

**DOMINANT MEDIA FRAMES IN THE LANGUAGE OF
NEWS REPORTS FROM MAJOR GLOBAL NEWS STATIONS
– A CASE STUDY ON NORTH KOREA**

BY

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ABSTRACT

The research of this thesis was conducted in order to deepen the understanding of media framing practices in global media, with direct focus on selected news stations, namely CNN, CGTN (formerly CCTV English) and Al Jazeera. This study's primary aim was to reveal the framing trends as well as particular similarities and divergences in the reporting on the DPRK by the three global news providers, which was seen as a groundwork for the concept formulation of general framing tendencies in the contemporary media. The outcomes of the analyses have offered important insights into global media reporting of foreign news. Employing a framing approach, this study initially used content analysis to examine selected framing devices in an effort to identify types of frames, tones and sources present. Moreover, critical discourse analysis was applied to understand the link between discursive practices and the social, cultural and ideological context. Particular articles were selected and then critically analysed to enhance the content analysis results and to provide a more comprehensive picture of the framing practices adopted by the stations. While attempting to analyse frame strength and potential dominance, a gap in methodology was identified, namely a lack of empirical method of identifying frame potency. Thus, the secondary aim of this thesis became to provide a practical and a reliable method of identifying frame strength and as a result distinguish dominant media frames when in competitive context. This study found that the news discourse was dominated by conflict and attribution of responsibility regardless of the stations' origin, ideology or political inclinations. There have been particular divergences identified between the way the stations portrayed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, nevertheless, the findings suggest comparable framing trends in all the selected media. On top of that, the existence of six recurring attributes of frames has been confirmed, which have the capacity to boost the potency of frames. As a result, this study proposed an exploratory method of identifying frame strength and dominance, which contributes to enhancing the ongoing studies on framing and frame construction in competitive environment. At the same time the frames studied here enabled to formulate a frame strength correlation concept according to which, frames in competitive environment will possess additional strengthening attributes to compete with other frames better, unlike single frames which remain weaker when not exposed to other frames.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AJ – Al Jazeera

CCTV – China Central Television

CGTN – China Global Television Network

CNN – Cable News Network

DPRK – Democratic People’s Republic of Korea

ICBM – Intercontinental Ballistic Missile

KCNA – Korean Central News Agency

NK – North Korea

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Chapter 1 BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Thesis background

In the modern era of post-truth politics and fake news eruption, the common language of the media has become an ever-redeveloping medium in itself with particular stress on the dynamics of what is actually considered news. Mathew D'Ancona (2017) in Crilley (2018) perceives the current situation as the ongoing process of 'the declining value of truth as society's reserve currency, and the infectious spread of pernicious relativism disguised as legitimate scepticism' (2018, p. 2). This liberalisation of language and its meaning has enabled the framing practices to develop in different directions and with the ultra-development of online media outlets gave new power to mould the reality on an ever-greater scale, allowing prominent politicians, public speakers and journalists to frame the reality according to their beliefs and oftentimes political agendas.

In his famous volume on language and symbolic power Bourdieu (1991) argues that language should not be perceived as a means of communication only, however, as a medium of power through which individuals follow their own agendas and display their practical competence.

'One must not forget that the relations of communication par excellence – linguistic exchanges - are (...) relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 24)

Drawing on the concepts of his theoretical approach, Bourdieu claims that linguistic utterances or expressions can be understood as the product of the relation between a 'linguistic market' and a 'linguistic habitus'. When individuals use language in particular ways, they deploy their accumulated linguistic resources and implicitly adapt their words to the demands of the social field or market that is their audience. Hence, every linguistic

interaction bears the traces of the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce (Adamson, 2018).

The understanding of framing practices or in other words specific paths of adapting the language to particular needs seems to be a vital point in the discussion on the language development in context of modern media and communication discourses. Framing can be described as a process of presenting a narrative to target audiences that promotes a desired interpretation of perceived reality by highlighting some aspects of issues while disregarding others and making connections among them (Entman, 2007). Global media agencies have been known to shape the perceptions of audiences on major issues by selecting and framing events according to their agenda. Nowadays, as journalists are able to access information from anywhere in the world with a single click of a mouse, it seems easier for them to distribute news to large-scale audiences. Nevertheless, the global reach of the news media is not only measured by the speed of delivering 'Breaking News' but also by how they report on those events. According to Cottle (2009) news media have a tendency of 'staging' or 'mediatizing' global events by stressing some issues and at the same time neglecting others. The claim is that news media enable audiences to discover certain types of urgent issues, which have influence on people in distant locations and in some cases even pressure governments for intervention. On top of that, particular researchers maintain that international agenda-setting remains one of the least understood processes of international politics (Groshek, 2008; Livingston, 1992) that requires investigating into especially with regard to potential homogenization of news agendas and framing practices as well as divergences between international broadcasters in shaping news stories.

This study examines the coverage of North Korea by three global media stations that are believed to be the representatives of varying political, ideological as well as cultural realities. The framing processes identified in the production of news stories will allow to

recognize general framing trends along with their implications on the global media production and the reception by audiences.

1.2 Research aim and research questions

This research is an attempt to present and study frames in the English language editions of news reporting from major global broadcasters, comprising three completely different geographical, ideological and cultural realities. The content from CNN - one of the major American broadcasters and at the same time a representative of mature democracies, is contrasted with the Chinese national news broadcaster – CGTN (formerly known as CCTV English), being the window to Asia with the Communist Party presenting their view and projection of the world, and the reporting of Al-Jazeera, the newly arising representative of the middle eastern skew. I ask what kind of assumptions are embedded in the same pieces of news when viewed from three different perspectives. The aim is to study frames used in the reporting and their implications for target viewers or readers. More specifically, the question will be whether the same mechanisms enforcing frames and framing strategies work in all three so called ‘news generating agencies’ or whether there exists a predominance of a group of frames over others and what implications of this fact arise within the target media. At the same time the way these three stations cover their foreign affairs in terms of sourcing, tones and type of stories in their reporting will be analysed in order to compare and contrast the results between stations and in the end distinguish prevailing trends that directly influence the news.

Secondary goal of this research is the identification and systematization of particular attributes of (generic) frames in an attempt to define the dominant framing trends in the reporting of news by these stations. Since the notion of frame exhibiting fluctuating strength when in competitive context has been largely underdeveloped in its theoretical sense (Borah,

2011a; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Druckman, 2001b, 2004), this study will initially analyse textual content of the articles and then the author of this thesis will propose a research model aimed at identifying recurring attributes embedded in frames.

With regard to the methodology, a mixed methods approach will be employed in order to produce and assure most relevant and comprehensive findings. Namely, to achieve the goals stated above, this study will quantitatively employ framing devices identified in previous studies concerning the identification of generic frames, persistent tones and the selection of sources. Qualitatively, discourse analysis will be applied to understand power relations and discursive practices as well as broader social and cultural context within texts (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak & Fairclough, 2013). The discursive analysis will be employed to compare and contrast the language used in the articles from the three stations and while taking into consideration contextual and ideological factors, to provide a textual analysis of selected extracts. The data gathered will contribute to the formulation of theories and assumptions concerning dominant media framing practices and will expand existing knowledge of the production and consumption of news reporting on the DPRK and other foreign countries in general.

This study's goal is to provide answers to five research questions, which address several related issues. The research questions have been divided into questions addressed by content analysis and critical discourse analysis. The content analysis questions focus on the identification of the following areas of study: the type of generic frames present in the reporting, overall tones of the articles with special focus on the discrepancies between the stations and the sources used by the journalists.

In the first place, the focus is placed on the identification of the tonal bias of the stories produced by journalists. The way particular events are portrayed is an early indicator of the framing practices employed by authors. Which also raises the issue of identifying the

determinants of tones present in the reporting. At the same time the possibility of comparing between three different stations offers a more comprehensive picture of the common trends in employing particular attitudes in news articles.

The second research question relates to the selection and level of employment of different sources that serve to establish, comment on and in particular cases strengthen the notions and particular stances on events presented by journalists in the articles. Such augmentation of stories with direct quotes is aimed at legitimizing different claims, which allows and at the same time nudges audiences to perceive events from the perspective of the quoted source.

The commonality and the widespread application of generic frames is tested in the third research question, where the aim is to contest the three stations' content in an effort to draw general conclusions on the employment of generic frames in news media and their significance in skewing the production, distribution and later on reception of news stories.

The next research question analyses an understudied area of framing research, which comprises frames in competitive environment. Numerous researchers have raised the issue of frames potentially possessing varying strength when put together and competing over audiences' attention. Nevertheless, there have not been sufficient studies aimed at defining frame strength inducing factors or their significance to the framing research. Thus, this thesis suggests a hypothesis that: *Frames in competitive environment will exhibit consistent attributes enabling them to compete over dominance in texts* and proposes an exploratory technique of identifying frame attributes able to strengthen frames they encompass. For this reason, the author decided to employ both quantitative and qualitative approach in order to empirically answer the question of dominant framing tendencies in global news which will also reveal underlying determinants for particular motives of both journalists and their media houses.

The final research question is related to framing perceived through the prism of critical discourse analysis as it deals with the textual and lexical analysis of CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN reporting. The main aim here will be to identify and analyse the language used in the reporting, particular themes that transpire in the articles as well as unique journalistic styles of reporting. The knowledge of the linguistic processes taking place within texts will contribute to the expansion of general knowledge about lexical aspects of framing and how they are able to contribute to skewing the reception of media products in different directions.

1.3 Research focus - case study selection and justification

The focus of the study is the portrayal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (here also referred to as the DPRK, North Korea or NK) in CNN (Cable News Network), CGTN (China Global Television Network, formerly known as CCTV English International) and Al-Jazeera English (AJ). The country is considered as one of the world's most mysterious and secretive societies. The fact that there is no direct access to the information on the country, allows foreign media to shift and shape the perceptions of North Korea and its leader according to their agenda. There has been much content in international media presenting Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its government as a regime focused on controlling the supply of information and using the media to reinforce their own power (Binnarae, 2010; K. H. Kim, 2014; Nurnus, 2015). Nevertheless, there is a gap in how North Korea has been constructed in the public eye by international media outlets and what implications it brings on geo-political level (Dalton, Jung, Willis, & Bell, 2016).

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been present in the world media since the Korean War and its separation from South Korea in 1953. Nevertheless, it was after the former US president George Bush declared the state to be a part of an 'Axis of Evil' in 2002 (Wagner, 2002) when the DPRK has started to attract major attention of the global world.

With the regime successfully conducting nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009, the opponents of North Korea extensively covered the nuclear experiments and the existence of the regime in its present state as a threat to the world peace. Further, on, every time there was a succession of the leadership in the country, it has been dissected in detail by most global media (Bae, 2014). This analysis will follow the events related to the DPRK that took place in 2018; the time frame was selected for its significance in reconciliation and re-establishment of relations between the Republic and the US, which resulted in the first ever meeting of the sitting leaders of the two countries.

1.4 Presentation of the problem and the study objectives

The research available on frames and framing strategies in producing news covers individual areas, whereas the question should be whether the framing processes emerge in the same way and have the same notion in each region when placed together. The relationship between political situations, cultural imperative and language differences in different locations are all worth studying closer in order to reveal dominant interdependencies as well as a mutual correlation between the types of frames and their influence on the final pieces of news. The research should cover and trace existing discrepancies that are characteristic to a specific mind-set of beliefs, values and traditions that prevail. On top of that following Jang (2013), many studies focus on how western media cover foreign affairs, using framing in their analyses, yet often these studies ignore international news coverage in non-western countries, like in the case of Arabic and Chinese media versus American perspective, covered in this research.

By analysing the same pieces of information from three different angles, I will aim to deliver the explanation of what processes take place in each edition of the news, focusing on the predominant tendencies that emerge when contrasting selected frames.

Frames can have a measurable impact on public opinion, but as Kuypers (2002) said, ‘Looking for bias within press accounts of events is not an easy task. Bias is not highlighted as such, and newspapers certainly do not advertise their political leanings on the front page. However, by using framing analysis, one may discover how the press frames an issue and then look at that frame for bias’ (Kuypers, 2002, p. 18).

There persists a general consensus among scholars that media framing of news coverage can mould the opinions and beliefs of audiences about certain policies, concerning both domestic and foreign issues (Brewer, 2006; Coe, Dicken, & Hess, 2008; Druckman, 2001c; Entman, 2004; Harmon & Muenchen, 2009; Kuypers, 2002). There is dissent, however, on what exactly is defined as ‘framing’ and what unit of analysis should be used to detect framing (Druckman, 2001c; Entman, 2004; Glover, 2011; Kuypers, 2002; Soroka, 2003). The basic definition that is often cited among scholars is from the work of Robert M. Entman who claimed that ‘frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them’ as cited in Kuypers (2002, p. 10).

1.5 Research method and gaps in methodology

Among different approaches and types of research methods available, many scientists when dealing with frames identification and examination, use content analysis, namely quantitative and qualitative approaches especially when they conduct comparative analysis of different media outlets (Seib & Powers, 2010). The selection of this type of methodology allows to conduct comparative numerical as well as textual analyses. The initial, quantitative part of my research will include key word search proposed by Entman (1991). The next step will be the identification of frames present in the articles. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and C. H. De Vreese (2005) define two possible approaches to analysing content in the news – inductive

and deductive. This research will require the use of both the deductive as well as inductive method proposed by the abovementioned scientists. The deductive method is based on predefined pool of frames, which serve as variables in the analysis. My research will initially involve the employment of four generic frames proposed by C. H. De Vreese (2003) plus an additional prescription and evaluation frame proposed by (Boydstun, Gross, Resnik, & Smith, 2013), all specified in the further sections of this thesis.

Nevertheless, when conducting an early analysis aimed at identifying the methods and research techniques to be employed in my thesis, I realized that there is a gap in methodology. At first, I created a codebook aimed at detecting generic frames in articles from the three stations, with the use of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) twenty questions (presented in the methodology section of the paper) as well as a set of questions developed by the author of this thesis to identify the final generic frame (Boydstun et al., 2013). Once the presence of certain generic frames was confirmed the attempt was to define dominant frames in the text. Unfortunately, it was discovered that there is no proper methodology that would enable researchers to define frame strength and dominance. Previous research (Busby, Flynn, Druckman, & Hall, 2007) states that measuring the strength of frames is rather problematic and there is no proper method of identifying them. Different scientists (Capella & Jamieson, 1997; Druckman, 2001b; Lupia, 2002; O'keefe, 2002) provide partial lists of factors that might contribute to determining the strength of frames, yet there is no single approach of distinguishing them. This research will attempt to propose a systematic methodology or a type of procedure enabling the recognition of frame strength in order to determine dominant media frames in news articles.

Chapter 2 THEORY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON FRAMING

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of literature relating to framing, in order to establish and describe theoretical foundations of the current study. News framing may be defined as a process in which particular facets of social reality are emphasised by the news media, while others are pushed into the background (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013). The following literature review covers vital background information relating to framing theory, offering key definitions as well as a classification and a typology of frames. This research thesis comprises a comparative framing analysis of how three major news agencies report news on selected issues. The aim of this analysis is to identify whether specific news channels appear to use the same standards of objectivity in their reporting, given their geographical locations, political systems and varying ideologies. Nevertheless, in order to do so, the concept of frames and framing requires an outline and structural presentation that uncovers potential directions of the study and their theoretical assumptions. Extant application of framing in communication studies to date has even led to some criticism of the approach due to potential ambiguities in the way it is being conceptualized and operationalized (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016). Among a number of different definitions of framing, C. H. De Vreese (2012) claims that ‘one of the most pressing issues in framing research is the lack of conceptual clarity and operational definitions of framing and frames’ (2012, p. 366). Thus, it is vital to present available findings and put forward definitions of framing in order to build a greater understanding of the somewhat elusive concept. The focus in this chapter is on the formation and the ongoing processes in media framing with particular emphasis on print and broadcast media. The concluding section deals with particular limitations to the existing studies and methodologies available with regard to the process of identifying frame dominance.

2.2 Historical outline of frame development

Framing is one of the theoretical concepts that many political science and mass communication scholars have repeatedly applied to study media coverage. Nevertheless, the early concept of frames and framing comes from the field of cognitive psychology and anthropology (Van Gorp, 2007). Yet, the first author to use the term ‘frame’ in his essay on psychology of perception was an anthropologist Gregory Bateson. He defined the concept of frame using a picture frame and Venn diagrams; his claim was that, as a diagram that includes the elements of a mathematical set, a frame has a two-way function of including elements within its borders and excluding those outside of it. Whereas as a picture frame it tries to shift people’s perception to focus on what is within it and ignore what is outside of it (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Bateson’s approach was later on developed by Tuchman (1978) who drew from the picture frame analogy to explain his concept.

Another researcher Gitlin (1980) suggested similar explanation, arguing that frames are constructed by selecting, emphasising and excluding elements of reality. Following this stream of thought, frames equip us with a set of keys to interpret the reality, in short, they facilitate the understanding of the messages they contain, by reminding viewers that the messages placed inside of them are relevant and connected in some way, and that those messages that are outside must be ignored.

The 1970s brought the formation of a theoretical body of frames and framing. Goffman (1974) recovered the concept of frames for the use in sociology. The scientist referred to frames as primary framework and a sort of mental schema that allows users to organize experiences. He built on the previously known concept of selection and omission, claiming that frames are necessary to exist and make sense of the world as they draw from prior experiences and help organize the reality. The term frames was often used interchangeably with related concepts such as script, schema or package, that is why Goffman

perceived frames as ‘schemas of interpretation’ that enable individuals to ‘locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete’ events or information. The individual notion of frame expanded to the collective understanding of the world, thus becoming useful for the study of journalistic texts, once it became clear that media have a great capacity of generating and modifying the social frameworks of interpretation, by intervening in the creation of a shared social discourse (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

Ytreberg (2002) in his critical analysis of Goffman’s findings, claimed that he only focused on the study of the actual interaction ignoring the effects and influence of media on the variables that were described. In the same way Gamson (1985), described the lack of framing analysis in Goffman’s work despite the existence of a great number of citations and examples from mass media.

The concept of framing cannot be considered only in terms of psychology, anthropology, sociology, or even the major focus of this research media communication but it was also developed by many other disciplines. The emphasis or focus might have been slightly skewed to fit the needs of the given field, however, the notion of frames appeared in linguistics (Tannen, 1993), economic analyses of gains and losses e.g. (Kahneman & Tversky, 2013), politics (Entman, 2010) and many others.

The early concept of frame in communication, especially in the news production process, was raised by Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980). Tuchman believed that frames turn some ‘non-recognisable happenings’ into meaningful events, his idea was that when the mass media produce news stories about an issue, the news stories circulate certain knowledge, and then the knowledge influences people’s opinions about the issue. On the other hand, Gitlin perceived frames as ‘persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbols handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual’ (Gitlin 1980:7). Other researchers like Entman (1993), D'angelo

(2002) and Reese, Gandy Jr, and Grant (2001) followed Gitlin's notion of selection in their works. The most famous quote in the study of frames was provided by Entman:

'To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation ...' (1993: 52)

In his paper on frames, the researcher explains the function of selection defining that frames make the reality more understandable and on top of that, they provide a line of moral judgement and some ready solutions to the stated problems or issues. 'Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems' (Entman 1993:52). The author perceives frames existing in texts as stereotypes, keywords and other devices providing framework for factual information. He also relates frames to culture, claiming that they exist as stock or common frames that are familiar to a selected social group.

Similarly, both D'angelo (2002) in his response to Entman's call for clarification of the fractured paradigm and Reese et al. (2001) stress the conscious nature of frame selection. Despite various interpretations and conceptualizations, framing revolves around meaning in context. Following Gamson, a news frame can be described as a central organizing idea which is used to make sense of given events at the same time suggesting an issue (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). In the same manner Tankard Jr (2001), observed that a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of 'selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration' (p. 100).

The same author also claimed that even though mass media attempt to be unbiased, this objectivity is almost impossible to achieve due to the fact that the training as well as

religious, political and cultural skew of the journalists have a tendency of influencing how they report and analyse events and issues.

In his further works Tankard argued that the assumption of media framing is vital as it offers an alternative to the previously stated 'objectivity and bias paradigm', helping to understand mass communication effects and at the same time providing suggestions for communication practitioners. According to the author, there are significant differences between framing and bias. The former being a more sophisticated concept with additional possibilities, more complex responses and dimensions in the form of objects and attitudes. Framing also 'recognizes the ability of a text – or media presentation – to define a situation, to define issues, and to set the terms of a debate' (Tankard 2001: 96).

Framing might also represent the vastness of media discourse and subtle differences that appear when a specific topic is presented in different ways. It also enables quantitative researchers to examine the hypothesis of media hegemony, the notion that has been difficult to validate empirically. The idea of media hegemony can be understood by a concept in which, a selected frame becomes so dominant that it is accepted by the audience without any notice, question or objection (Ibid).

Currently, the framing studies have been undergoing severe criticism for being overemployed in various types of research aimed at presenting particular stances on events. The concept is viewed as overlapping with a number of other models, including priming, agenda-setting, persuasion and even scripts and schemas (Cacciatore et al., 2016). The lack of unified conceptualization has led to the production of studies that include all types of persuasive effects and thus have little application in clarifying the concept and providing comprehensive understanding of framing in the highly dynamic modern media environment. Given the example of Entman (1991) and his most famous salience-based definition of framing, the concept is too broad to have practical value because it encompasses any number

of differences in communication that tend to be defined as framing. In order to understand the mechanisms behind framing there is a need to unify and root the conceptualization to produce comprehensive factors enabling frames. Sheufele & Iyengar mentioned above, also advocate for moving away from emphasis framing as ‘in the current communication literature, framing effects can be used to explain nearly everything thereby making the concept essentially meaningless for communication scholars’ (Cacciatore et al., 2016, p. 15). Adding that the best way to understand framing is to explicate the mechanisms behind the phenomenon, especially with relation to other phenomena like priming and agenda-setting. The numerous studies that have been published have mostly focused on the framing effects and their influence on audiences. The news story frames have been perceived from the point of view of context that shapes subsequent understanding of the news. Nevertheless, this knowledge activation model (Price & Tewksbury, 1997), has mostly failed to analyse frame structure and construction elements – an angle vital for further development of the study. Thus, this research will attempt to conceptualize the core elements of frames that enable the construction of modern news texts with a particular focus on the divergences between frames that reveal their potential effectiveness.

2.4 Frames as packages of data

From the point of view of journalists, frames enable them to process large amounts of data quickly and without much effort. They are able to process information and produce a so-called ‘packages of data’ (Gitlin, 1980), which are digestible for their audiences. This process of packaging, and thus media framing involves a number of steps, namely the placement of stories, deciding on their length, selection of the right headlines, images, metaphors, as well as setting the appropriate tone (Kendall, 2011). Frames become a useful tool in which complex issues are presented efficiently and in a way that is understood by audiences (Tewksbury &

Scheufele, 2007). News making becomes ‘the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality’ (Tuchman 1978:12). Following Edelman (1988) ‘news accounts largely ignore everyday life, drawing an artificial boundary between the events people confront directly and those that are reported to them and threatening the latter as the more significant’ (p.88). In this thesis the reporting of the selected stations will be tested by taking into consideration the packages of data that are skilfully prepared by journalists and editors to produce articles and news releases. The selections and also omissions or exclusions of particular pieces of news will be considered as one of the indicators of the framing practices. The process of packaging information to fit within some kind of a framework enables to shift the information-attitude transfer from the author to audiences. By the same token influencing the shift in information significance and magnitude as the viewers or readers are offered issues that have been preselected for them by the journalists who found certain stories and angles worth covering.

2.5 Individual versus media frames

In his paper on framing effects, Druckman (2001b) considers frames as having two points of reference. One comprises frames in communication, which are supposed to emphasise and select some information by means of ‘words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker uses when relaying information to another’ (p.227) while the other type of frames refers to individual’s (cognitive) understanding of a given situation (frames in thought). They both focus on variations in salience and emphasis yet frames in communication focus on the message of an individual where frames in thought refer to what an individual is thinking.

Similar distinction between frames can be observed in Kinder and Sanders’ works (1990, 1996), where they refer to frames ‘embedded in political discourse’ and frames that ‘are internal structures of the mind’. According to Druckman (2001b), frames in

communication are directly related to the frames in thought as they are said to shape the later (framing effect) (p.228). Scheufele (1999), reviews the distinction between media and individual frames in literature, by analysing findings of Gitlin (1980), Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and Entman (1991). Gitlin claims that frames, ‘largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports’ (p.7).

Scheufele (1999), also presents his four-cell typology of existing research on frames as dependent and independent variables as well as media versus individual frames. According to the author, the typology is useful in three respects. First of all, ‘it classifies existing research on framing by permitting a direct comparison of findings both within cells and between them’. Secondly, the typology provides data on the extent of previous studies answering questions pertinent to each cell. The final point made, refers to the typology going beyond hypothesis testing in isolated or selective studies in different disciplines to create a ‘common understanding of the concept of framing’ (Entman, 1993:56).

Due to a highly idiosyncratic nature of individual frames that assume audiences as the focal point of research, this thesis grounds its assumptions in the research on frames in communication. Considering previous findings of scholars cited in this paragraph, passive frames arising from texts assure a more reliable and replicable study, and thus offer more comprehensive results which in turn, may lead to forming stronger theories and concepts that are deeply rooted in historical and theoretical foundations of the study. The employment of individual frames requires vast amounts of resources and is subject to particular limitations as well as numerous factors that have to be considered and further on included in the calculations. D’angelo (2012) summarized Druckman’s (2001) ‘frames in thought’ as integrating audience’s prior knowledge with available information and attributes of objects, individual goals and motivational states of people, combination of which influences the final

reception of given frames. In the same manner Cappella and Jamieson (1997), perceived individual knowledge of politics as ‘network of associations between nodes of information’ (D’angelo, 2012, p. 358). It is plausible to assume that studies on individual frames might produce partial findings that are relevant under certain conditions only and are limited by the number of criteria that are being considered. In order to achieve high applicability of research, the findings would require longitudinal studies which would have to be cross-referenced with parallel research of other academics to allow for a formulation of comprehensive and meaningful theories.

2.6 Framing process and typology

In his paper on news framing, C. H. De Vreese (2005) presents communication as a dynamic process that combines frame building or in other words, the emergence of frames, and the frame setting – the correlation between audience predispositions and media frames. The frame building process refers to the structural construction of news frames. It is an ongoing interaction between journalists and elites as well as social movements. The results of which are the frames prevailing in journalistic texts. The other process, namely frame setting can be seen as ‘the interaction between media frames and individual’s prior knowledge and predisposition. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events’ (p. 52). Scheufele (1999) suggested studying frames as dependent and independent variables on top of seeing them as media versus individual dimensions. Integrating both approaches would serve as a useful device for theory building, at the same time supporting Entman’s (1993) call for ‘a consistent concept of framing’ (p.56). When studying frames as dependent variables we focus on different factors contributing to the creation and later on modification of frames. It can be considered both at the media level where there may be organizational factors influencing journalistic work (Reese, 1991) or

individual factors (Tuchman, 1978). At the audience level frames examined as dependent variables are direct outcomes of the way media frame an issue (Price & Tewksbury, 1997) (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1997). The author adds that typically, when frames are studied as independent variables the focus is placed on the effects of framing.

2.7 Generic and issue specific news frames

De Vreese points to a distinction between issue-specific news frames and generic news frames (C. H. De Vreese, 2005; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The former can be characterized as relating only to specific topics or events. Their advantage is that issue-specific frames grant a thorough and specific details to be collected, relevant to the issue or event under investigation. On the other hand though, the data gathered using issue-specific frames makes analyses difficult to generalize, compare and use as empirical evidence for theory building. Additionally, such frames have led researchers to ‘finding evidence for what they are looking for’ and to contribute to ‘one of the most frustrating tendencies in the study of frames and framing [being] the tendency for scholars to generate a unique set of frames for every study’ (C. H. De Vreese, 2005; Hertog & McLeod, 2001b). There have been a number of studies using issue specific frames, among others: the framing of Intifada (A. Cohen & Wolfsfeld, 1993), the Internet, EU Parliamentary Elections (Williams, Williams, & Tedesco, 2006), biotechnology (Matthes & Kohring, 2008) and others. The replicability opportunities with issue specific frames seems limited as oftentimes the studies available focus on individual, specific topics or issues that, even though detailly explained and justified, offer little universal values.

The other type of frames, according to de Vreese, transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts. These frames can be labelled as generic frames. ‘Generic news frames are general

and not confined to a specific issue. This increases the possibility for making comparisons. A potential shortcoming of generic news frames is that certain issue-specific details may less easily be captured in an analysis' (de Vreese, 2002 cited in de Vreese, 2005 p.55). This thesis employs an analysis of generic frames mainly due to their universal qualities specified above. The fact that they are both replicable and applicable to various types of texts allows for generic frames to become a natural foundation for further study.

2.8 Types of generic frames

When researching particular classifications of frames it was found that there is a limited set of standardized types of frames that the researchers have developed. Iyengar (1994) in his study on generic frames offers a distinction between 'thematic' and 'episodic' frames. The focus of episodic frames lies in specific events, cases or happenings whereas thematic frames apart from presenting given events or cases also provide general context, which enables audience to enrich their understanding of the issues presented. The researcher also believed that norms and standards in news organizations promote episodic framing, a practice which, 'simplifies complex issues to the level of anecdotal evidence' (Iyengar, 1994:136). The news items produced by media become disorganized and isolated episodes instead of promoting general, meaningful and contextual understanding of public affairs and social issues (C. H. De Vreese, 2005).

Another type of classification of generic frames was introduced by Cappella and Jamieson (1997) who identified strategic frames in news reports especially those referring to election campaigns and policy issues. De Vreese when writing on strategic frames (Capella & Jamieson, 1997), defines strategic news as items focusing on winning and losing, containing the language of war, games and competition; there are performers, critics and audience

present; the focus is on style and perceptions as well as on giving weights to polls and candidate standings.

Neuman (1992) developed frames used by the audience when discussing current affairs. They identified 'human impact', 'powerlessness', 'economics', 'moral values' and 'conflict' as the most commonly used generic media frames used by the media and the audience. The human impact frame refers to descriptions of individuals and groups affected by some issue, the powerlessness implied dominance over some weak groups or individuals. In case of an economics frame the focus is on the idea of profit and loss transpiring in the news story, the moral values frame contains some, most of the time, indirect, references to morality and social prescriptions, often in the form of certain quotations or inferences (C. H. De Vreese, 2005). The final frame - conflict - is said to be most often used by journalists in contemporary media, especially with reference to politics and election campaigns. It refers to the practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretations, where the political world is perceived as 'an ongoing series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers' (Neuman, 1992:64).

Later on, Neuman (1992) and Cappella and Jamieson (1997) classifications were developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) who presented five prevailing generic news frames: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality. They claimed that there is a need for a standard set of content analytic indicators that can be used to reliably measure the prevalence of common frames in the news (Ibid, p.94). The following research of this thesis is largely based on the above frame classification provided by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The selection of their generic frames is dictated by high incidence of those frames in the researched materials as well as most universal and comprehensive application. Nevertheless, the employment of the above-mentioned elements still offers limited results as the method only allows to identify the presence or the number of

particular frames without particular inclinations as to the dominance in relation to other frames. For this reason, this thesis will analyse and elicit frame strength building factors present within frames and further on propose a method of identifying frame dominance in media content. This knowledge will enable to construct and contextualize the conspicuous biases in the reporting that allow to skew the reception and understanding of events presented in news stories.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has examined the formation and development paths of the notion of framing. Particular aspects of the framing study have been presented to build an overview of the growing body of literature and theories on frames, hence the current research is grounded in framing theory as its theoretical framework. Since Bateson and later on Tuchman (1978) formulation of the concept through Goffman (1974) development of theoretical body of frames and framing, the notion has evolved to become one of the most studied theories, propagated and popularized by e.g. Entman (1991), Scheufele (1999) or C. H. De Vreese (2005) among others. The division between media frames and individual frames (Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Scheufele, 1999) and their presence in multiple locations have allowed to speculate on framing as a practise that ‘stretches across all parts of the communication process’ (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016, p. 5). Despite a number of definitions and approaches to framing, the concept has been often described as underdeveloped and lacking in solid foundations. Even Entman (1993) referred to the notion as a ‘fractured paradigm’ and advocated for a more comprehensive and strict approach to framing. Building on that, the problem arises when analysing available research on frames as due to the above gaps in methodology, there have been numerous specialized concepts formulated by scholars to study media coverage of different events and issues.

Another problem with framing that was observed in the literature is with the differentiation between the definition of news frames and the assumptions about the effects of framing (framing theories). Notoriously, researchers base their research in the framing theory but only pay attention to the potential effects of frames with complete disregard for solid explanations of the structure or construction of frames and potential ways in which they can be identified in communication context. The initial part of this research is based on strict criteria of identifying generic news frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), which allowed for a more universal and replicable comparison of various events in different media outlets.

Chapter 3 FRAME DYNAMICS AND DOMINANCE IN COMPETITIVE CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

The notion of framing and potential effects that frames have on audiences has been attracting attention of numerous scholars dealing with the study of public opinion for the past three decades. Several studies have developed and analysed frames in various media outlets from newspapers, through TV programmes to Internet webcasts and clips (Brewer, 2006; Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Entman, 1991; Saleem, 2007). Most of these studies have focused on how the public opinion is influenced and manipulated by the media with a number of definitions of frames having been coined to express the notion of particular elements and techniques all aimed at imposing certain ideas or even shaping opinions on related policies (K. Gross, 2008). Nevertheless, frames in these studies have been often treated as individual entities with particular attention paid to framing effects (Busby et al., 2007) and the way they can be expressed and applied (Entman, 1993). Particular elements constructing frames and the issue of prospective variable potency of these elements within frames have been underdeveloped in its theoretical sense.

Therefore, this chapter will expand existing knowledge into the notion of frame competition as well as consistent factors shaping frames within texts and initiate a discussion into the existence of frame-strength building elements that enable particular frames to achieve dominance when contested with other competing frames in news articles. In the first place, the concept of rivalling frames and fragmentary studies available on competitive nature of frames will be presented and scrutinised for consistent and replicable indicators of frames. Next, the nature of strong and weak frames will be reviewed and analysed with particular focus on the fact that frames in real language almost never occur alone (Detenber, Ho, Ong, & Lim, 2018) and are an integral element of almost any language piece produced by journalists or publicists. The chapter will also scrutinize most prominent theories of scholars and their

research into frame strength. Following Sniderman and Theriault (2004) in Borah (2011a) ‘to be able to capture what actually happens in politics, it is necessary to have an additional condition in framing experiments, in which opposing frames are presented together’ (2011a, p. 146). The same author also adds that the role of competing frames has largely gone unexplored with little research that has been done, into the effects of multiple frame conditions. The aim of this chapter is to fill that void by offering a typology of elements that repetitively encompass frames, thus are bound to have a lasting effect on them. Grounded in previous studies into frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) the following sections will propose recurring elements that are believed to boost the strength of frames. Each moderator of frames will then be discussed in detail along with the results of pilot tests on selected articles from the three broadcast media providers under scrutiny here. The chapter will conclude with a summary and evaluation of the findings specified herein.

3.2 Competitive framing

Early research into frames was mainly aimed at identifying particular frames and limited itself to proving the prevalence of certain framing effects on audiences - the so called ‘single-message framing’ e.g. in Druckman and Nelson (2003). Nevertheless, frames, especially those in media messages, do not exist in a vacuum (E. F. Fowler & Gollust, 2013). Recent studies have embraced the idea of competitive frames influencing and, in some cases also shallowing the effects of different frames when contested together (Brewer 2003; Borah, 2011). In a paper on frames by Detenber et al. (2018), the researchers criticize previous framing studies that assume a single-framing approach for their lack of validity as the issues presented are rarely portrayed from a single point of view only. Their claim is supported by a theory which states that particular social actors most likely compete to provide certain definitions of issues and influence the public, which results in multiple frames of both opposing as well as

complementary nature (2018, p. 174). The notion of ‘complementary frames’ introduced by the above authors assumes the existence of two types of encompassing frames, namely competitive frames of opposing issue positions and complementary ones that are different yet support the same issue.

Most recent studies into competing frames address the issues of varying framing effects (Aarøe, 2011; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2007) with particular focus on repetition (Matthes & Kohring, 2008) or diachronic effects of frames (Matthes & Schemer, 2012) or even accessibility and prior knowledge (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b) as having influence on the framing process. Despite the significance of the above-mentioned studies, they are still unable to provide the fundamental elements that enable to develop and differentiate the potency of frames. The findings they provide are a collection of audiences-induced results that prove limited reproducibility prospects. The table below (Table 3.1), composed partially based on Detenber et al. (2018) findings, illustrates most prominent research into competing frames to date. The study of the below publications proved limited or rather non-existent findings on actual frame construction. Even though the research into competing frames encompasses a broad spectrum of topics (see table below), the research focus and final conclusions were only narrowed down to framing effects and their application in particular cases, failing to provide universal theories on building competing frames. The mere exceptions to the above conclusion were the work of Aarøe (2011) where the attempt was to propose partial elements contributing to potential frame strength and Chong and Druckman’s article on framing in competitive democracies (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a), that listed potential factors able to skew the power of bias in news reporting.

