might still miss the context of a larger sentence. Furthermore, the program does not take into account any negotiation (such as using a negative) or claims (The Migration Observatory, 2013).

Analyzing and comparing wordlists and concordance lists of the corpora of US and South Korean newspapers did, however, reveal interesting differences and similarities. The causes of these differences and similarities were analyzed in the Critical Discourse Analysis of this study.

When creating either a wordlist or concordance list, the most frequent collocations are always parts of speech such as articles, pronouns and prepositions. These can, unfortunately, not be filtered out by Wordsmith Tools. Therefore, such parts of speech were filtered out by the

researcher because they do not have a contextual meaning on their own. To provide clear results, every keyword focused on a part of speech. With the keyword *North Korea*, L1 collocating verbs were analyzed. Verbs used in combination with *North Korea* indicate with what attitude North Korea is approached. With the keyword *North Korean*, R1 collocating nouns were analyzed. These nouns provide information on what aspects are discussed when presenting news on North Korea. The keyword *North Koreans* provided such little information that there was no particular focus.

When attributes were very similar, such as *missile* and *missiles*, or *Korea* and *Korean*, the attribute with the highest frequency was selected. The frequency indicates what percentage of the whole list is taken up by that specific attribute.

Finally, Every list was divided into three different categorizations which made it easier to compare the US and South Korean corpora. In order to determine where the attributes should be categorized, all attributes were looked up in the concordance list to analyze the context.

5. Results – Corpus Analysis

This chapter shows the results gathered through the Corpus Analysis conducted in Wordsmith Tools. The results are presented in tables. Each table is introduced, explained and discussed. These results provide the answers to the subquestions of what attributes are used with the keywords *North Korea*, *North Korean*, and *North Koreans*. These attributes uncover what representations of North Korea are present in both corpora, which provides a stepping stone to answering the main research question in Chapter 6: discussion.

5.1 Wordlists

The table below provides the wordlists created by Wordsmith Tools for both corpora. The table shows the top 30 words, leaving out articles, pronouns and prepositions. These words recur most frequently in the corpora and can therefore provide an indication on the trending topics in both corpora.

TABLE 1.1			
US CORPUS	FREQ.%	SK CORPUS	FREQ.%
NORTH	1.82	KOREA	1.46
KOREA	1.20	NORTH	1.35
NUCLEAR	0.44	SOUTH	0.48
UNITED	0.43	US	0.48
SOUTH	0.43	MOON	0.46
KIM	0.41	NUCLEAR	0.37
STATES	0.36	MISSILE	0.37
TRUMP	0.35	PRESIDENT	0.34
MISSILE	0.31	MILITARY	0.28
CHINA	0.30	KIM	0.28
PRESIDENT	0.22	TRUMP	0.25
MILITARY	0.22	CHINA	0.23
SANCTIONS	0.19	PYONGYANG	0.21
WEAPONS	0.17	SEOUL	0.21
PYONGYANG	0.17	RIGHTS	0.21
WAR	0.16	SECURITY	0.17
STATE	0.15	DEFENSE	0.17
WASHINGTON	0.14	SANCTIONS	0.15
OFFICIALS	0.14	WAR	0.14
SECURITY	0.14	GOVERNMENT	0.14
TEST	0.12	WASHINGTON	0.14
GOVERNMENT	0.12	BALLISTIC	0.14
COMPANY	0.12	REGIME	0.13
ADMINISTRATION	0.12	TALKS	0.13
FOREIGN	0.11	UN	0.12
WORLD	0.11	PENINSULA	0.12
REGIME	0.10	DIALOGUE	0.12
UN	0.10	SUMMIT	0.12
INTERNATIONAL	0.10	TEST	0.12
PEOPLE	0.10	FOREIGN	0.11

When looking at table 1.1, terms such as *Korea*, *States*, *president*, *Trump*, *officials*, *Washington*, *regime*, *international*, *world*, and *Pyongyang* indicate that the topic of politics is dominant. Other words such as *nuclear*, *missile* and *sanctions* can also be categorized under politics, but in particular refer to the military tensions. There are only two words in both corpora, *people* and *rights*, that refer to humanitarian issues. This is thus not a dominant topic, but very important considering the poor circumstances the North Korean population is in. Therefore, the words in table 1.1 are divided into the categories of politics, tensions and humanitarian.