Competitive framing research		
Author	Subject matter	Title
Jou, Niederdeppe, Barry, and Gollust (2014)	Unhealthy beverages	<i>Strategic messaging to promote taxation of sugar-sweetened beverages: lessons from recent political campaigns.</i>
Aarøe (2011)	Episodic and thematic frames	<i>Investigating frame strength: The case of episodic and thematic frames.</i>
D. Chong and Druckman (2007a)	Urban growth	<i>Framing public opinion in competitive democracies.</i>
D. Chong and Druckman (2007b)	Hate rally	<i>A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments.</i>
Nisbet, Hart, Myers, and Ellithorpe (2013)	Climate change	<i>Attitude change in competitive framing environments? Open-/closed-mindedness, framing effects, and climate change.</i>
Lecheler and de Vreese (2013)	EU enlargement	<i>What a difference a day makes? The effects of repetitive and competitive news framing over time.</i>
Borah (2011b)	Civil liberties conflict	<i>Seeking more information and conversations: Influence of competitive frames and motivated processing.</i>
Wise and Brewer (2010)	Trans-fat ban	<i>Competing frames for a public health issue and their effects on public opinion.</i>
K. M. Hansen (2007)	Danish education	<i>The sophisticated public: The effect of competing frames on public opinion.</i>
Brewer and Gross (2005)	School vouchers	<i>Values, framing, and citizens' thoughts about policy issues: Effects on content and quantity.</i>
Brewer (2003)	Gay rights	<i>Values, political knowledge, and public opinion about gay rights: A framing-based account.</i>
Detenber et al. (2018)	Environmental support and green energy	<i>Complementary versus competitive framing effects in the context of pro-environmental attitudes and behaviors.</i>
Blood, Dare, McCallum, Holland, and Pirkis (2008)	Two girls suicide	<i>Enduring and Competing new frames: Australian newspaper coverage of the deaths by suicide of two Melbourne girls.</i>
Matthes and Schemer (2012)	Diachronic frames	<i>Diachronic framing effects in competitive opinion environments.</i>
Buturoiu and Corbu (2015)	Source credibility and political trust	<i>Moderators of Framing Effects on Political Attitudes: Is Source Credibility Worth Investigating?</i>
Nijkrake, Gosselt, and Gutteling (2015)	Corporate communication in crisis	<i>Competing frames and tone in corporate communication versus media coverage during a crisis.</i>
Yan and Liu (2016)	Mainland China vs. HK reporting	<i>The competing media frame study in one country of two system: The case study on scandal of Chen Liangyu.</i>

Table 3.1 Available research into competing frames

The issue of the qualities that seem recurring for majority of frames in the news remains yet to be defined with an aim to prove the competing elements within frames themselves. Following Matthes (2012), one of the reasons for the gaps in the theory might be the fact that ‘the framing concept has not been properly and consistently specified’ (2012, p. 250).

Grounded in the approach provided by Detenber et al. (2018), this thesis assumes that both types of competing frames (competing and complementary) will transpire in media texts. On top of that, these dynamic frames will exhibit particular recurring moderators of frames able to evoke certain reactions and to a certain extent, alter the message of news articles. Previous scholars (Borah, 2011b; Druckman, 2004; Guggenheim, Jang, Bae, & Neuman, 2015; Nijkraake et al., 2015) have mainly focused on the framing effects of competing frames that induce certain responses in audiences and by the same token shift the reception of messages sent by authors in different directions. The study of available resources and publications has proven a lack of solid grounding of the claims in terms of frame competition or frame strength and dominance structure. According to D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) there is almost ‘no insight into how individuals respond to competitive frames of varying quantities and strengths’ (p.639). On top of that, there still persists a problem with a number of accompanying audience-related factors (e.g. audiences’ prior knowledge, ideology, religion, economic situation etc.) that, however, hard to identify and measure all, need to be taken into consideration when analysing framing effects in audiences. These criteria are often either treated selectively or entirely dismissed by researchers leading to achieving partially valid results or, what is even worse, results that they want to achieve. There seem to be some sort of potential resemblance of studying framing effects and employing issue specific frames in research (C. H. De Vreese, 2005; Hertog & McLeod, 2001b). Both these methodologies are

highly interpretative and susceptible to potential researchers' biases due to a lack of systematic methodology concerning framing research.

For these reasons, this thesis disregards frames in audiences and adopts a more replicable approach that assumes study of frames in written texts, the so called 'frames in communication' (Druckman, 2001b). This way the findings are believed to present themselves as more comprehensive and much more reliable when developing a methodology of framing attributes able to influence the potency of frames. Excluding framing effects does not mean dismissing the results of previous studies, yet the findings so far are treated as partial contributors to the formulation of theoretical assumptions on the nature of frames and their construction as well as intentional efforts of authors to sway the reception of their works in a certain direction.

3.3 Strong and weak nature of frames

Existing studies on frames largely cover research on individual frames in isolation, their presence, type and the way they skew opinions of audiences. However, when news publications and articles are analysed, it becomes clear that in many contexts, frames do not exist as single units within texts, but they coexist and compete with one another over general message dominance (Detenber et al., 2018). Their aim is to shift readers' attitudes and opinions in a given direction and at the same time attract attention to issues that are being emphasized. Following Matthes and Schemer (2012), both public policy processes as well as working routines of journalists are characterised by the struggle over encompassing their messages with dominant frames that would prevail arguments presented by competition. This kind of approach supports the concept of issue dualism in media content (N.-J. Lee, McLeod, & Shah, 2008), in other words an attempt of journalists to balance between supporting and opposing arguments when constructing news stories. D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) claim

that if it is generally accepted that there are different types of frames that can influence beliefs of the receivers of messages regardless whether written, spoken or visual, the frames in question might be of an unequal nature, thus their division of frames into ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ones. The above-mentioned authors describe frame’s strength as increasing with the persuasiveness of a given frame. The weak frames are typically seen as unpersuasive, and the strong ones as more compelling. Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) presents frame strength as the appeal of the frame to the public or an individual and its capacity of persuasion in comparison with an alternative frame. Nevertheless, the question pertains to the exact definition of frames seen as strong and weak ones or the way to increase the perceived strength of these elements within texts in order to influence others. It is still unclear to what extent the texts we read are being constructed to manipulate us in a certain direction. There have not been sufficient studies into particular elements contributing to the illusion of frame dominance in texts, namely those frames that win the hearts and minds of audiences.

Journalists, publicists and editors set the media reality for audiences on daily basis, shedding light on selected issues while, often deliberately, omitting others. The knowledge of the mechanisms behind the process of framing will function in both ways. Namely, on one hand it might allow authors to intentionally use frame-strengthening attributes or the so called frame moderators (Matthes & Schemer, 2012) in order to boost their publications, making their works more compelling and influencing more audiences. On the other hand, the ability to identify these elements within texts will serve other researchers as a point of reference when analysing media bias and potential influence on the public.

3.4 Frame strength - existing research and publications

Despite the fact that, there have been a number of publications on frames and framing effects, there has been little research done into the idea of frame strength. Busby et al. (2007) in their

paper admit that it is difficult to measure the strength of a frame, claiming that ‘a challenge for future work concerns the identification of factors that make a frame strong’ (p.116). On top of that, researchers admit that when weak and strong frames are being analysed, the decision, whether the frames are perceived as strong is made based on subjective ‘gut feeling’. It is common to depend on rather biased opinions of for instance pre-test participants of experiments who are asked to rate the persuasiveness of messages or frames (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Niederdeppe, Heley, & Barry, 2015) rather than relying on empirical evidence or even some basic typology of features that increase the (perceived) strength.

So far, researchers have only been able to define fragmentary factors contributing to the competitive nature of frames. The above authors provide two possible ways of looking at the issue, one is that whichever frame is the ‘loudest’, in other words the one that is repeated the most, becomes the dominant one and has the greatest influence on an individual’s opinion. This approach is favoured by a number of researchers, for instance Capella and Jamieson (1997), Iyengar (1994), Nabi (2003) and Zaller (1992) among others, the idea is that the strength of the frames is not evaluated in a conscious way but individuals automatically embrace the frame that is most often repeated and thus, most easily comes to their minds.

Another hypothesis is that the strongest frame will have the greatest influence on the opinion of individuals, regardless of repetition. The authors formulate the assumption based on works on weak and strong frames that have produced a partial list of factors that might contribute to defining frame’s strength. The findings suggest that credible sources increase the strength of a frame (Druckman, 2001c), resonating with consensus values (D. Chong, 2000), and finally, not contradicting with strongly held prior beliefs (Brewer, 2006; Druckman & Nelson, 2003; Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2001) might have significant effect on frames. In a different paper on framing effects, Busby et al. (2007) summarize their previous findings on strong frames possessing three core qualities: availability, accessibility and applicability

(appropriateness). Nevertheless, he follows O'keefe (2002) in stating that 'decades of research on the topic has failed to identify factors that consistently result in higher perceived strength' (Busby et al. 2007:10). The authors add other factors that seem to promote strength, those are: source, episodic focus, emotion and identity threat.

The source or in other words credibility of the source may be understood as the elites whether political or academic as well as renowned journalists and specialists of a given issue. On top of that credible sources are the ones that have gained public approval, likability or even those who enjoy a shared ideology. Lupia (2002) proposes two features required when dealing with the issue of credibility of the sources. The first one states that 'the speaker's target audience must believe that the speaker possesses knowledge about which considerations are actually relevant to the decision at hand' and the second one says that 'the speaker's target audience must believe that the speaker can be trusted to reveal what he or she knows' (Druckman, 2001c).

Another source of frame strength relates to the episodic or thematic nature of frames. The division of frames into two types has been identified as an essential part of political news reporting (Iyengar, 1994) and the research done has proven the influence of these frames on citizens' attribution of responsibility, policy views and the intensity of emotional reactions (J. J. Gross, 2008). Episodic frames cover personal or individual accounts, case studies and human-interest stories. The focus is placed on the specific example or event, whereas thematic frames, present broader context and refer to general patterns in society (Busby et al., 2007). The thematic frame is portrayed with reference to changes to the issue over a period of time, involving changing trends and general public attitudes. The attention is often on political issues with evidence supporting claims presented in a collective, abstract and often general way (Aarøe, 2011). Prior research on thematic and episodic frames has proven that journalists often use episodic frames because they 'believe them to be more compelling and more likely

to draw the reader or viewer into the story' (Aaroe, 2011, p.171). In other words, episodic frames are thought to be more emotionally engaging and more persuasive than thematic ones. The belief is that the latter would require more background knowledge and overall understanding of the issue by the audience. The above elements are only fragmentary factors proposed as ones able to boost the bias in texts. Additional attributes of frames are bound to encompass them allowing for stronger framing and consequently emergence of frame dominance of certain considerations over others. Following C. H. De Vreese (2012), 'the challenge but also the necessity, for framing research (...) is to explicate and make transparent how these microelements are aggregated and extrapolated to constitute frames'(2012, p. 367) .

3.5 Frame strength classification

While conducting some preliminary research into frames, it was discovered that in numerous papers on this issue there is no proper classification or even an attempt at an empirical definition of strong or weak frames. Most researchers simply decide on the frame strength based on their own judgement (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Niederdeppe et al., 2015). Particular factors contributing to the perceived frame strength often relate to audiences' effects and responses, which are hard to measure and require significant testing every time an analysis is conducted. On top of that, we must not forget about the study design, which might be skewed by the panel group, their preferences, prior knowledge, beliefs and experiences. D. Chong (2000) writes about consensus values that increase the persuasiveness of frames or Brewer (2006) who studied the effect of not contradicting with strongly held beliefs as elements contributing to the perceived strength, yet the above features cannot be measured other than with audiences, who have to decide on the level of influence on themselves.

The research of this thesis comprises a comparative study of generic frames in three different media agencies as well as frame prevalence and dominance, thus the idea of strong

and weak frames seems to be a vital part of the study that has remained underdeveloped in its theoretical sense. The attempt of this study is to create a method and a sort of typology of factors contributing to the identification of weak and strong (generic) frames that might serve journalists, audiences and other researchers when analysing frames in their competitive environment. Grounded in previous research on partial elements boosting frame potency, a method is required to be able to successfully indicate dominant skews and biases in news, which will enable to reveal transpiring hegemonic political, ideological and linguistic tendencies in contemporary global media. An exploratory procedure of defining frame strength, specified in further sections is a proposal at distinguishing reoccurring components that are supposed to consistently strengthen the message, regardless of audiences and their prior knowledge, attitudes or beliefs.

3.6 Frame building elements and structure – attribution scheme proposal

In order to identify framing trends, first of all the presence of generic frames in the articles had to be confirmed. Thus, the initial stage of the research comprised a variation on Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) technique of identifying generic frames (*conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interest and economic frame*) combined with *policy prescription and evaluation frame* by Boydston et al. (2013). Among the five generic frames analysed in this research, the procedures provided by the above scholars only allows to determine frame existence, yet the question, which ones hold the greatest power of influencing audiences, lies beyond the comprehension of the abovementioned method. At that step, it was only possible to analyse texts for the occurrence of the above-specified frames with the notoriety incidence as the only indicator of the framing scope. Thus, the author of this research proposes an additional technique aimed at classifying frame strength and dominance when in competitive context.

C. H. De Vreese (2012) pointed out that ‘one of the most pressing issues in framing research is the lack of conceptual clarity and operational definitions of frames’ (2012, p. 305). Descriptions provided by researchers seem general and lacking in empirical value; Entman (1993) talks about frames as aspects of perceived reality, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) mention central organizing idea or story, Matthes (2012) sees frames as bundles of consistent arguments. Nevertheless, there is a constant deficiency in replicable indicators of frame building elements.

While researching available publications and data, the general conclusion was that particular researchers in their analyses only focused on identifying individual variables that might construct and at the same time strengthen frames (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Borah, 2011a; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Druckman, 2001a, 2001b). In order to provide a comprehensive taxonomy of frame strengthening attributes a detailed textual analysis of articles from the three stations under scrutiny here was conducted. By applying and testing for the manifestation of previous (fragmentary) findings of other researchers, a six-point diagram was composed, with recurring variables that have been identified as possessing a universal influence on frames and their (perceived) power. The identified frame attributes allow to measure to what extent (generic – due to the nature of this research thesis) frames acquire strength in a publication.

The **frame strength attribution diagram** (see Figure 3.1 below) is an open procedure that might be augmented with additional variables, nevertheless, at this point of study the below elements have been recognised as the ones that hold the greatest power to skew the message and convince the public to certain agendas.

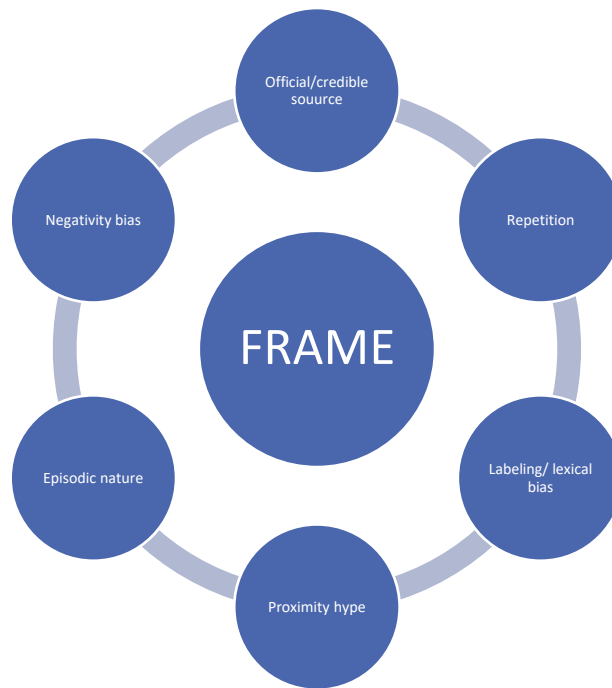


Figure 3.1 Recurring attributes of frames

Frame attributes identification procedure:

Following the assumption of Aarøe (2011) or D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) among others, that frames differ in power of skewing the message, there must exist inherent values within frames that are able to push certain considerations and by the same token dominate the discourse. In order to test this theory a two stage analysis was conducted, namely in the first place, the presence of generic frames was confirmed using the method proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). In the next step, the frames present in the articles were cross-referenced with their most reoccurring attributes. In order to assure reliable and comprehensive results, previous characteristics of frames (e.g. repetition, credible sources etc.) suggested by other researchers (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Borah, 2011a; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Druckman, 2001a, 2001b) were tested for incidence and combined with the results of an independent analysis of generic frames in the news stations' articles mentioned above.

The proposed procedure identified the most reoccurring indicators surrounding frames that are believed to have the ability of strengthening them. The author of this thesis conducted an analysis of 160 articles that proved prevalence of six repeatedly transpiring frame attributes: *official and/or credible sources*, *repetition (loudness)*, *journalistic lexical bias (labelling)*, *proximity hype*, *episodic frame* and *negativity bias* (see Figure 3.1 above). The results were tested with the help of a trained coder achieving satisfactory intercoder reliability (0.76 Cohen’s Kappa) (McHugh, 2012). The chart below presents the results of the combined analyses.

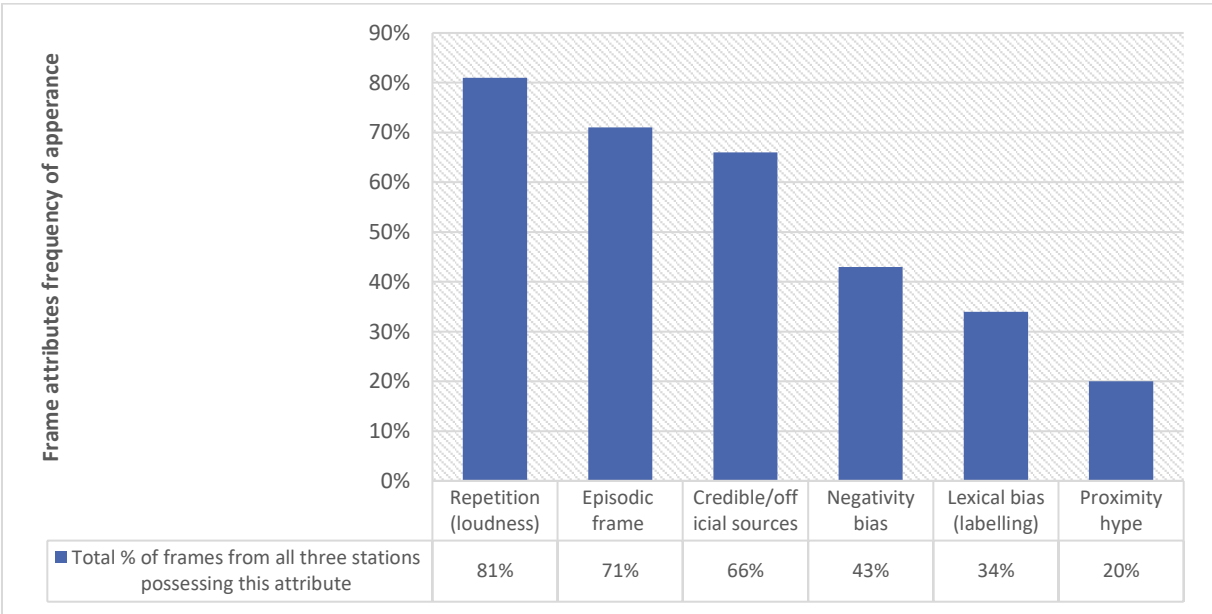


Figure 3.2 Attributes of frames in the reporting on DPRK by CGTN, Al Jazeera and CNN

The graphic presentation (Figure 3.2) clearly indicates that the acknowledged attributes commonly supervene frames, with the least recurring attribute – *proximity hype* being as high as one fifth of all the researched frames possessing it. The above findings support the claim that frames differ in strength given the consistent prevalence of the above listed attributes. This cluster column only presents the occurrence of strength factors

individually without taking into consideration the fact that an individual frame may have up to all six attributes accompanying or characterizing a frame that will boost its power of moulding audiences' perceptions (this aspect is going to be explained further in the Content Analysis Findings chapter of this thesis). Given the above results, it becomes clear that when empirically testing for the presence of frame attributes it turns out that they are inherent parts of frames, building, encompassing and under certain conditions strengthening them.

Based on the above attributes of frames, the author of this thesis proposes a technique of identifying frame strength in news reports, detailed in the Methodology chapter of this thesis. The further sections of this chapter present a detailed overview and analysis of the newly identified frame boosting factors along with examples from the researched articles (CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera).

3.7 Newly defined frame attributes – overview and clarification

3.7.1 Repetition

Following the results of the pilot test (see Figure 3.2 above), the most common booster of strength, identified here, is **repetition** or loudness (Lupia, 2002) with 81% of frames possessing this attribute of being repeated at least two or three times, in different contexts or by different sources, in any of the articles under scrutiny. Lecheler and de Vreese (2013) claim that the media have a substantial effect on the opinion formation when their content is repeated in a consistent way, adding that 'repetitive news framing leads to stronger effects by causing higher and more constant levels of accessibility of framed or applicable considerations' (2013, p. 149). In addition, other researchers (Capella & Jamieson, 1997; Iyengar, 1994; Nabi, 2003; Price & Tewksbury, 1997) have supported the idea that the more often a frame is made available to the audience the stronger effect it will have on them.

Researchers argue that repeated exposure to a frame serves as a factor determining strong and stable attitude changes (Buturoiu & Corbu, 2015; D. Chong & Druckman, 2012) at the same time repetition of news messages is supposed to increase the level of information applicability. ‘Once a message is constantly available on the agenda, repetition favours the creation of new associations between certain considerations highlighted in the news and people’s pre-existing thoughts’ (Buturoiu & Corbu, 2015, p. 161).

Nevertheless, Lecheler and de Vreese (2013) warn that the implication of the repetition is conditioned by the notion of individual assessment of the quality of frame. In the same manner D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) stress that repetitive exposure to news frames evokes stronger effects, however, those are limited by how an individual evaluates the quality of the frame. In case of this research, these divagations over the limits of the effect of repetition have no application as the perceived frame *loudness* effect is supposed to influence frames regardless of audiences by being only one of the attributes able to boost frames.

In the pilot study aimed at determining the attributes influencing frames, each article was treated as one, potentially containing a number of co-existing and competing frames that are expressed by individual words, sentences and paragraphs. The study assumed that when the same frame was expressed a number of times and/or was supported by different sources, the frame gained the notion of being repeated.

In a CNN article by E. McKirdy (2018), about the public statement of Japanese PM Shinzo Abe, concerning North Korea being a threat to Japan, the attribution of responsibility frame is repeated throughout the article to increase the seriousness of the situation and to draw attention of the readers to individuals and groups able to alleviate the situation (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

The first paragraph of the article introduces the attribution of responsibility frame that sets the topic of the article, presenting Japanese PM as the one responsible for pushing other countries to act together and force DPRK to give up its nuclear ambitions.

‘Prime Minister Abe urged the international community to apply concerted pressure to the rogue nation in an attempt to coerce its regime into giving up its nuclear ambitions’ (E. McKirdy, 2018).

Then, the frame is repeated and strengthened by use of a direct quotation from the Prime Minister’s speech:

‘Without giving in to any provocative action, we must change the North Korea's policy by maximizing the pressure in complete solidarity with the international community, Abe said’ (E. McKirdy, 2018).

The next paragraph presents an explanation of the rhetoric used by Abe, going back to the times of WWII and the nuclear bombs dropped on Japanese cities. Next, the journalist decided to signal the attribution of responsibility again by selecting another direct quotation from the speech, again urging the international community to take action.

‘By raising pressure on North Korea together with the international community, I intend to do my utmost to solve North Korea's nuclear, missile and abduction issues.’(E. McKirdy, 2018).

The following paragraph of the article moves the story to the boarder of South and North Korea and deals with the normalization of the relations between those countries. Yet, the paragraph after that goes back to attribution of responsibility and repeats the same rhetoric reminding readers who is able to take care of the situation and how it should be handled.

‘The stark warnings are at odds with a renewed sense of cautious optimism felt in nearby South Korea. Earlier this year, in the face of an increasingly hostile North Korea, Abe set a deadline of 2020 to revise Japan's constitution, which

contains language that bans the country from maintaining armed forces' (E. McKirdy, 2018).

Finally, the frame is repeated again, this time using even the same style as in the first paragraph of the article. Initially, the attribution of responsibility is assigned to the PM and then the statement is supported by a direct quotation. This rhetorical device is supposed to legitimize the frame more and make it more salient and acceptable in the eyes of the readers.

'It is a controversial proposal that strikes at the heart of the country's post-war identity but central to Abe's political ambitions.

"My immediate task is to deal with North Korea," Abe told reporters at the time. "It will take tough diplomacy. With the mandate given by the people, I would like to exercise my command in diplomacy' (E. McKirdy, 2018).

The repeated exposure to the same frame, seems to legitimize the need for external intervention from other countries (in this case the US, being part of the international community) to solve the problem of North Korean nuclear ambitions. It is an intended act of the American journalist, aimed at strengthening the rhetoric of the urgent need for someone to intervene and solve the problem. At the same time, the readers have a clear message stating that the Japanese PM is the one taking on the task of summoning international community to act together to solve the problem. The repetition serves here a few purposes, one being the legitimization of Abe as the one able to alleviate the problem and at the same time there buds a hidden support for intervention that seems to be clearly needed in this situation, at least according to the article. Y. Chang (2008) defines repeated frames as being able to render a selected interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensive and memorable than others. This way, audiences become more accustomed to a certain interpretation and with the prolonged exposure tend to accept it more.

3.7.2 Episodic frames

The next variable in the diagram above is the **episodic nature of frames**. The distinction between episodic and thematic frames has been analysed by numerous scholars (Aarøe, 2011; J. J. Gross, 2008; Iyengar, 1994; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A general classification specifies episodic frames to comprise human interest details (Aarøe, 2011), the focus is on specific events (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000); emotions and personalization are common elements evident in such frames. Following Aarøe (2011), an episodic frame puts ‘a real and specific face’ (2011, p. 210) on an issue providing particular features at which emotional reactions can be directed. On the other hand, thematic frames are supposed to present factual information, focused on accurate statistical data. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) write that thematic nature is characteristic for analytical, contextual or historical context. When taking into consideration previous variables determining strength of frames, episodic frames are said to evoke emotion and interest of the audience thus increasing the power of the frame to influence them. That is why the episodic nature has been identified as a variable capable of shifting the dominance scale of frames. In the pilot study conducted for the needs of this research, episodic frames were treated as the ones that focus on human interest issues or frames that used human story to explain an issue. When the story portrayed politicians resuming their official duties and presented a historical background to the issue, as it often happened in case of the repeated public rhetoric between the US president Donald Trump and the leader of the DPRK Kim Jong-un along with their respective administrations, the frame was generally treated as thematic. Nevertheless, when the issue was presented through the prism of an event without any additional reference to the roots of the problem or the origin of the situation, it was perceived as episodic. The results of the pilot analysis revealed that 71% of frames identified in the pilot analysis were episodic, suggesting some sort of preference of journalists to put a human face on an issue in order to pass it on to the public. The reason

behind such a strategy being the fact that episodic events evoke to people personally. When audiences are able to visualise a problem or an issue as a particular case with a name to the story, it is easier to connect it to a greater notion and to trigger reactions, thus remember and understand the story better.

3.7.3 Official and/or credible sources

Within the scope of framing research, a number of scholars dealing with framing effects agree that the selection of specific sources has significant influence on the power of persuasiveness of a frame. Druckman (2001b) in his experiment with cognition control groups was able to state that ‘framing works when the statements are attributed to a credible source; framing fails when the same statements are attributed to a non-credible source’ (2001b, p. 1059). When a news frame is strengthened with a quote or an expression of support from some **official** or yet **credible sources**, the message develops into a more authentic, acceptable truth. In the minds of audiences, it becomes a notion believed to be shared collectively due to the role officials and/or authorities play, representing others and at the same time being their public voice. This way, human minds feel more at ease as they can accept the frame as more collective, prominent and generally tolerable. When a politician announces a decision or an opinion on some matter, it cannot be compared to a personal account of a passer-by who was asked in a street survey about his or her beliefs on given issues. The politician’s view is a reflection of a joint motion shared and supported by the whole government, party or organization the person belongs to. The belief that audiences hold in their representatives, is the basis of most political systems, thus the assumption is that abovementioned sources will have the power to influence and strengthen the frames that they support.

On top of that, the use of trusted professions has been used in marketing and advertising for years. People tend to believe respected sources more, even when those are

merely actors dressed in a doctor's apron, advertising a cough syrup. In their paper on trusted sources in media, Miller and Krosnick (2000) claim that there have been several studies that have proved the persuasive power of reliable media, adding that they have much more influence on the audiences than the 'dubious' ones. Additionally, following the results of their experiment, trustworthiness plays a role in the process of priming.

Yet, there have been numerous deliberations among researchers over the exact definition of credibility of sources. Druckman (2001b) mentions three variables to establish credibility, namely public approval, likability and shared ideology. In a similar manner Lupia (2002), suggests two leading aspects required to achieve trustworthiness, the first one being the belief of the audience in the required knowledge that the speaker/author needs to possess regarding some issue. The second one is described as the trust the audience have for the speaker/author to reveal the knowledge (Lupia, 2002). The standards of journalism also oblige journalists to rely on external suppliers of raw material, in the form of speeches, interviews, corporate reports, announcements, or government hearings (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). There seems to be a mutual exchange system between journalists and their sources (Seo, 2009), with the latter gaining access to audiences and the former being able to verify and support their statements, thus making their messages more grounded and more persuasive.

In order to test the hypothesis of credible and/or official sources boosting the strength of frames, the author of this thesis decided to examine the news articles in the pilot analysis to find out if the frames are encompassed with this attribute. Given the discrepancies in definition of credible or official sources, the study of news articles from the three stations (CGTN, Al Jazeera and CNN) allowed to define credible sources as ones that comprise most important politicians, officials, moral authorities, top specialists in some fields, diplomats and high rank officers as well as reputed journalists and media personalities. The official rank was attributed to individuals, holding public offices or representing larger groups, including

governments, national and international organizations. Nevertheless, sources described in a general matter, for instance ‘American officials are sceptical that...’ (“US-North Korea officials hold talks ahead of potential summit,” 2018), were not included in the pool of official/credible sources. The same applied to expressions such as ‘The White House administration; one of the cabinet members revealed that... or Pyongyang claims...’ (meaning the members of the DPRK government, residing in the capitol). The above generalization in the selection of sources suggests lack of credible and verifiable references, indicating that the news has not been confirmed by anyone except for the author or that the parties involved, preferred to remain anonymous.

The results of the pilot analysis of 160 news articles from the three stations yielded over 300 generic frames, out of which 66% of frames were equipped with this attribute (see Figure 3.3), making it second most popular frame-strengthening attribute used by journalists to boost frames.

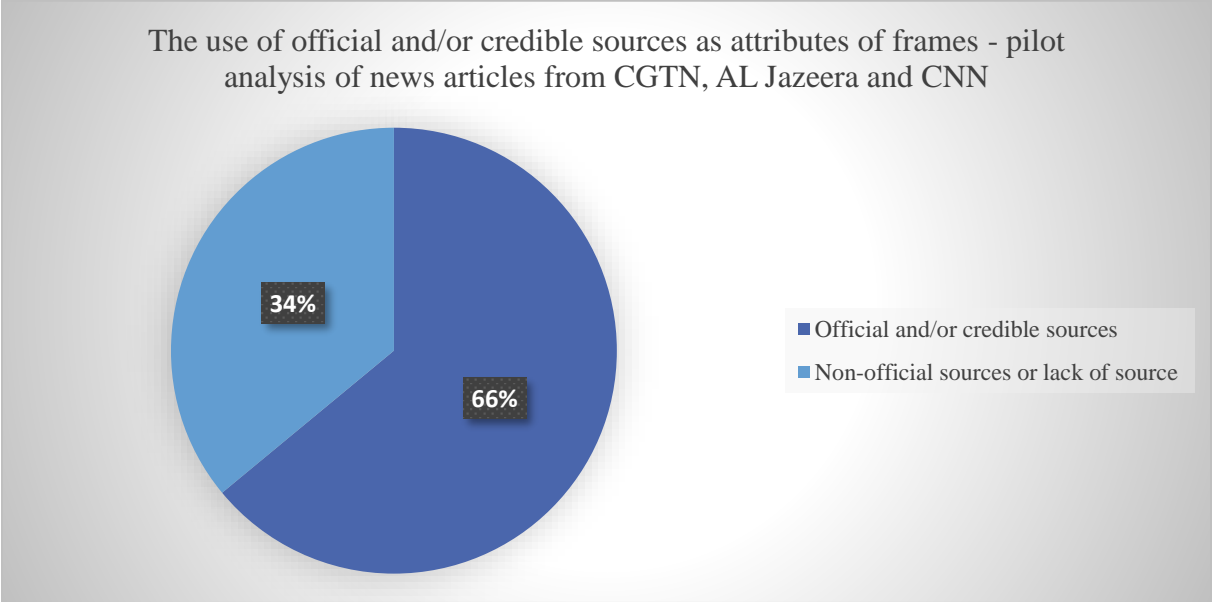


Figure 3.3 Official and/or credible sources as attributes of frames

When analysing the relationship between journalists and sources, it is vital to acknowledge that journalistic objectivity is at the heart of every professional journalist. Following Reese (1990) and Seo (2009) the general belief is that the conclusions and evaluations written by journalists are considered biased while in the situation when the voice is given to high profile sources (Seo, 2009) the news is regarded as objective. The author of this thesis believes that the manipulative power of news sources acts both ways, on one hand, strengthening the frame it encompasses but at the same time, it also works as a strong influencing factor on journalists' decision-making processes. In other words, journalists select sources that they believe to be credible and these sources present their perspective on a given event, skewing the journalists to present the sources' perspectives as their own.

3.7.4 Negativity bias

Another attribute of frames, specified in this research is **negativity bias** (Rozin & Royzman, 2001). There is a growing body of evidence in research on bias, which strongly suggests an asymmetry in the spread of influence on audiences when exposed to negative and positive bias. Soroka (2006) in his paper on responses to economic information, claims that negative information has a much greater impact on individuals' attitudes than positive ones, adding that media tend to employ negative bias more as they 'overemphasize the prevalence of violent crime and events involving conflict or crisis' (2006, p. 737). When pieces of news are framed in a negative way, they are supposed to influence audiences in a greater way, by the same token strengthen the frame and make it more prominent. In another paper on bias, Rozin and Royzman (2001) conclude that negative events have a tendency of being more potent and salient and that they become dominant in combinations, when contrasted with a positive way of presenting issues. The same opinion was expressed by Jordan (1965), who wrote about the lack of effect on measured behaviour when exposed to positive attitude or positive affect, yet

there was a significant influence observed when the subjects were exposed to negative bias. The previously mentioned Rozin and Royzman (2001), provided a few ways in which their idea of 'inborn negative bias' is manifested. The first one being the 'negative potency', which assumes that negative statements or commentary are stronger than equivalent positive ones. As it was stated above, audiences react more to negative news which might signal loss, danger, or some other kind of threat. The second factor is 'steeper negative gradients', which assumes that 'negativity of negative events grows more rapidly with approach to time and space' (2001, p. 296), than the positivity of positive events. Therefore, events that are negative, if presented using negativity bias will become even more durable and noticeable at the same time evoking stronger emotions and skewing the message in some direction. Another aspect that made the list is negative differentiation, a notion that negative language is more varied and contains more complex expressions and representations that in return produce stronger and more varied responses. An example of a negativity bias can be the stress put on potentially deadly outcomes of a course of action. For instance: 'The risk of dying due to side effects in cancer patients undergoing chemotherapy is as high as 60%' vs. a positive bias which can present the same situation in a positive light namely: 'Cancer patients undergoing chemotherapy have 40% chances of avoiding potentially deadly side effects'.

When conducting an analysis of news articles, the frames identified within texts do not exist as separate entities, but they rather encompass one another influencing and modifying the frames as well as the overall message. Nevertheless, the question which one or which ones seem the strongest, requires analysing frames as susceptible to various factors and conditions. One of those is the negativity bias, which clearly has the power to boost the frame or frames by use of for instance, more complex vocabulary at the same time evoking stronger emotions and reactions in audiences.

3.7.5 Lexical bias – labelling, naming

The next attribute that has the power to strengthen frames is **journalistic lexical bias** namely labelling and naming. The bias in the media is said to be structural and omnipresent (Van Dalen, 2012) affecting all news regardless of the organization or the country of origin. Nevertheless, there are a number of different reasons for the slant (Entman, 2007) and lack of objectivity in the media. Baron (2006) speculates that ideology supporting particular worldviews plays a great role in journalistic bias. Another reason might be the support of selected political parties or interest groups from owners or editors. Followed by journalistic distortion or emittance of certain pieces of news in order to be in the limelight, to get published and achieve recognition or respect. Finally, it could be a simple preference of the journalist, who favours a particular ideology or party. To support that, Entman (2007) stated that media operate within the minds of individual journalists, following the journalistic institutions' operations and processes, rooted deeply in rules and norms guiding their analysis of information at the same time influencing the framing of media texts.

A number of methods are used to skew the message and tone of publications. One of them is the use of biased, pejorative and often polarized language in order to slant news in some direction. Journalists may use opinionated language that will push the perception of the audience, at the same time smuggling a hidden message or agenda. A specific selection of lexis is a framing act in itself, as journalists choose certain terms and expressions to not only express their own ideology and beliefs but to convey values and the viewpoint of the organizations in which they work. On top of that, skilfully selected words and catchy expressions are able to attract and mobilise audiences and sometimes evoke strong emotions such as anger or support for a given issue. The way texts are shaped is dictated by all these internal and external factors (Lahlali, 2011), nevertheless the final effect is supposed to be a reflection of the ideology that the journalist was trying to convey within the text. The way

their beliefs are expressed is often in the form of naming, labelling or even representation practices (Lahlali, 2011).

In case of the research topic of this thesis, the access to the country (DPRK) or contact with reliable sources for reference is drastically limited, which enables foreign journalists to practice fabricated representations and label both its representatives as well as the country itself according to their wishes and purposes. This so-called 'misrepresentation' might create a totally distorted view on other nations or cultures, leading to the perception of certain groups, cultures or countries, inferior to others. Lahlali (2011) writes about times of conflict when such biased rhetoric returns in the form of repressions to certain groups, 'where these cultures and people are looked at as the enemy who deserves no respect, and the media often transfer the political messages of its governments or organisations'(2011, p. 129).

When the author of this thesis, conducted a preliminary textual analysis of the articles on North Korea in the three media, it was discovered that in a single, randomly selected article on DPRK from Al Jazeera (Gillespie, 2017) the journalist used a number of opinionated and openly pejorative terms to refer to DPRK and its leader Kim Jong Un. The context of the publication (titled: *What are Trump's options on North Korea?*) concerned a seemingly neutral topic of divagations over what steps the US president Donald Trump should undertake in terms of the US-NK relations. Yet, the article referred to Democratic People's Republic of North Korea as 'a ticking time bomb', 'adversary', 'sabre-rattling paranoia'; the country (North Korea) 'should be squeezed hard and' (be under) 'diplomatic and economic quarantine', (should) 'be made to feel extreme pain' (about North Korea). The leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was presented as 'a Stalinist-like regime ruler', 'dictator', 'deaf and insensitive ruler', on top of that in the same article the US president was referred to as 'Mr Trump' whereas North Korea's leader was simply called 'Kim'. This way of addressing, be it undemocratic and autocratic, ruler of a foreign country is aimed at

diminishing their position, status and importance. Without excessive words, a simple technique of omitting titular forms allowed the journalist to set the tone of the discussion, with US president called by his title and last name and the leader of DPRK with simply his first name. This type of rhetoric resembles one that had already been used in the USA with reference to white Americans calling grown African American men the term *boy*, even if those black people had children of their own (R. S. Martin, 2008). It was supposed to show their (white) supremacy over the minority neighbours.

When randomly selecting another publication, this time from CNN (T. Schwartz, 2015), the results were similar. The author of the article bluntly presented DPRK and its people as: ‘iron grip’, ‘fanatical devotion’, ‘defiant show of force’, ‘anachronism’, ‘throwback’ and ‘regime’. Kuypers (2002) calls these techniques labelling, namely, even though the media claim to decry stereotypes, they use them extensively when portraying those with whom they disagree. The author also adds that the simplest form of such practice is, as he refers to it, name calling (Kuypers, 2002, p. 213). The explanation is supported by his findings from US civil rights activists’ research, in which conservative senators were called ‘racists’, ‘bigots’, ‘stupid jocks’, ‘homophobes’ (ibid) and many other offensive terms by the press that clearly supported the liberal wing. In this way, the media are able to vilify those in opposition to their own (media) values and believes.

The pilot study conducted for the needs of this thesis, revealed that among over 300 generic frames identified in a collection of 160 articles from CGTN, Al Jazeera and CNN, one third of those frames were supported by the journalistic lexical bias in the form of labelling of some sort. The notoriety of this practice suggests strong attachment of journalists to this framing strategy. The above-mentioned pilot study of the news articles from the three stations, revealed certain discrepancies between journalists from different news stations using these techniques in their reporting, nevertheless given the constant reoccurrence of such practices,

they imply labelling and naming as key practices when considering frame strength and dominance.

This kind of rhetoric apart from presenting the news, sets an agenda and presents a personal view of the writer or the organization, telling people not only what, but also how to think (B. C. Cohen, 1963; Entman, 2007). The use of diminutive, opinionated and above all polarized language strongly affects the message/frame, making it stronger and more noticeable, thus the decision to include the use of such biased language in the list of variables strengthening frames.

3.7.6 Proximity hype

Among the six reiterating features of frames, the notion of what the author of this paper calls, **proximity hype** is worth studying closer when considering frame-strengthening factors. The term has been coined from two overlapping ideas of journalistic proximity in relating the news and the exaggeration and sensationalization of news that has been taking place in the media worldwide (L. M. Schwartz & Woloshin, 2003). The former relates to a range of phenomena from geographical proximity in the sense of being close to some events, to cultural, social and emotional proximity (Ahva & Pantti, 2014) that enables news to be a sort of a bridge connecting distant values and beliefs, making them more salient (Entman, 1993) to audiences in different locations. The notion of proximity is used by journalists to imply ‘closeness to home’ of some pieces of news, thus making the story more relevant and more relatable. According to Ahva and Pantti (2014), proximity in terms of textual qualities of immediacy and emotional angle, enables to evoke stronger emotions and by the same token, react more to the story or problem presented. Early research on proximity (Abbott & Brassfield, 1989) provided a definition of the term in the form of ‘the localness factor’, considered to be one of the most important aspects for both TV and newspapers when

accepting or rejecting a news release. The researchers claimed that the editors expressed higher preference for materials that possessed the aspects of locality and medium (Morton & Warren, 1992). The latter term – hype, serves as a way to boost a story and make it more pronounced or even create a situation in which ‘a situation has suddenly deteriorated into a real crisis’ (Vasterman, 2005, p. 509). With rapidly growing market for user-generated content and online news, contemporary media outlets have to compete for audiences in order to stay afloat. One way of attracting attention of the public is by use of amplified and often sensationalized news stories that not only convey actual news but are aimed at signalling and even alarming about potential ways in which a given story might affect the receivers of the news, be it about remote locations or potentially unrelated magnitude. The message must be augmented with an emotional angle or possess some proximity aspect in order to retain attention and allow audiences to process the news.

So far, the research into hype and the implications of self-inflated news stories has been limited to only a handful of studies aimed at systemizing the notion. Nevertheless, the hype may be described as a form of stimulation practiced by journalists to boost their story and induce a sort of state of moral panic or fear (Vasterman, 2005), far exceeding the rational scope of a problem or issue presented. This type of ‘catastrophe discourse’ (Weingart, 1998) results in simplified and often dramatized prognoses or evaluations of a situation with outcomes affecting the public globally or potentially having far reaching consequences. Pang (2013) in her article on media hype, extends Vasterman (2005) concept claiming that journalists, in the absence of developments on particular issues, will use thematically related news that will hype the topic and as a result keep the story alive. Similar strategy has been observed in the publications from CGTN, Al Jazeera and CNN. The access to the DPRK is limited thus media organizations are forced to rely on a limited number of international sources with access to the news on the country or governmental officials that feed them news.

In this situation, it is a common practice for journalists to extend the incident-related news to thematic analyses that involve some form of enlarged media hype (Vasterman, 2005). When that happens, the media have a tendency to report on a single issue through potential crisis, inflating the story to present potential threat to audiences. Wien and Elmelund-Præstekær (2009) distinguished different indicators of hype, claiming that when hype is observed the issue presented enables different interpretations within several frames, which allows to condense complex problems into one striking image. This way, audiences are presented with a snowballed consequence that on one hand attracts their attention and on the other may cause identity threat, when their wellbeing is under attack, making them more prone to look for more information and therefore buy another newspaper or come back to the source of the news. The same authors also add that journalists instead of simply reporting the news, to some extent create them, incorporating inflated news in their reporting that are augmented with hypothetical results of some actions or lack of thereof. Vasterman (2005) also contrasts the hype used by media with the framing strategies used in the news production. Media hype is believed to be based on pack journalism with reporters following a chosen frame in an effort to confirm it and boost it even more at the same time making it even more salient and acceptable. This kind of practise can be observed in the publications under scrutiny here as the *North Korean world threat hype*, has been a recurring frame, disseminated and repeated by numerous journalists throughout publications of all three stations. Regardless of the topic of the article, be it the Winter Olympics, the tendency of journalists was to augment the story with a potential threat that DPRK poses to global community. The hype in news reporting employs a number of methods and practices, one of which is the use of relatability and the eventuality of personalized threat in the form of proximity.

The modern concept of proximity was analysed by Mead (2014), in her article on relatability in popular media. To her, it is the media that popularized the notion of ordinary

person seeing oneself reflected in some situations or characters. When the audience is able to relate to the story or actors, the message is stronger, evoking emotional response; similarly, proximity or in other words – ‘the local angle’ (2014, p. 5) allows to relate media events to readers or audiences. Media organizations tend to use the notion of proximity to engage audiences and attract more interest. American media, for instance, are said to have a tendency to be either local, so focused predominantly on local events as they attract more viewers/readers or if a piece of foreign news is to be used, it has to refer to the USA in some way or it needs to involve an American citizen (Profozich, 2009). In a similar manner S. R. Martin (1988) states that the use of sources is dependent on the proximity of the event, with stories happening closer to the news organization gathering more varied sources and those more distant relying mostly on official or governmental sources to be quoted or mentioned.

When taking into consideration the basic assumption of proximity in the news reporting, it can be viewed as the newsworthiness of a story. The decision of journalists and editors to select and find relationship between news events and the audiences is critical in terms of attracting attention and increasing viewing/readership. Nevertheless, Ahva and Pantti (2014) point out that the news criteria go beyond the significance of the event and include routines, resources, access and above all ideological assumptions that also influence news selection.

In the same way, when considering frame strength, it is believed that news especially about other countries, yet related to or presented with potential consequence or potential threat to the public or inclination that the situation might affect audiences in some way, regardless of the physical distance, will evoke greater reactions, thus strengthen the frames in publications. The proximity hype can be perceived as a journalistic consequence frame, an inflated probability of some global consequence or direct threat to the reader. The implications suggested in the story might affect us directly or cause damage to our wellbeing.

This kind of rhetoric increases the feeling of potential danger and future consequences, enabling the journalists to shift the responsibility for the situation to a chosen entity or point to the individual or individuals able to alleviate the problem.

Basic examples of proximity hype in news reporting can be seen in the reporting on almost any ecological disaster that happened in a specific region or location, however, its consequences are presented through the potential influence of the event on other parts of the globe (Weingart, 1998). The reason behind articles, being enhanced with a local threat, is supposed to make a story more compelling, at the same time attracting more attention and evoking stronger feelings. In this way an attribute of a frame that is potentially able to affect readers or viewers, resonates more, strengthening the frame it encompasses.

While conducting a pilot content analysis of the articles from the three media (CGTN, Al Jazeera and CNN), the notion of proximity hype turned out to be one of the recurring attributes of generic frames, identified in the texts. As many as one fifth of the articles researched, contained some form of exaggerated reference to the global consequence of some events in the news. The term proposed here, serves as an example of the journalistic creative work on the news reporting. Regardless of the origin of the stations under scrutiny here, it seems that the use of this attribute is a standard practice, commonly adopted by journalists in their work. The sensationalized use of locality in the articles increases the chances of the publications being, first of all, selected by the editors, and later on digested more and to a greater extent by the public. The personalization in the form of catastrophe rhetoric serves as a tool to engage target audiences, influence some action and can even go as far as to create a certain threat.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has presented and summarized recently developing concepts in the framing studies. Latest research into frames and framing has moved on from the single-message framing (Detenber et al., 2018) to a more refined concept of multiple frames competing over message dominance in communication as the new direction in the development of the studies. Nevertheless, different scholars admit that there has been little research into the effect of multiple frame conditions and that ‘the role of multiple competing frames has gone largely unexplored’ (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a, p. 101).

In the chapter, the issue of frame strength in light of frame dominance in communication context is explored and dissected to provide partial factors contributing to the notion of unequal nature of frames. Despite various academics providing individual factors contributing to the perceived strength and at the same time dominance of frames (Borah, 2011a), it has been observed that there persists a lack of organized structure of frame strength building elements that would support the theory of competing frames exhibiting varying potency.

In an attempt to fill that gap, the next section of the chapter presented and proposed a new technique of identifying frame strength and dominance in media texts. Grounded in previous studies, an analysis of 160 articles was conducted in order to distinguish recurring frame building elements. The results yielded six factors that are believed to contribute to the dynamics of frames when in competitive context. Among others, *official/credible sources*, *repetition*, *journalistic lexical bias*, *proximity hype*, *episodic nature* and *negativity bias* were proven to prevail in the greatest number of frames. Building on that, a frame attribution scheme was conceived that assumed a gradient strengthening of frames when encompassed with those attributes.

Next, the frame dynamics-building elements were scrutinised in order to justify the selection and application in the proposed process. The most common attribute of frames

turned out to be repetition or in other words ‘loudness’, which was believed to favour particular associations being built between certain opinions and positions highlighted in the news and people’s pre-existing considerations (Buturoiu & Corbu, 2015). In the same manner D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) claimed that repetitive exposure to news frames evoked stronger emotions. Given the pace of global news spread and an ongoing competition among news stations to deliver news the moment they happen, the fact that human-interest centred, episodic nature of news was found to be second most notorious technique of boosting frame strength, came as little surprise. Episodic news, void of historical or situational grounding was proven to be favoured by journalists of all three stations. The same situation transpired in case of the following attribute, namely the use of official and/or credible sources. The reliance on authorities and famous people emerged as a popular method of improving the quality of the message, thus enhancing framing tendencies aimed at influencing the message and strengthening it. The remaining three attributes (lexical bias, negativity and proximity hype) followed in notoriety of occurrence to a lesser extent, nevertheless, they repeated commonly enough to be included in the most dominant factors contributing to frame dynamics capabilities.

In general, the chapter presented a fundamental need and an applicability of a frame building construction able to determine frame strength and dominance, which as a result will enable to identify underlying hegemonic processes present within communication contexts. Therefore, this work is vital because it adds to the growing body of comparative media research published on this topic by improving methodological approaches to studying media framing.

Chapter 4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to present and justify research methods used in this thesis, in order to provide analytical approaches employed to identify dominant media framing trends and also test the applicability of the exploratory technique of defining frame strength and dominance by taking the coverage of North Korea by three global media as a case in point. The following paragraphs are based on and are supported by the existing literature that was examined in the chapter on the literature review. Additionally, there is a need to implement previous findings into media framing of NK and techniques used there, which will highlight certain issues related to framing. This study uses a mixed method approach, namely the three-level examination encompasses quantitative and qualitative content analyses as well as elements of discourse analysis. All the techniques are described below along with their limitations and scope of study; there is a brief overview of previous research done into North Korean frames in media as well as the research questions formed for the purpose of this thesis.

The next section comprises a detailed description of the data collection procedures including the object of the study, selection of media, time period, sampling method and keyword search. The following segment consists of the content analysis procedure with codebook details, types of generic frames, sources and tones. Further on, given the lacks in methodology identified in the previous chapters, the author of this thesis offers an exploratory technique of identifying frame strength and dominance in frames, specified in the form of the procedure guidelines and a newly proposed checklist table. The final section of the chapter presents selected aspects of critical discourse analysis along with particular techniques adopted for the needs of this thesis research.

4.2 Justification of the methodology application

The predominant research findings focus mostly on media frames in American media with some specific research into other countries, yet there is little information on how different media from countries with different political, social and value systems frame the reality. The example of North Korea, has been examined by USA (Bae, 2014; Jang, 2013; Kyle, 2001; Lim & Seo, 2009) China (Dai & Hyun, 2010; Jang, Hong, & Frederick, 2015) and South Korea (Jang et al., 2015; B. J. Lee, 2009), separately and only in limited/episodic time frame (Nurnus, 2015). Up to date, any sort of research that would analyse frames on global events in Arab media with relation to American and Asian perspective has been scarce.

While some comparative studies have been carried out about the frames on the DPRK in American and Asian media, such research in the Middle Eastern countries has been rare. The most probable explanation for the presence of framing analyses in the above-mentioned countries might be that they are either in direct contact or have immediate economic, political or historical relations with DPRK, thus strong representation of materials covering these affairs.

Exploring similarities and differences in the rhetoric between the three representatives of global media agencies might contribute to the existing knowledge of media policies and potential influence on the public. This comparative study will ‘help to reveal the critical choices that journalists subjectively make that would otherwise remain submerged’ (Entman, 1991, p. 6), especially in terms of frame (strength) building techniques. This thesis is aimed at enriching the growing body of comparative media research published and analysed in this study.

By use of quantitative and qualitative analyses of TV network news reports, this research will compare the coverage of North Korea on three different channels and their websites. As Entman (1991) presented, research on such different media outlets with varying

political and organizational routines enables to uncover certain choices and hidden biases that the journalists present in their coverage. From a quantitative point of view, with the use of a framing approach this study will examine framing devices that have been identified in previous research: types of news frames, sourcing, episodic and thematic frames, frame strength, tone as well as political, social and geographical biases.

Therefore, to examine frames and framing strategies, the following research questions were posed:

RQ1: What are the general tones of the articles and frames within them?

RQ1.1: Are the tones similar in all three media?

RQ1.2: Are there any differences between the stations?

RQ1.3: If so, how are the differences determined?

The basic assumption of journalism is objectivity in relating stories. This principle is supposed to enable media to present actual and true coverage. Nevertheless, it often happens that the tone of the report indicates the attitude and personal bias of the authors. Following Nijkraak et al. (2015), the tones in publications are frequently divided into positive, neutral or negative. The authors add that tones are able to influence the way audiences think and how they react. Similarly, several studies (Boydston, Card, Gross, Resnick, & Smith, 2014; Gunther, 1998) have proven that tones in media coverage have the potential of highlighting certain aspects and their reception by audiences while at the same time presenting other issues in completely different light. The results of the study by the abovementioned researchers, suggest that media tones have a tendency of being mainly negative or at most neutral with almost no positive tones present in the reporting. Yet, the question here pertains to whether the three media stations adopt similar tones in their reporting, or the use of tones differs from

station to station and how it is determined. The author of this thesis decided to implement (deductive) qualitative approach to distinguish between positive, neutral, negative and additionally mixed tones present in the publications of the three media on DPRK. The final variable being the result of mock experiments, which have proven that in the reporting of the news by CNN, CCTV and Al Jazeera, some articles contained a number of mixed tones within particular/individual texts. The aim here is to find out what common tones transpire in the reporting of all three media and how they differ in terms of word selection and intertextual agenda.

RQ2: How do the three media compare in terms of citing (similar and) different sources in their news coverage?

RQ2.1: Does it reflect and influence the way they frame news?

Shoemaker and Reese (2013) explain that the selection of sources done by journalists is a key element of objectivity in media as it is supposed to protect journalists from being manipulated. At the same time, ‘source selection is, thus, one of many important framing devices used, particularly because relying on specific sources means framing the news from those sources’ perspectives’ (p.113). The way journalists choose their sources might influence the message strengthening it when supported by eyewitnesses, government officials or people directly involved in a given issue while at the same time the message might sound less convincing and more subjective when only the journalist’s stand on the case is presented. Even Entman (1993) suggests that when journalists present breaking news and they have a chance to interact with their sources, the framing process is initiated while the information the viewers receive is the biased opinion of the witnesses. Fahmy and Neumann (2012) in the paper on sourcing, comment that sources of a news story decide and alter the basic issue of

the story at the same time influencing the flow of information through the media. Different researchers have come to conclusions that US media tend to rely more on official US sources when presenting international news than any other sources. In the research on framing the war in Iraq by Swedish and US media, Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) proved that US newspapers were more likely to quote US government officials, thus reflecting the government line and perspective (Johnson & Fahmy, 2010).

One of the aims of this research is to find out whether the three media analysed here, rely on similar sources when producing news coverage or if their reporting differs in portraying different sides of the conflict. The tendency of the US media to present only one side, seems to make the texts they produce more biased and enforce stronger leniency towards their national interest. Yet, Ghanem (2005) when analysing coverage of Arabic *Al-Ahram* newspaper and American *The New York Times*, proved that both magazines relied heavily on their national sources instead of presenting opposing sides of Iraq conflict. The question exists whether and to what extent the choice of sources influences the frames and the overall message of the coverage presented by the three media. In order to analyse the sources used in the publications, the author decided to apply quantitative content analysis, which will enable to compare the sources and hopefully will present emerging trends with reference to their selection and application by journalists.

RQ3: What generic frames prevail in the media coverage of the three agencies?

RQ3.1: How do the three media compare in terms of using similar frames in their coverage?

RQ3.2: How do the three media compare in terms of using different frames in their coverage?

A number of researchers have agreed that western media tend to cover developing countries in a negative way (Eschholz, 2002; Holiday, Anderson, Lewis, & Nielsen, 2017). In case of North Korea the focus in the coverage is focused on military threat and human rights abuse (Lim & Seo, 2009; Seo, 2009). This research aims to measure common frames that exist in all three media and compare their dominance in order to determine how each medium manipulates its message in order to gain power-relations advantage and ideology transfer. The US rhetoric towards North Korea suggests immediate threat and real danger to American people and world peace from the so-called 'regime' country (K. H. Kim, 2014), thus American press pushes for military intervention. The question is whether the frames in Chinese and Arabic coverage share this ideological position and to what extent their coverage is similar in their symbolism, given the theory of globalization and unification of the media (Bourdieu, 1991; Pieterse, 1994; Rai & Cottle, 2007). On the other hand, some researchers (Profozich, 2009) claim that the coverage of Al Jazeera English demonstrates strong bias towards the US, which might influence their rhetoric on Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for whom the USA is a major enemy (Jang, 2013). The same goes for China and their national station CCTV (CGTN), given historical relations and political and economic ties with DPRK, the coverage might present a completely different spectrum when compared to the other media.

Following the methodology procedures specified in this chapter, the research question posed here will be answered with the use of qualitative deductive approach, which is intended to make interpretations of content through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes and patterns. The research method is deemed deductive as the concepts and variables are drawn from previous theory and studies (Yan Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016). In order to find out the prevalence of most reoccurring frames in the three media, the author of this thesis decided to apply a modification of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) (questions

format) framework aimed at identifying four main generic frames (crime, attribution of responsibility, human interest and economic frame), augmented with Boydston et al. (2013) prescription and evaluation frame. The identification of the final frame is based on a set of questions developed by the author of this thesis.

RQ4: *Which frames become dominant when in competitive environment?*

RQ4.1: *What factors give frames (perceived) strength?*

RQ4.2: *Is the strength of frames politically, ideologically or linguistically determined?*

When analysing frames, researchers have been mostly focusing on frame identification and potential effect on audiences, yet when frames exist within texts, they do not stand alone, but often in one text, a number of frames are competing over dominance, attention and effects on audiences. My attempt is to measure what attributes influence frames to be perceived as stronger and more dominant in context. By the same token I will aim to find out which frames influence the image of DPRK the most and by use of which techniques the media manage to skew the reality to fit their agenda.

So far there has not been any comprehensive technique that would allow to determine (perceived) frame strength, thus the author of the thesis decided to employ qualitative content analysis along with elements of discourse analysis to form an experimental procedure of identifying frame strength. The examination incorporates previous research (Aarøe, 2011; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Jakopović, 2017; Ridout, 2018) along with inductive reasoning based on the analysis of raw data.

The results yielded with the use of the procedure will shed light on journalistic tendencies of deliberate selection and design of frames, which are calculated to produce resonance and skew audiences in a given direction.

RQ5: What types of international news stories are presented by CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera English?

RQ5.1: How are they similar in terms of the language used, themes present, journalistic style, and length?

RQ5.2: How do they differ in terms of the language used, themes present, journalistic style, and length?

News reports provided by the three media outlets under scrutiny here, are a major source of information for millions of people, yet the stories they receive depend on the channel they watch or the website they visit. The type of reporting they provide as well as the language they use will differ from medium to medium. With the use of Nvivo programme the author of this thesis is going to analyse the lexical and ideological differences within and between the three media. The quantitative part of the research will then be contested, using discourse analysis, with previous research on the type of reporting analysed in this thesis in the chapter on Media realities and potential biases.

Numerous research on American journalism stresses that the US media proudly claim their independence from political parties or governmental influences. American journalists are required to seek objectivity and are warned against ‘taking stance on issues, persons or events they cover’ (Reference, 2018, p.2). Nevertheless, the reality is that the above-mentioned idealistic image of American journalism is often challenged by critics who claim that most of the US media suffer from inherent biases in their coverage, such as uncritical acceptance of capitalism, free markets and the two-party system on top of others. Another issue might be the ‘patriotic journalism’ with media refraining from questioning or criticizing foreign policy especially when it comes to war or the promotion of national interest (B. J. Lee, 2009). Critics

also claim that foreign news is often critical, negative, and focused on conflicts, strange or violent events, natural disasters, mayhem and destruction. The portrayal of other nations tends to be biased, inaccurate and mostly negative (Profozich, 2009).

On the other hand, Chinese media are presented by prism of limitations and self-censorship imposed by the ruling Party. There are topics, which are being avoided, in public reporting as well as issues, which are covered only superficially. Some researchers also claim that commercial pressures and government restrictions have tended to cause newspapers to focus on lurid scandals adding that Chinese media tend to lack in-depth analysis of political events, as this is seen as more politically sensitive (Quinn & Kierans, 2008).

With regard to Al Jazeera, the station has been praised for shifting away from traditional Middle Eastern discourse and providing coverage from different angles of every story, especially by the motion of native reporting. The prevailing findings state that, the station is able to report more unbiased stories as it does not rely on viewing and ratings. They cover stories that have been neglected or dropped by other mainstream media and the general focus is more on the developing world. On the other hand, critics claim that the actual sponsors of the station are the ruling family of Qatar and the news production experiences constrains as even some of the royal family members are in the board of directors of the station (Kasmani, 2014). On top of that the development of local Arab media created an increasing homogenization of language, by the same token solidifying Arab consensus and ultimately leading to the creation of 'pan-Arab identity' (Lynch, 2006), which ideology might be powerful enough to open the station to potential biases and skew the reporting to anti-western themes (Wojcieszak, 2007).

4.3 Research method selection

4.3.1 Content analysis

Following Entman (1991), when conducting an analysis of media coverage, comparative case studies enable to highlight biases, framing and other journalists' skews, thus this study employs content analysis to show framing strategies used by CNN, Al Jazeera and CCTV.

Content analysis is one of the most popular methods of systematic analysis of communication content. The development of this method of research started after WWI and was later continued by Lasswell in his research programme on War-Time Communications in the U.S. Library of Congress (A. Hansen, Cottle, Newbold, & Negrine, 1998). In the paper on structure and function of communication in society, Lasswell, poses his most famous question 'Who Says What In Which Channel To Whom With What Effect?' (Lasswell, 1948, p. 216). The question has been quoted by a number of scientists as the simplest definition of the idea behind content analysis. From that moment on, content analysis has become one of the most frequent research methods, e.g. Riffe and Freitag (1997) calculated an almost six-fold increase in the number of content analyses conducted and later on presented in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* over a period of 24 years – from 6,3% in 1971 to 34,8% of all articles in 1995.

There have been a number of definitions of content analysis provided by different scholars, among others Weber (1990) in (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005) who claimed that c.a. is a set of procedures aimed at making valid inferences from texts. Entman (1993), defined it as measuring a 'cluster of messages' (frames) to see how they are incorporated in their audiences' schemata (p.57). Krippendorff (2004) mentions three functions of content analysis. The first one is summarizing the inferences from texts so that they are easily understood, related or interpreted. The second covers discovering patterns and relationships within findings that enable to test hypotheses concerning various relationships. The final one

‘compares the findings with data obtained by other means or from other situations to support conclusions drawn from other research, to gain confidence in the validity of the content analysis at hand, to add another dimension to the intended inferences, or to provide missing information’ (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 191).

In the paper on content analysis Prasad (2008), lists three scientific principles of this method. Namely, content analysis has to be objective, so it has to be based on strict rules, which will later on enable different researchers to produce/elicit similar results from the same documents or messages. Secondly, it must be systematic. ‘The inclusion or exclusion of content is done according to some consistently applied rules where by the possibility of including only materials which support the researcher’s ideas – is eliminated’ (2008, p. 3). Finally, the motion of generalizability, which means that the results obtained can be applied to other, similar situations.

Wimmer and Dominick (1994), in their work on mass media research, distinguished five main purposes of content analysis. The first one defines the patterns and trends in how media portray events (e.g. violence, gender roles, etc.) that can be described using content analysis. Next role is to test hypotheses about aims, policies or media production companies in terms of their principles or intentions. The third aspect considers the possibility of comparing media content to the real world, e.g. comparing violence onscreen and off-screen (Stack, 2013). Another purpose refers to how certain groups are presented in society like e.g. ethnic minority groups, the disabled, or men vs. women. The final, fifth use of content analysis enables to draw conclusions about media effects. The abovementioned Stack, provides an example of the latter use in Gerbner and Gross (1976) study of cultivation effects, where c.a. is used to examine media influences on public beliefs, attitudes and opinions. Wimmer and Dominick also provide a step-by-step instruction procedure of conducting content analysis. Namely, they suggest starting with formulating research questions, choosing

appropriate sample and unit of analysis, constructing categories of content to be analysed, then there comes a quantification system. We also need to train coders and conduct a pilot study. In the end we run the analysis according to the previously established definitions, analyse the data that we collected and finally draw conclusions from our findings (1994, p. 154).

Between the two approaches (quantitative and qualitative content analyses) that are used in this thesis, the first one enables us to count headlines, leads, quotes and the use of individual terms and expressions (Reese et al., 2001) in order to provide statistical data. Yet, it does not explain the ways in which certain texts are being framed by journalists and media producers or what context is presented within each text. Reese et al. describe quantitative approach as one relying on ‘quantitative measures of systematic emphasis and relative frequency of elements in content’ (2012, p. 751)

On the other hand, qualitative analysis puts greater emphasis on cultural and political content of news frames as well as how they relate to the social meaning in context. ‘The interpretive approach, examines the discourse and deeper narratives of news content with the goal of saying something about the broader culture in which media and publics participate (Reese & Lee, 2012, p. 751). The use of both approaches to content can be incorporated in the framing perspective (framing theory), which has become a major trend in political communication research. The idea of media framing has gained wide acceptance as the preferred and multi-perspective research concept. Framing enables to connect news content to greater structures and allows to develop new ways of identifying the power of media to portray issues and events in a visual and a verbal way, thus affecting audiences’ perceptions and opinions.

4.3.1 Content analysis limitations

Nevertheless, content analysis, especially quantitative and qualitative research techniques have received their fair amount of criticism from a number of scientists. Prasad writes about the limitations of content analysis, claiming that it is useful when we want to capture changing trends in the subject content of our study, yet it is not able to provide us with the causal connection ‘why’ the changes took place (Prasad, 2008).

Kohlbacher (2006) writes about problems of the above designs, in terms of acceptance in the academic circles, due to the politics embedded in the research process. He claims that qualitative researchers used to be perceived by some, as more of journalists, or soft scientists, rather than unbiased researchers and their work was seen as unscientific, or subjective due to interpretative nature of their research. Together with the exclusively numerical nature of quantitative approach, there have been many discussions on the usefulness of the above methods, as a result of which, a mixed method approach was coined. This way doing research demonstrates qualitative and quantitative analyses as complementing each other and together providing more meaningful and valid scientific results. This claim is supported by Van Gorp (2007), who stated that because frames are strongly abstract in nature, there is a need for a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods.

4.3.2 Critical review of methods adopted in previous research on North Korea

Due to the fact that, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has been what we might call ‘locked from the outside world’ for decades, the country and its people have become an intriguing and ever returning topic of journalistic interest in the world. Since there is no direct access to the country for regular people, journalists around the world have been framing North Korea according to their agenda. Thus, a number of researchers have attempted different analyses of frames and framing strategies towards North Korea in global media. Among them

Choi (2010), who in her paper on DPRK's national image in American newspapers, conducted a comparative textual analysis of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. The particular focus was on the employment of tones present and repeating word clusters that dominated the discourse. Dai and Hyun (2010) focused on framing North Korean nuclear test by global news agencies, conducting a framing analysis perceiving framing packages as tools to reconstruct frames (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Their claim was that the framing packages capture not only framing devices like metaphors, historical exemplars, catchphrases and depictions but also reasoning devices that indicate interpretive understanding of an issue. Another approach was adopted by K. H. Kim (2014) in his corpus based analysis examining US news media rhetoric on North Korea. The conclusion of the analysis was that the portrayal of North Korea in American media is not coincidental but, according to the author, it is a carefully constructed strategy of US authorities and media to frame the country in a certain way. Much attention in the media was given to the Six Party Talks between North Korea and five other nations (US, Russia, China, Japan and South Korea). Won Young Jang, a South Korean researcher who in her paper 'News as propaganda' (Jang, 2013) combined a content analysis with a computer-assisted text analysis of the overall framing of the Six-Party Talks. The results shed some light on the dynamics of framing and ideology in a comparative context, yet there were some constraints to the study. First of all, the way the content was analysed on a five-point scale, suggests a subjective and interpretational selection done by the researchers. In addition, the categorization of negative equalling to weak frames was not thoroughly explained and might have yield only partial results. In the paper on the framing of audiences' perception towards the Leader of NK, Bae (2014) adopted a different type of methodology, namely an experimental design in which participants were provided with texts that had been manipulated to measure the level of the influence of frames on the readers. This type of research was rejected when selecting research methodology for this thesis as it would

test the attitudes of the viewers or readers and not the news stations. On top of that, even though the research avoided country names or actual names of the leader in question, there is a chance that the participants were still able to recognize which country was being tested and adjusted the results in accordance with their prior knowledge. Another researcher, B. J. Lee (2009) in her study on how journalists frame North Korea conducted a mixed method analysis along with in-depth interviews with a selected group of journalists. The study, apart from its usefulness, also exhibits some shortcomings, namely due to an episodic nature of the research (a span of about three months) and a limited number of articles researched. A longitudinal study would yield more comprehensive and meaningful results, especially in terms of presenting trends. European perspective on North Korea was presented by Nurnus (2015). In the research, they analysed common frames on DPRK in European press over the course of one year. The top results they yielded, presented NK as an authoritarian and dictatorial state, a belligerent place and finally as a threat in all the countries/newspapers tested. Even sporting events in the media are subject to various forms of framing. In the research on media framing during 2012 Olympic Games, Yoon and Wilson (2016) focus on how Western media framed both South and North Korea during the above-mentioned Games. The way the country and its sportspeople were framed, differed significantly when comparing reports from South Korean media and Western media. South Korean journalists focused on sportsmanship and the sporting results, whilst Western media combined sports with politics and cultural differences, presenting any success of North Korean participants through the prism of North Korean regime and clash of nations rather than individual athletes' trainings and efforts.

4.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

In terms of analytical framework, this research is composed of three stages, which comprise first, quantitative and then qualitative content analyses and the final two research questions

posed here, require the employment of Critical Discourse Analysis. The final procedure is based on analytical frame developed by Fairclough (1995) in order to scrutinize the coverage of the three stations on DPRK. Among many different approaches to CDA, Fairclough's methodology seems best suited to answer the research questions posed in this thesis. Namely, the aforementioned approach, especially its 'three-dimensional framework for analysis' (Fairclough, 1995) allows to contrast textual data against larger institutional and social context, which is essential when conducting comprehensive analysis of frames. Also Tenorio (2011) in his overview of CDA, stresses the central role of the approach in identifying ideology, power, dominance, prejudice and representation - all under scrutiny in this research.

4.3.4 The development of CDA

Van Dijk (2013) portrays Critical Discourse Analysis as a domain that deals with analysing spoken and written texts in order to uncover discursive sources of power, dominance, disproportion and bias (Sheyholislami, 2001). The main assumption is to analyse how specific social, historical and above all political contexts influence the reproduction of discursive sources. Similarly, according to Tenorio (2011), CDA was designed to: 'question the status quo, by detecting, analysing, and also resisting and counteracting enactments of power abuse transmitted in private and public discourses' (p.187).

The early beginnings of critical discourse reach back to 1970s England where a group of linguists developed Critical Linguistics (Sheyholislami, 2001). The approach was aimed at identifying ideology in discourse and the way ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic practises. One of the pioneers of developing CL tools was Fowler (Fowler 1979, Fowler 1991) who based his methodology on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1978). Following Halliday, the language in use performed three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. The SFL assumptions of language as a social act were

central to a number of CDA practitioners and thus over time the Critical Linguistics, which has been rebranded as CDA has evolved to encompass a number of studies (Fairclough, 1992, 1995; R. Fowler, 2013; R. Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 2018). Modern research into critical discourse has revealed numerous concerns over the audiences and their perception and interpretation of texts (Fairclough, 1995) or the focus of CL on grammatical and lexical analysis with little attention paid to intertextual analysis of texts (Sheyholislami, 2001). Thus, the CDA research has expanded into different directions, namely, Socio-cognitive model developed by Van Dijk (1988), Discourse Sociolinguistics (the Vienna School of Discourse) and especially the discourse historical model approach by Wodak (2011) and in the end, the approach selected for this thesis, Fairclough's framework for analysing communicative events (Fairclough, 1995).

To Fairclough (1992) the approach seems clearly political in its assumptions. The researcher believes discourse to be a way for people to react to the world and at the same time, it becomes a sort of a representation. The term 'critical' enables to present connections and reasons for some motions or acts which might be otherwise hidden; in the same way it becomes a call for intervention. Every utterance is supposed to convey a broader sense of meanings and those messages are identified by our direct social, political and historical conditions (McGregor, 2003). From authorities, opinion leaders, politicians and ruling bodies to popular mass icons, these individuals and organizations are able to shape opinions and set boundaries of legitimate discourse. 'Our words are politicized, even if we are not aware of it, because they carry the power that reflects the interests of those who speak' (McGregor, 2003, p. 2).

Basic principles of CDA have been summarised by Wodak and Fairclough (2013). Their tenets are as follows:

- CDA's aim is to address social problems;

- power relations are perceived as discursive;
- discourse constitutes society and culture;
- discourse does ideological work;
- discourse is historical/intertextual;
- there is a mediated link between text and society;
- discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory;
- discourse is a form of social practice or social action

When analysing the above criteria, it becomes clear that the interest of scientists lies in the study of relationship between power and language, at the same time, let's not forget about the influential groups in society that use language to legitimize their positions and supreme roles. It is a sort of indirect power struggle to control the masses by use of intentional language without apparent visibility from those groups.

This thesis draws from Wodak and Fairclough (2013) assumptions, however, the main focus will be placed on ideology and ideological implications of news and how they relate to the three realities of the West, the Middle East and Asia. While analysing the discourse of the selected media hubs my main goal will be to present the differences in the production of news articles, as well as how, and to what extent, they are ideologically influenced. This data will allow me to examine how by use of discourse, various beliefs, ideologies and propaganda, framing practices are being expressed. On top of that, the inseparable correlation between text and society forces us to perceive discourse not as a single unit, however, in order to be able to understand it, discourse needs to be contrasted with social, cultural and global context to reveal affiliations, influences and biases (Abdullah, 2014).

4.3.5 Previous CDA research on DPRK

So far not much attention has been paid to discourses on DPRK from the perspective of CDA (K. H. Kim, 2014), only selected studies analysed this type of discourse. Jiang (2006) investigated request and refusal strategies in the question–response sequences of interactions in press conferences held by China and the US on the North Korea nuclear crisis within a period of 5 months. The study, nevertheless, more aimed at discussing cross-cultural differences in responses and refusals than in the actual reporting on the country. K. H. Kim (2014) adopted a different approach to discourse analysis in her paper on US news media discourses on NK. The study presented an incorporation of two approaches, namely discourse analysis and a quantitative corpus-based approach. The results of the research revealed that US has a tendency of polarizing news stories when it comes to foreign countries, further dividing these countries, regardless of geographical location or historical relations, into specific sets based on those countries political position towards the US. Yet, another approach to discourse was adopted by Ter Molen (2013) in her research on textual and visual symbols used in the portrayal of DPRK. The researcher implemented Herman and Chomsky’s propaganda model and conducted a discourse analysis of a TV documentary presenting life inside North Korea. Her assumption was that when media are under corporate control rather than state ownership, the selection of programming and news coverage tend to be influenced by ‘a guided market system’ (2013, p. 6). The results presented how economic, political and social power influence negative reinforcement of frames on NK at the same time obscuring North Korean culture. On top of that it was proven that media discourses are created accordingly to the needs and wishes of the power elites. When looking at international reporting on DPRK, Byung-Jong (2009) studied news on North Korea from five different countries: the US, the UK, Russia, Japan and China. The research adopted discourse analysis with inductive frame identification, where the subject matter of the study was the case of

nuclear issue. The image of DPRK in view of sports has not been a common topic of studies, nevertheless, Yoon and Wilson (2016) present the results of a discourse analysis of news content on the country during the 2012 Olympic Games. The focus was on the demonstration of representations and particular lexical meanings in texts. The questions they raised concerned the way discourse reproduced, transformed or even created social and cultural relationships and meanings. The next step was the analysis of the differences between stations, paying attention not only to South Korean versus western coverage but also within individual datasets. The findings strongly suggest significant discrepancies between regions, with South Korean press exhibiting more cooperation, brotherly tones that convey the notion of healthy competition and sports spirit. The western media were found to skew to conflict and drama frames, characteristic to western style of reporting in general. The researchers explained the propagation of negative stereotypes and a sort of racism by western media by attributing them to the hegemonic processes at work making western journalists naturally prone to writing in ways that ‘foreground war-related themes and accentuate conflict’ (2016, p. 519).