TABLE 1.2 US CORPUS	
POLTICS	NORTH, KOREA, UNITED, SOUTH, KIM, STATES, TRUMP, CHINA, PRESIDENT, PYONGYANG, STATE, WASHINGTON, OFFICIALS, GOVERNMENT, COMPANY, ADMINISTRATION, FOREIGN, WORLD, REGIME, UN, INTERNATIONAL
TENSIONS	NUCLEAR, MISSILE, MILITARY, SANCTIONS, WEAPONS, WAR, SECURITY, TEST
HUMANITARIAN	PEOPLE

TABLE 1.3 SK CORPUS	
POLTICS	KOREA, NORTH, SOUTH, US, MOON, PRESIDENT, KIM, TRUMP, CHINA, PYONGYANG, SEOUL, GOVERNMENT, WASHINGTON, REGIME, TALKS, UN, PENINSULA, DIALOGUE, SUMMIT, FOREIGN
TENSIONS	NUCLEAR, MISSILE, MILITARY, SECURITY, DEFENSE, SANCTIONS, WAR, BALLISTIC, TEST
HUMANITARIAN	RIGHTS

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 show that both corpora roughly cover the same topics when reporting news on North Korea. More than half of the words in both corpora are presidential names, capital cities and other words concerning politics and the government. This category is closely related to the words categorized under tensions, which refer directly to political and military tensions between North Korea, South Korea and the US. The dominance of these topics is not surprising when taking into account the current situation where North Korea is developing nuclear weapons and missiles, and the US and South Korea respond with sanctioning North Korea.

An interesting difference, however, is that the South Korean corpus contains more non-aggressive, and interactive words than the US corpus. Words such as *talks*, *dialogue*, and *summit*, show that there is a focus on contact *with* North Korea, whereas the US corpus only talks *about* North Korea. There is also a bigger focus on humanitarian problems in the South Korean corpus with the word *rights* with a frequency of 0.21%, where the US corpus speaks of *people* with a frequency of 0.10%.

5.2 Collocations – North Korea

Table 2.1 shows the L1 collocating verbs of the keyword *North Korea*. The thirty most frequently used L1 collocating verbs are filtered out and presented in table 2.1 The verbs used when referring to North Korea show with what attitude North Korea is approached in the corpora.

| TABLE 2.1 | | | |
US CORPUS	FREQ.%	SK CORPUS	FREQ.%
DESTROY	0.68	DESTROY	0.67
PERSUADE	0.28	BRING	0.41
STOP	0.28	STOP	0.31
VISIT	0.26	VISIT	0.26
PRESSURE	0.20	ENGAGE	0.21
DETER	0.17	ISOLATE	0.21
ISOLATE	0.17	MAKE	0.21
FORCE	0.16	ATTACK	0.18
LEAVE	0.16	DENUCLEARIZE	0.18
PUNISH	0.16	PREVENT	0.18
PUSH	0.16	RESOLVE	0.16
HELP	0.15	URGED	0.16
STRIKE	0.15	BELIEVE	0.13
WARNED	0.15	DETER	0.13
TEST	0.12	INCLUDING	0.13
URGED	0.12	PUNISH	0.13
ACCUSED	0.11	REGARDING	0.13
BRING	0.11	RESPONSE	0.13
FLED	0.11	STRIKE	0.13
HANDLE	0.11	CONCERNING	0.10
CONTAIN	0.09	CONDEMNED	0.10
DEFAME	0.08	CONVINCE	0.10
LEAD	0.08	HOLD	0.10
RULED	0.08	WARNED	0.10
REGARDING	0.07	ACCUSED	0.08
ATTACK	0.07	ALLOW	0.08
BLAMED	0.07	ASK	0.08
GIVE	0.07	BLAMED	0.08
HOLD	0.07	CHANGE	0.08
INCLUDING	0.07	CONSIDER	0.08