4.6 Data collection and coding scheme

4.6.1 Sampling method

When designing a proper content analysis procedure, the most important thing is to conduct the research intended, in the most objective and scientific way. Thus, the selection of samples plays a great role in an attempt to create a solid, generalizable and above all systematic analysis.

As the topic of this thesis suggests, the focus of this research are global media framing trends, that is why the author of this thesis decided to analyse articles and publications from

three major international media outlets that represent global news providers with the widest range and signal access in the world.

The articles for this research were collected from the official websites of CNN international edition, Al Jazeera (English version of the website) and CGTN website – an English version of the CCTV channel group. These three media have impact on lives of millions of people, providing news as well as a perspective on global events. The selection of the media results from relatively high credibility these news agencies have among viewers. According to 2017 survey, over 65% of Americans consider CNN as either very credible, credible or somewhat credible source of information with only 21% believing it not to be trustworthy (Consult, 2018). Similarly, in case of Al Jazeera and CGTN, recent surveys published online paints a picture of fair amount of trust in the content of the news they provide. The Media Bias Fact Check portal confirms Al Jazeera (English) and CGTN to be moderately trustworthy news stations with high likelihood of solid sources for international information ("Media Bias Fact Check ", 2018).

Time frame

Once the television networks were selected as media, the next step was to define the time frame of the research. The key aspect here was the decision whether the research is aimed at analysing an episodic event set at some point in time or the focus is on developments and changes transpiring over a longer period. This thesis attempts to study global trends, thus a period of one year (2018) was selected with an analysis of articles published every week on systematic days. The decision was based on the limitation of one of the sources; namely, the access to CGTN website archives is limited to one-year back, thus the decision to limit the timeframe for all three stations to that period of time in order to yield overall systematic and quantitative results.

Sample collection

The procedure of collecting samples underwent a few stages. First of all, as this research studies global media frames on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the keywords *North Korea*, *DPRK* and *Kim Jong Un* were used in the search bars of all three stations' websites. Next, in case of each website, the results were cross-referenced for recurrence, given the common use of smart algorithms in search bars that analyse the content of the articles and yield all results, not only the ones containing the key words in the title but also within the texts. Once the pool of articles, publications and reprints of video stories was gathered, it turned out that the results yield in great numbers for each station. In order to limit the number of results and at the same time assure systematic and quantitative analysis the 'systematic random sampling' method was selected to organize and collect articles, commentaries and web reprints of the video stories from the stations' news sections. Wimmer and Dominick (1994), describe 'systematic random sampling' as a procedure in which every *n*th subject or unit is selected from a group or collection. The condition is that each unit or case must have an equal chance of being selected and the selection must be free from subjective intervention by the researcher.

In this research, the articles were selected based on seven-day intervals, in order to ensure that publications from all days of the week were gathered. The days, which yielded no relevant results, were excluded, the same for publications shorter than 200 words. Also, articles that only mentioned one of the key words, however, placed focus on other subjects than the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were eliminated. At the same time, when there was more than one publication on the selected days, all relevant articles from that day were included in the final pool. CGTN yielded the biggest number of relevant articles with 60 on record, CNN 57 articles and Al Jazeera 43 items. These research results embody particular weeks as each article was collected as a representative of a given week starting from the beginning of 2018. This way it was possible to compare and contrast the selected stations as

well as the changing or prevailing trends over a longer period of time, which enables a deeper and more comprehensive analysis.

Types of news articles

Considering that, this study is an attempt to research and measure dominant frames and biases of news media, all types of news articles were taken into consideration such as: commentary, masthead editorial, op-ed, column, hard/straight news, long-form and others. Previous studies often focused on commentary or editorials, however, in order to paint a more complete picture of media frames and their trends, all types including hard/straight news stories are considered vital for this thesis research.

Unit of analysis

Every quantitative analysis requires the use of specific units in order to measure the content under scrutiny. The selection of the unit of analysis depends mostly on what is being analysed. Wimmer and Dominick (2003) claim that it can be a single word, or symbol, a theme or even an entire article or a story, adding that when it comes to frame analysis often single articles that were published in selected magazines over a certain period of time become units of analysis. Once we have made the decision to choose a certain media to be analysed it is crucial to 'define clear selection criteria and rules for inclusion or exclusion' (A. Hansen et al., 1998, p. 105) of media texts. The same authors also add that as quantitative technique content analysis reports how often different aspects of text repeat, 'what their prominence is relative to other aspects or dimensions' (ibid), thus it is essential to have clear definitions of what is being counted. For the purpose of this research, both entire articles as well as individual words and phrases comprise units of analysis, given the fact that both quantitative and qualitative techniques are employed here to determine dominant media frames in selected global news stations. On top of that, frames are conveyed in rhetorical devices including metaphors, catchphrases, quotes and visual images (Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997) that is

why in order to conduct a comprehensive content analysis it is vital to include them all as units of analysis.

4.7 Content analysis procedure – codebook, story number, date, and sources

The most crucial part of any content analysis is the design of a proper coding schedule. According to A. Hansen et al. (1998), it is similar to a survey questionnaire – ‘it contains a listing of variables which are to be coded for each programme or article’ (p.116). The initial part of this thesis’ research is largely quantitative in nature and is based on calculating frequency in appearance of certain elements, words and phrase clusters as well as perspiring tones and other quantifiable elements. For the purpose of rendering analytical data, both quantitative and qualitative, NVivo data analysis software has been employed to process significant amounts of data from all the articles collected for the purpose of this study. The use of computer-assisted analysis allows to compare and contrast the results from the three media in an objective and unbiased way, as the procedure merely counts the number of words and identifies the location of word clusters, leaving out the notion of subjective interpretation.

Codebook

As stated above, the unit of analysis is a single news article in this content analysis. The following codebook proposes a two-way analysis (see Appendix A). First, the codebook focuses on the manual identification of the variables from A to I specified below. The next step is the analysis of the strength and dominance of the previously found generic frames (I). The procedure of identifying dominant media frames is an exploratory scheme proposed by the author of this thesis. Thus, codebook of this research is comprised of the following elements:

Part I

A) Coder’s name

- B) Story number
- C) Date of publication
- D) News station
- E) Number of words in each article
- F) News sections
- G) Tone: positive, neutral, negative and mixed
- H) Sources
- I) Generic frame analysis
 - I1 Attribution of responsibility
 - I2 Human interest frame
 - I3 Conflict frame
 - I4 Economic frame
 - I5 Prescription and evaluation frame

Part II

- J) (Perceived) Frame strength/dominance

Story number

The articles were collected following a systematic random sampling technique, which method enabled to select 46 days from the year 2018. The technique assures unbiased selection of the sample, at the same time guaranteeing that all articles from all days of the week were sampled. The results yielded 160 articles (57 from CNN, 60 from CGTN and 43 from Al Jazeera). The previously selected days that did not produce relevant results were excluded, while the days on which there were more than one relevant publication, all articles became part of the sample.

Date of publication

This research comprises articles collected from the three media over the course of one year from January 2018 to December 2018. As this research is aimed at studying trends and changes over time it is vital for coders to record precise date of the publication of each article

as it allows to compare and contrast publications between stations (e.g. how each station covered certain events or affairs).

News station

The articles were selected from the official websites of each medium, using the websites' article archive search bars. In order to yield relevant results, keyword searches with the use of the words: *North Korea*, *DPRK* and *Kim Jong Un* were conducted for each medium.

Number of words

The information on the length of samples allows to measure mean/average length of articles produced by each station as well as to compare and contrast each medium, providing vital information on the attention the case study – DPRK receives. According to Falagas, Zarkali, Karageorgopoulos, Bardakas, and Mavros (2013) in their paper on the impact of article length on the number of citations, a greater article length could reflect increased complexity and a higher quality of the publication. On top of that, longer articles are expected to contain more information, thus increase the possibility that the events covered will be analysed in more depth, painting a more comprehensive picture of the issue. Furthermore, they claim that lengthier articles are clearer and more elaborately presented, therefore, have greater impact on the readers.

News sections

The selection of news topics by the stations will have a direct influence on the remaining variables researched here, thus this aspect of analysis has augmented the codebook. On top of that, media is said to focus most on conflicts, politics and economy (Brewer, 2006) with little or lesser focus on other sections. The choices made by the media houses in terms of selecting news sections will reveal the tendencies to cover foreign countries through certain prism,

which enables easier framing practices. When a given issue is covered only through selected aspects, the image and opinions on this issue become distorted and adulterated. The analysis of the news sections preferences of the three media will present the way the stations adopted to portray DPRK to their readers.

Tones

The next variable analysed here is the tone or ‘an attempt at classifying coverage in term of value judgements, or assessment of the ideological stance, accuracy, or informativeness of coverage’ (A. Hansen et al., 1998, p. 114). A number of researchers have undertaken studies into the dichotomies of positive – negative, favourable – unfavourable type of stories (C. H. De Vreese, 2003; Einsiedel, 1992; H. De Vreese, 2001; Kweon, 2006; Saleem, 2007). The main attempt was to decide if the overall impressions of the articles, publications or other mass media messages were encouraging, simply informative or whether they rather expressed some negative bias achieved by the use of a number of techniques. Following C. De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003), frames often have inherent valance that is expected to influence the overall message, thus it is vital to measure to what extent the three stations are similar in producing valanced news.

In this thesis, the tone will be analysed in four dimensions:

- Positive tone: The case study – DPRK- is portrayed in a positive light, the stress is on the development of the country, the article presents cooperation, agreement and hopeful outlook for the future, the actors in the text are presented in a positive way, the stress is on progress, economy, humanities, science, etc.
- Neutral tone: The news article does not appear to discuss the issue either positively or negatively. The focus is on conveying the message; the publication contains information without additional analysis or suggestion of the outcomes or results, there is no commentary from the journalist or potential solution to the problem presented.

- Negative tone: The country and its leadership are presented in a negative way, the focus is on conflict, war, poverty, lack of cooperation among nations, peoples; there is some mention of immediate threat, danger, the future seems negative, pessimistic and unattractive.
- Mixed tone: DPRK and its leadership are presented using both positive and negative tones that balance each other out, there is no dominance of either positive or negative tones. The message seems balanced and comprehensive. There are some solutions to the problems presented, however, they do not skew the overall impression of the article either way.

Sources

Researchers agree that sources can influence the message and the frames contained within making them more credible. Druckman (2001b) claims that people turn to elites for leadership and direction and in this way, they become selective about which frames they believe, adding that they only trust frames that come from sources they recognize as credible. In this thesis the use of source/actors in the articles might significantly skew the tone and overall impression of the articles as when using the opinions of one side of the story, the picture becomes distorted. The US media have a tendency of portraying events from the point of view of American sources only, thus presenting a biased storyline (B. J. Lee, 2009). In order to measure the sources used in this codebook, ten categories were identified: [1] North Korea officials (incl. government), [2] US officials (incl. government), [3] China officials (incl. government), [4] Qatar/Arab officials (incl. government), [5] International officials (incl. international organizations), [6] South Korean officials, [7] South Korean citizens, [8] North Korean defectors, [9] Other (e.g. foreign diplomats, etc.), [10] not mentioned.

4.7.1 Inductive and deductive approach to content analysis

The researchers Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) offer two methods of content analysing media frames in the news: *inductive* and *deductive*. The inductive approach favours analysing news stories as an open source of different media frames, beginning with ‘very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames’ (2000, p. 94). Given this method’s accuracy and possibility of analysing various frames within a text, it is a difficult to replicate, labour intensive approach. The other method, that the author of this thesis is going to implement in his research, is the deductive approach. It involves ‘predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news’ (Ibid, p.94). Following Semetko and Valkenburg, the deductive approach can be easily replicated, it is useful when dealing with large text samples or a greater number of issues, and on top of that it can detect differences in framing between different media (e.g. television versus press) as well as within the same type of media (e.g. local versus national press). The authors also claim that having analysed a number of papers on frames occurrence in the US and European media (Brants & Neijens, 1998; Neuman, 1992; Semetko et al., 1991; Semetko & Schönbach, 1994; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Van Dijk, 2013) and other, the deductive approach seems to be a more reliable and comprehensive method of identifying (generic) frames in the news.

4.7.2 Generic media frames

In this thesis, initially five generic frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) were used to measure the way the three stations frame the DPRK and at the same time based on the results of the below analysis to show overall trends in media framing that dominate in the three global media. After a few pilot studies with the use of the abovementioned frames, it became clear that one of them (morality frame) was not used in the reporting, due to its

predominantly religious nature, thus it was replaced by prescription and evaluation frame (Boydston et al., 2013).

The classification proposed by the above authors, emphasises [1] conflict frame as a discord between individuals, groups, institutions or countries, this frame is favoured by media agencies for attracting greater audiences. Neuman (1992) wrote that most commonly present frame in the US media reporting focused on conflict, adding that the discussions between political elites in the news, often reduce complex political debates to overly simplistic conflict, providing presidential campaigns as an example. [2] Responsibility frame enforces accountability for a problem or event to either government, a group or an individual. Next, [3] human interest frame, which uses an emotional angle, dramatization, a human story, or an individual's face to present a problem, issue or a story. The aim is to make the message more salient and closer to audience's personal feelings and emotions, thus making the story evoke sympathy or antipathy as well as greater interest. Number [4] economic consequences - presents a problem, an event or issue with reference to the economic consequences the above-mentioned will have on the country, region, institutions, groups or individuals. Gamson (1992) suggests that media agencies are prone to using the economic consequence frame to make the issue presented in the news story, more relevant to the audience and at the same time attract more attention and increase viewing. The final generic frame is [5] prescription and evaluation frame developed by Boydston et al. (2013). This frame identifies journalistic inferences in the issues presented in articles. Particular policies are proposed to address an identified problem. There might be a commentary and an evaluation of existing or proposed policies as well as speculative premonitions as to the future events.

In order to differentiate and later on analyse generic frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) developed a set of questions that are supposed to help identify frames present in the news. The choice of yes-no categories/binary coding strategy to measure the occurrence of

frames has an advantage in the form of intercoder reliabilities being relatively high. The author of the thesis decided to use the below researchers' binary coding strategy to be applied in his research as it proves the most accurate and relevant outcomes for the needs of this paper. Below, there is a variation on the set of questions proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg and Boydston et al. (2013) to assess the occurrence of media frames. The abovementioned authors used a number of questions, ranging from three to five per frame, to assess their occurrence. The author of this thesis decided to modify the proposed scheme as in case of some questions, they seem to simply augment one another, thus in some cases two questions relating to a similar issue are treated as one. By this token, the final procedure proposes a set of three questions per frame.

Generic frame identification questionnaire

Conflict frame

1. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries? (Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?)
2. Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
3. Does the story refer to winners and losers?

Attribution of responsibility

1. Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem?
2. Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem?
3. Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? (Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?) (Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?)

Human interest frame

1. Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue? Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
2. Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion? Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
3. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?

Economic frame

1. Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
2. Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
3. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

(Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:100)

The final generic frame used in this thesis is the prescription and evaluation frame developed by Boydston et al. (2013). The author of this thesis decided to create a set of questions aimed at identifying this frame based on the findings of the abovementioned researchers. The questions for the final frame are presented below:

Prescription and evaluation frame

1. Is there a mention of potential results or effects of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
2. Does the story analyse if certain policies/steps/proposals will work, or if existing ones are effective?
3. Does the story offer specific prescriptions about how to solve a problem/what should be done to alleviate the issue?

Positive answer to any of the questions in each set will prove presence of a given frame in the text (see Appendix B). The above procedure will enable to elicit generic frames present in the publications, yet the question which frames become dominant in the competitive framing environment remains unsolved. At this point of study, it is only possible to identify headcount of particular frames without the option of pointing to the leading tendencies. Thus, the next step of identifying dominant media frames has been presented in the following chapters.

4.8 Frame strength and dominance identification - exploratory scheme

For the purpose of this research, the exploratory procedure presented in the form of a checklist table, is an attempt at grouping together most prominent attributes of frames. The factors listed below have been identified in the pilot research (see chapter on Frame dynamics in competitive context) as the ones holding the ability to reveal and indicate which

frames when present and put together become most dominant in news articles. At the same time, the dominant frames are believed to skew the opinions and push agendas emphasised by those frames. The procedure undertakes that in a single article, multiple frames compete over the attention of audiences (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b; Knüpfer, 2018), thus they will exhibit some of the proposed attributes. The frame with the most attributes is supposed to become the dominant one, leading over other frames. The overall structure resembles a sort of a foundation for a frame with attributes being ‘the bricks’, supporting and strengthening frames’ message and agenda. This scheme allows to reveal the internal processes taking place within an article as well as the interrelated dependencies between frames, as they do not stand alone, however, often one frame attribute encompasses the others enabling the frames to build the whole structure of the article.

The binary procedure has been constructed following the works of Semetko and Volkenburg (2000) and their method of identifying generic frames. The questionnaire form of the technique allows for an unbiased and objective method of identifying recurring frame boosting factors. Each frame attribute is assigned between zero and one point. In a situation when any of the questions in the set is answered positively, the attribute is perceived as present in the frame.

Attributes of frames (0-1 per attribute, max 6 points) Y N	Conflict frame	Attribution of responsibility	Human interest	Economic frame	Prescription and evaluation frame
Official and/or credible source Does the frame contain officially recognized and/or respected source supporting the claim? Is there a quotation or indirect report on what a politician, official representative or a specialist in some field said, supporting journalist's opinion/claim?					
Repetition/loudness Has the frame been mentioned a number of times? Have different sources supported the claim? Has the frame been a recurring topic of the article?					
Journalistic (textual) bias Does the frame use polarized, diminutive, opinionated language? Does the lexis used in the frame, present strong personal opinions of the journalist? Are there any words, commonly regarded as offensive used to describe someone or some place, a situation?					
Proximity hype Does the frame present potential threat/ implications to the reader? Is there a mention of a global consequence beyond the location/point of the event/issue/problem? Does the frame imply the use of external sources or force to solve the problem? Is there a feeling of omnipresent catastrophe or a disaster potential to happen in the future due to the results of the frame?					
Episodic frame Does the frame focus on an episodic event, a human story? Is there are representative or a main character of the frame? Is there an emotional angle to the frame? Does it evoke feelings of happiness, anger or sadness?					
Negativity bias Does the frame present the event, people, situation in a negative way? Does it put them in bad light? Is the language negative, pessimistic? Is there a feeling of incoming disaster or some worsening of the situation due to the results of the frame?					
Total number of points:	J.1	J.2	J.3	J.4	J.5

Table 4.1 (Perceived) Frame strength /dominance question scheme

The table, incorporating the use of quantitative, qualitative and finally discursive approach, has been designed to test (generic for the purpose of this research) frames for the presence of the above attributes. The questions are supposed to be a sort of guidance in defining whether the given attribute is present. Should the answer to at least one of the attribute questions be positive, the presence of a given attribute could be confirmed. In a competitive context any number of frames can contest over the attention of readers, thus this procedure, allows to measure (in an empirical way), which frame has attained the biggest number of attributes, on a scale from zero to six, making the one with the most attributes the dominant frame in a selected article. The results of the analyses on the reporting on DPRK will be presented in the form of tables, detailing dominant tendencies in all the researched articles combined and then separately by individual broadcaster. This will enable to compare and contrast frame strength tendencies that will emerge from the analysis.

4.9 CDA model of analysis - lexicalisation and predication

The research adopted in this thesis has three stages with discourse analysis being the final one. The general focus of this study is the linguistic analysis of written texts and with the popularity of discourse analysis, there have been a number of strategies used when processing texts. Researchers analyse grammar, sentence structures and other elements of language, nevertheless, the main focus should be on the selection of lexis, which allows to reveal different values, beliefs and agendas behind texts.

When examining the data for this research, different strategies were selected, based on previous studies. In the first place, on top of Fairclough's theory, the notion of 'lexicalization' (Richardson, 2006) has been selected. In most cases, the study of the type of lexis used is the initial part of any textual or discourse analysis. The researcher states that 'words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular- they convey connoted as well as

denoted meanings' (2006, p. 47). The choice of lexis e.g. in the form of naming or labelling is a powerful propaganda and ideological device. The way we call someone or something may reflect the way we perceive and categorize them (Aslani & Salmani, 2015; Van Dijk, 1995).

Another strategy adopted to present the findings of this research is discourse historical approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2015). The focal point of the approach is the development of conceptual framework for political discourse, investigating the language used in institutional settings. They adopt the idea of predication or in other words labelling social actors in either positive or negative ways by means of stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits. It is a basic linguistic assignment of qualities and traits to people, objects, social phenomena and actions. In their research, they study how those specific groups are named and referred to linguistically, what features, and characteristics are attributed to them. It is achieved through specific forms of reference, based either on explicit denotation or on implicit connotation. Other elements enabling predication include the use of attributes in the form of specific adjectives, pronouns and prepositional phrases; collocations, or even by specific comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (Reisigl, 2001). Additionally Richardson (2006), points to modality, presupposition and hyperbole as commonly implemented approaches when constructing journalistic texts. That is why these elements will also be under scrutiny in this research.

4.9.1 Data selection for discourse analysis

The time frame of this thesis comprises the year 2018. It can be characterized as a year of détente and active reconciliation and cooperation efforts from both the US as well as the rest of the world towards the DPRK. The country was a recurring topic of numerous articles and summaries in the world press and television, allowing for a thorough study with abundance of publications throughout the mass media to select from. The articles collected for the needs of

this study were assembled through a loosely defined concept of composite approach (Barakat, Chard, Jacoby, & Lume, 2002). They represent events in the ongoing process of communication and negotiations between DPRK and the rest of the world that were covered by the three stations under scrutiny here. This way it was possible to compare and contrasts different angles of discursive processes undergoing in each station studied. CNN April 18th, CGTN April 18th and Al Jazeera April 18th articles present the summary and evaluation of groundwork meetings between CIA Director Mike Pompeo and Kim Jong-un in an effort to lay foundation for the upcoming talks between the president of the US Donald Trump and the leader of the DPRK. The next analysis, namely CNN May 28th, CGTN May 28th and Al Jazeera May 28th articles focus on the sudden break off in the presidential summit plans, with Trump cancelling the planned meeting on the grounds of lack of cooperation from the DPRK administration in fulfilling their denuclearization commitments. CNN June 13th, CGTN June 13th, Al Jazeera June 13th publications analyse the long-awaited summit between Trump and Kim with all stations detailing their conclusions on both the ongoing conflict but also on the potential winners and losers after the summit game. Shortly after that, the events lost their momentum with CNN July 7th, CGTN July 7th, Al Jazeera July 7th articles presenting the worsening of moods between the two conflicted sides lashing out at each other for lack of sufficient efforts in fulfilling cooperation promises. The next round of publications (CNN August 16th, CGTN August 16th, Al Jazeera August 16th) details the events around the sudden death of Kim Jong-un's brother at Kuala Lumpur's airport. Following that the coverage of the 70th anniversary of North Korea's founding celebrations (CNN September 9th, CGTN September 9th, Al Jazeera September 9th), deals with the changes in the style of the festivities which is seen as a sign of some anticipated changes undergoing in the country. Finally, the topic of the second round of talks between the US and the DPRK is scrutinised in CNN October 3rd, CGTN October 3rd, Al Jazeera October 3rd articles.

The selection of samples was dictated by the scale of the events and the extend of media coverage. The issues represent milestones of the activities between mainly the US and North Korea with some involvement of other countries directly involved in the conflict. The unit of analyses were entire stories that covered the same events in all three stations. Below is an overview of the articles selected along with their titles and date of publication.

Analysis 1: US-DPRK SECRET MEETING TALKS

CNN April 18th: *Why Pompeo meeting with Kim should make you sleep a little easier*

CGTN April 18th: *Trump confirms direct US-DPRK talks*

Al Jazeera April 18th: *CIA chief Pompeo held secret meeting with Kim Jong-un*

Analysis 2: DPRK-US SUMMIT IN SINGAPORE

CNN May 28th: *Trump-Kim summit: Is it still on?*

CGTN May 28th: *DPRK-US summit a go in Singapore*

Al Jazeera May 28th: *US-North Korea officials hold talks ahead of potential summit*

Analysis 3: NORTH KOREA NO LONGER A NUCLEAR THREAT

CNN June 13th: *Trump declares North Korea 'no longer a nuclear threat'*

CGTN June 13th: *Kim-Trump summit heralds thaw in DPRK-U.S. ties*

Al Jazeera June 13th: *N Korea media highlights Trump concessions on war games*

Analysis 4: US-DPRK NEGOTIATIONS FAILURE

CNN July 7th: *North Korea pans 'gangster-like mindset' of US as Pompeo signals 'progress' in talks*

CGTN July 7th: *DPRK calls results of Pompeo's visit 'regrettable'*

Al Jazeera July 7th: *North Korea lashes out at US, calls talks 'extremely regrettable'*

Analysis 5: KIM JONG NAM MURDER IN MALAYSIA

CNN August 16th: *Kim Jong Nam trial: Judge rules women's lawyers must mount defense*

CGTN August 16th: *Women accused of killing DPRK man in Malaysia asked to enter defense*

Al Jazeera August 16th: *Judge: 'Well planned conspiracy' to kill Kim Jong-nam*

Analysis 6: NORTH KOREA 70TH ANNIVERSARY PARADE

CNN September 9th: *North Korea holds military parade without ICBMs*

CGTN September 9th: *Is the absence of ICBM a sign for DPRK to break ice with US?*

Al Jazeera September 9th: *North Korea marks 70th anniversary without ballistic missiles*

4.11 Summary

This chapter's aim was to scrutinise the methodological approaches employed in this thesis. Particular attention was placed on quantitative and qualitative content analyses along with selected aspects of critical discourse analysis. The three techniques presented here were perceived as complementary in building a comprehensive picture of the framing processes taking place in modern media. The initial section of the chapter followed the development of content analysis, its common application but also particular limitations and critique from some researchers. The next section focused on previous research into frames on North Korea

together with varying approaches that were used to conduct analyses. Next, the justification of the selection of methodological approaches was provided with particular focus on the applicability of the method with reference to the research questions of this thesis.

Further on, this chapter has presented the process of collecting and coding data for the needs of this research. In the first place the sampling method was scrutinized, including time frame, types of news articles and unit of analyses. Next, the content analysis procedure was explained together with the codebook created for this thesis' research. Comprising the first two research questions, the process of identifying tones and sources was justified and explained in the following sections. The main focus of this thesis are the framing processes that transpire in media, thus the chapter also presented the technique used to identify generic frames in publications (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). As it had been examined in previous chapters, the notion of frames strength has been underdeveloped in its theoretical and empirical sense, thus the following section offered an exploratory technique of identifying frame strength and dominance in articles. The novel method was constructed based on previous studies as well as the assumptions of the technique of identifying generic frames. The chapter concluded with the presentation of the selected aspects of critical discourse analysis that were employed in the analysis of this thesis.

Chapter 5 CNN, CCTV AND AL JAZEERA - MEDIA REALITIES AND POTENTIAL BIASES

5.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to depict particular factors that influence international news framing along with an overview of frames emerging in the global reporting on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea - the case study selected for this thesis.

The next section presents an overview and analysis of frameworks with regard to the image and portrayal of the DPRK in different reports from major publishers. So far in the eyes of journalists from around the world North Korea has largely remained a secluded and isolated nation (Swaffield, 2009) under infamous communist rule (Holiday et al., 2017). The main focus of the global coverage on the country has been military threat and human rights abuse (Lim & Seo, 2009; Seo, 2009) with persistent lack of publications regarding other spheres of life such as economy or culture. Additionally, majority of discourses have followed a deleterious framing tendency of paying exclusive attention to negative propaganda with complete disregard for balanced standards of reporting. This type of analysis will enable better understanding and grounding the roots of the framing trends in the stations analysed here.

Further sections trace and explore the roots and the development paths of the three broadcasters analysed in this thesis in view of the socio-political background of the media and communication systems in their respective countries. The chapter initiates with a brief overview of CCTV - the first and the biggest Chinese television station with international ambitions. Its creation, significance as well as changes and political grounding are all presented here to provide a solid foundation for further analysis and the possibility to compare and relate findings of this thesis. In the same manner, the remaining two stations are examined to provide a succinct characteristic of both the stations themselves as well as the media

realities and function in each location. The knowledge of the internal processes that take place in the stations as well as external influences that potentially affect the overall publications is of vital importance when attempting an analysis of frames and framing processes. To Baron (2006) 'media bias could have a variety of sources, bias could reflect the preferences or world view of the owner of the news organization'. Given varying types of ownership of the three stations here, it is safe to state that the political and economic influences on the broadcasters exhibit a vital point when analysing media and their framing practices.

The chapter concludes with a summary offering a comparison between the stations with particular focus on divergences driving the production of news reporting that add to the overall framing of the news by the three stations.

5.2 Framing global issues

There have been several studies that recognised a number of factors that influence framing of international news (Jang, 2013; S. Kim, Dittmer, Fukui, & Lee, 2000; Seo, 2009). Among the most common findings are those stating that dominant ideology and national interest play a major role in influencing news framing (Becker, 1984; Wang, 1991). The same conclusions were expressed by Massey (2000) who believed that ideology is the main variable when looking for explanation of the differences in news framing among cultures. According to Becker (1984), dominant ideology of a given country is greatly enrooted in its culture, thus being the source of news framing. The previously mentioned researchers Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998), identified three types of ideological influences on the framing of news: dominant ideology, elite ideology and journalistic ideology or in other words occupational ideology of journalists.

Some researchers e.g. C.-C. Lee and Yang (1996), Novais (2007), claim that national interest is the main factor that stands behind the differences in international news coverage.

Brewer (2006) identified three types of national interest frames – conflicting interest frames, common interest frames and reciprocal exchange frames. Brewer also found that when a given country is perceived as a competitor to the national interest of other nations, the country is presented in a less favourable light. Yet, when the given nation is framed as sharing national interest or contributing to national interest through reciprocal exchange, their view on this country was much more favourable.

Another source of influence on frame building is presented by B. J. Lee (2009) and Scheufele (1999), they follow Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) findings on three levels of influence on media. They state that there is an external level, media organizational and individual level determining news reporting. The first one being the government foreign policy and then the media organizational policy which together with the government shape the attitudes of journalists and their news content. A special attention is paid to foreign correspondents as the main actors, who are the first ones to create brand new frames and then report them to their media organizations.

Following Herman and Chomsky (1988), one can argue that political ideology and national interests are able to build most facts of the news, especially the way they are framed and how topics are selected. Also B. J. Lee (2009) states that the idea of patriotic journalism (national interest) that journalists serve also plays a major role in how international news is shaped.

Lim and Seo (2009) write about framing and foreign policy claiming that there are significant differences in understanding foreign affairs when compared to domestic issues. Among many competing frames in news, domestic news are close to people's everyday lives and can be easily understood by general public, whereas foreign affairs are beyond their scope of understanding and experiencing especially when it comes to implications of their country's foreign policy towards other nations. Lim and Seo (2009) also add that:

‘Government and the news media compete for a frame in foreign policy areas because a frame defines what is accepted as reality and its interpretations’ (p.208). Such practices enable the power holders to enforce their vision of the world, with the ideologically hidden power of discourse, first building up in the public, to become ‘naturalised and automatized’, finally to become something considered a natural truth. This form of indoctrination is done by the use of certain words, grammatical forms and meta-texts such as visual images.

To varying extents, the above factors all contribute to building a certain image of any country portrayed in the reporting of major news providers. Thus, the below paragraphs will present a short overview of the media reality in the three selected news broadcasters analysed in this thesis in order to ground further findings with regard to particular ways the DPRK is presented by CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera.

5.3 Democratic People's Republic of Korea

With the surrender of Japan in 1945, the historical Korea was split into two countries: North Korea and South Korea under the supervision of the Soviet Union and the USA respectively (Deane, 2005). It was supposed to be a temporary compromise aimed at deescalating the conflict between the US and the USSR. In the early 1950s, the territory became a hot spot of the cold war fight over dominance between the world superpowers. Koreans from the North, supported by the Soviet Union, attacked the South in an attempt to turn the whole country into another USSR controlled communist land. In order to prevent the spreading of the Soviet area of influence the US supported the South (Litwak, 2017). The three-year conflict brought almost complete destruction of major cities in the country as well as the death of over one point two million people (Deane, 2005). After the war, the North Korean leader Kim Il Sung modelled his country after the nationalist ideology of self-reliance and separation (*juche*). The concept of being self-dependent has been codified in the country’s constitution, which is

based on three pillars: political independence (*chaju*), military independence (*chawi*); and economic independence (*charip*) (Chartrand, Harvey, Tremblay, & Ouellet, 2017). The country decided to focus on heavy industries like steel productions, mining and the military, initially developing faster than the South. In the late 1990s North Korea was struck by a famine which led to a humanitarian crisis, and the worsening of the situation of ordinary people. In 2011 after a sudden death of Kim Jong Il, his son Kim Jong Un, assumed command of the North Korean army. The new leader continues his predecessors' strategy of isolating the military regime from the world and continuing nuclear and missile testing, further damaging his nation's relations with the West. The actions of Kim Jong Un, led to an unprecedented level of tensions between North Korea and the United States in 2017. The fact that North Korea was able to launch its first intercontinental ballistic missile able to reach the mainland United States and tests of bombs seven times the size of those dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki prompted even harsher sanctions by the UN Security Council and an aggressive response from the US President Donald Trump, leaving the global community fearing the possibility of nuclear war (Osnos, 2017).

5.3.1 Global frames on DPRK

Boulding (1959) stated that the image of a nation might be shaped by media stereotypes, organizational ideologies and government influences. Similarly, the perception of a country can be described as a representation of its positive and negative aspects in media in terms of economic, military, diplomatic, historical, political and religious contexts (Bae, 2014).

Following the political decisions of the leaders of the country, North Korea has largely remained a secluded and isolated nation (Swaffield, 2009) under infamous communist rule (Holiday et al., 2017). Due to extremely limited access to the country, that includes restrictions on Internet access and mobile phone use for foreigners, Western image of life in

NK, has been mainly built on heavily regulated and selected images provided by the DPRK government, illegal clips from scarce tourists who managed to visit the capitol Pyongyang or verbal descriptions from foreign correspondents.

Holiday et al. (2017) claims that Western media have a tendency to cover developing foreign countries in a negative way (Eschholz, 2002; Holiday et al., 2017; B. J. Lee, 2009; Vanderbush, 1996) at the same time being biased towards their own interests (Angela & Stella, 2011). In case of North Korea the focus in the coverage is on military threat and human rights abuse (Lim & Seo, 2009; Seo, 2009). The same author also mentions the fact that this way of portraying foreign countries allows Western audiences to see their systems as more logical, functional and better developed (Holiday et al., 2017). Another American researcher Kyle (2001), criticizes US government for what he calls 'othering', in other words demonizing certain countries and presenting them as a threat to national (American) and world security.

The prevalent frames on North Korea in America have been analysed by Jeongsub Lim (Lim & Seo, 2009) in his paper on frame flow between the American government and major US newspapers with regard to North Korea. The research focused on the frames present in government statements and the New York Times and was limited to a four-month period after American president George Bush's speech in 2002 in which he declared North Korea to be a part of 'axis of evil'. It put the country in the spotlight along with Iran and pre-war Iraq, as a major threat to the security of the US citizens. The military-threat frame presented Korea as a 'terrorist-sponsoring country that pursued or exported missile technology and weapons of mass destruction' (p.14). The country was condemned as a brutal and repressive regime determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction with secret long-range missile program and basement nuclear bombs. The opinions prevailing presented North Korea as one 'remaining heavily armed and threatening...' (Lim & Seo, 2009, p. 15).

Most academic reporting on North Korea and its representation in the media is presented from American or South Korean perspective. There has been little attention paid to how North Korea is portrayed in world media, especially in Europe or the Middle East (Nurnus, 2015). The reasons behind this lack of proper findings may lie in geographical distance, not being directly affected by the North Korea conflict or the fact that neither Europe nor the Middle Eastern countries are members of institutions such as the Six-Party Talks. Nevertheless, there has been more and more attention being shifted towards Asia in the recent years by both European nations and the Arabic world.

Nurnus (2015) in their analysis of North Korea in European press, find that generally the stereotypical image of NK presents the country as an authoritarian dictatorship, isolated on the international arena, displaying a belligerent stance in dealing with the world. The narrative seems to be similar to the American media with differences in the frames European media employ. Additionally, the country is often depicted as ‘the worst place on earth’ (Nurnus, 2015, p. 183). The coverage of the DPRK is similar across the newspapers in focus with little or no effect on the narrative and the frames they display, regardless of their political orientation or country of origin.

Unlike the U.S. and Europe, China presents a slightly different set of frames on North Korea. Historically communist allies, the two countries have remained in regular diplomatic relations since the Korean War. In 1961, the two nations signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, it was a proof of their special relationship and as they called it ‘friendship cemented in blood’ (Hong, 2014). Both nations saw their mutual defence alliance in terms of protecting their shared communist ideology and China became a huge economic supporter of North Korea. Later on, with the economic reforms and changes taking place in China in the 1980s, the ties became looser, nevertheless, China has remained the closest ally of NK due to its strategic location. The country is situated between China and

democratic South Korea where Americans established their military bases, dangerously close to Chinese borders. A stable situation in NK along with the continuation of the Kim dynasty are a sort of assurance to China's national security, thus numerous investments of Chinese government in the economy of NK which are supposed to sustainably improve the economic situation of the country (Hong, 2014). Having said that, recent nuclear tests have made China 'increasingly perplexed and frustrated over its inability to persuade, cajole or pressure its previous friend and ally to give up its nuclear weapons program' (Hong, 2014, p. 285).

On top of that, when compared with Associated Press, Chinese Xinhua does not frame the nuclear threat as a part of a 'war on terror' frame. The Chinese news agency highlights the threat itself without presenting North Korea as a 'terrorist nation'. The attention is put on the negative impact on Chinese and North Korean friendship rather than a 'global terrorism' frame. It is consistent with the official stand of China: 'the nuclear test itself is unacceptable, but to define it as terrorism would cause damage to China-North Korea friendship down the road' (Dai & Hyun, 2010, p. 311).

The country, which supposedly has no direct contact and is not strictly involved in the crisis with North Korea, and yet shares American perspective and North Korean frames is Australia. Dalton et al. (2016) in their study on framing NK in Australian media reports that there are particular metaphors used when describing North Korea and its leadership. The language used in Australian media is mostly negative, dehumanizing and reductive, associating North Korea with 'abnormal, irrational human behaviours' (Dalton et al., 2016, p. 543). What might be surprising is the fact that in the samples the researchers decided to analyse, the most common description of NK was 'Hermit Kingdom' with 60 appearances and only five references to North Korea's official name: The Democratic People's Republic of Korea or DPRK.

The dominant frames in Australian major media outlets include military threat frame, where NK is seen as a potential danger to the safety of the world; psychopathology frame, which portrays NK as an unpredictable, irrational and ruthless nation. Other frames that are often repeated in Australian newspapers focus on the country being a pariah – isolated and secretive, a cruel dystopia – an Orwellian metaphor. The final frame presents NK as an impoverished nation. The general construction of frames on NK creates an image of a country that is paranoid and irrational, a nation that Australians should fear; the focus is on the potential ways of overpowering it and keeping controlled (Dalton et al., 2016).

5.4 Overview of the three broadcast media stations

5.4.1 China Central Television and the media reality in China

The station, originally known as Beijing Television, came into existence with a single black and white channel in 1958. It wasn't until 1973 than the station began airing in colour and by 1978, a year of sweeping economic reforms in China, it was renamed CCTV – China Central Television (Si, 2014). Following the growing demand, more channels aimed at the general public were opened, broadcasting mainly propaganda programmes but over time also more and more news and current affairs. Being the government owned and controlled mouthpiece of the propaganda, CCTV was seen as the announcer of government agenda and strategy for China. The launch of satellite TV channels for international broadcasting in the early 1990s was a major step of the Chinese government in reaching out to the international public, in order to present the party view on the world and China itself.

In a report on the state of Chinese television, Anne Nelson (2013) claims that it is not difficult to spot propaganda in the broadcasts of CCTV, yet the opinion is that the style of reporting has improved dramatically. The current reporters and editors of the station are both China and the US or Europe trained and they seem to exhibit, according to the author, more

unbiased, and independent approach in their work, even if there are still the so called ‘no-go’ areas (Anne Nelson, 2013, p. 20). The analysis stresses that the type of reporting corresponds to the story or issue’s relation and significance to the Communist Party. Similarly, issues such as the environment will be presented in a positive and developing way, focusing on the government’s efforts to improve the situation. The same goes for political topics like the reporting on Taiwan or Tibet, which will be more sensitive than on some other countries. Anne Nelson (2013) claims that those countries which are not strategic to the ruling party, do not require any special censorship or news filtering.

The main role of CCTV international channels is to ‘tell China’s story to foreign audiences (Xiaoling, 2010). One of the CCTV reporters stationed in London, explains that the reason why CCTV was created was because for a long time Chinese affairs both internal as well as external have been presented in an unbalanced way. The reason behind it being the fact that Chinese media were often voiceless worldwide and thus other media players were able to frame the country in their own way, presenting the image of China that would fit their political needs (Si, 2014).

According to one of the researchers and at the same time former workers of CCTV News Jirik (2016), the reporting on CCTV is to a great extent unrestricted, however, there are serious exceptions to that rule. The news on foreign affairs that have no direct impact on the government or the country are not seen as sensitive and do not require much censorship, had they not been forbidden before by the supervising SARFT –State Administration of Radio, Film and Television (Ken’ichi, 2011). Yet there are issues that are strictly controlled like a ban on reporting on the leadership families or even the leadership itself, unless Xinhua (the official news agency) had done so before. Another set of limitations is in place when trying to report on the Dalai Lama or the Catholic Pope, these topics are a ‘hot zone’, better left alone. The instructions, following Jirik (2016), are also clear as to Taiwan, Tibet or Japan. The

former topics should be avoided at all costs and the latter may only be presented negatively unless it corresponds to Chinese interests with regard to that country. Basically, ‘the closer a story came to Party and state interests and the closer the Party and/or state interest in question were to the political centre (Beijing), the less likely the story was to be reported, unless a higher Party or state interest authorized its reporting’ (Jirik, 2016, p. 3540)

In China, the relationship between journalists and politicians is much different from the democratic countries where journalists, at least theoretically, are guaranteed access to politicians and information. Chinese journalists are subject to tighter control from the officials and are even in danger of retaliation from them after publishing some negative news (Kuang, 2017). Another method of controlling reporters is a ban on attending official events for the media or in extreme cases being dismissed from work along with your supervisor (Bennett, 1990). In this situation, reporting sensitive news might be a risky business, nevertheless, journalists use various methods to stretch the boundaries and remain professional at work. Some researchers (Kuang & Wei, 2017; Y. Zhang, 2008) claim that Chinese journalists know their limitations, especially when they touch issues sensitive to basic state policies, like e.g. Tibet or Taiwan. Another group of topics that need to be dealt with carefully are those that have already triggered bans from propaganda authorities, here in most cases the freedom to report is almost limited to zero. A few scholars have analysed the tactics that the journalists use to report sensitive issues. They involve using an aspect of a problem to present the situation (in a way that would not trigger the response from the Communist Party) and provide political comment in the disguise of constructive criticism, writing objectively about the issue in question and requesting the improvement in situation without addressing the perpetrator directly (Kuang & Wei, 2017).

Previous research also indicates that the frames on sensitive news that journalists in China use are consistent with the government stance. If the government wants to unify its

message and type of framing of sensitive issues, they order the news organizations to use the news articles produced by the state news agencies, which is called ‘transprinting’. The news media are expected to follow the frames adopted by the governmental sources and thus become the mouthpiece of the Party (Kuang, 2017).

Numerous studies (H. De Vreese, 2001; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) indicate that the media coverage in the western countries tends to focus strongly on conflict in their reporting on politics. In China, where the opposition is not really present, the idea of framing politics as a conflict seems not plausible. Luther and Zhou (2005) in their paper state that Chinese journalists tend to adopt different approach when dealing with politics. Their focus is on comprehensive factual information without additional implications as well as a strong presence of leadership frames, concentrated on speech, actions and evaluation of the leadership. They also add that since the economic reforms in the 1980s, journalists have started incorporating human interest and to some extent responsibility frames, which was unheard of in the previously adopted Soviet style of reporting.

5.4.2 Cable News Network (CNN) and the American media landscape

In the United States, up until the 1980s, virtually all media power belonged to three networks: ABC, CBS, and NBC. Nevertheless, the 80s brought a rapid development of cable TV that offered more diverse channels in terms of specialized content as well as easier access to a wide array of entertainment and news. One of the major personalities of that era was Ted Turner who after the success of his TBS (Turner Broadcasting System) network decided to establish a revolutionary 24-hour news station CNN in 1980 (history.com, 2018). What made it unique was the fact that the news feed was delivered by satellite to cable systems all over the world. It was the first and the only television that provided live coverage of the space shuttle Challenger explosion in 1986 and later on it established itself even stronger during the

1991 Persian Gulf War when CNN became a non-stop war channel, providing the most accurate and relevant information on the conflict to the public globally (Allen, 2018). Soon it became the leading news channel, which not only changed the way in which television journalists reported the news but also how the news itself was made. The station revolutionised the way conflicts are presented, broadcasting live coverage from the hottest conflict zones with the onsite commentary from journalists who report alongside the fighting parties.

In terms of journalistic quality, the US media in general proudly claim their independence from political parties or governmental influences, unlike other countries where there is often a clear polarization and the media are most likely supportive of one of the political parties. American journalists are required to seek objectivity and are warned against ‘taking stance on issues, persons or events they cover’ (Reference, 2018, p. 2). The idea is to assure a clear separation of the newsroom and business office in order to avoid potential influences on the news from advertisers or political parties.

Nevertheless, the reality is that the above-mentioned idealistic image of American journalism is often contested by critics who claim that most of the US media suffer from inherent biases in their coverage, such as uncritical acceptance of capitalism, free markets and the two-party system on top of others. Several scholars e.g. Nossek (2004) observed that even though the US media hold great autonomy, they have reflected the government and officials’ stand on major conflicts that the US has been involved in. The explanation for it might be the notion of ‘patriotic journalism’ with media refraining from questioning or criticizing foreign policy especially when it comes to war or the promotion of national interest (B. J. Lee, 2009). Barker (2012) confirmed that American media tend to avoid critical analysis and accept censorship when they believe it protects vital national interest, especially at time of war: ‘When we’re at war, we’re Americans first and journalists second’ (Barker, 2012, p. 6). There

is also a claim that American government actually makes use of the media to propagate support for the government's actions, using journalists as emissaries of patriotic message that is aimed at winning over the opinions of the viewers (Barker, 2012). Different studies have researched the idea of such propaganda model (Bennett, 2003; Dickson, 1992; Gutierrez-Villalobos, Hertog, & Rush, 1994; Hallin, 1993) proving that the US media promoted Washington's political ideology when covering wars in Korea, Vietnam or Iraq.

Particular US news channels reporting internationally have been accused of skewing towards presenting news in a sensational way, instead of conveying actual knowledge. The pieces of news have been said to present a sort of infotainment that lacks context, has a tendency of being highly episodic and dramatic in its tone (Fahmy, 2009). Profozich (2009), suggests that foreign news in American media often relate to violence, with 'journalists being parachuted' (p.7) to temporary hot zones, to report on conflicts or dangers and once the situation calms down, they are sent to some other unstable places. This creates a distorted image of the world, presented by the media, in a constant state of war, danger and full of violence. This misleading view is later on passed onto viewers who start to perceive other countries as dangerous and hostile.

Numerous scholars have researched the idea of sensationalism and the portrayal of other countries in American media (T.-K. Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Halton, 2001; Snow & Taylor, 2006) and the conclusion is that basically American audience is mostly interested in events that involve disasters, unrests or terrorist attacks, often with the involvement of American citizens or the US as a country. Vazquez writes about the varying attitude of Americans toward foreign nations. Developing nations are portrayed mostly in a negative way, only when there is a conflict or crisis happening, the focus is on the military with lack of economic or social summaries, which would paint a fuller picture of a given nation. This claim is supported by Profozich (2009), who adds that there still exist neo-

colonial stereotypical beliefs about developing nations. Thus, audiences are being misinformed as the coverage lacks key explanations and context.

5.4.3 Al Jazeera and the media reality in the Middle East

Khatib (2009) claims that before the development of Al Jazeera, at a time when the satellite television was in its early stages, most citizens of Arabic countries had only access to nationally owned television channels, which mostly reported on leaders' speeches, official visits and activities, making the content utterly dull and monolithic. The profession of a journalist was not respected either because the viewing public perceived journalists as mouthpieces of dictators and political parties (Zingarelli, 2010). Khatib (2009) adds that the audience learned to ignore this heavy rhetoric, which focused on the leaders and disregarded the masses.

‘Whether it was president Assad of Syria or Saddam Hussein of Iraq, the image of a leader was a prominent one, continuously relayed to the local audience, and packaged positively: those television stations presented the leaders as benevolent, patriotic and popular’ (Khatib, 2009, p. 4).

This whitewashed image was a tool in the propaganda strategy of the state, aimed at enforcing obedience and promoting complicity in people at the same time assuring the regimes' appropriateness.

All that dull, old-style format was replaced by modern, engaging and graphically advanced style of Al Jazeera reporting, which was soon followed by other stations, forced to keep up with the new rival. Palloshi (2015) in his paper on media effects, states that it was Al Jazeera that challenged the Arab and Middle Eastern tradition of non-criticism towards the dictatorial regimes of the region. It had also taken the monopoly of information from the

hands of the regimes and made it more difficult for them to rule with the public being more informed.

Yet even though the government has loosened up the restrictions and censorship laws, media in the Arab countries are still considered heavily censored. Religion, political corruption and topics concerning sex and nudity are totally prohibited (Johnson & Fahmy, 2010), other controversial topics are often if not prohibited, at the very least restricted and treated as taboos. According to the Freedom House's 2009 rankings of press, not a single medium in the Arab world was judged as completely free and unrestricted.

Al Jazeera - meaning 'Peninsula' from the Arabic language (Al-Majdhoub & Hamzha, 2016) was launched in 1996 by Qatar's Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani with the aim to bring an independent source of news in the region, without the biased propaganda of Western media but at the same time free from the restrictions and limitations of the existing state run stations. According to the Director General of Al Jazeera in an interview from 2006, the main reason behind the creation of Al Jazeera was to give the Arab world the opportunity to express opinions and their point of view without the filtering and diluting from the Western media (Hashmi, 2010).

At the beginnings of its operation, Al Jazeera recruited or rather took over many of its first journalists from the Arabic service of the BBC. Lynch (2005) claims that the starting years from 1996 to 2004 can be considered the 'Al Jazeera era' because of the station's popularity among the Arab audience along with the great importance and impact on the Middle Eastern politics at that time.

In 2006 Al Jazeera, decided to spread its wings and win over audiences in countries other than the Middle East by opening Al Jazeera English (AJE). Al Jazeera produces and broadcasts news, political commentary, cultural, sports and children's programmes. Even though the programming format of the station originates in CNN, the main aim of Al Jazeera

is to establish an identity for itself that would embody both the Western standards and programming formats with the Arab culture, traditions and expectations of the Arab world. In their paper, Mohammed El-Nawawy and Powers (2008) analyse and distinguish significant differences in the type of reporting in Al Jazeera when compared to CNN or BBC. The most prevailing findings state that, the station is able to report more varied topics as it does not rely on viewing and ratings (being sponsored by the government of Qatar); they cover stories that have been neglected or dropped by other mainstream media and the general focus is more on the developing world. The results of early research on Al Jazeera's ideological underpinnings and operations has shown that it produces programmes that have 'more depth than most contemporary televised news as well as an agenda that emphasizes issues of particular importance to those living outside the post-industrialized Western world' (Mohammed El-Nawawy & Powers, 2008, p. 72).

Nevertheless, we must not forget that each medium is under some form of control or influence from external forces of the country or region it operates within. Even though the station is funded by Qatar state, Al Jazeera claims that they operate independently from the Qatari government. Even the Qatari royals deny any interferences in the programming decisions of the channels (M El-Nawawy & Iskandar, 2003). The opinions differ among scholars as to whether the station enjoys full autonomy from the sponsors, while apart from being dependent on Qatari royal money, even some of the board of directors of the station are members of the Royal family (Kasmani, 2014). Al Jazeera is not afraid of broadcasting all sorts of political dissidents of almost every Middle Eastern country, criticizing the neighbours of Qatar for violating human rights and presenting opposition to the official governmental rhetoric in those countries (Kasmani, 2014; Zayani, 2005).

Further pressures can come from the consolidated Arab identity. The new media caused an increasing homogenisation of language, by the same token solidifying Arab

consensus and ultimately leading to the creation of ‘pan-Arab identity’ (Lynch, 2006). According to Wojcieszak this type of ideology might be powerful enough to successfully influence the frames prevalent in the content of AJE, skewing the reporting to anti-western themes.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the notion of framing global issues by providing foundations, justifications and potential factors influencing frames. Among others, two considerations have been summarized as possessing the utmost power to affect frames. According to Becker (1984) and Wang (1991) dominant ideology and national interest play a major role in influencing news framing. Also Brewer (2006), claimed that the framing of a country greatly depends on its position towards other countries. The researcher wrote that when a nation shares national interest with another nation by exchanging goods, cooperating on scientific, economic or military level, the reporting has a tendency of being more favourable than that of countries that do not share common goals.

The next section offered a comprehensive presentation of existing frames on the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea in the reporting of major station around the world. The most common findings confirm the image of the country as secluded, backwaters with lack of any sort of personal freedoms or rights for its citizens. Regardless of the location, most journalist unanimously attempt to outdo the competition by picturing gruesome images of life in North Korea. From the US perspective, the existing frames follow a traditional pattern of portraying other countries in a negative manner. The focus is on conflict, famine and military aspects. Other reports analysed here present European, Middle Eastern and Australian perspectives. European reporting is perceived as less hysterical and rather distanced, similar to the Middle Eastern skew. Nevertheless, Australian frames on North Korea strongly

resemble those that could be found in American media. As a counterweight to the above, the analysis of Chinese reports on the DPRK revealed a more favourable and strategic articles that are a direct calque of Chinese government strategy towards North Korea. The publications promote cooperation and economic development that will enable the country to move forward and both improve the lives for its citizens and establish better international links.

Another section focused on the history of creation and the development of the three selected global broadcasters. Particularly, the underlying socio-political background of each station has been scrutinized to provide a comprehensive image of each station along with their potential limitations and constraints. When attempting a comparison between the broadcasters there emerged particular divergences in the origins and the method of operating dependent directly on the political situation in each region. CCTV for instance used to be referred to as ‘throat and tongue’ of the ruling Party, created as a means to convey government agenda and strategy for China. The international edition of the channel is aimed at being the Asian voice spreading positive information on China and its authorities. Nevertheless, latest research has brought updates on shifting focus from ideologically loaded content praising China to a more balanced reporting that targets information exchange and solid journalistic work. Critical voices claim that the station still follows traditional Chinese method of avoiding in-depth analyses for fear of being too critical towards some issues or officials and that the self-imposed censorship still takes place with regard to political figures or the so-called sensitive issues like Tibet or Taiwan

In opposition to the above, the American media has been characterised as praising conflict and aggressive scandalous reporting. Despite grandiloquent ideals of impartiality and complete freedom of press, due to commercial, political and also ideological influences, US broadcasters have been proven to frame the reality oftentimes following the so called

'patriotic journalism' that puts American interests first. The characteristics of the media scape favours highly dramatized and episodic in nature news stories that lack context and skew towards infotainment that distorts the image of the world by for instance presenting developing nations in mostly negative way. CNN, through the prism of the American media in general, appears to attempt the ideals of solid journalism, yet there are voices criticizing the station for focusing on American perspective only with evident following of the governmental line in reporting the news.

The third broadcaster, Al Jazeera, has been found to arise as a new global media power capable of shifting the hegemonic position of western stations. The television is praised for braking with the traditional restrains in the form of local customs, religion and old-fashioned respect for authority to provide well-balanced news stories that originate in the best journalistic standards of the former BBC employees. The enthusiastic reception of Al Jazeera originates in the possibility of Arab countries to present their perspective on both local and global events. The programming has been characterised as more in-depth, providing more meaning to news stories and above all targeting corruption and abuse of power. Nevertheless, some critical voices claim that the station might have a tendency to follow anti-western tones due to the newly developed pan-Arab identity.

Following the above discussion, the three channels exhibit different characteristics that allow to set them apart from one another. Despite all three stations priding themselves on attaining journalistic impartiality and offering balanced reporting, it becomes clear that all of them are bound by certain limitations in the form of political, institutional, religious or even worldview perspectives which directly influence the way they cover events, including the image of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

When considering this research in terms of theoretical perspective, it becomes an addition to the growing body of works on framing theory by examining framing devices

employed in the reporting on foreign countries. Studies presenting comparative results on similarities as well as divergences between non-western global news providers framing foreign countries has been limited, thus this research is an attempt at filling this void. Comprehensive review of previous works on the above topic has proven scarce results so this thesis is a vital point in comparative media research publications.

Chapter 6 CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE THREE STATIONS' COVERAGE ON NORTH KOREA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the findings and results of both qualitative and quantitative content analyses of the selected news articles. Particular focus will be placed on providing answers to the first two research questions posed in this thesis. In the first place, the employment of tones in the reporting on the DPRK will be scrutinised, namely the way in which news is presented by journalists. This aspect of framing plays a significant role in the reception of news by audiences. Publications skewed in a certain way will influence the readers by presenting certain issues, modified to fit the agendas of journalists and their organizations.

In the same manner, the answer to the second research question presented here concerns the selection and use of sources that are believed to have the power to mould the opinions of the public, strengthening certain claims while dismissing others. Journalists use sources to legitimize and convince the public to accept some agendas. The fact that particular frames are augmented with a quote of an authority or an official allows the frame to be perceived as a more truthful and more acceptable. The selection of sources in this thesis reveals both significant similarities and differences from station to station at the same time uncovering certain practices adopted by journalists of the selected stations in their reporting.

The chapter will analyse particular similarities and differences between the tones of the publications as well as their determinants. On top of that a comparative analysis of sources employed by the journalists will provide answers to the framing practices adopted and prevalent in the articles. The final section will conclude with a summary of the findings on these aspects of framing news stories.

6.3 Employment of tones in the reporting on the DPRK

The tone of an article or any publication is a cumulative result of a number of factors that affect the text. The studies into frame valance (C. De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003) cover considerations over differences between inherently valanced frames and those that seem to be more neutral. For Entman (1991) in his paper on plane incidents, frames in the news coverage carried implicit valuations. The use of certain lexical items skewed the tone of the publications into either being an accident and a tragedy or a deliberate attack. Apart from lexical biases that suggest valance, the tone of the narration might be expressed by means of visual images and graphic representations that augment the message, legitimizing the bias in the form of a subjective take on the story. C. De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003) in their paper on valanced news, suggest another technique aimed at increasing valance of news. The depiction of contrasted frames (friends-enemies, dictatorship-democracy) is supposed to enhance the message and clearly polarize between the good and the bad.

In order to answer the first research question posed in this thesis, the study assumed the division of articles by CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN into four tonal categories, namely, positive, neutral, negative and mixed tones (definition of each tone has been specified in the codebook manual). With the latest understood as both positive and negative tones coexisting together in a single article under scrutiny. Given the socio-political situation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its separation from the world by means of an ongoing conflict with the US and consequently the embargo put on the country by the international community (Litwak, 2017), the overall tones of the reporting on the country were bound to be mostly negative. Nevertheless, the result of the content analysis revealed that in the reporting of all three stations when combined together, the overall tones were mostly neutral with discrepancies evident when considering individual stations. The table below presents the cross tabulation of tones in the reporting on the DPRK. The analysis was

conducted with the help of an intercoder who had been trained to identify tones in the reporting following the instructions in the codebook manual. The cross-referenced results reveal significant divergences as well as similarities between stations.

	All stations (no of articles)	%	CNN	%	CGTN	%	Al Jazeera	%
Positive	23	14.4%	4	7.0%	14	23.3%	5	11.6%
Negative	44	27.5%	24	42.1%	11	18.3%	9	20.9%
Neutral	59	36.9%	18	31.6%	24	40.0%	17	39.5%
Mixed	34	21.3%	11	19.3%	11	18.3%	12	27.9%
Total	160	100.0%	57	100.0%	60	100.0%	43	100.0%

Table 6.1 Cross Tabulation of tones in the reporting on DPRK (2018) (SPSS analysis)

When the overall results of the analysis are considered, namely the spread of tones and consequently the ways the news bits are presented and framed, it becomes evident that DPRK is portrayed in the global news in either neutral or rather negative light with almost one third of articles being negative and only less than 15% depicting the country in positive light. On top of that, the fact that over twenty per cent of publications contained mixed tones signals that these articles covered the issues by prism of different points of view, which indicates comprehensive reporting work. When combined with neutral articles, we receive almost 60 % of publications that are neither positively nor negatively skewed, allowing for balanced reporting of news and to some extent leaving interpretations for the readers.

The actual differences in tones used in the reporting transpire when taking into consideration the stations separately. The station with the most negative output is CNN. The reporting of the station is considered either totally negative or neutral with mixed tones

reflecting the average overall number of mixed tones in all three stations. The articles that framed North Korea in positive light were limited to four items which, given the national as well as international scope of the broadcaster, might shed some light on the general tones in the American reporting on the country. The polarisation of views can be explained by the fact that the USA has been in fact, in a state of war with the DPRK, since the 1953 conflict never ended with a peace treaty and only resulted in a shaky armistice (Litwak, 2017). On top of that recent developments on the peninsula produced abundance of commentary and analyses from journalists trying to figure out and make sense of potential outcomes of the newly undertaken negotiations between Trump and Kim or cooperation efforts of South and North Korea (Kimball & Masterson, 2019). Yet, the American reporting can be characterized as strongly negative and pessimistic with accentuation on conflict and potential undesirable effects of the policies or actions of politicians. The situation presented in the articles seems gloomy and with not much leeway or chances for success. The way the country is portrayed directly reflects the position of the US government with most publications focusing on reporting analyses of what officials (mainly American) have said, augmenting it with repeatedly inserted flagship statements. The country has been referred to as *regime*, with epithets like *starving*, *depleted*, *rouge nation*, *brutal* and *inhumane* on most occasions. The lexical biases followed in the form of direct, emotional, and often sensationalized reports from various sources who expressed their own opinions without sufficient explanations provided to support their claims. The negative tones of the messages were achieved by hypothetical divagations over potential ‘pre-emptive’ attacks of the US on North Korea that found justification in the texts of American journalists. The reporting focused predominantly on episodic events that lacked proper historical background and were only augmented with exaggerated claims and threats. What builds the narration of conflict and constant threat in the reporting is the tendency to repeat accusations and clichés in the statements condemning and

accusing the leader of North Korea of possessing ‘missiles of mass destruction that can reach the mainland United States’.

‘He has a nuclear weapon, he has missiles of global reach (...) can reach almost any point of the globe or at least any point of his potential enemy’. (CNN, January 12)

In the same manner, angry tweets between D. Trump and K. Jong-un about Trump’s ‘nuclear button being bigger and more powerful than Kim’s’ have been repeatedly reported.

‘I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger and more powerful one than his, and my button works! — Donald J. Trump’ (CNN, January 4)

On top of that, there is a widespread adoption of proximity hype¹, a newly coined notion of hyphenated danger that even though remote, can affect audiences directly. The three main angles of hyphenated danger, presented in this thesis are all evident in the recurring dangers of potential war between the US and North Korea, the global threat of nuclear missiles and finally the references to global consequences of the situation on the peninsula and constant threats to the wellbeing of the global community.

The station with the most moderate and balanced tones in their reporting on DPRK is Al Jazeera. The majority of articles (67,5%) in this station were either neutral or had mixed tones. There were about 11 % articles, which were positive with as few as only one fifth of all Al Jazeera publication’s expressing negative tones. To some extent, the station repeated American rhetoric in terms of frequent reporting on nuclear buttons size or presenting the country as a regime and its leader as a monster and tyrant, with similar statements reiterating the missile danger to the US and the world.

‘...an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of reaching continental US’
(AJ, January 12)

‘...nuclear weapons programme that now threatens the United States.’ (AJ, August 8)

¹ The notion of *proximity hype* has been defined and explained in Frame dynamics in competitive context section of the thesis

Nevertheless, the reporting of Al Jazeera can be characterized as exhibiting analyses that are more thorough, there are rather neutral standpoints and less emotional and episodic stance on the news. The reporting focuses more on the actual situation and attempts some sort of analyses along with historical overviews of the issue in question. Unlike, nationalistically biased American content, the stories in AJ take into considerations other countries and their stances as well as their positioning in the ongoing conflict (Pembroke, 2018). There are even publications presenting America and its government as the negative characters of the conflict (AJ, May 20), putting a different perspective on the conflict and offering more varied and constructive criticism and evaluation of the situation.

‘In 1957, the US sabotaged the armistice when - against the advice of the State Department, in knowing violation of the treaty terms and despite the concerns of its allies - it abrogated paragraph 13(d) of the armistice treaty and introduced nuclear weapons onto the peninsula. It should be no surprise that North Korea's ambition to build a nuclear and missile arsenal dates from that time and in response to that provocation.’ (AJ, May 20)

Similarly, the tones of the articles reflect a more distant and rather detached attitude to the situation at hand. As a station from a country that is not directly involved in the conflict, Al Jazeera is able to provide different sides to the story, evaluating contrasting points of view and presenting a more complete picture of the issue.

The final station – CGTN, even though closest in terms of location to the source of the conflict, presented surprisingly similar tones in their reporting to the overall tones in all three stations, with the exception of positive articles being more prominent and greater in numbers than the remaining two broadcasters. The style of reporting (which is going to be explained in more detail in further sections of this chapter), achieved greater level of neutrality by the fact that the reporting on DPRK is rather simplistic and greatly limited to providing dry facts

without any sort of analyses or summaries. The dominance of neutrality in tones is a result of much shorter publications, in terms of length and type of sources used. The results of the SPSS analysis² revealed that on average articles from CGTN had as few as 450 words with Al Jazeera stories being at least half-longer (650 words) and CNN producing articles that contained on average about 900 words. Unlike the previous stations, the country and its leader lack diminutive characteristics, the proximity hype and exaggerated accentuation of conflicts is restricted to a few opinion stories that exhibit some sort of commentary to the situation presented. Nevertheless, together with the lack of the above negative biases, the missing historical overview and explanation of the situation in the Peninsula is also evident. The only cases when pejorative and openly biased language is used is when the station reports directly what the leaders of the two countries and its governments said, using quotations.

‘Trump: Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have nuclear button’ (CGTN, January 4).

The positive tones in the reporting of CGTN refer to two themes, one being the omnipresent urge to promote cooperation and reconciliation, with Chinese skew presented as the one supporting and enhancing all sort of opening up of the neighbour to the world. The other cases where the publications reach positive tones is when they report on social and lifestyle issues. CGTN is the only station that presents DPRK through the prism of other topics than the ongoing conflict and politics in general. Selected articles cover such topics as: sports and sporting events in North Korea – *ROK, DPRK send united pair to ITTF World Tour 2018 Grand Finals (CGTN, November 12)*, artistic performances – *Kim Jong Un watches joint performance presented by literary and art workers from China, DPRK (CGTN, November 16)* or the cases of family reunions of inhabitants from South and North Korea –

² IBM SPSS software – University of Nottingham license

Leaving in the rain, more elderly cross border for second round of family reunion (CGTN, August 24).

6.5 Dominant tones transpiring in the reporting

When analysing the image and perception of a foreign country in the news, a number of criteria need to be taken into consideration. It is not enough to simply focus on one aspect of the reporting to provide a comprehensive picture of a foreign nation and its people. On top of that when building general assumptions based on particular cases, thorough cross-referential analyses are required to provide valid data. The results of the tonal analysis conducted in this thesis proved partly similar findings to selected previous studies in this regard (Cain & Drumheller, 2014, 2019; Choi, 2010), yet there transpired significant divergences that allow to suggest underlying processes that take place in the production and selection of tones in the reporting which are an inherent part of the framing process.

The overall findings of the analysis of tones revealed expected discrepancies between stations, which are grounded in their varying political agendas, geographical locations and national interests (Dai & Hyun, 2010). The US tones in the reporting directly correspond with the policy of the American government in terms of portraying the conflict with DPRK. The majority of negative tones employed in the sample study did not question or stand in opposition to the official statements, in a way extending the governmental line. There were no critical reports that would suggest different options to resolve the situation or change the position of the US administration on the issue. In the same manner CGTN seems to reflect the stance of the Chinese government that has been advocating for cooperation and peaceful resolution of the issue. Hong (2014) in his article on China – North Korea relations writes about the governmental idea of the two countries sharing ‘friendship cemented in blood’ (2014, p. 10), adding that China is currently focused on developing North Korea’s economy

so as to maintain a stable North Korea and above all a stable situation on the peninsula. The same tones transpired in the articles from the station. When compared with the US and its focus on conflict and potential threat to the world security, which is directly reflected in the words and tweets of the US president Donald Trump, CGTN' tones of reporting suggest a rather positive economic rather than political resolution of the conflict. This employment of tones by Chinese journalists corresponds with the governmental idea of North Korea serving as a buffer in the peninsula against American influences and military presence in South Korea. CGTN employs 'safe' tones of neutrality and development without taking any actual stance that would go beyond the party line. The critical tones rather express worry over the stability and progress rather than the security of the world peace.

What stands out when comparing the three stations is the fact that Al Jazeera has been identified as the one employing the most neutral and balanced tones in their reporting, which suggests the underlying struggle of journalists and editors of that broadcaster to remain as objective and unbiased as possible. It might be the results of the fact that the journalists employed at Al Jazeera are mostly former workers of BBC Arabic, which was known for their high standards of objectivity and impartiality (Abdullah, 2014; Lahlali, 2011). At the same time in terms of length, when compared with CGTN publications, the materials prepared by Al Jazeera exhibit much more comprehensive approach and presentation of the issues. While the character of American reporting turned out to be the most biased in terms of tones employed by the journalists in their reporting, with statistically over twice as many articles expressing negative tones (42%) when compared to CGTN and Al Jazeera (18% and 21% respectively) they also lead when using biased lexis and proximity hype. The use of diminutive and pejorative language by CNN results in notoriety of negative tones, which are aimed at strengthening their message and legitimizing the decisions and actions of the US government. On the other hand, what characterizes Chinese broadcaster is the illusory effect

of neutrality and objectivity, in many cases achieved by the omission of any sort of commentary or summary of events with almost total lack of analyses, roots of the issues or prognoses for the future.

All the above tonal divergences contribute to the production of particular frames in the reporting, which influence the reception of events presented in news stories. What is also worth noting is the significance of the journalistic attitude on the formation of news. Highly negatively or positively skewed stories will directly affect the view on the issue, making it a biased reflection of the positioning of the journalist or the editor by presenting not only what to think about but also how to think about an issue.

6.4 Distribution of sources in the reporting on the DPRK

News framing is a complex process that employs a number of techniques and devices aimed at influencing the reception of messages. The selection and further on augmentation of articles with particular sources serves to strengthen particular notions, which become more convincing for audiences as the opinions on particular issues seem to be shared more commonly and collectively. Therefore, the actors present in the news reports play a significant role in the news framing processes. The publications of the three broadcasters here, have been coded and content analysed for the presence of the following sources: [1] North Korea officials (incl. government), [2] US officials (incl. government), [3] China officials (incl. government), [4] Qatar/Arab officials (incl. government), [5] International officials (incl. international organizations), [6] South Korean officials, [7] South Korean citizens, [8] North Korean defectors, [9] Other (e.g. foreign diplomats, etc.), [10] not mentioned.

The results of the quantitative analysis (SPSS) revealed that all three stations when studied together employed a number of diverse sources in their reporting. Nevertheless,

despite significant differences in their story types and journalistic styles, it turned out that for all of them the most common source of quotations were the American officials (see Table 6.2)

Combined sources in the articles	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid US officials	80	34.3%
North Korea	30	12.9%
Not mentioned	30	12.9%
South Korean officials	28	12.0%
Other	26	11.2%
Chinese officials	15	6.4%
International officials	13	5.6%
South Korean citizens	7	3.0%
North Korean defectors	4	1.7%
Total	233	100.0%

Table 6.2 Sources employed in the reporting on the DPRK from CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN

The second most prevalent sources quoted in the reporting belonged to North Korea, however, it must be noted that, the use of North Korean sources was limited to direct quotations of the leader of the country Kim Jong-un and the statements of the official news agency - KCNA (Korean Central News Agency). The same situation could be observed in case of the US officials; most of the quotes came from both official and unofficial statements (tweets) of the US president Donald Trump and members of his administration. What is surprising is the fact that almost 13% of publications contained no sources used to enhance and support the messages of the articles. As South Korea is an active member of the conflict on the Peninsula, the reporting contained a fair amount of South Korean sources (12%), yet the tendency to employ mostly official sources with the exclusion of regular citizens was also

noticeable here. The remaining sources, namely Chinese or international officials were quite rarely quoted. It seems that the conflict was reported mostly in terms of the two countries (US-North Korea) and its representatives (Trump-Kim) without much commentary from the outside. The voices of regular citizens of either South or North Korea, were mainly neglected with minimal exposure transpiring in the reporting (3% and 1,7% respectively).

CNN		Valid	Al Jazeera		Valid	CGTN	
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent		Valid Percent
US officials	39	48.1%	US officials	18	26.9%	US officials	27.1%
South K. officials	9	11.1%	North Korea	10	14.9%	Not mentioned	16.5%
North Korea	7	8.6%	South K. officials	10	14.9%	North Korea	15.3%
Not mentioned	7	8.6%	Other	9	13.4%	Other	12.9%
International officials	6	7.4%	Not mentioned	9	13.4%	Chinese officials	11.8%
Other	6	7.4%	South K. citizens	4	6.0%	South K. officials	9.4%
South K. citizens	3	3.7%	Chinese officials	3	4.5%	International officials	7.1%
Chinese officials	2	2.5%	International officials	2	3.0%	North K. defectors	0%
North K. defectors	2	2.5%	North K. defectors	2	3.0%	South K. citizens	0%

Table 6.3 Individual sources used in the reporting by CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN

As the Table 6.3 presents, when the broadcasters are considered separately, there transpire some significant differences in the employment of sources. CNN relies most heavily on American sources (48,1%), which seems to be understandable given the American origin of the station, with South Korea as an ally, quoted only slightly more often than North Korea. The remaining sources used by CNN seem to resemble general trends of the three stations. Namely, voices of individual people or politicians and specialists from other countries are in decline, with only single digit percentages present in the analysis results. It implies heavy reliance of American broadcaster on the governmental sources in their reporting, which

allows to draw conclusion that the station serves as an extension of the governmental line of framing the news. The fact that only 7,4% of articles employed any sort of international specialists or that Chinese voices (as a party involved in the conflict by being a neighbour and a supporter of North Korea, both ideologically and economically) were almost non-existent proves that CNN reports are limited to presenting, extending and legitimizing the stance and actions of the American government. The omission of voices from outside of the conflict enables the station to frame the conflict according to the idea of ‘patriotic journalism’³ (B. J. Lee, 2009). In a situation when almost half of all the sources employed in the reporting belong to American officials, the US president especially, the reality portrayed in the articles favours American national interest and their view on the conflict with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. Some CNN publications present even such far-reaching issues as the use of nuclear weapons by the US administration as a normal and quite legitimate step in the struggle. In one of the article titled: *Trump’s North Korea tweets renew debate over nuclear authority* by Killough (2018), the employment of nuclear weapons in the conflict is treated as a justified and quite reasonable solution, supported by quotes from a number of US politicians. There is even a detailed procedure of launching an attack described, with president Donald Trump as the one to authenticate the order ‘which others would follow and then missiles would fly’ (2018). There do not seem to be any voices of opposition to the whole idea, no potential consequences or an analysis of the situation and the devastating results such a decision would have. The sources selected in the article either support the idea, ‘We finally have a president who is actually dealing with the problem at hand instead of what we’ve seen previously, which is ignoring the problem’ (2018) or decline to comment on the issue. Even the way the White House commentary resembles a paean to the current president, portraying him as the one ‘who is not going to cower down, is not going to be weak’ (2018). The way the

³ Definition of ‘patriotic journalism’ was explained in Chapter 5 CNN, CCTV and Al Jazeera - media realities and potential biases

nuclear issue is presented enhances the legitimatization of the steps American administration might take, should the situation escalate even further. The repeated justification and support for the use of nuclear weapons desensitizes audiences and, in a way, adjusts them to this kind of rhetoric and way of thinking.