Noticeable in table 2.1 is that both corpora have the verb *destroy* at the top of the list with a high frequency. This attribute is at the top of both lists because president Trump is often quoted on wanting to "totally destroy" North Korea. When analyzing the lists further, it is clear that there is an abundance of aggressive verbs, which goes along with the most discussed topics of politics and tensions in both corpora. To research whether the aggressive attributes have their counterparts, the categorization of approaching verbs is created. Attributes that fit neither categories are placed under 'other.'

TABLE 2.2 US CORPUS	
AGGRESSIVE	DESTROY, STOP, PRESSURE, DETER, ISOLATE, FORCE, PUNSIH, PUSH, STRIKE, WARNED, TEST, URGED, ACCUSED, DEFAME, ATTACK, BLAMED
APPROACHING	VISIT, HELP, GIVE, INCLUDING, PERSUADE
OTHER	LEAVE, FLED, HANDLE, CONTAIN, LEAD, RULED, REGARDING, HOLD, BRING

TABLE 2.3 SK CORPUS	
AGGRESSIVE	DESTROY, STOP, ISOLATE, ATTACK, DENUCLEARIZE, URGED, DETER, PUNISH, STRIKE, CONDEMNED, WARNED, ACCUSED, BLAMED
APPROACHING	VISIT, ENGAGE, RESOLVE, BELIEVE, INCLUDING, RESPONSE, CONVINCE, ALLOW, ASK, CHANGE, CONSIDER
OTHER	MAKE, PREVENT, CONCERNING, HOLD, REGARDING, BRING

The categorizations in table 2.2 and 2.3 provide more interesting information. Both corpora use aggressive verbs when approaching North Korea. Frequently used L1 collocations in the US

corpus such as *persuade*, *stop*, *pressure*, *deter*, *isolate*, *force* and *punish* show that North Korea

in the US corpus is often approached as a political and military threat. This approach is also

present in the South Korean corpus with attributes such as *stop*, *isolate*, *attack*, *deter*, *punish*,

strike and *condemned*. However, there is an interesting difference between both corpora. Even

though the trending topic in both corpora is politics, the South Korean corpus shows a much less

aggressive attitude towards North Korea. The South Korean corpus contains eleven attributes

that are categorized as approaching, where the US corpus only has five attributes. Attributes such

as *engage*, *resolve*, *including*, *response*, *convince*, *ask* and *consider* show that the South Korean

corpus approaches North Korea as a state with which contact needs to be established.

5.3 Collocations – North Korean

Table 3.1 shows the R1 collocating nouns and their frequencies to the keyword *North Korean*.

Nouns following *North Korean* give an impression of how North Korea is described and what

aspects of North Korea are mostly covered in the news.