Contrasting the sources used in CNN with those in CGTN, the spread of voices employed by the Chinese broadcaster presents itself quite differently, except for the omnipresent hegemony of American sources, which were quoted most frequently by all three stations (see table 7.3). Surprisingly, Chinese journalists, had a tendency to omit the use of sources (16,5%) in their reporting and focus only on describing the situation or an event without augmenting it with any quotes from individuals or governments involved. As it was mentioned before in the paragraph on tones, CGTN articles were found to be significantly shorter than those of the other two stations. Thus, the publications apart from lacking any deeper analyses of the situation or some sort of background to the story, oftentimes also missed quotations that would support the statements of the journalists. The findings correspond with previously suggested claims of Quinn and Kierans (2008) who wrote that Chinese media in general tend to lack in-depth analyses of political events, as this is seen as more politically sensitive. The propensity was on presenting the situation at hand without excessive interpretation or assumptions about future developments. These conclusions parallel directly with previous observations of other researchers (Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad, 1998; Yang, 2012; E. Zhang & Fleming, 2005) who have criticized Chinese reporting for being void of solid journalistic foundations and historical overviews. On top of that, the reporting lacked voices from South Korean citizens who would be able to express their opinions on the issue or any statements of the situation in North Korea from numerous North Korean defectors who reside in China. Given the good political relations the DPRK has with China (Albert & Xu, 2016), it seems plausible to assume that the omission of NK defectors in

the reporting from CGTN lies in the fact that the situation and status of those people is not registered by China. After crossing the Korean - Chinese border the defectors are treated by China as illegal immigrants (BBC, 2019) and thus, not recognized as a reliable side in the conflict. On top of that, they most likely face detention, fines and deportation to their country of origin when caught by Chinese authorities (C. H. Kim & Kang, 2015).

CGTN shares some characteristics with CNN, in terms of the use of international sources. Both stations rarely employ quotes from international organizations or groups that present analyses on the situation on the peninsula. At the same time there transpire more statements from Chinese authorities involved in the conflict. More expression is also given to North Korea and their representatives. The quotes from the DPRK are more varied than those in CNN and present a wider scope of sources, from politicians to specialists, scientists and commentators.

The third broadcaster Al Jazeera, shares the spread-out of sources with the other two stations, yet there are some distinct differences. Namely, the three most often used sources in their reporting are more balanced than in case of the other stations. The quotations from the three parties most involved in the issue: The US, South and North Korea were all actively employed to support the claims of the journalists. There is a dominance of sources from the US administration, yet they are balanced with the quotes from the two Koreas, with both countries' sources equally present in the reporting (about 15% each). The employment of individual citizens or international groups is largely limited to only a handful of voices (6% and 3% of sources, respectively), which is in line with the general trends observed herein. Nevertheless, unlike CGTN, which omitted such sources, some attention is paid to North Korean defectors who are offered a chance to express their experiences and views on the issue. The station took interest in the stories of individual people, employing voices of runaways from North Korea:

‘It's really hard to imagine that the situation in the North would change. It's not something that could happen in my lifetime. But if the Kim Jong-un regime was to fall, I would take my weapons across the border and take revenge. But for now, I don't think I will waste my time thinking about something that will probably never happen.’ (Ghani, 2018)

One of the categories studied here - Other, collected all quotations from sources that did not belong to any of the categories listed above. Either there were too few mentions of the sources or they did not reoccur in all three stations. The results of the detailed textual analysis of articles revealed interesting results and pointed to noteworthy tendencies. Namely, CNN employed relatively few external sources and those that were present belonged to officials and politicians from foreign countries only. On top of that, these quotes served only one purpose, which was to support the stance of the US and legitimize the decisions of the US government. Every time a Japanese or Australian Foreign Minister was quoted, the rhetoric seemed to support the actions of the US government.

‘Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said her government welcomed "any dialogue with North Korea" but warned that "North Korea has a history of making agreements and then failing to honor them.”’ (Diamond, 2018)

This quote demonstrates an alignment with previous statements of the American administration concerning the way North Korea should be handled. In the same article, Donald Trump expressed his will to communicate and negotiate with DPRK, nevertheless he also stated that the sanctions on the country are to stay in place until a compromise is reached for fear of the Korean side not fulfilling their promises.

The only time opposing voices were presented was in case of the publications supplemented with the quotes by Russian president or Foreign Minister. Yet, the sources

served only to present the threat from North Korea and its leader. Vladimir Putin's quote referring to Kim Jong-un:

'He has a nuclear weapon; he has missiles of global reach, up to 13,000 kilometers, which can reach almost any point of the globe or at least any point of his potential enemy.' (Merica, 2018)

In the same manner Al Jazeera, focused on the previously listed sources in their reporting, quite omitting other external voices that could enhance the value of the publications. The scarce voices bore not much significance in the conflict (e.g. the Pope, sports coaches) and were rather used due to the need of the situation, or direct connection to the matters at hand rather than being the result of deliberate extensive research into the conflict that would bring new angles to the stories. The station that exhibited prominence in presenting additional points of view was CGTN. Despite the fact that, the publications from this station were much shorter than CNN articles (by half), the journalists managed to employ additional opinions and authorities on the topic. CGTN expressed voices that skewed the rhetoric of the conflict in different ways than CNN or Al Jazeera, with former communist allies like Russian leaders or quotations from North Korean Central Agency present in their reporting. What is also noticeable is the fact that journalists relied on a number of think tanks from various countries, such as South Korea (Korea Economic Institute), China (Charhar Institute) or the US (38 North Group), which allowed to present more comprehensive views on the issue with specialist groups analysing the North Korea conflict. Another type of source that was absent in CNN and Al Jazeera, were the opinions of university professors. Given the overall shortage of summaries and evaluations of the issue by CGTN in their reporting, in certain cases the station referred to voices of academics from China, South Korea or the US in order to present their views or insight into the situation. Altogether, the reporting of this broadcaster exhibits more varied and broader sources than the other two broadcasters. The

employment of multiple actors allowed to present contrasting points of view on the issue without compromising objectivity. The lack of summaries mentioned before, was replaced with multiple voices expressing different opinions on the conflict, which corresponds with the journalistic style of reporting in Chinese media (E. Zhang & Fleming, 2005). CGTN journalists, instead of openly advocating for one side or expressing criticism, rely more on presenting the situation and potential voices expressing some concern or summary of the situation. This way they keep up appearances of impartiality at the same time being able to convey their own or their organization's viewpoint on the issue, framing it in a chosen way.

6.6 Predominant sources employed by the stations

In the same way as audiences rely on journalists to define and provide news stories, journalists depend heavily on various sources in their reporting. The employment of other people's statements supporting their claims might serve a number of purposes. First of all, it strengthens the message, making it more salient and more probable in the eyes of the audiences. Secondly, it legitimizes certain claims, however, controversial they might be, and to a certain degree disperses responsibility for some declarations, consenting to the responsibility being shared between the journalist and the source. In some cases, it allows the journalist to take a stand and purposely frame the news limiting the need to be openly biased. The use of sources that express certain opinions will both frame the message and separate the journalist from the claim, attaining the stance of impartiality.

There is a tendency in journalism to consult some sources more than others, it is a result of 'routinization' (Jirik, 2016; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) of news by journalists. When journalists cover similar topics, they often rely on similar sources. Reese, Grant, and Danielian (1994) in Hickerson, Moy, and Dunsmore (2011) claim that depending on a narrow network of sources the news media contribute to a systematic convergence on the

conventional wisdom, the largely unquestioned consensus views held by journalists, power-holders and audience members. Oftentimes, media routines promote the narrowing of sources to officials and elite policy makers (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 1999) in other words it can be described as ‘indexing hypothesis’ (Bennett, 1990) a situation when journalists limit the range of opinions included in news columns on a particular policy issue to that expressed by official sources. They tend to be easily attainable in a bustling media world (Sigal, 1986) and more often than not, willing to portray the reality according to their views. It may lead to a simplified and one-sided narrative, which in turn limits the opportunities for the public to be informed about an issue. On the other hand, in case of foreign news reporting, the access to sources might be limited by distance, political situation or even time limitations. Thus, there is a tendency in reporting international stories to rely on official statements and official reports for lack of better sources that could augment the stories (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2009; Reich, 2011).

The fact that all three stations focused on statements of the official representatives of American and North Korean administrations, supports the claim of single trajectory tendencies in the reporting (Kurpius, 2002). This type of reporting might limit the situation to only one voice being heard, repeated and legitimized in the minds of audiences. Significant lack of regular citizens of either South or North Koreans signals governmental approach to the issue of North Korean conflict, that can be perceived in terms of war games rather than an actual conflict affecting regular people. What is also surprising is that despite ideological, political and geographical differences, all three stations focused on American voices and decided to enhance their stories with American quotes, by the same token following American skew on the issue.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has focused on the findings of the content analysis conducted in this research. Numerical data was contested with previous findings of other researchers and potential connections to the political and ideological situations in both the countries of origin of the news stations as well as the DPRK itself. The results presented particular similarities as well as distinct differences in how the Republic was portrayed in the global media. In terms of tones, the prevalence of negative tones has been proven with the US media leading in terms of framing North Korea critically. In opposition to that, the Chinese reporting has presented itself as much more encouraging and optimistic, thus the perception of the tones used by them clashes entirely with that of CNN. When attempting to provide answers to the second research question posed in this thesis, namely the way the sources were employed, the emerging tendencies seem parallel, yet there still transpire particular differences especially when we compare Al Jazeera and the American news provider. The Arabic station attempted a more varied use of sources, namely they incorporated different voices, both directly involved as well as external ones, that allowed the station to build a more composite image of the situation in comparison with CNN which, to a great extent, utilized American administration only with almost total disregard for external sources.

Chapter 7 GLOBAL MEDIA FRAMING – FRAME STRENGTH AND DOMINANCE

7.1 Introduction

In order to answer the third and the fourth research questions posed in this thesis, this study comprised a mixed method analysis of the selected news frames in the reporting of three global news stations: CGTN (formerly known as CCTV International), Al Jazeera and CNN. Based on Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Boydston et al. (2013) schemes of identifying frames, this research analysed the occurrence of five generic frames, namely: *conflict frame*, *attribution of responsibility*, *human interest*, *economic frame* and the final one - *prescription and evaluation frame*. The technique has been selected because of its replicability, high level of inter-coder reliability and common use in the study of framing. On top of that the researchers provided a broad set of frames, accompanied by clear and concise operationalization of the theoretical concepts (Guenduez, Schedler, & Ciocan, 2016).

As the next step in this chapter, the previously identified gap in methodology regarding potential strength and dominance of frames was remedied and tested with the results presented in the below sections along with particular conclusions regarding general application of the novel method of detecting frame potency.

Among a number of similarities in the reporting of the three stations, the results of the analyses have revealed significant discrepancies in the way the broadcasters produce news. Thus, this research sheds light on the journalistic practices and biases in the reporting on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The aim was not only to identify frames present in the reporting, however, also to determine the ways, in which, the given frames supposedly influence the perception of audiences, thus making the frames in question more persuasive and at the same time able to skew the reality to fit the agendas of the journalists and the news organizations they represent. The exploratory procedure of identifying frame strength

(attributes) proposed by the author of this thesis, enabled to reveal six indicators able to boost frame's perceived power to mould audience's perception of reality, attracting attention to specific issues while diminishing the importance of others. In turn, the newly recognized attributes of frames allowed for an empirical analysis of frame strength and dominance which facilitated the formulation of general claims as to the nature and construction of media frames, which has been presented in the further sections of the chapter.

7.2 Generic frames in the reporting of the three news stations

Being one of the most often studied aspect of language production and interpretation, framing has been in the centre of attention of numerous researchers. Recent years have brought significant developments in the studies on framing (Hickerson et al., 2011), in terms of production and distribution processes, the construction of messages and later on framing effects on audiences. Druckman et al. have been doing extensive research into frames in communication (Busby et al., 2007), focusing on the public and their susceptibility to frames, also the issue of frame competition has been raised as a newly developing direction in the framing studies (Aarøe, 2011), with frames competing over audiences' attention when identified together in publications. Frames allow the media to simplify structure and pack certain narrations in an effort to allow individuals to digest, interpret and categorize news bits. The notion of framing enables general public to make sense of the affairs around them, providing them with ready interpretations and ideas about not only what to think but also what to think about (DeLung, Magee, DeLauder, & Maioreescu, 2012).

This research thesis is an attempt at distinguishing particular framing strategies in the reporting of major news distributors that will potentially shed light on the general trends in the reporting of news. Nevertheless, in order to do so and at the same time to answer the third

research question posed here, the generic media frames analysed in this dissertation require further scrutiny.

The selection of generic media frames employed in this study, proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), allowed for extensive and replicable findings, that produced comprehensive and significant data. The other type of frames, namely, issue specific frames have been perceived as too narrow and hard to replicate and due to that rejected as deceitfully leading to false findings that present ‘exactly what they (the researchers) were looking for’ (Hertog & McLeod, 2001a).

Initially the binary analysis proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) included five generic frames, nevertheless, preliminary pilot tests uncovered lack of morality frames that prompted the author to replace it with *prescription and evaluation frame* suggested by Boydston et al. (2014). The above-mentioned binary technique (Yes/No questionnaire) was adopted due to its high objectivity and replicability qualities, which in turn allowed to yield high inter-coder reliability of 0.80 Cohen’s kappa (k) (SPSS cross tabulation).

$$k = \frac{p_o - p_e}{1 - p_e}$$

Figure 7.1 Cohen's kappa

The findings of the qualitative analysis on 160 articles from the three stations revealed as many as 311 generic frames in the reporting. As the Table 7.1 presents, numerically the most common frame in the overall reporting is the attribution of responsibility, which was adopted 133 times in 83 % of the articles under scrutiny here. The second most often employed frame was conflict, present in over half of the articles. The accentuation of conflict

is in correspondence with the previous findings on modern western media that have a tendency to focus on negative events, war and struggles (Binnarae, 2010).

Statistics (generic frames)	Conflict Frame	Attribution of responsibility	Human interest	Economic frame	Prescription and evaluation
N Valid	86	133	46	15	31
% articles (160)	54%	83%	29%	9%	19%
% of all frames (311)	28%	43%	15%	5%	10%

Table 7.1 Generic frames in the reporting from CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN (160 articles)

The predisposition of journalists to employ human-interest skew in their stories (Boukes, Boomgaarden, Moorman, & De Vreese, 2015) is reflected in the use of human-interest frames that were present in almost one third of the articles. This finding supports the claims of some researchers suggesting that the media have a habit of employing actors that will bring the stories closer to the public (Grabe et al., 1999; Steimel, 2010), evoking stronger emotions and thus greater interest in the events. Episodic stories portraying individuals as a part of a conflict, victims or direct participants, are supposed to simplify and make the issues more digestible for an average consumer. What is surprising is the fact that only about 20% of publications contained any sort of journalistic evaluation or prescription for future action. Overall, the reporting presented limited summaries of the situation or potential ways the situation could or should be handled. This suggests strong attachment of the authors to the core journalistic values of objectivity in the reporting of news.

On average, economic news is considered fourth most popular topic of news reporting with politics and government following it in the global media trends (Pew Research Centre, June 2019). The fact that economic frame was almost neglected here with only 9% of articles focusing on the economic issues around the DPRK suggests close correlation of general political situation of any country with its economic performance and presence in the media. The broadcasters devoted most of their attention to the political situation in the country as well as other parties involved in the conflict on the peninsula, disregarding almost all if any mention of the financial or trade aspects of North Korea. One of the explanations might be the fact that due to strict international sanctions imposed on the DPRK after its missile tests (S. H. Kim & Martin-Hermosillo, 2013; Rennack, 2006; Schoff, 2019), the economy of the Republic much as its trade have been in significant decline.

	Conflict frame	Attribution of responsibility	Human interest	Economic frame	Prescription and evaluation frame
CNN (110)	30	47	20	4	9
%	27%	43%	18%	4%	8%
CGTN (114)	27	52	24	5	6
%	24%	46%	21%	4,5%	5%
Al Jazeera (87)	25	34	12	6	10
%	29%	39%	14%	7%	11%

Table 7.2 Spread-out of generic frames in the reporting from CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera respectively (SPSS)

When the stations are considered separately, the results of the framing analysis seem to resemble the overall trends. All three stations have a quite similar spread-out of frames with only particular divergences. Namely, as the Table 7.5 presents, all broadcasters seem to

find preference in employing the attribution of responsibility and conflict frames. This uniform spread-out of frames suggests similar editorial practices in terms of presenting news through the prism of conflict with clear individuals or parties either responsible or able to alleviate the issue. Yet, in terms of human-interest frames, Al Jazeera with only 14% of frames of this type exhibits a more official and impersonal stance when compared to CNN and CGTN in their use of human interest frames. At the same time, when analysing economic frames used in the articles, it becomes clear that Al Jazeera has paid most attention to the economic situation of North Korea with almost twice as many frames of this type when compared to the remaining two stations (7%, 4% and 4,5% respectively).

As it was stated before, the adoption of the final frame under scrutiny here, namely the prescription and evaluation frame has been in decline, yet there are still significant divergences from station to station. Both CNN and AL Jazeera presented some use of this frame (8% and 11%, respectively), however, CGTN almost failed to employ this frame in their reporting. This finding corresponds with the tones of the reporting by the three stations (see section above). Due to the ideological and political restrictions in China (Kuang, 2017; Kuang & Wei, 2017), journalists rather refrain from augmenting their stories with any form of open evaluation of the situation or suggestions as to what should be done with the issue. Instead, a safer way of promoting their views and ideologies has been selected, namely they use various sources that have the possibility to express their views and at the same time become the voice of the authors of the articles. Having all that in mind, it comes as no surprise that the prescription and evaluation frames used by the station have been almost not existent with a handful of publications containing any sort of summary of the situation or prescription for future actions.

7.2.1 Generic frames in each station

When the codebook questionnaire aimed at identifying generic frames (Boydston et al., 2014; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) is analysed closer, the answers allow to paint a comprehensive picture of the reporting of each of the stations. The conflict frame set of questions proposed by the researchers asks whether the stories reflect disagreement between parties, sides or countries. The emphasis is on groups reproaching one another and finding winners or losers. All three stations in their adoption of this frame present the conflict between the US and DPRK in terms of a struggle between two nations, yet there is a great attention paid to the conflict between their respective leaders, especially in the reporting of CNN. In the publications of the station, the conflict frame often serves as a demonstration of angry exchanges between the two heads of state. The struggle presented is largely episodic in nature, shallowing the situation to a feud of two people with too much power at hand. CNN is notorious in sensationalizing the conflict in the publications with recurring reporting of personal offences between Kim and Trump. Repeated articles quoted the US president call Kim Jong-un 'Little Rocket Man' (Collinson, 2018), to which the other responded in a similar manner slating Trump as 'lunatic mean old trickster and human reject' (Collinson, 2018).

Another sensationalized angle to the conflict between the countries arose with repeated use of 'nuclear size button' issue by the broadcasters. Both CNN and Al Jazeera but also CGTN to some extent, repeatedly quoted the two leaders outbid each other over who has more power in the conflict.

'North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times.'" Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger & more powerful one than his, and my Button works!" Trump tweeted.' (CNN, January 2018)

This way of reporting news serves as a method of attracting audiences with personalized conflict frame adopted to visualize the struggle and to show sides to the story. Nevertheless, oftentimes lack of thematic analyses or roots of the issue, distorts the reality, moulding the skew and potential magnitude of the situation. When looking at particular stations, CGTN reporting on the conflict presents the events at hand both in terms of conflict between the two countries as well as the respective heads of state. Nevertheless, the station is missing analyses of the struggle. In many cases, the conflict frame is presented through quotes of other people or general mentions of the situation without additional interpretation or logical assumptions of the existing situation. In opposition to that, Al Jazeera produced extensive analyses of the conflict between the US and the DPRK. Qatar journalists employed both sensationalized feuds between the leaders, but they also incorporated some solid analyses of the roots of the issue or potential reasons for them. In some of the articles from the station, the conflict frame is presented through different, yet refreshing angles, far from the stance adopted by CNN or CGTN. Namely, the roots of the struggle portray the US as directly responsible for the present situation with NK (Pembroke, 2018).

‘In 1957, the US sabotaged the armistice when, (...) in knowing violation of the treaty terms and despite the concerns of its allies - it abrogated paragraph 13(d) of the armistice treaty and introduced nuclear weapons onto the peninsula. It should be no surprise that North Korea's ambition to build a nuclear and missile arsenal dates from that time and in response to that provocation.’ (2018)

Among over one hundred articles under scrutiny here from the remaining two stations, there have not been a single mention of this angle to the situation. Al Jazeera journalist accuses the US of violating the armistice after the Korean War and being the first to introduce nuclear weapons to the Korean Peninsula. This thematic analysis enables readers to see

different sides to the story, learn about the roots of the problem and potentially balance the conflict frame.

The three broadcasters unanimously adopt attribution of responsibility as their flagship frame. Most of the articles analysed in this thesis referred responsibility of the situation to one of the sides of the conflict, however, the stations tended to accentuate responsibility to either the US president Donald Trump or the leader of NK Kim Jong-un rather than the policy of either administration. The reporting in CNN focused strongly on Trump and his actions, portraying him as the one able to skew the situation and either alleviate the conflict or expand it further. The portrayal of the leader of DPRK was repeatedly negative with most of the blame for the situation on the peninsula attributed to him and his administration.

‘For decades, the Kim dynasty has used diplomatic coercion and brinkmanship twinned with offers of talks and demands for concessions to cheat their way to a nuclear arsenal and preserve a tyrannical regime in defiance of the US’ (Collinson, 2018)

The stress in the reporting was mainly on ‘maximum pressure policy’ and the need for North Korea to denuclearize.

‘Speaking on the South Lawn after Friday's meeting, Trump acknowledged the months-long administration effort to apply "maximum pressure" on North Korea (...)’ (Liptak, 2018)

The publications foci were on criticizing the decisions of the Republic and the speed of progress in the negotiations which enabled journalists to legitimize the need for economic sanctions imposed on the DPRK (Haggard & Noland, 2010).

On the other hand, when contesting CNN with CGTN reporting, the Chinese broadcaster’s adoption of attribution of responsibility seems to be distributed in a completely different way. Namely, most of the frames focus on Kim Jong-un and his administration, yet

the frames emphasize the achievements of the above mentioned, along with potential progress and cooperation that is possible to be attained if he continues his efforts in terms of resolving the conflict. China is portrayed in this puzzle as a potential source of support and one able to alleviate the situation by extensive cooperation and reconciliation efforts. The leader of NK and his country are presented in positive light, being attributed the willingness to negotiate with the US and end the ongoing conflict.

‘Kim told reporters before heading for the dialogue venue that he will make best efforts to alleviate military tensions between the two Koreas and draw up practical measures to build trust’ (Jianfeng, 2018b).

At the same time, the way the US administration is presented, focuses on the sanctions and hindrances caused by the US on the way for DPRK to attain economic and political growth. The US is indirectly accused of fixating on North Korea posing a security threat and aggressively advocating for a complete denuclearization of the country. CGTN, when attributing responsibility for the situation, provides a different perspective on the conflict and the parties responsible, allowing for underlying tones of cooperation, development and support for the neighbouring country to transpire in their framing.

Al Jazeera, the third broadcaster researched here, presents the acknowledgement for the situation to both sides of the conflict without particular stance on the blame. The reporting attributes responsibility and possibility to alleviate the situation to both the US and Pyongyang respective administrations. There emerges a tendency to follow the US rhetoric with Trump being addressed a number of times as the one responsible for the resolution of the situation, yet the reporting is on average void of accusations of direct blame for the ongoing crisis between the two countries. The ability to alleviate the situation is presented at length with extensive analyses and hypotheses provided to visualize the possibility of solving the conflict.

‘North Korea is prepared to bargain, not capitulate.’ (Pembroke, 2018)

Both countries and their heads are equally presented as able to improve the situation but at the same time there are voices of potential responsibility should the situation worsen in future, allowing readers to draw their own conclusions on the accountability, developments and potential results of the conflict.

‘American officials are sceptical that Kim will ever entirely abandon his nuclear weapons, and Moon said North Korea is not yet convinced it can trust security guarantees from the US.

(...) Trump should lay out what the US is specifically looking for, instead of demanding that Pyongyang give up everything.

"Assuming that the North Koreans aren't going to give up all of it, what would be the United States willing to live with, and what would they give the North Koreans in return," Kelly said.

He said it could take years before the parties would be able to fulfil the concessions and counter-concessions, adding that it would be "extraordinary" if negotiations "would wrap up in the next three weeks." (AJ, May 2018)

In terms of human-interest frames adopted in this research, this angle employs human example or ‘face’ to visualize and personalize different problems. The stories contain emotional, sympathy or compassion evoking elements. The focus is on how individuals or groups are affected by some events (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The results of the detailed analysis of frames revealed that the adoption of this frame varies from station to station. CGTN being the leader in the use of this approach in their reporting (21%, see table above), mainly focused on positive human interest stories promoting, cooperation and healthy competition, especially in terms of presenting sporting events and tournaments in which DPRK took part (CGTN, January 10th 2018). The reporting also focused on cultural aspect of

North Korea with stories presenting e.g. art troupes performing during South Korean Winter Olympics (CGTN, January 17th 2018), or the participation of Kim Jong un in joint performances of art workers from China and the DPRK in Pyongyang (CGTN, November 5th 2018). The human interest reporting in CGTN depicted an idyllic neighbouring country that is actively promoting its people and culture.

"This sports visit from China is one from a friendly neighbour, and it adds to our people's happiness as we celebrate the 73rd anniversary of the founding of the Worker's Party of Korea. Today's friendly match will be a display of top basketball skills and the great sportsmanship of all the players from both of our countries," said Kim.' (Chunying, 2018)

The articles were mostly positive in tone and the human-interest frames portrayed satisfied people (e.g. cheerleaders or athletes) who are working towards extending cooperation and mutual understanding between North Korea and its neighbours as well as the rest of the world. Any negative tones were either vaguely mentioned or omitted in the reporting. There were no voices from defectors or regular inhabitants of the country.

On the other hand, the reporting from CNN painted a completely different picture of human-interest section in their reporting. The American broadcaster tended to employ negative human-interest frames focusing on the brutality of life and poverty of North Korea. The articles presented stories of various defectors or people harmed by the system. There were extensive reports of repressions, political prison camps, murders and tortures that the citizens of NK are exposed to on daily bases (Macquire, 2018). On top of that, CNN paid a lot of attention to the case of the American student imprisoned for stealing a propaganda poster from a Pyongyang hotel or the case of three American citizens withheld in NK prison without legal representation (Griffiths, 2018). The incident at the Malay airport, in which Kim Jong-nam was murdered by two random women, was also widely commented with actual blame for

the act attributed to Kim Jong-un and his administration (Berlingger, 2018). The reporting on sporting or cultural events was also present, nevertheless, in a minimal form and always contested with the negative aspects of DPRK's political and international situation. The employment of North Korean citizens was limited to presentations of defectors and people in the country referred to as 'human pixels' (E. Lee, et al, 2018) or weirdly mesmerizing propaganda elements (with reference to NK cheerleaders during Winter Olympics).

The stories of people who fled the DPRK presented the country in the utmost negative light with corruption and cruelty rampant and lack of proper nutrition and parasites infestations as a part of daily life.

'If you don't have money or power, you die in a ditch' (E. McKirdy, 2018).

The way economic frames were employed in the reporting of the three stations attempts to present the financial and trade situation of the DPRK along with potential paths of development for the future. Even though, mainly in decline, the particular economic frames of all three broadcasters seem to paint a unified picture of a country with failing economy and a lack of foreign trade or investments. There are mentions of potential growth, yet there is a great stress of all authors on the main hindrance on a path to development in the form of UN sanctions being a punishment for North Korean' missile and nuclear tests.

'Despite some cross-border exchanges this year, the main elements of the sanctions, such as a ban on trade and investment, remain valid, overlapping with the UN-led punishments of Pyongyang for its nuclear and missile programmes.' (AJ, 11.10.2018)

Al Jazeera reporting presents the current situation of the Republic with positive reports on progressive improvements and growing entrepreneurial initiatives of the citizens as well as the potential of NK cities to expand and attract more business.

'Despite dramatic descriptions in Western media of widespread starvation and poverty in North Korea, the country did not seem to be on the brink of a humanitarian crisis (...)

Farmers are allowed to keep their surpluses in communal farms, instead of handing everything over to the state. In this way, the state hopes to create more productivity incentive, with a parallel market for private exchange reportedly emerging along the way.’ (Heydarian, 2018b)

At the same time negative aspects of the economy are mentioned namely, the fact that most Asian countries cut off any sort of business relations with the DPRK as well as the problem with exporting North Korean natural resources like coal and other raw materials.

‘Sanctions against the country's exports of coal and other raw materials have been particularly hurtful. (...) Most Asian countries have entirely cut off their trade and investment ties with Pyongyang. The country also needs access to fuel, food, capital goods and advanced civilian technology, if it wants to become an economically vibrant nation, especially compared with the highly developed southern kin.’ (Heydarian, 2018b)

The economic analyses of the current situation along with divagations on potential development paths are present, especially in light of the reports on the possibility of South Korea to lift some of the sanctions on trade with NK.

Similar tones are presented by CNN journalists who, when employing economic frames, focus on potential development of the country by e.g. reporting on Kim Jong un’s visit to Singapore and the possibility of adopting their solutions in the development of the DPRK’s failing economy. The possibility of extending cooperation with South Korea is also discussed extensively, namely a recent trade visit to North Korea of South Korean president Moon Jae-in and various leaders of South Korean businesses. Despite crippling sanctions that limit the possibilities of working together, the frames used in the reporting shed light on the potential for future cooperation and a chance of influencing Pyongyang authorities to comply with the international demands and as a result enable full and open cooperation.

"If South Korea can take the initiative to bring chaebol leaders to North Korea ... maybe it would be a good start for South Korean [money] to move into Pyongyang," said Steve Chung, a Korea expert at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.' (Pham, 2018)

'Moon laid out ambitious plans last month that would dramatically transform and connect the two economies, giving South Korea a land link to the rest of the Asian continent, potentially opening up lucrative trade and infrastructure links.' (ibid)

There are some mentions of the situation at hand, nevertheless, the frames adopted here seem to convey the potential for the future by comprehensive analyses of other economies that have managed to overcome obstacles both economic and political (Vietnam, Singapore) and have been successfully developing over the years.

'For some observers, the most likely example Kim could follow is that of Vietnam, a Communist nation that went from being an American enemy to a partner in trade and security. A reform program adopted in the mid-1980s promoted a "socialist-orientated market economy," similar to China's, with a five-year plan that pushed for a 70% increase in exports. It was followed in the early 1990s by normalization of relations between the US and Vietnam, and the entry of American investors and the opening of a US embassy in Hanoi. ' (Tarabay, 2018)

Such examples are contested with the political and economic situation of the DPRK under Kim's rule along with potential outcomes of the country taking different expansion routes for both the world and North Korea itself.

The third broadcaster, CGTN adopts similar economic frames in their reporting, stressing North Korean economy's need for growth and development of international trade. The reporting presents cooperation efforts with Russia and China and the possibility of

expanding business with South Korea supported by reports of trade visits of the two Korean leaders.

‘As long as the sanctions remain, inter-Korean economic cooperation will navigate troubled waters, but Moon and Kim are fully aware that the future evolution of their relations to a large extent will be hinged on economic cooperation.’ (Xiaohe, 2018)

When contesting Chinese economic frames with those from the other two stations, the only difference is the lack of analyses for future of the country. The reporting of CGTN focuses on stressing present and potential cooperation of the country with its neighbours along with the ongoing changes taking place in the DPRK, yet the reporting is void of structured analyses of development paths for the country or any sort of economic models that would modernize and update the economy and trade.

Altogether, all three stations are far from criticizing the existing situation and presenting a gloomy state of business affairs in the republic, but they rather look for solution to the NK lacklustre economy, presenting and placing stress on any signs of (economic) détente or potential for growth. The frames employed serve to signal the changes taking place and also to indicate potential paths that the leadership might adopt in their attempts to develop the country.

The final frame researched here concentrated on journalistic tendency to evaluate the events presented in the news and in certain cases to give their own recommendation as to the course of action. The prescription and evaluation frame (Boydston et al., 2013) encompasses journalists augmenting their stories with analyses and summaries on events presented in their articles. There might be either hints on a strategy that could be adopted or a comprehensive recipe for the right course of action that needs to be followed in order to alleviate some problem or a crisis situation. The three stations managed to adopt this frame with varying frequency. Namely, CNN and to a greater extend Al Jazeera’s journalists focused on

providing extensive analyses of the situation along with long reaching conclusions and recommendations. On the other hand, CGTN publications were focused more on the events at hand, without excessive analyses or summaries that would skew the message of the article in any way.

In terms of the American broadcaster, the prescription and evaluation frame accentuated aggressive rhetoric of pre-emptive strike on the DPRK in order to curb the country's nuclear aims. Repeatedly, the journalists suggested the possibility of such a course of action divagating on the win-lose situation between the two leaders.

'The failure of talks will make it easier for administration hawks -- including President Trump -- to argue in favor of a so-called "limited strike" against North Korea. The failure of talks could be perceived as the exhaustion of every alternative and may make the conditions for preventive war more favorable.' (Cristol, 2018)

The frames were persistently strengthened with lexically biased terms, openly presenting the North Korean leader as a brutal tyrant or 'a volatile dictator who leads a criminal regime' (Stracqualursi, 2018) among others. The authors perceived the conflict in terms of black and white, namely, the idea of conflict and the ongoing negotiations were seen as a struggle in which only one side can be victorious. Trump was criticized for being openly enthusiastic and prematurely certain of the positive outcome of the talks with the Korean leader. On the other hand, the DPRK and its administration's actions were summarized and evaluated as mischievous and evading.

'For decades, the Kim dynasty has used diplomatic coercion and brinkmanship twinned with offers of talks and demands for concessions to cheat their way to a nuclear arsenal and preserve a tyrannical regime in defiance of the US. So there's a real chance Trump could be walking into a massive trap.' (Collinson, 2018)

The overall tones were negative and rather unfavourable towards the clarification of the situation. Contrasting the CNN employment of this type of frame with CGTN, the situation paints a completely different picture. The Chinese journalists stressed the cooperation efforts and encouraged the two countries to continue works on building trust and in the end resolving the conflict. What characterized their evaluation of the situation (limited, yet somewhat present) was the repeated urge to make concessions on both sides in order to work out a solution that would benefit both sides.

‘...the ideal way to work on the issue is that both parties can move toward the same goal, make concessions, and show their sincerity.’(Jianfeng, 2018a)

There were voices of criticism, however, they were mainly aimed at the US, as America was accused of demanding too much from the DPRK without offering anything tangible in exchange. The authors advocated for revising overall expectations and warned against not seeing the bigger picture, which might result in going back to square one in terms of the conflict resolution. Some voices questioned American stand on the DPRK claiming that the threat from the Republic and its arsenal is greatly exaggerated. The reporting limited its frames to evaluating the situation, however, there were no significant prescriptions offered as what model of action should be adopted.

The third broadcaster, Al Jazeera, presented the most frequent and extensive evaluations of the situation along with far reaching prescriptions for the future. Yet even though all three groups of journalists described the same events, the framing of the news took different routes for each of the stations. Unlike CNN publications that proclaimed military solution with the US as the only warrant of peace and stability in the region and the final yes or no to the issue of nuclear weapons in North Korea. Al Jazeera journalists expressed different views on the matter, namely, they believed that the neighbouring countries are able to negotiate a peaceful solution to the situation. Almost unanimously, authors of the

publications claim that there is no chance for Kim Jong un to relinquish nuclear weapons as they are the only deterrent against American military action or an externally induced upheaval in the DPRK. This opinion is contested with an analogical situation in Libya under Kaddafi, who was overthrown after giving up his arsenal.

‘... there should be zero illusions that this dialogue is meant to begin negotiations on its nuclear programme. (...) North Korea has also stressed, on numerous occasions, that its nuclear programme is not up for bargaining and has enshrined its status as sacrosanct through Kim Jong-un's byungjin line...’ (Berkshire Miller, 2018)

The prescription frames suggest slow and calculated negotiation talks, however, the majority of voices presented two-fold solutions with either persistent stand on complete denuclearization or an acceptance of the DPRK as a nuclear state and a progressive abolition of sanctions by the international community. The position of the US is characterized as weakened by the latest actions of the American president. The concessions and premature announcements made are seen as binding and restricting potential future actions of America, should the negotiations stale in any way.

‘Having prematurely secured major concessions from the US, North Korea has found little incentive to reciprocate and has effectively undermined Trump's "maximum pressure" strategy.’ (Heydarian, 2018a)

At the same time when referring to the prescription for future of North Korea, apart from political outcomes of the struggles the needs of the economy and society as a whole are also considered.

7.3 Frame strength and dominance in generic frames on the DPRK

7.3.1 Dominant frames in the reporting

The previous sections allowed to answer the question regarding the existence of generic frames in the reporting from the three stations and shed some light on the frequency of appearance of these elements as well as particular differences in reporting between stations. Nevertheless, to answer the fourth research question posed in this thesis, namely which frames become dominant when in competitive environment, a separate procedure was required to be designed and tested. The following sections present the results of an exploratory frame analysis designed to identify dominant framing tendencies in CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN. Additionally, the new procedure allowed to propose a systematic distinction between weak and strong frames, which is an attempt at filling a gap in research methodology concerning framing the news. Finally, the significance of frame attributes and their application has been explained in detail along with an explanation as to the selection of particular attribution strategies employed by journalists of the respective stations.

The binary questionnaire technique employed in the previous chapter enabled to classify generic frames in news reporting. However, in most cases, the frames in the publications did not occur as single units but a number of competing frames coexisted in particular articles from the publishers studied in this paper. The table below (see Table 7.3) presents the results of the SPSS analysis of correlations between frames. In most cases, at least two frames were present in almost any single article with only about 12% of frames standing alone in publications.

		Conflict frame	Attribution of responsibility	Human interest	Economic frame	Prescription and evaluation
Conflict frame	N	86	77	19	7	20
Attribution of responsibility	N	77	133	30	13	28
Human interest frame	N	19	30	46	2	4
Economic frame	N	7	13	2	15	4
Prescription and evaluation	N	20	28	4	4	31

Table 7.3 Generic frames correlations - CNN, Al Jazeera, CGTN (SPSS - Kendall's taub)

Following recent claims of researchers (Aarøe, 2011; Borah, 2011a; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Druckman, 2004) when multiple frames are contested together, they do not single each other out, however, they actively compete over frame strength and dominance. Despite extensive research into the idea of frame competition, recurring factors that influence certain frames making them stronger than others have not been properly defined so far. This research is an attempt at filling that void in methodology, thus the author designed Frame Strength Attribution Scheme (see Literature review and Methodology chapters) that aims to distinguish which frames become dominant when in competitive environment.

First, in order to identify recurring attributes of frames a detailed analysis of the selected publications from the three broadcasters was contested with previous fragmentary findings of other researchers (Aarøe, 2011; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a; Jakopović, 2017; Ridout, 2018). The procedure yielded six repetitive attributes that have been found to have the greatest power of influencing frames, thus making them stronger.

These are: *official and/or credible sources, repetition, journalistic lexical bias (labelling), proximity hype, episodic frame and negativity bias.*

Next, after having identified frames present in the reporting of the three stations, the publications, which contained at least two frames in a single article, were selected. The following step was to use the abovementioned Frame Strength Attribution Scheme and employ the procedure designed with this scheme (see Appendix B), to find out which frame possessed more attributes than others, in other words, which one was the dominant one.

The results of the study revealed that mainly two frames: *attribution of responsibility* and *conflict* dominated the reporting of CNN, AL Jazeera and CGTN. These two frames were frequently accentuated by journalists, who by use of certain attributes, modified their texts so that these frames became more pronounced than others. The table below (Table 7.7) presents the layout of dominant frames in the reporting of the three stations.

Dominant frame	Number of frames	Total number of attributes	Average number of attributes per frame
Attribution of responsibility	69	262	3.8
Conflict frame	51	212	4.2
Human interest frame	17	55	3.2
Prescription and evaluation	13	48	3.7
Economic frame	8	20	2.5
Total	158	597	Average 3.8

Table 7.4 Dominant frames in the reporting of CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN

The results of the exploratory analysis revealed dominant tendencies in framing news by journalists representing three global broadcasters. The fact that they all produce articles that attribute responsibility for the situation to one of the sides along with the accentuation of

conflict as their preferred method of conveying news suggests strong attachment to these framing techniques. One can argue that these broadcasters represent general trends in news reporting, which seems to require an accusation of someone for some crisis situation or an attribution of ability to alleviate the issue. The existence of a great discrepancy between the top two dominant frames and the remaining ones allows to speculate that in contemporary media, audiences are presented with a ready set of either perpetrators guilty of allowing some issue or problem to happen or saviours that are able to deal with the problematic situation.

The conflict frame as one of the most preferred dominant frames corresponds with previous findings on Western media, which are known to have a tendency of employing conflict in their reporting (Mann, 1999; Saleem, 2007). In the publications of the three stations the news reports revolved around the conflict between North Korea and the United States, however, the majority of the conflict was shallowed down to the conflict between the two heads of states and their responsibility for solving the situation. Numerous public utterances in the new media (twitter) or even public official announcements and commentaries accentuated the dispute over power and authority. This way the media brought the conflict between the nations closer to the public by making an analogy of the two leaders representing the countries in their struggle. In terms of the attribution of responsibility, it was also diluted to the two leaders being responsible for the situation or able to improve it, nevertheless, all stations presented a tendency to allocate all power within these two individuals with almost complete disregard for the respective administrations or even international community. It is possible to suggest that the dominant framing strategies assumed the portrayal of these two leaders as not only representatives of the two countries, however, as the countries themselves.

At the same time, the third dominant frame - human interest, seems to reflect the overall trends in journalism to evoke directly to the emotions of audiences. Steimel (2010) in

her paper on refugees and human interest stories writes that ‘human interest frames describe the news in terms that personalize, dramatize and emotionalize the message’ (2010, p. 2). The fact that so much attention was paid to individuals portraying the conflict with the DPRK that they dominated the message of almost one fifth of the publications allows to draw conclusions on the overall tendencies of journalists playing on sentiments in order to attract audiences and increase readership/viewing.

The position of prescription and evaluation frame among the dominant frames proves that despite repeated claims of journalists to provide unbiased and objective news (P. Chong, 2019), to some extent there is a tendency to augment news events with personal opinions and potential evaluations of the events along with clear suggestions as to remedies or the ‘right’ course of action. The prescription and evaluation frame dominated every tenth article with clear and convincing recommendations of authors telling audiences what to not only think but also how to do it.

Given the overall limited number of economic frames in the reporting of the tree broadcasters (see Table 7.4), the fact that half of them became dominant in the articles researched is quite surprising. This finding allows to speculate that when economic frames are used in the reporting, they are supported by a number of attributes that are aimed at making them stand out more and be easily understood by audiences. It seems plausible to assume that journalists employ a number of frame boosting techniques to make sure scientific data or economic information is passed on in a digestible way as there is a general tendency of media to simplify and compartmentalize news (Östgaard, 1965).

In general, what transpires from the results of the analysis are the differences that have emerged when comparing the actual number of generic frames with their potential strength and dominance. The initial study revealed 133 attribution of responsibility frames in the articles with only 86 conflict frames accompanying (see section above). Nevertheless, when

applying the Frame strength attribution Scheme proposed here, it becomes clear that the conflict frames have been consistently dominant in those articles possessing on average as many as over four different frame boosting attributes, somewhat more than the attribution of responsibility (3,8).

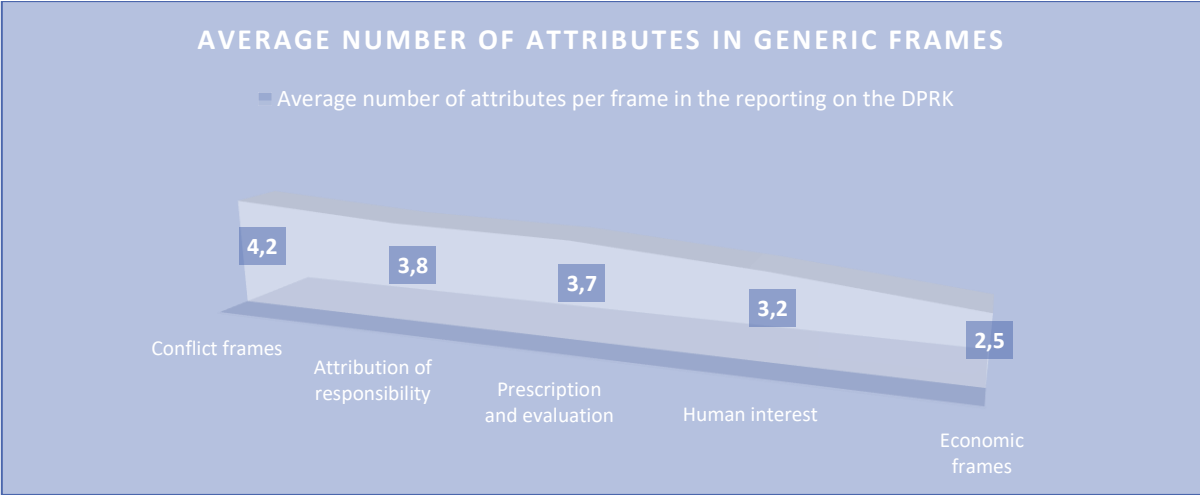


Figure 7.2 Average number of frame attributes in the reporting on the DPRK

On top of that the positioning of prescription and evaluation frames is higher than when the number of those frames in the study is contested. It suggests stronger framing tendencies of journalists when augmenting their stories with the summary and assessment of the events presented. These conclusions prove the applicability of the method as it enables to distinguish the dominant trends extending beyond numerical counts, which in turn offers a more comprehensive evaluation of the biases that seem inherent in the production of news.

7.3.2 Frame attributes versus identification of frame strength

When analysing the layout of dominant frames (Figure 7.3 below) and the use of attributes in building the strength of frames, it turns out that on average the dominant frames were equipped with over three attributes per frame (3,5). This finding allows to speculate that for a

frame to become dominant when in comparative environment at least three or more frame boosting attributes are required. This average is assumed with at least two or more frames in a single article. Yet, when we compare it with the remaining 44 articles analysed here that possessed only one frame, which was dominant by default in those publications, it turns out that articles with only one frame had on average only two or more attributes (2,5).

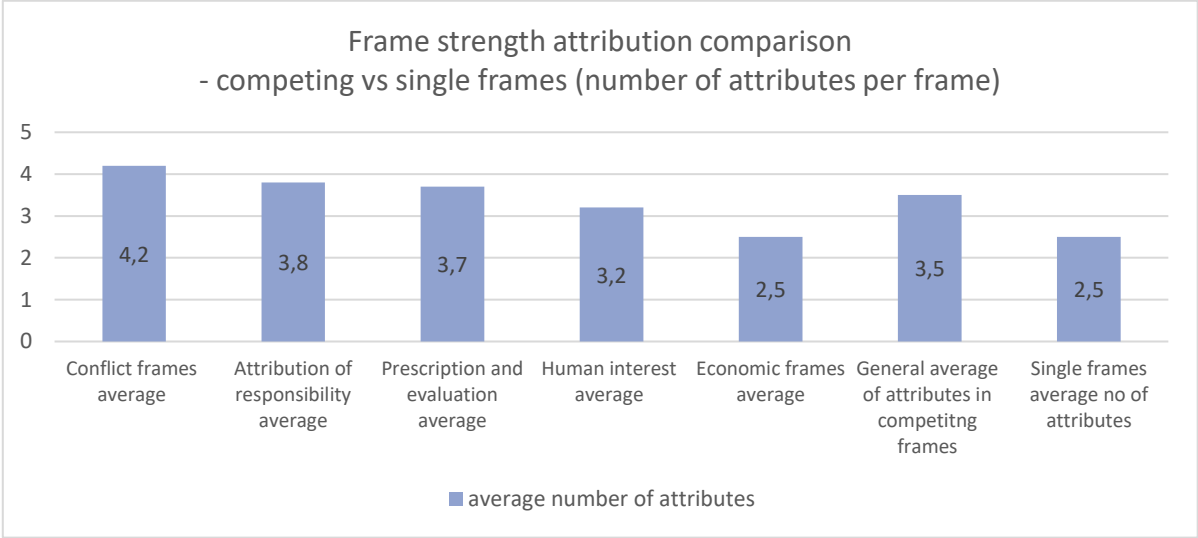


Figure 7.3 Frame strength attribution comparison

By this comparison, we can accept that when frames are contested together, they need additional support in the form of attributes that are able to strengthen them in the struggle for dominance. Comparing it with the existing research into frame competition that assumes particular elements required to boost frame strength (Buturoiu & Corbu, 2015) the findings compiled here allow to state that the presence of other frames forces the frame in question to acquire additional attributes in order to compete with others. By the same token, it is safe to assume that journalists will purposefully or in some cases inadvertently employ additional framing strategies in order to boost particular notions when compiling texts involving rivalling frames.

Also, when we consider articles in which two or even three frames were present together, the ratio of attributes between dominant, secondary and in some cases tertiary frames becomes statistically significant. Namely, as it was proven above, dominant frames possessed over three attributes, while further tests have proven that secondary frames presented two attributes on average with tertiary frames being equipped with only one attribute in most cases.

To take it further we could also assume that weak frames will possess either one or two attributes whereas for a frame to become strong three or more attributes are required when in competitive context. As it was mentioned in the previous chapters, so far researchers have been deciding over frame strength based on their ‘gut feeling’ or empirically by asking participants of experiments if they feel that particular frames were strong or weak (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b). The proposed method of defining frame strength allows to describe frame power in a replicable and what is more an unbiased way without the need for external applicants or experiments.

Frame attributes in the researched generic frames

The analysis of the selected frames has proven repeated occurrence of all attributes defined for the needs of this research. The below chart presents the layout of attributes employed in the formation of the frames by journalists. Repetition (26%) emerged as the most often employed aspect of frames along with episodic nature (23%) and the use of official sources (21%). The three remaining frame strength indicators – negativity, journalistic bias and proximity hype were incorporated less frequently, nevertheless, they repeat in a significant number of frames as well (14%, 11% and 6% respectively).

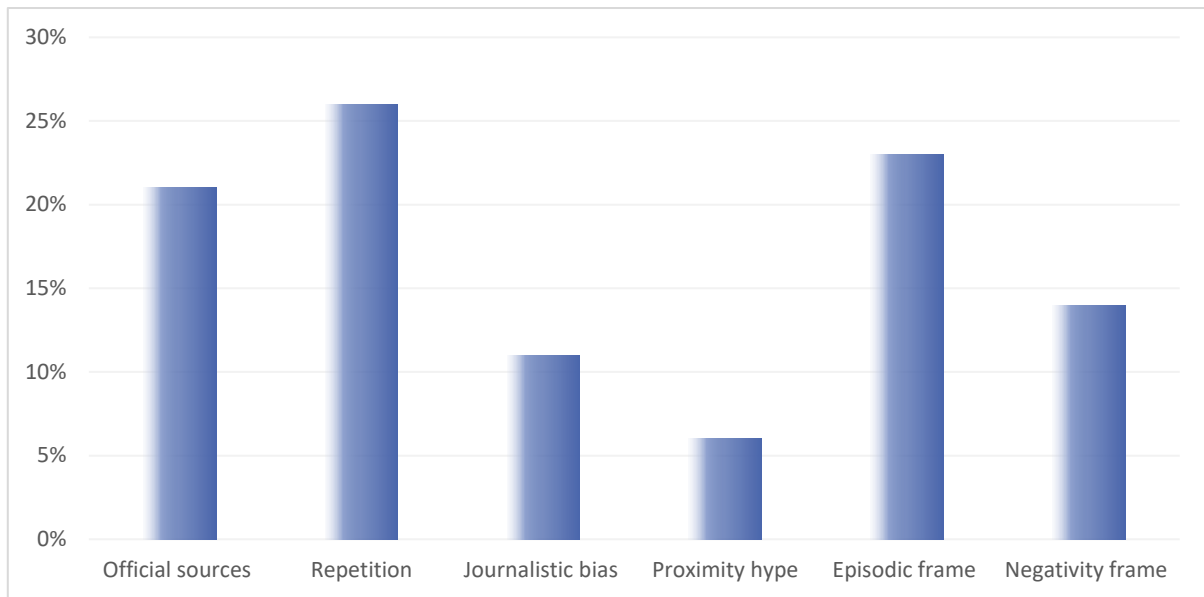


Figure 7.4 Overall layout of frame attributes in the researched frames

The selection of repetition as the most preferred technique of boosting frames by journalists suggests a tendency to accentuate the most prominent frames in order for the audiences to remember them better. According to Zaller (1992) in D. Chong and Druckman (2007a) ‘citizens are blown about by whatever current of information manages to develop with the greatest intensity’ (Zaller, 1992, p. 311). This approach corresponds with studies on learning and memorizing (Scarborough, Cortese, & Scarborough, 1977) that stress the importance of repetition in acquiring knowledge (Bybee, 2006). In a similar manner, negativity bias serves as one of the linguistic determinants of frame strength. The selection of negative information has been proven to have a much greater impact on individuals’ attitudes than positive ones (Rozin & Royzman, 2001; Soroka, 2006) thus its repeated employment. In terms of journalistic lexical bias, the selection of certain key words sets the tone of the reporting, allowing journalists to modify the general message of the reporting simply by a careful selection of lexis that is able to frame certain actors in either positive or negative way.

Nevertheless, when looking at journalistic bias and proximity hype from ideological and political points of view, the use of these attributes seems to be dictated by the

combination of different factors that influence authors. Both these aspects of frames allow journalists to create the narration that is adequate to their own beliefs or the values shared by their stations. Following the results of this research, American journalists clearly followed their governmental line of rhetoric by framing Kim Jong-un as a dictator, murderer and a cruel tyrant. There was a clear accentuation of the possibility of pre-emptive strike on the DPRK, which was supported by statements from members of the US government as well as the American president himself. Majority of the reporting from this station was based on official statements and declarations of the US administration, with overall disregard for external sources. On the other hand, when we compare the use of these attributes in the Chinese broadcaster, the results show limited use of these two aspects dictated by the restrictions on what is considered 'sensitive news' and what is acceptable to be published imposed by the Chinese government (Quinn & Kierans, 2008; Shi, 2005; Zhao, 1998).

The following two attributes (official or credible sources and episodic nature) seem to follow the overall tendencies of journalists to simplify and personalize news (P. Chong, 2019). Emotionality, according to the author, is a deeply embedded tool in the journalistic profession with episodic focus on individuals whose personal stories serve as a background for news events or employment of policies. In addition, the use of official or credible sources is aimed at legitimizing and strengthening the claims made by authors to convince audiences to some points.

Altogether, the overall accumulation of frame strength seems to be the result of the employment of the above-defined attributes. The selection of these aspects of frames is a combination of both journalistic lexical style and practices as well as political and ideological factors influencing framing. Particular elements are combined together to boost the message of the news, skewing it in a particular direction which is a result of both internal and external influences on the production of news in all three locations researched here.

7.7 Summary

This chapter focused on presenting divergences in portraying the reality of the situation on the Peninsula transpired when analysing the employment of generic frames, which are clearly visible especially in terms of adopting human interest and prescription and evaluation frames. There are stark differences between the employment of the above frames among the three stations. All things considered this chapter has, in the first place, presented the findings following the basic concept of framing, namely the adoption of individual generic frames, treated as individual units. On top of that, further sections specified the findings of the newly proposed Frame strength attribution scheme, revealing dominant framing tendencies in the global news providers based on the reporting on the DPRK. Despite being the most numerous, attribution of responsibility frames did not turn out to be the dominant type of frame, giving place to conflict frames, which possessed the greatest number of frame attributes, thus, making them the leading frames when in competitive context. In terms of the factual data, competing frames turned out to possess more attributes than single frames in the studied texts. What is more, the forming dominant trends allowed for a construction of a claim that for a frame to become strong more than two attributes are required when in competing context, at the same time weak frames will be either void of particular attributes or they will possess maximum one or two attributes. Consequently, this chapter has managed to contribute to the filling of the gap in the communication research on framing by both defining inherent values of frames and also proposing empirical evaluation of frame strength.

Chapter 8 THE LANGUAGE OF FRAMING IN THE COVERAGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

8.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to critically analyse the type of discourse employed in the content of three global broadcasters in their reporting on the DPRK. Grounded in previous research the link between the language, socio-cultural context, political power and ideology will be scrutinized to compare and contrast the publications of CNN, Al Jazeera and CGTN in an attempt to identify particular framing patterns. Apart from Fairclough’s (1995) model that requires looking at lexis from three angles, namely textual, discursive and social practices, this analysis also assumes techniques and strategies proposed by Richardson (2006). The first one being ‘lexicalization’, which accepts that ‘words convey imprint of society and of value judgement (...) connoted as well as denoted meanings’ (2006, p. 47). The author writes about the significance of lexical choices made by journalists in the selection of descriptive terms, which are able to build a clear racialized distinction between ‘us’ the good ones and ‘them’ the negative characters. This clearly corresponds with the next aspect of discourse analysed here namely, ‘referential strategies’ (Reisigl, 2001) with positive and negative representations as well as the notion of ‘predication’ and ‘transitivity’. Similar observations have been presented by Ooi and D’arcangelis (2017) in their paper on discourse of othering in the US news and political rhetoric. Additionally, Richardson (2006) also suggest ‘modality’, ‘presupposition’ and ‘hyperbole’ as commonly adopted strategies in the production of journalistic texts. All the above elements actively influence both the structure of the texts themselves as well as their underlying meanings and agenda to readers and viewers.

In this study, the language samples from the three broadcasters are compared and analysed for the use of specific language in consideration of different contextual and ideological factors that have contributed to the production of texts by these stations. The

sample selection yielded six sets of articles published on the same day that portrayed similar events, which attracted the greatest attention of the media world with regard to North Korea. This way the sample allowed for a direct comparative analysis in search for resemblances as well as discrepancies. Even though oftentimes the examination of texts focuses on grammar, tenses and sentence structure, the actual stress should be on the selection of lexis that is able to mirror beliefs, values and opinions of both journalists as well as their organizations. The abovementioned author (Richardson, 2006) provides examples of how the use of different terms can influence the reception of events, by comparing e.g. the word ‘kill’ that in different reports can be described as either ‘destroy’, ‘massacre’, or neutrally as ‘eliminate’ or ‘neutralize’. The same goes for the word ‘propaganda’ that can also be expressed as simply ‘press briefing’. The ‘othering’ for instance, can be demonstrated in media referring to the military they support as ‘boys’ or ‘lads’ and when they belong to the opposing group as ‘troops’ or ‘hordes’ (2006, p. 48).

CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera have been selected for their global reach as well as the scope and recognizability in the world. They all have different political social and cultural backgrounds, which enable to draw comprehensive conclusions from the way they present news events. CNN, previously regarded as the standard of global reporting (the so called ‘CNN effect’) has lately been criticised for following the ‘post September 11th’ national line with reports presenting events only focusing on American (patriotic) skew (Koh, 2012). On the other hand, Al Jazeera has been praised as the new rising star of global news providers with former BBC Arabic reporters and their standards transpiring in the texts. Finally, last but not least CGTN, the Chinese response to Western coverage of events in Asia and the world. The station, despite its growing reach and expansion especially in the developing countries, has been heavily criticized for the limitations and tight control of content on top of heavy party line ideology by the Communist leaders in Beijing (E. Zhang & Fleming, 2005).

8.2 Headlines and themes in CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera publications

Headlines are said to be the first point of contact between texts and audiences. They are supposed to immediately draw readers to the article in front of them, thus headlines are often constructed to shock, mislead, contest values, and even hyperbole events presented later on in texts. Metila (2013) claims that they enjoy a privileged position due to their distinct layout and typography. By being printed with larger font and placed on top, according to Van Dijk (2006), these framing devices will attract more attention, and hence will be processed with extra time or memory resources. Nevertheless, apart from visual exclusivity, the linguistic aspects of headlines also present a special feature of these elements. First of all, emotive vocabulary, rhetorical and graphological devices as well as the omission of articles and the use of present tense are all common practices employed by editors. On top of that, dropping words and using hyperbole as well as metonyms to animate events, places, objects etc. (e.g. White House declared...) (Richardson, 2006) all serve to accentuate the significance of texts and attract audiences.

In this research, the headlines presented by the three broadcasters can be seen as a reflection of the overall ideological and political stance of the authors as well as their editorial houses. The layout of positive versus negative headlines clearly corresponds with the overall themes present in the reporting from each station.

CGTN headlines transpire positive or neutral stance with encouragement and success story hints with regard to the development of events on the Peninsula (*DPRK, ROK to march together in Olympic Games...; DPRK leader says important to shore up dialog with ROK*). There is a clear accentuation on the DPRK's side of events with a positive picture painted on the Asian part of the world. The predicational strategy assumes the US as the negative actor, portrayed as the one trying to domineer, control and curb positive efforts (*White House says*

powerful sanctions to remain on DPRK; US accuses DPRK of insincerity in addressing crisis; Us military warns against getting hopes up over DPRK's overture).

On the other hand, the US broadcaster, turns the tables by switching the perspective to the US government and especially the president of the USA as the central figures of their headlines. CNN accentuates negative bias with headlines stressing failure, lack of progress and conflict. The so-called 'conflict rhetoric' puts the US in charge and focuses on American dealings with the DPRK. There are significantly more negative headlines than the positive or neutral ones. On top of that a common employment of 'hyperbole' and 'presupposition' techniques are aimed at evoking stronger emotions and thus attracting audience's attention (*Making North Korea Great Again. How realistic are Kim's New Year plans?; Donald Trump's fake-it-until-you-make-it strategy on North Korea*). Journalists play on words takes from American culture and directly relates to Donald Trump and his presidential campaign, which even if being a travesty of the actual campaign slogan, puts a brand on the lead, here being the US and their stance on world events (*North and South Korea must remember that Trump is watching them*).

At the same time when we look at the third broadcaster, there seem to be elements of both the Chinese construction of headlines as well as the American rhetoric. Yet, the headlines transpire a sort of disengagement from the situation and a more balanced newsworthiness aim to deliver events and not ideology or political stance (*Trump-Kim summit generates momentum, hard diplomacy lies ahead*). There is almost equal balance between accentuation on both the DPRK (referred to North Korea as Al Jazeera calls the country) and the remaining actors of the situation. The tones convey more neutrality than the remaining two stations with stress on what is happening or who is responsible for the situation at hand (*Trump open to Kim visiting the White House if summit is a success; North Korea is changing*).

Overall, the construction of headlines by the three stations employs similar lexical techniques, however, there are divergences with regard to the dominant actors of particular stations' texts. CNN exhibits hegemonic tendencies in their headlines construction which corresponds with previous studies on American journalism (Profozich, 2009). At the same time the headlines of CGTN seem symbiotic with the overall themes of articles published by this station with regard to DPRK, namely they create an aura of positive reinforcement and developments required to achieve success in the conflict between the US and the DPRK. As mentioned above, Al Jazeera displays most unbiased and void of ideology headlines that portray the situation at hand, with minimal use of rhetorical figures or lexical 'gimmicks'.

8.3 Critical discourse analysis of CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera coverage of DPRK

8.3.1 Analysis 1: US-DPRK secret meeting talks (April 18th)

The coverage of the three stations focused on the appointment of CIA Director Mark Pompeo as the lead negotiator in the preparations for the summit between Donald Trump and the leader of the DPRK.

The CNN report titled: *Why Pompeo meeting with Kim should make you sleep a little easier*⁴, devotes most attention to the profile and prior achievements of Pompeo along with a detailed analysis of the latest meeting between CIA director and Kim Jong-un. By use of presupposition in the form of a rhetorical question as early as in the headline, the journalist strongly suggests the rightness of the decision to appoint this person as the leader of the negotiations.

This type of literary effect frames the story right from the beginning, revealing the bias of the author toward the main character of the story. At the same time the employment of positive and negative representation ‘referential strategy’ (Reisigl, 2001) in presenting the leaders of the two conflicted countries, sets the mood for the predicated framing of the leader of the DPRK.

CNN (2): ‘This was the highest-level meeting between the United States and North Korea in almost 20 years and precedes by weeks the first-ever meeting between an American president and a North Korean dictator.’

The lexicalization in the form of words like *dictator* contrasted with *an American president* or further on in the text, the name of the country referred to as *regime (change...)*, is

⁴ Cristol, J. (2018). Why Pompeo meeting with Kim should make you sleep a little easier

a clear expression of the author following the US government stance treating North Korea as a belligerent and stubborn republic and not an independent nation.

Next the journalists adopt a common for US media, conflict rhetoric by paraphrasing Pompeo's speech in which the stress is put on potential US ground invasion on North Korea, should it be necessary. At the same time the 'modality' in the text accentuates how the article is supposed to be understood and what the expected reactions should be.

CNN (3): 'Pompeo would not be my choice of secretary of state but by Trumpian standards he is a very serious person. The world should be pleased that the meeting between Pompeo and Kim took place. It should equally be pleased that National Security Council Senior Director for Asian Affairs Matt Pottinger appears to be closely involved in the summit planning.'

This type of presupposition is an example of hegemonic power displays that put America first. The country is perceived as the one able to alleviate all issues. The repeated use of war rhetoric along with the invocation to readers directly, specifically telling them how to feel, frames the story into a power display for American administration. The author stresses that the Americans hold all the cards and the situation at hand depends solely on them.

CNN (4): 'Conversely, if talks fail or if Trump feels slighted in some way, new national security adviser John Bolton could use it as an excuse to push for the war he favored only weeks ago.'

In conclusion, the CNN report is limited to the American hegemonic display of power in international affairs. The author employs a number of narrative effects that strengthen the overall message and the stance that he adopted right at the beginning of the article.

Contrarywise, the CGTN report from the same day, titled: *Trump confirms direct US-DPRK talks*, focused on portraying the possibility of positive outcomes of Pompeo's meeting

with Kim Jong-un. Throughout the article, the overall tones transpire hopeful formation of a good relationship between the two countries and a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Nevertheless, the publication is a one-way relation of the American dealings with almost all paragraphs notoriously starting with ‘Trump confirmed...’, ‘Trump said...’, ‘Trump has spoken directly...’, ‘Trump told...’, and so on. It seems that the journalist adopted a direct reporting style with majority of the article consisting of quotes from speeches made by the US president. The whole publication is void of any sort of explanation or justification or be it historical setting of the situation reported. At the same time, presumably due to political and ideological constrains, some issues are omitted or only vaguely stated. When mentioning the US officials debating over the location selection for the meeting between Trump and Kim, the reporter failed to mention the reasons for such divagations. The fact that the DPRK as a country is under tough sanctions, and that it does not have proper diplomatic relations with a number of countries in the world, which would allow the leader of the DPRK to travel freely, has been left out. The author of the publication summed it up with a single sentence that provides no real explanation and is rather out of place in this context.

CGTN (1): ‘Kim has rarely left the country.’

One can assume that the fact that Kim Jong-un along with his whole family are seen as paranoid over security and potential assassination threat. On top of that, the decision not to travel abroad unless directly obliged to, has been censored as it would actually admit that the situation in the Northern part of the Peninsula is in the hands of a leader that that has all the markings of an unstable dictator and that the country is directly affected by that. China being one of the few allies of North Korea does not want to promote the image of negativity towards the country, at the same time they would like to keep the status quo as the DPRK conflicted with the US is a kind of a buffer between China and the militarily present US in South Korea.

In terms of the lexical analysis of the text, the structure of the article seems simplified with shorter sentences that resemble a collection of individual key phrases that have been heavily rearranged. The themes present are only accentuated without proper development of text, which turns the publication into a dry report of who said what without any development or explanation. There are instances of metonymy effects employed, however, in general the article lacks any sort of purposeful lexical strategies that would enhance the overall message.

When we compare it with the article from Al Jazeera, there seem to be quite a few common points in the reporting. Similarly to CGTN, considerable attention is given to the American side and their reactions to the meeting between CIA chief and Kim Jong-un. The report quotes both the American president as well as the members of the White House administration expressing their stance on the events.

Al Jazeera (1): ‘Details of the summit are being worked out now. Denuclearization will be a great thing for the World but also for North Korea!’ Trump added.

Moreover, some space was devoted to the historical background of the summit and the relations between the DPRK and the US with mentions of previous highest-level visits between the two countries and actual lack of US diplomatic relations with North Korea.

At the same time Al Jazeera (*CIA chief Pompeo held secret meeting with Kim Jong-un*⁵) adopted the routine of American supremacy over the international situation by stressing US hegemony in the selection of quotes used in the article.

5

News, A. J. (2018). CIA chief Pompeo held secret meeting with Kim Jong-un.

Al Jazeera (2): 'I'm optimistic that the United States government can set the conditions for that appropriately (...) that they can have a conversation that will set us down the course of achieving diplomatic outcome that America so desperately – America and the world so desperately need', Pompeo said.

The fact that the journalist selected the above quote suggests the support of the hegemonic position of the US in this conflict. At the same time the hyperbolic invocation to the world *desperately* in need for American intervention, frames the situation as dire and requiring some intervention. Furthermore, the repeated paraphrasing of American officials' statements, stresses the US as the one fully controlling the situation with President Donald Trump as the only one able to deal with the issue.

Al Jazeera (3): 'Trump accepted an invitation in March to meet Kim in summer.'

Al Jazeera (4): 'Also on Tuesday, Trump gave his blessing for inter-Korean talks, scheduled for April 27. Subject to a deal they have my blessing and they do have my blessing to discuss that, Trump said.'

In conclusion, the three stations adopted a similar perspective on the events reported. The US portrayed an American veered power display that framed the DPRK as the villain in need of corrective measures. While CGTN and Al Jazeera focused on reporting the events at hand, neglecting other perspectives and focusing mostly on the hegemonic display of power by the US administration. The lexical aspects of the articles present US station as the one employing the most biased and suggestive language and the remaining two broadcasters limiting themselves to incorporation and relying heavily on direct quotes and simplified summaries.

8.3.2 Analysis 2: DPRK-US summit in Singapore (May 28th)

The coverage of events from May 28th is a perfect example of different angles adopted by media houses in the three selected stations. The articles report on the turbulence over the US-North Korea summit. Namely, following the lash-out of Pyongyang administration towards Mark Pence and the threat of nuclear weapon use by North Korea, being the result of joint military drills between South Korea and the US, Trump decided to cancel the meeting with the DPRK's leader. The decision, which was revoked by him the next day, initiated a number of public statements on both sides that fuelled even more divagations over the success of the planned meeting.

The CNN coverage titled: *Trump-Kim summit: Is it still on?*⁶, presented the analysis of the situation with a number of rhetorical questions and immediate answers that form the picture of American administration as shocked and disappointed over hostile and aggressive statements of Pyongyang. The predication of actors in the text is achieved by the lexicalization techniques framing North Korea as using *bombastic statements*, calling Mike Pence a *political dummy* and threatening *a nuclear showdown*. There is a clear demarcation line between the willing-to-negotiate US and the *belligerent* DPRK.

CNN (1): 'US officials said the personal attack on Pence and the threat of a nuclear war was the final straw.'

The article presents the Republic as unstable and lacking strong negotiation points.

CNN (2): 'Confused? So were the Koreans. Kim Jong-un, it appears, wasn't sure what to make of all this.'

⁶ Berlinger, J. (2018). Trump-Kim summit: Is it still on?

The strength of the US is supported by presupposed statements of hesitation and lack of decisiveness on the Korean side. President Trump is described as the one holding all the power and making decisions. Yet, there is some criticism over the potential strategy of the US president as the author clearly discredits his abilities and capabilities to solve one problem without causing another one by mentioning Donald Trump's style of work as well as his origins.

CNN (3): 'After all, this is a President who has unapologetically thrown out the rule book when it comes to diplomacy. (...) As the reality TV star-turned President likes to say, 'we'll see what happens.'

Meanwhile, CGTN decided to adopt a completely different approach in their publication titled: *DPRK-US summit a go in Singapore*⁷, with the Leader of the DPRK as the one holding all the cards. The report focused on the willingness of Kim Jong-un to hold the meeting, which was even strengthened in the article by the fact that it was expressed by Moon Jae-in the president of South Korea who confirmed DPRK Leader's declaration. What is surprising and rather uncommon is the fact that, the station also incorporated Chinese stance on events by quoting Chinese Foreign Ministry expressing support for dialog and cooperation efforts between the conflicted sides. Nevertheless, it was Kim's decisions that became the centre of focus for the article.

CGTN (1): 'Hours earlier, before Trump's statement calling to continue the summit, the DPRK's official Korean Central News Agency said Kim expressed his fixed will to hold the summit.'

⁷ Jianfeng, Z. (2018). DPRK-US summit a go in Singapore

As it was stated in the previous chapters (see Chapter 5: Media Realities and Potential Biases), Chinese reporting faces significant restrictions, thus the techniques adopted by the journalists of CGTN are often a reflection of the common practices used by Chinese reporters. Namely, instead of paraphrasing and evaluating the situation at hand, they tend to adopt direct quotes from various sources. The aim is to express opinions and summaries without the need to openly expose oneself to the accusation of taking stance and being biased or going against the Party line. In this publication the criticism and recommendation are formulated by summarizing the article with direct quotes of academics and research centre scientists.

CGTN (2): ‘Washington’s demand for a complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization is inconsistent with Pyongyang’s intention to achieve denuclearization gradually, said Zheng Jiyong, director of the Korean Research Centre at Fudan University, adding that the ideal way to work on the issue is that both parties can move toward the same goal, make concessions, and show their sincerity.’

This perspective corresponds directly with the official stance of the Chinese government that has been advocating for a step-by-step resolution of conflict and economic cooperation rather than sanctions (Albert & Xu, 2016; Hong, 2014).

Yet, another perspective is presented by Al Jazeera in their article from that day, titled: *US-North Korea officials hold talks ahead of potential summit*. The events on the way towards the US-DPRK summit are only a background for the main actor of the publication in the person of the South Korean president Moon Jae-in. The article portrays his dealings with the situation and his engagement in the negotiation efforts in the form of meetings with both sides in an attempt to get the summit back on track. The events related from the perspective of South Korea, being a party directly involved in the issue yet often neglected in the reporting, allows for a different perspective and a more balanced overview of the situation. At the same

time, Al Jazeera uses a hyperbole to accentuate the importance of the situation and potential outcomes, should the issue be not resolved by selecting sources that hint war rhetoric.

Al Jazeera (1): ‘Donald Trump is seen as a person who can start a war. And over the last say 48 hours – maybe more- they fear that Donald Trump’s administration is going to cancel the summit and that this will lead to a new escalation of tensions and probably war – said Lankov.’

Both Kim and Trump are presented as sides to the conflict without particular stress on the rights of either sides. The reporting hits more neutral tones accentuating the scope of the situation more than the ideological or hegemonic perspective transparent in the other stations.

Altogether the reports show three different approaches to events with distinct divergences in terms of lexical and ideological techniques employed in the reporting. CNN again seems to strongly skew towards the *othering* perspective (Ooi & D’arcangelis, 2017) with North Korea as a clearly negative character, yet CGTN turned the tables by portraying Kim Jong-un as the leader of the negotiating game and the US as the one trying to disturb the path to development and cooperation. The reporting of the third station, resembles a well-balanced overview of the issue with a cold and to some extent pessimistic analysis of potential outcomes for the future.

8.3.3 Analysis 3: North Korea no longer a nuclear threat (June 13th)

On 12th June the attention of the whole world was turned to Singapore where the leaders of the DPRK and the USA met to discuss the future of relations between the two conflicted countries. Most global media provided extensive coverage of the event with major stations reporting step-by-step the events of the long-awaited summit between the ruling heads of the respective countries.

CGTN's coverage of the proceedings (*Kim-Trump summit heralds thaw in DPRK-US ties*⁸) detailed technicalities of the summit with much attention paid to the way Trump and Kim behaved or what they wore to the meeting.

CGTN (1): 'Kim wearing glasses and dressed in a dark suit and Trump sporting a red tie shook hands in front of the cameras at around 9:00 a.m. local time (0100 GMT) at the luxury Capella hotel on Sentosa resort island off the southern tip of the city state.'