TABLE 3.1 US CORPUS	FREQ.%	SK CORPUS	FREQ.%
LEADER	6.46	LEADER	11.14
GOVERNMENT	4.01	REGIME	6.07
MISSILE	3.16	DEFECTORS	3.37
REGIME	3.10	REFUGEES	2.06
OFFICIALS	2.43	SOLDIERS	2.02
EMBASSY	2.06	WORKERS	1.89
HACKERS	1.92	MISSILE	1.80
COAL	1.72	STUDIES	1.80
MILITARY	1.52	EMBASSY	1.35
THREAT	1.47	PEOPLE	1.35
SOLDIER	1.38	GOVERNMENT	1.22
WORKERS	1.38	HUMAN	1.22
DEFECTORS	1.21	OFFICIALS	1.22
LEADERSHIP	1.13	PROVOCATIONS	1.22
AGENTS	1.02	AMBASSADOR	1.12
AMBASSADOR	1.02	ISSUES	1.09
LABORERS	0.96	MILITARY	1.06
STATE	0.90	THREATS	1.00
PEOPLE	0.85	AGENTS	0.96
AUTHORITIES	0.82	LEADERSHIP	0.90
ECONOMY	0.79	DIPLOMAT	0.87
BORDER	0.73	POLICIES	0.84
ARTILLERY	0.71	BORDER	0.77
DIPLOMATS	0.68	COAL	0.77
TROOPS	0.68	ECONOMY	0.71
CAPITAL	0.65	AUTHORITIES	0.64
BANKS	0.59	CITIZENS	0.64
MEN	0.59	ATTACK	0.61
TEST	0.54	ATHLETES	0.55
ATTACK	0.51	CRISIS	0.55

At a first glance, both corpora provide a diverse list of R1 collocating nouns. Because the category of politics is dominant in previous tables, this category is provided again for consistency. Attributes that do not fit the category of politics are looked up in the concordance list, and based on their context can be categorized under economic or humanitarian attributes.

TABLE 3.2 US CORPUS	
POLITICAL	LEADER, GOVERNMENT, MISSILE, REGIME, OFFICIALS, EMBASSY, HACKERS, MILITARY, THREAT, SOLDIER, LEADERSHIP, AGENTS, AMBASSADOR, STATE, AUTHORITIES, BORDER, ARTILLERY, DIPLOMATS, TROOPS, CAPITAL, MEN, TEST, ATTACK
ECONOMIC	COAL, WORKERS, LABORERS, ECONOMY, BANKS
HUMANITARIAN /PEOPLE	DEFECTORS, PEOPLE

TABLE 3.3 SK CORPUS	
POLITICAL	LEADER, REGIME, SOLDIERS, MISSILE, EMBASSY, GOVERNMENT, OFFICIALS, PROVOCATIONS, AMBASSADOR, ISSUES, MILITARY, THREATS, AGENTS, LEADERSHIP, DIPLOMAT, POLICIES, BORDER, AUTHORITIES, ATTACK, STUDIES, CRISIS
ECONOMIC	WORKERS, COAL, ECONOMY
HUMANITARIAN/PEOPLE	DEFECTORS, REFUGEES, PEOPLE, HUMAN, CITIZENS, ATHLETES

These tables again show many similarities between both corpora. The emphasis is again on political issues with North Korea and its military threats. Attributes such as *leader*, *regime*, *military*, *threat(s)* and *attack* are present in both corpora. An interesting difference, however, is that the South Korean corpus has five different attributes when speaking of North Korean people

and humanitarian problems, where the US corpus only has two attributes. Both corpora share the attributes *defectors*, and *people*, which in the South Korean corpus have a frequency of 3.37% and 1.35% versus 1.21% and 0.85% in the US corpus. The attributes *refugees* and *human* in the South Korean corpus also have high frequencies of 2.06% and 1.22%. The South Korean corpus thus has more humanitarian attributes, and they occur more frequently. An interesting fact is that the attribute *human* is always followed by the R2 collocation *rights*. The US corpus list shows no direct reference to human rights.

These results show that US corpus has little focus on North Korea as a people and a state with humanitarian problems. It again shows that the US corpus uses a dominant approach of North Korea as a political enemy and military threat. These tables provide clear results that the South Korean corpus moves beyond this approach of North Korea and also approaches North Korea as a people with humanitarian problems.

5.4 Collocations – North Koreans

After creating concordance lists of both corpora based on the keyword *North Koreans* it turns out that both lists do not provide much information. The keyword *North Koreans* is not used frequently enough in both corpora to provide any significant information. Most words collocating to the keyword are articles and prepositions.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The results show that both corpora share many similarities, but also contain crucial differences in representing North Korea. Both corpora represent North Korea as a political enemy and military threat. However, the formation of this representation in both corpora is different. The US corpus contains more aggressive attributes when forming this representation, where the South Korean corpus contains aggressive, as well as many approaching attributes when forming the

representation. It can also be concluded from the results that the South Korean corpus moves beyond the representation of North Korea as the enemy, and focuses on representing North Korea as a people with humanitarian problems, as well as a people and a state with which contact and a better relationship must be established. What factors and forces play a role in the formation of these representations is discussed in the following chapter.

6. Discussion – Critical Discourse Analysis

This chapter discusses the results by applying a Critical Discourse Analysis. With a Critical Discourse Analysis, the results are connected to and analyzed within their respective discourses. This analysis is conducted with the use of the models presented by Bar-Tal (1997) and Holliday et al. (2010). By analyzing the results within their respective discourses, the similarities and differences between the representations in both corpora can be explained.

6.1 North Korea in the US Corpus

In uncovering the formation of the North Korean representation in the US corpus, two background variables introduced by Bar-Tal (1997) are of importance: the history of intergroup relations and the nature of intergroup relations. The history of intergroup relations form a crucial factor because "Centuries and even decades of hostility or friendship; as well as major events involving the other group leave their marks on the stereotypes currently used by group members" (Bar-Tal, 1997, p. 500). This influences the current intergroup relations which "provides the information for the formed contents of stereotypes" (Bar-Tal, 1997, p. 497). Chapter 2 explains that North Korea and the US share a history marked by hostility, conflict and war. Their history has determined their current intergroup relations which are characterized by tensions, sanctions and provocations from both parties. This hostility is reflected in the North Korean representation in the US corpus. The use of offensive attributes, and a dominant focus on political issues, threats and tensions form a representation of North Korea as a political enemy and a military threat. Another background variable important in forming the representation are the socio-political factors, specifically the norms of tolerance. The strained intergroup relations between

the US and North Korea have created a low level of tolerance between both parties. Such low tolerance tends to influence representations in a negative way (Bar-Tal, 1997).

Not only background variables influence the representation of North Korea as an enemy and threat. Having one dominant representation in the US corpus is partially due to the lack of transmitting mechanisms. Bar-Tal (1997) argues that transmitting mechanisms such as educational, cultural and social channels, as well as direct contact, form the main sources of stereotypic content. These factors are comparable to the forces of media, institutions and professions and individual experience by Holliday et al. (2010). However, neither Bar-Tal, nor Holliday et al. explain the effects on a representation when most of these mechanisms and forces are absent. In this case, there is such an absence, caused mainly by North Korea's closed off nature. There is, generally, no direct contact possible between US citizens and North Korean citizens, and thus do the spectants not have any individual experiences with the spected. As discussed, most of the information on North Korea available to the US population is provided through dubious news coverage. Furthermore, the US and North Korea share little cultural and social aspects due to not only North Korea's closed off nature, but also their hostile relationship, and the geographical distance. All these factors limit the influence transmitting mechanisms and the forces of representation can have in forming North Korean representations in the US discourse.

6.2 North Korea in the South Korean Corpus

Chapter 5 discusses that the South Korean corpus also represents North Korea as a political enemy and military threat. There are several causes for the fact that both corpora form the same representation. As explained, the North Korean information flow is very limited and dubious, also in the case of South Korea. Therefore, much of the information gathered on North Korea is

the same for both the US and South Korea. Much of this information focuses on the political issues and the military threats since South Korea and the US are considered enemies by North Korea (Oh & Hassig, 2004). A crucial difference, however, is that the representation in the South Korean corpus is formed with less aggressive and more approaching attributes. Moreover, this representation is not the only one presented in the corpus. North Korea is also represented as a people with humanitarian problems, and as a state with which a better relationship must be established.

In order to understand why these different representations are presented in the South Korean corpus, the nature of intergroup relations, its history and the norms of tolerance must again be taken into account. North and South Korea share a rich history, culture, language and people. The forced division of the peninsula is a relatively recent event. This historical turn has caused both states to consider each other as enemies, but both states also acknowledge the need for the Korean peninsula and people to become one again. There is thus a greater tolerance towards North Korea. This higher level of tolerance influences representations in a positive way (Bar-Tal, 1997). The conflicting love-hate relationship of North and South Korea is reflected in the presence of the two very different representations. This relationship is also reflected in the representation of North Korea as an enemy and threat in particular. The representation has a hostile nature, but is formed with less aggressive and more approaching attributes, indicating a complaisant attitude.

The transmitting mechanisms by Bar-Tal (1997) and forces of representation by Holliday et al. (2010) play a bigger role in the South Korean discourse. South Koreans generally have no direct contact with North Koreans. However, South Korea, unlike the US, shares many aspects

with North Korea, such as culture, people, history and geographical proximity. These aspects cause educational, cultural and social channels to have a bigger influence on the North Korean representations in the South Korean discourse.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

By linking the results to the US and South Korean discourses it is evident that the representations of North Korea indeed reflect their respective relationships. It shows that indeed, representations are socially constructed depending on historical and cultural factors (Holliday et al. 2010). The results show that the intergroup histories and current intergroup relations between North Korea and the US, and North and South Korea are reflected in the North Korean representations in both corpora. However, it has become evident that what factors and forces actually influence representations is highly dependent on the nature of the researched discourse.

7. Conclusion

This study set out to research whether the different relationships between on the one hand North Korea and the US and on the other North and South Korea are reflected in the North Korean representation in US and South Korean newspapers, respectively. The method in this study consisted of a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis, supported by a quantitative Corpus Analysis. The corpora of two US newspapers, and two South Korean newspapers published in English were analyzed with the program Wordsmith Tools.

This study has shown that the US corpus represents North Korea as a political enemy and military threat. A similar representation is found in the South Korean corpus, but is accompanied by another representation of North Korea as a people with humanitarian problems, and as a state with which contact needs to be established. By connecting these results to their respective discourses with the help of the models by Bar-Tal (1997) and Holliday et al. (2010), it can be concluded that these representation reflect the histories of intergroup relations and the current nature of intergroup relations.

7.1 Limitations
A limitation of this study was the size of the corpora. Only two South Korean newspapers published in English are available in LexisNexis. A bigger corpus might have provided more thorough results. Since the study was limited to newspapers published in English, it was not possible to research newspapers published in Korean, which might have influenced the results.

Another limitation was the use of the computerized programs LexisNexis and Wordsmith Tools. As mentioned, not all newspapers are available in LexisNexis, and the search engine does not allow for more than a thousand articles to be viewed per search. Furthermore, LexisNexis is

limited to two hundred articles per download. Wordsmith Tools had issues reading the downloaded articles since they have to be saved in a particular encoding. Wordsmith Tools is a program with many research possibilities, which are explained in a short user guide. How to actually conduct the research within the program, however, is not explained anywhere.

An additional limitation was the researcher's bias. As a Dutch student with a bachelor's degree in Koreastudies, and as a Western individual, the researcher is influenced by prior knowledge as well as by a certain representation that is delivered through news outlets, which can have influenced the interpretation of the results.

7.2 Further Research

This study adds to earlier studies by moving beyond the North Korean representation in the US discourse. By comparing US and South Korean newspapers, the factors and forces behind the formation of the representations were uncovered. Further research can add to this study by expanding the corpus. More newspapers within the same discourse can be added to provide results that better represent the respective discourse. It would also be interesting to conduct a similar study, but then with a focus on South Korean newspapers written in Korean, and thus with a target audience of South Korean people. This study might provide different results when comparing it to the English corpus of South Korean newspapers. Other comparisons can be made as well, such as a comparison between conservative and liberal US newspapers, or a comparison of two different time periods to uncover changes in the representation and what factors and forces influence such changes.

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