Even though the report began with positive reaffirming of a thaw in DPRK-US ties, strengthened by direct quotes of both leaders confirming their will to overcome the obstacles and establish positive relationship, there is an intermediate power struggle expression as well as prioritizing and suggestive framing of the two countries as early as in the first paragraph. What the author did was to present the background of the summit by comparing the reactions of the two countries in light of the US president sudden cancellation of the meeting one month prior to the summit. Initially, the US was disappointed with North Korea's reaction to joint military drills of America and South Korea, thus Trump decided to break off the planned talks, nevertheless, soon the date of the meeting was reinstalled. The US was presented as aggressive and volatile with North Korea remaining calm and balanced. This rhetoric set

⁸ Jianfeng, Z. (2018). Kim-Trump summit heralds thaw in DPRK-U.S. ties

Americans as violent and unpredictable, at the same time portraying Koreans as the ones that promote negotiations and resolution of the conflict.

CGTN (2): 'Trump abruptly cancelled his planned June 12 meeting with Kim in late May, citing "tremendous anger and open hostility" displayed by Pyongyang's recent remarks. But the DPRK responded calmly by saying that it was ready to sit down with the U.S. side at any time for talks to solve the problems existing between them.'

In the following lines of the article, the position of the DPRK's leader was promoted and enhanced by use of reversed facts. The journalist portrayed South Korean president as meeting with Kim Jong-un to discuss the ongoing developments when in fact it was Kim who sought allies after the unexpected threat of the summit cancellation. This misrepresentation of facts was aimed at strengthening the position of the NK leader at the same time suggesting his superiority over the other Korea president. In terms of the lexical style of the publication, the paper employed euphemisms and simplifications aimed at balancing the position of the DPRK in relation to the US. Even though there is a significant discrepancy in the global power and significance of the two countries, the article described them as two rivals, which falsely implies similar global position.

CGTN (3): 'The agenda for improving bilateral ties between the two long-time rivals was also discussed at the summit.'

What is noticeable is the inclusion of both sides presenting their views on the denuclearization process and their stance on the future of relations between the countries. The tones of the article promote peace and development with China presented as the party directly involved and actively advocating for building mutual trust and development.

CGTN (4): ‘Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi said the meeting was of great significance, and something China long called for. Wang stressed that China would continue to play a constructive role in bringing peace to the Peninsula.’

When we compare the above publication with that of CNN, the discourse seems quite different. The article titled: *Trump declares North Korea ‘No Longer a Nuclear Threat’*⁹, transpires negative and pessimistic tones with particular focus on conflict and potential or even imminent war rhetoric. The referential strategy adopted by the journalist clearly polarizes the two sides meeting to negotiate further relations by referring to the DPRK as a *rogue regime* or describing Kim Jong-un as *a volatile dictator who leads a criminal regime*. This lexicalization technique frames one side as inferior to the other, with the US presented as the safekeeper of the world that is able to solve all global problems.

CNN (1): ‘Trump also said in a separate tweet that North Korea is no longer the US’ ‘biggest and most dangerous problem’, telling Americans and the rest of the world they can ‘sleep well tonight!’

This evident display of hegemonic power immediately puts North Korea in the corner as the belligerent nation that requires corrective measures. Even though the summit between the two countries was supposed to promote reconciliation and cooperation the stress of the publication is on power struggle and control with numerous repetitions and suggestions of military solution in the form of war with the DPRK. The author was notorious for accentuating conflict rhetoric by describing military exercises between SK and the US as *war games*, referring to Trump’s last year *fire and furry* discourse in connection with the threat of

⁹ Stracqualursi, V., & Collinson, S. (2018). Trump Declares North Korea ‘No Longer a Nuclear Threat’

imminent war, or suggesting lack of promises that successful negotiations would remove the possibility of war.

The author goes as far in their presuppositions, that a hyperbolic statement summarizing the article hypothesizes whether there is even an alternative to going to war with North Korea.

CNN (2): 'Trump's tweets seem to indicate he is ready to live with the fact that North Korea has nuclear weapons and potentially the capacity to fire them at the United States, in an implicit erosion of the US strategic position.'

CNN (3): 'Ultimately, that may end up being the only option that the US has short of war.'

The entire publication devoted most attention to projecting negative and escalating scenarios of the situation with patronizing and dominant positioning of the US and their administration. The article is void of any other perspective apart from the paraphrasing of the American president augmented by openly biased stance of the writer who purposefully employs referential strategies aimed at skewing the perspective toward the hegemonic positioning of the US at the same time negatively framing North Korea and its actions. The predication strategy adopted in this paper seems to reflect common themes transpiring in the official publications of the American administration as well as other American media, which oftentimes favour *othering* in their works (Ooi & D'arcangelis, 2017). Given the amount of journalistic commentary, the article seems to favour a single strategy of handling the issue of North Korea. There are no alternate solutions provided to the resolution of the conflict with unilateral governmental line of rhetoric that assumes a zero-one strategy. The publication indicates direct threat from the DPRK that is suggested not to lessen even with the assurance (from DPRK) to disarm their arsenal.

CNN (4): ‘Any lessening of tension is positive but an assurance that the threat of war is removed based simply on a relationship between a President who is term-limited and a volatile dictator who leads a criminal regime lacks the certainty and permanence of verifiable disarmament that the administration says is its goal.’

Another approach was adopted by Al Jazeera journalist, who formulates a strong thesis at the beginning of the article titled: *N Korea media highlights Trump concessions on war games*¹⁰. The writer openly claims that the summit was decidedly won by the leader of North Korea and that the US only managed to legitimize and strengthen the position of Kim Jong-un. What is noticeable is the fact that lexicalization clearly suggests the bias of the writer against the leader of the DPRK with repeated labelling and naming techniques present in the article.

Al Jazeera (1): ‘In the end, what this summit achieved was have the US president indirectly legitimize a notorious dictator.’

The publication focuses on the power struggle between the two nations and the concessions that the US decided to offer, at the same time receiving nothing tangible in return. The winner-loser perspective adopted here is achieved by predicated portrayal of both the two leaders as well as potential outcomes of their decisions. The journalist employs presupposition throughout the article that predicates the sides and clearly indicates the negative character (loser) of the event.

¹⁰ News, A. J. (2018). N Korea media highlights Trump concessions on war games

Al Jazeera (2): 'Both men were desperate for this meeting, Trump perhaps even more so. The US president wanted to score his first major foreign policy achievement. His tenure in office, so far, has been marked by growing tensions with neighbours and allies as well as a massive collapse in US global influence.'

Instead of an unbiased reporting the publication is enhanced with critical evaluation of the summit and its results. Especially the final part of the article adopts a clearly polarized stance of the journalist, who, with the use of hyperbole, gives all the credit to the North Korean leader while at the same time bashing the US president for his actions. Even though, it was meant to be a sign of reconciliation and cooperation, the summit is compared to a war between the two nations. The same goes for the two players at the negotiating table with the DPRK regarded as 'reclusive regime' that is steadily gaining political power and recognition freeing itself from the so called 'pariah status'.

Al Jazeera (3): 'With Trump constantly heaping praise on the North Korean leader and dangling the prospect of full normalization of bilateral ties, the reclusive regime is gradually and stealthily dispensing with its 'axis of evil' pariah status. There is even talk of a Nobel Peace Prize for Trump and Kim.'

The author goes as far as to hypothesize over the possibility of the two leaders being granted the highest possible achievement award in the form of Nobel Prize. The underlying power display clearly favours Kim Jon-un as from a position of a dictator of an isolated country with a years' running grudge towards the US, he is promoted to the world peace maker. This technique of hyperbolic presentation of the leader of NK legitimizes his person as well as his actions making him an equal to a democratically chosen president of a first world country.

Overall when we compare the linguistic aspect of the three publications, it turns out that the article by Al Jazeera presents the most complex and sophisticated language. The structure follows a logical flow and the whole text seems more coherent than the other two. The author paraphrases the events, accentuating particular elements and providing explanations to certain events. The CNN publication in contrast, lacks particular line of text. The same goes for CGTN where the text focuses on direct quotes of the two leaders and short commentaries to what they said. Both CNN and CGTN articles seem less structured this way with a sort of chunks of text combined together to form the publications. The above journalistic style selection indicates varying models of writing adopted by the respective media houses. Whereas Al Jazeera seems to put stress on the logical aspect of their publications with narrative that follows a certain path. Namely, following Richardson (2006), news is often constructed based on a three-part structure: setting, event and outcome. ‘The plot is not only a sequence of events but also an order of meaning; we need to apply knowledge in order to establish a coherent link between the situation and the action’ (2006, p. 71). The narrative in the other two publications seems distorted by rearranging certain elements as well as introducing separate paragraphs with different themes that make it difficult to grasp the main message of the article.

8.3.4 Analysis 4: US-DPRK negotiations failure (July 7th)

In its coverage of the 7th July, CNN summarizes latest developments between the US and the DPRK with regard to North Korean voices of disappointment with the US negotiators after a round of talks between the two countries. The article titled: *North Korea pans 'gangster-like mindset of US as Pompeo signals 'progress' in talks*¹¹, follows public announcements and officials' commentary presenting both sides of the conflict trying to persuade the public that the other one is to blame for the lack of progress in terms of denuclearization. What is surprising in the American report is the employment of opinions from both sides. Namely, apart from paraphrasing the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's announcements there are also direct translations of statements by KCNA (Korean Central News Agency). The article presents a clash of opinions between the parties with Pompeo being politically correct and encouraging in describing the developments.

CNN (1): 'We had many hours of productive conversations', Pompeo told reporters on Saturday (...).
'These are complicated issues, but we've made progress on almost all the central issues'.

At the same time there is a direct response of the Korean side 'slamming' the US for 'gangster-like mindset'.

CNN (2): 'North Korea, however, poured cold water on the talks, saying the 'attitude' of the US was 'regrettable' and not in the spirit of the June 12 summit in Singapore (...).'

CNN (3): 'The US is fatally mistaken if it went to the extent of regarding that the DPRK would be compelled to accept, out of its patience, the demands reflecting gangster-like mindset.'

¹¹ Stracqualursi, V. (2018). North Korea pans 'gangster-like mindset of US as Pompeo signals 'progress' in talks

The selection of lexis is focused on accentuating certain elements of the exchange of stances between the countries. The employment of hyperbolic statements like *cancerous issues* or *distrust and risk of war* serves to strengthen the importance of the events at the same focusing more attention on the issue thus increasing interest. Overall, the publication stands as a quite balanced and informative report following a clear narrative style. There is a lack of biased presupposition or predication towards either side. The attention is paid to facts and their developments alongside official statements. The only time journalistic stand can be clearly observed is in the humorous summary to the article where the author summarizes the text by implementing a pun on the way Donald Trump used to refer to Kim Jong-un.

CNN (4): ‘However, contrary to South Korean media reports, Nauert said Pompeo did not leave Kim a CD with the Elton John song ‘Rocket Man’ – a nickname Trump has used to refer to Kim.’

When the report of Al Jazeera titled: *North Korea lashes out at US, calls talks ‘extremely regrettable’*¹², from the same day is considered, the initial presentation of events resembles that from CNN. Both sides of the conflict are given voice alongside limited commentary and journalistic analysis. Nevertheless, the report from the Arabic station transpires more negative tones towards the US with evident criticism expressed via both journalistic summaries as well as direct quotes of the parties involved.

Al Jazeera (1): ‘But while Pompeo on Saturday painted a positive picture of the follow-up talks, North Korean officials accused the US of trying to unilaterally pressure their country into abandoning its nuclear programme.’

¹² News, A. J. (2018). North Korea lashes out at US, calls talks ‘extremely regrettable’

The article focused on presenting the events in light of Pompeo's official statements including detailed analysis of the unfolding events on the American side. There is progressive lack of DPRK's stance summary and evaluation. Al Jazeera seems to present the US and their actions in the negative light, supporting their claims by employing additional sides in the conflict, namely South Korean perspective.

Al Jazeera (2): 'Sarah Clarke, reporting from South Korea's capital, Seoul, said that North Korea appeared to be unhappy following the high-level talks. Particularly, they have suggested that they are disappointed by the US insistence on focusing on the denuclearization plans over what they described as big-picture issues, she said.'

Further on in the text, the station continues to justify the disapproval of the American side by strengthening their publication with quotations from a former White House official who critically evaluates the position of the US and explains the reasons for such actions.

Al Jazeera (3): 'The North Koreans ... understand that Trump needs a win; he needs to have a good story coming out of his high-risk diplomacy with North Korea going into his delicate maybe highly-charged negotiations with the Europeans and the Russians next week, Hilary Mann Leverett said.'

This lack of balance between analysing and evaluating sides to the conflict uncovers slight biases in the reporting. By focusing on one side only the tendency is to show the negative aspects of the American administration's decisions without any particular attention paid to the Korean side, which might imply ideological tendencies to perceive the DPRK as a victim in these negotiations. The article finishes with a statement explaining that the US president Donald Trump is adamant about both economic sanctions imposed on North Korea and maintaining the number of US troops stationed in South Korea.

Al Jazeera (4): ‘(...) sanctions would remain in North Korea (...) and there were no short term-plans to reduce the number of US troops – some 28,500 – stationed in South Korea.’

The summary statement might be perceived as yet another argument adding to the negative perception of the US stance, which can be read as hardened and not willing to make any concessions, thus speaking from the position of power (over North Korea).

On the other hand, the third broadcaster in their article on the DPRK (*DPRK calls results of Pompeo’s visit ‘regrettable’*), displays a different perspective with major focus on the DPRK and their actions in the unfolding negotiations. The publication paints a background picture of the conflict detailing the events at hand, however, the analysis that follows presents the actions and response of the North Korean side with strong focus on peace and reconciliation efforts of the Korean side.

CGTN (1): ‘The DPRK side said it hopes to seek a balanced implementation of all the provisions of the Joint Statement signed during the meeting. The fastest way to achieve a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula is through a phased approach under which both sides take steps at the same time.’

When the US side is presented the rhetoric is quite negative with responsibility for the fiasco of the negotiations attributed to America. There are also indirect hints suggesting failure of the US in guaranteeing former assumptions towards the conflict in the form of Complete, Verifiable and Irreversible Dismantlement (CVID) of North Korea's nuclear program.

CGTN (2): ‘US State Department spokeswoman Heather Nauert said there had been no softening in the US position, although she would not explain why the department no longer defines its aim as CVID. Pompeo had previously said that Trump would reject anything short of CVID.’

The employment of such strategy is aimed at framing the US actions as not successful and tipping the scale to North Korean side, presenting them as the positive and what is more successful side in the conflict.

Unlike the previous two stations, CGTN decided to omit certain events that would not go along with their ideological picture of the DPRK, thus the information that Pompeo did not manage to meet with Kim Jong-un during his visit in North Korea was eliminated. On top of that the article praised the leader of the NK for sending a cooperation and good relations consolidation letter to Donald Trump, however, it failed to mention that the other side did the same thing, as Pompeo brought a letter from the US president along with him during his visit to the DPRK. Such hand picking of the perspective has the power to skew the message and the overall reception of the article, misbalancing the tones of the reporting with direct push towards favouring one side or the other.

Altogether when the three stations are contrasted together, there seem to transpire different framing tendencies which can be attributed to the political and ideological stances of particular broadcasters. The stories are presented from different points of view with particular stress on framing participants of the events in certain way. Each broadcaster focuses on conveying their ideological message with the US aiming at balancing the failure of the talks by presenting both positive assurances of Pompeo but also including facts in the form of KCNA. At the same time Al Jazeera, historically critical of the US (Lahlali, 2011), directs attention to lack of progress of the negotiations and bluntly blames America and their actions for the situation. The final broadcaster seems to be realizing their political superiors' mission to achieve a peaceful resolution of the conflict between China's neighbour and the USA. Their reporting promotes a step-by-step careful resolution of the situation with China as one of the arbitrators.

8.3.5 Analysis 5: Kim Jong Nam murder in Malaysia (August 16th)

The events of 16th August attracted attention of media around the world with two women at an airport in Kuala Lumpur, wiping the face of Kim Jong Nam, the half-brother of the North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, with highly lethal nerve agent VX. The action, claimed by the women to be a part of a prank show in which they were allegedly participating, lead to the man's death.

Particular media houses decided to approach the topic from different angles. Namely, CNN in their publication titled: *Kim Jong Nam trial: Judge rules women's lawyers must mount defense*¹³, presented the story with focus on the human interest side of the scandal by presenting the profiles of the two women responsible and the justification of their act in detail. The station framed the story as a witch hunt against innocent women, who were victims of the North Korean regime plot.

CNN (1): 'Lawyers for both women maintain they were duped by a group of North Koreans, four of whom have been charged in relation to Kim's murder but have since left the country.'

The journalist repeatedly incorporates reasons for the women's innocence, paraphrasing the events in a way that strongly suggests the actual perpetrators in the form of the North Korean government. At the same time the women are portrayed as common good-natured personas with idyllic family life and work aspirations.

CNN (2): 'Doan, who is from Vietnam, and Aisyah, an Indonesian national, have been described by friends and family as simple, well-meaning women who had expressed interest in acting jobs.'

¹³ Berlinger, J., Ushar, D. (2018). Kim Jong Nam trial: Judge rules women's lawyers must mount defense

The employment of human interest elements in the story creates the image of the two women as unaware tools in the hands of the regime. The fact that the author combined an additional fact that the Vietnamese and the Indonesian had an interest in acting serves as a justification for the perpetrator's claims that they were taking part in a prank show which would explain why they sprayed the face of Kim Jong Nam with some liquid. This kind of framing is aimed at redirecting the guilt and dispersing responsibility for the act while at the same time it evokes the feeling of pity over the faith of the naïve women. The readers are supposed to see them as actual people with families and career aspirations, unaware of the whole situation, thus unlikely to be guilty, even though solid facts in the form of video footage suggest that their actions did lead to the death of the man.

The entire article continues as a presentation of the defence and reasons why the women should not be found guilty. There is even a hidden critical analysis of the judge's decision to go to trial with the two women.

CNN (3): 'Defence lawyers had relied heavily on the argument that the women thought they were participating in a prank TV show (...).'

CNN (4): 'But Ariffin rejected that argument in his Thursday decision, which took more than two hours to read – an unusually long amount of time.'

The man was accused by the journalist of taking too long to explain why the women should stand trial, which suggests, according to the American journalist, difficulty in finding grounds for the case.

The predication that the women were victims of the North Korean scheme to murder the estranged half-brother of their leader, presents a biased perspective in presenting events at

hand which strongly influences the reception of the situation allowing for one-sided interpretations and at the same time blurring actual events.

When contesting the above reporting with that from CGTN regarding the events we can clearly see discrepancies in paraphrasing the news. It is possible to assume that due to political restraints and ideological influences in the editorial office of CGTN, the events at an airport in Kuala Lumpur were heavily censored and simplified before publication. Namely, the Chinese station in their article titled: *Women accused of killing DPRK man in Malaysia asked to enter defense*, decided to present the situation as a story of two women charged with killing a man from the DPRK without revealing the most crucial fact that the man was the half-brother of Kim Jong Un.

CGTN (1): ‘The two women charged with killing a man from the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (...) were asked to enter their defence by a Malaysian court on Thursday.’

The slight omission influenced the entire publication as without the most significant piece of news the article lost its momentum and was rather published out of sheer need to report breaking news following other global media, yet it lacks the political motives and consequences of the whole affair. It can be assumed that the name of Kim Jong Un’s brother was deliberately eliminated in the post editing cycle as it also eliminated the need to divagate over the involvement of the North Korean government in the murder of their leader’s exiled brother. The publication as such is left with a direct report on the events at hand, namely a presentation of the two women recorded on surveillance camera spraying the unnamed man’s face with some liquid. This kind of framing distorts the reality by omitting certain elements in the story. On the one hand the station did report on the events, however, the fact that they decided not to include the name of the main actor allows to suggest political influences in place that were aimed at setting the reality to fit political strategy of China towards North

Korea as their friendly neighbour (Hong, 2014; Jiang, 2006). The unavoidable mention of the fact that the half-brother had been exiled from North Korea by Kim's family and that Kim Jong Un's top brass might have been involved in his murder was simply eliminated by not mentioning the victim's name. The omission of facts seems to be a common strategy in CGTN as with the analysis of previous reports, there has transpired a tendency to simplify articles and only include ongoing events with particular focus on staging the story, that is what people wore, what they said without particular analyses of the situation or providing any sort of historical background.

What can be seen from the reporting of the third broadcaster Al Jazeera in their story titled: *Judge: 'Well-planned conspiracy' to kill Kim Jong-nam*¹⁴, is the way it distanced itself from the events by presenting all the relevant information without particular focus or favouritism of any of the sides. The reporting from the Arabic station presents the events at the airport along with the developments in the case and potential outcomes. There is some mention of the possibility of the North Korean government being involved in the case but at the same time the article strongly follows fact and developments in the case by direct quotes of the judge and his ruling to prosecute as in his opinion there was enough evidence to charge them with the murder of Kim Jong Nam. The style of the reporting does not contain any open bias towards the individuals, or the parties involved as the journalist decided to incorporate both the US and South Korea's accusations of Kim's regime in the plot to murder the man as well as North Koreans response denying the claims. The lack of presupposed blame allows for the readers to freely interpret the whole event and the motives behind it without additional implications as who actually ordered the killing of the Kim Jong Un's half-brother.

¹⁴ Margs, D. (2018). 'Well-planned conspiracy' to kill Kim Jong-nam

8.3.6 Analysis 6: North Korea 70th Anniversary Parade (September 9th)

The CNN's coverage of the events from 9th September focused on a military parade honouring the 70th Anniversary of the establishment of the DPRK. The report titled: *North Korea hold military parade without ICBMs*¹⁵, presented the celebrations on the main square in Pyongyang on that day, however, instead of focusing on the parade itself the story was rather a background to discuss the weaponry and military capabilities of North Korea.

Regardless of the fact that the parade was supposed to glorify 70 years of rule by the Kim dynasty, most attention was paid to the issue of nuclear weapons and long range missiles, which were mentioned in the article a number of times.

CNN (1): 'The day began with a smaller than expected military parade – which did not include the ballistic missiles believed to be capable of targeting the United States – and ended with the first Mass Games in five years.'

The authors repeated the cliché statement describing North Korean weapons that had been used by numerous other journalists in countless publications on that country. Namely, NK missiles were immediately accompanied by additional information that they were able to hit the US. This technique automatically set the tone and agenda of the article, placing the DPRK as the potential aggressor with weapon system ready to attack. Even though the topic of the parade had nothing to do with attacking any country this kind of framing served as a political and ideological tool presenting NK as a dangerous military regime.

On top of that, as early as in the first paragraph, a biased ideological hegemony was displayed by the author who compared the celebrations to *highly choreographed propaganda spectacle* and equated the participants to trained *human pixels* flipping cards. This way of

¹⁵ Lee, E., et al. (2018). North Korea holds military parade without ICBMs

dehumanizing the participants of the parade and immediately focusing on the weapons and missiles of mass destruction created an impression of the DPRK as not a real country but an automated military machine. The perspective was strengthened with paraphrasing of the events during the parade, which were mixed with short analyses of the international political situation of North Korea.

CNN (2): ‘An estimated 100,000 performers participated in Sunday night’s Games, a highly-choreographed propaganda spectacle in which participants act as human pixels, flipping colourful cards to reveal socialist messages that glorify North Korea.’

Unlike previous CNN reports analysed here that can be characterized by overwhelming dominance of the American skew of reporting, the author decided to augment the story with external sources that serve as an equilibrium to the military-centred theme of the publication. Particular experts presented counterbalance to the critical approach of the American journalist by placing emphasis on economic development and limited demonstration of military equipment by the DPRK.

CNN (3): ‘Compared to past parades they really pulled back on displaying missile systems and focused on economy and improving the lives of the North Korean people,’ said Dave Schmerler, a research associate at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies.’

CNN (4): ‘The big missiles weren’t out there. That is a clear sign of restraint on Kim Jong Un’s part,’ said John Delury, a professor of International Relations at Yonsei University’s Graduate School of International Studies.’

On top of that, the article emerged as one presenting a comprehensive background situation, which enabled to build a picture of the events with relation to its historical origin.

Nevertheless, there was still evident bias of the journalist in the form of immediate contesting of ongoing reconciliation efforts of both sides with a warning that clearly presupposed that North Korea was not to be trusted and the good signs were simply a decoy.

CNN (5): 'The United States should not forget about North Korea's arsenal simply because it's kept out of sight (...) Even as talks have ground to a halt, every indication is that research and development of nuclear capable systems is continuing.'

In the same manner the final paragraph of the article paraphrasing the decision of the DPRK's administration to bar reporters from broadcasting live from the parade was framed as a potential propaganda decision aimed at controlling the images from the parade which indicated and strengthened negative image of the country.

In the analysis of CGTN report from the same day describing the parade (*Is the absence of ICBM a sign for DPRK to break ice with US?*) there transpired divergent tones that framed the events in a completely different way. Namely, the article by Chinese reporters was constructed in a form of a report based on an interview with one of the professors at the top Chinese university. This technique of presenting events served two purposes, on one hand the responsibility for critical or sensitive ideas presented in the text was diluted by the fact that the article presented the opinions of one person. Hence, the station seemingly attained the impartiality status by merely summarizing the points mentioned by Cheng Xiaohe without taking stance which safeguarded them from censorship criticism. At the same time the employment of Renmin University, regarded as the most prominent and respected university in China was aimed at grounding the opinions presented and strengthening the message of the text by use of academic authorities.

When presenting opinions of others, the station was able to abandon, a previously observed here, technique of dry reporting of events at hand and paid more attention to the

analysis of the situation and the implications of the parade celebrations. The early paragraphs devoted space to pointing out the three main aims of the parade along with some background explanation of their significance and potential. The events were framed as a presentation of the DPRK's accomplishments with stress on the need to unify and strengthen North Korean's confidence.

CGTN (1): 'First of all, the parade basically served to demonstrate the achievements of the country. By doing so, the DPRK people could be better unified and confidence can be boosted, according to Chen.'

The second perspective pointed out the need to intimidate potential enemies and finally the third purpose of the parade was presented as an opportunity for Kim Jong-Un to announce new policies and changes.

Significant attention was drawn to the fact that ICBM weapons were not present at the parade. The decision was positively framed as a sign of respect for the participants of the ceremony. Unlike the American report, the DPRK administration's decision not to display them was perceived as a good will gesture, augmented with paraphrasing of the Chinese government stance on the use of such weapons by North Korea.

CGTN (2): '... taking out the ICBM from the parade indicates that (...) the DPRK respects the guests that attended the ceremony. As we all know, some of the countries oppose the DPRK's ICBM development.'

CGTN (3): 'China, a close neighbour of the Korean Peninsula, has always stated its opposition to the missile launch by the DPRK and called for more dialogue.'

The report concluded with a strong suggestion as to the bettering of the relations between both Koreas and the United states, adding that it would positively influence the

resolution of the conflict between the countries. This perspective was aimed at conveying the dominant ideology and international strategy of China as the newly arrived global leader, strongly influencing the politics of its neighbours.

Al Jazeera, the third station analysed here, presented a more distant and descriptive approach in reporting on the celebrations. The focus of the article titled: *North Korea marks 70th anniversary without ballistic missiles*, was on the unfolding of the parade with particular attention paid to the people and visitors present as well as the technical details of the celebrations themselves.

Al Jazeera (1): ‘The parade featured armoured personnel carriers, multiple rocket launchers and tanks, and biplanes that flew overhead in a ‘70’ formation. At one point, jets trailing red, white and blue smoke – the colours of the North Korean flag roared above Juche Tower, the stone monument to the country’s founder Kim Il Sung’s political philosophy.’

The reporting presented South Korean point of view with direct quotations of the managing director of Korea Expose magazine or paraphrasing of the South Korean president claiming that the reason why there was a limited number of missiles on display during the parade was subject to the DPRK’s willingness to denuclearize.

Al Jazeera (2): ‘North Korea has said it wants to denuclearize by the end of Trump’s first term. So given all the optimism, given all the clear signs, it was unlikely that North Korea would jeopardise the process with a display of its missiles.’

What was surprising was the fact that the station adopted an idyllic reunification of Koreas frame without any analysis of the actual situation and decided to portray North Koreans as briskly marching during the parade.

Al Jazeera (3): 'Immediately after the parade, thousands of citizens walked through the square, escorting floats displaying economic themes and calls for Korean reunification.

Under the warm sunshine, the marches waved bouquets and flags and chanted 'Long live' to the leader.'

The report was quite void of any sort of historical background or explanation which might lead to superficial perspective of peace and harmony in the country. The only analysis adopted by the journalists was a short paragraph finalizing the publication where the Chinese – North Korean relations were presented with a suggestion that after a cooling off period the situation seemed to be improving due to the presence of a high official representing China at the parade.

These three reports are an example of three different stances on the same event that took place in the DPRK. When comparing the framing tendencies in the three stations there transpire significant discrepancies. CNN followed a common American model of framing foreign countries in a negative way (Saleem, 2007) with some limited external voices that would counterbalance the message of the publication. The main focus of their publication revolved around conflict frames with strong accentuation on military capabilities and a potential attack on the US soil. At the same time Al Jazeera editors did not find the topic of the parade in the DPRK as a newsworthy event; thus their report is void of any actual analyses and is a rather short statement of facts at hand. Among the three, CGTN adopted a technique of paraphrasing an interview with an academic authority to analyse the significance of the parade and the way to read the signs and message of the events at the celebrations. The Chinese publication, similar to the US edition, followed ideological stance of China with strong stress on the Chinese political aims of economic development of North Korea along with a step-by-step peaceful denuclearization.

8.4 Summary

This chapter has focused on the analysis of texts published by CNN, AL Jazeera and CGTN from the point of view of discourse, especially in terms of the approaches these three broadcasters adopted in reporting on and at the same time framing the DPRK. The differences in the strategies have their roots in both different political systems, ideologies as well as geographical locations of the stations. Given the development of the media within the last decades, there has been a fierce competition between media sources which as a result increases and highlights ideological and political skews of different parties. The analysis allowed to reveal that within the period analysed in this thesis all three stations managed to employ a variety of media discourses in their presentation of particular news items. By the same token, these media discourses had significant influence on the content and the underlying message of the stories presented. While Al Jazeera managed to attain most unbiased and distant approach to the news they presented, CNN followed their country of origin's ideological stance of conflict accentuation with particular stress on military solutions, often favoured by the US politics. CGTN complied fully with the political aspirations of China as the global player reshaping the hegemonic power structure of the world and Asia especially by advocating strongly for development through economic cooperation with China as the arbiter.

The perspectives that emerged in the stations' reporting, corresponded with the overall ideological stances of the stations. The voices that were given a platform on CNN all followed a unified pro American administration front with hegemonic displays of USA supremacy over 'belligerent' DPRK. The journalists almost unanimously adopted identical strategy of employing only voices that put America first. They even went as far as to adopt a victim perspective in case of the two women accused of killing Kim Jong-un's brother in order to attain the position of North Korea as a villain, responsible for the death of the man. CGTN on

the other hand, presented voices of the opposing side with a more balanced perspectives that included different sides to the story. Additionally to the American government, they also incorporated the North Korean side and even intertwined statements from Chinese officials and authorities representing the country's strategy towards the DPRK. The third station Al Jazeera decided to look further beyond direct participants of the conflict and oftentimes decided to augment their stories with voices coming from South Korea, country that even though indirectly affected by the conflict, yet offered another perspective and enabled to augment the stories with new angles.

On top of that the textual analysis revealed significant divergences in portraying the reality by the stations. The lexical choices strongly influenced the message of the articles allowing for stronger framing tendencies possible to be observed in particular stations. Whereas CGTN adopted simplified, void of lexicalization biases language that was mainly aimed at conveying information, CNN based their discourse on graphic and polarizing language that strongly suggest predication techniques of journalists and the station. The analysis revealed ideological standpoints which were reinforced by lexical, textual and discursive choices which clearly support Richardson (2006) claims that 'words convey the imprint of society and value judgements in particular – they convey connoted as well as denoted meanings'. In the same manner Fairclough (1995, p. 204) wrote that 'journalistic texts are the outcome of specific professional practices and techniques, which could be and can be quite different with quite different results.'

Chapter 9 DISCUSSION

9.1 Introduction

The research of this thesis was conducted in order to deepen the understanding of framing practices construction in global media, with direct focus on CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera. This study's aim was to reveal the framing trends as well as particular similarities and divergences in the reporting on the DPRK by the three global news providers, which was seen as a grounding for the concept formulation of general framing trends in contemporary media. The outcomes of the analyses have offered important insights into global media reporting of foreign news. Additionally, as a result of exploratory research, a gap in framing methodology was identified in terms of the newly developing notion of frame dynamics in competitive environment. This thesis has remedied the lack of empirical method of identifying frame strength and dominance when in competitive context by providing a procedure for testing frame power and dynamics in news publications. The proposed concept will contribute to the overall study of framing, allowing for a more comprehensive and reliable method of identifying particular frame building and enhancing elements.

Instead of selecting a single technique to media reporting on the DPRK, this thesis comprises a mixed method approach, which allowed for a more comprehensive study of framing in media. Grounded in the framing studies, cultural, ideological and political contextualization of news stories enables to make different assumptions and gives potential for further research.

The general conclusion of the study confirms that, despite strong similarities in reporting the news, there have emerged particular differences between the stations in question, in terms of framing trends and tendencies. The ideological and political orientations have transpired as the foundation for different interpretations of news events, which in turn allowed for diverse framing of the DPRK by the broadcasters. These were confirmed by

adopting different methods of study that the researcher employed along with creating an exploratory procedure of measuring frame dynamics, which remedied current lacks in framing research methodology. The secondary outcome of the research, namely the notion of (frame) attributes able to influence strength of frames revealed significant dependencies and inner processes that are in motion when frames are studied in competitive context. It has been established that competing frames acquire and possess more attributes when contested with other frames than when an individual frame is present in a given text.

This closing chapter is divided into two distinct parts. The first section pays attention to the theoretical assumptions embedded in previous studies on framing, which became an inspiration for the research in this thesis. The other part summarizes and discusses main findings of this study, cross-referencing them with related previous research and assessing their contributions and significance to the framing studies in general.

9.2 Theoretical implications of the research

This study employed a mixed method framing analysis to establish dominant framing tendencies in the media, treating the coverage of the three global broadcasters as examples of general media framing trends in the world. Previous researchers (Borah, 2011a; Lahlali, 2011) have noted insufficient amount of comparative research into media in the Middle East when compared with the Western and Asian skews. This thesis resolves this problem by providing detailed analysis of frames in the reporting of CNN, CCTV and Al Jazeera. Another reason for implementing this theoretical framework is to test the validity of one of the most popular social scientific theories that dominated modern research into communication and mass media, namely the notion of framing that transpired as early as in the 70s and has been gaining a more and more prominent place in the study of communication research. From the basic concept of framing (effects) which states that ‘by selecting some information and

highlighting it to the exclusion of other information, news frames can shape the audience's interpretations of issues, candidates and events...'(Matthes, 2012, p. 250) the study has expanded to latest research into interrelations between frames that, beyond influencing audiences by skewing the message, are also able to exhibit particular potency or resetting abilities when exposed to one another (D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a). Following Matthes and Schemer (2012) despite common depiction of framing as a bridging model (Reese, 2007), there are hardly any studies that would comprise various stages of framing from the political elite to the news media and in the end to the public. On top of that the conceptual frame definition is surprising vague and does not offer much indication of the distinct elements that constitute a news frame or a way to distinguish one in the news (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2016).

For that reason modern research has switched its focus to analysing frame strength and competition in various news releases with an aim to augment existing studies and provide replicable methodology of framing effects and frame building elements. Among others, this study has mainly drawn from the research of James Druckman (Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a, 2007b, 2012; Druckman, 2001b, 2004; Druckman & Nelson, 2003) and his theory of frames having variable effectiveness, namely the possibility of frames gaining strength or cancelling each other out when in competitive context on top of the importance of source credibility in the theory of frame intensity. Another researcher Lene Aarøe (Aarøe, 2011, 2017; Aarøe & Jensen, 2014), whose findings were employed in this thesis, provided partial elements that potentially influenced frames with particular emphasis on values and political awareness as well as contextual factors, including the source of the frame, competitive frame exposure, and repeated frame exposure. Existing studies also mention other mechanisms, which include frame strength as a product of personal perceptions with active processing of frames limiting the power of elite framing (Brewer, 2001); resonance with shared values (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), episodic nature of frames (Iyengar, 1994) or

even intensity of emotional reactions (K. Gross, 2008). Additionally, this research based some of its assumptions on the works of Porismita Borah (Borah, 2011a, 2011b; Tannen, 1993) and her outlines of the existing literature on framing with specific proposals for the directions of future study. Nevertheless, most researchers admit that the state of current studies requires ongoing revision and systematization due to lacks in conceptual approach to frame building and the construction of frame strengthening attributes.

The two main objectives of this thesis were to, first of all, provide a comparative analysis of dominant framing tendencies in the media, using the three global news stations and their perception of the DPRK as a case study and at the same time reveal underlying process that take place in media in general. The second aim was identified during initial research into frame dominance and acknowledged existing lack of proper methodology into consistent frame boosting elements. The result of the literature review into framing produced a necessity to develop a method of distinguishing frame boosting elements that will enable to empirically decide on the frame strength and dominance.

In the study the mixed method approach was employed in order to answer all the research questions posed to answer the above issues. The content analysis questions focused on tonal perspective of the articles under scrutiny with relation to North Korea and its image, the type of sources incorporated to enhance the stories and legitimize the angle selection in building the narrative as well as the use of generic frames that commonly employed are a best indicator of ideological, organizational and political skews transpiring in texts. The research question that asked about the dominant tendencies engaged a newly developed combination of previous studies that produced a binary technique of identifying frame strength attributes thus enabled to distinguish between strong and weak frames and in the end reveal dominant frames in news texts. To find the answer to the final research question posed here, a critical discourse

analysis was employed to scrutinize the texts for the link between the language (lexicalization), socio-cultural context, political power and ideology combined in the articles.

9.5 Employment of generic frames in the articles

For Gamson and Modigliani (1989) frames were perceived as packages of data which worked for constructing meaning and incorporating an object or social event into a rhetor's frames. Tankard Jr (2001) claimed that frames reflect the richness of media discourse and that the vital differences become visible when some topics are presented from different perspectives. In the reporting from the three stations the generic frames analysed in this thesis paint a comprehensive picture of North Korea as a single country, however, with three different facades. Despite overall similarities in framing the DPRK, there persist particular divergences transpiring from the way media texts have been constructed.

The findings of the study proved attribution of responsibility to be the most often used frame (133 times) shadowed by conflict frame. The third on the podium was the human interest frame which also found preference in the journalists of all three stations. The remaining two frames, prescription/evaluation and the final economic frame followed accordingly. Nevertheless, what is even more interesting than the number of frames present is their uniform spread among the three news providers which allows to speculate on the unification of editorial practices in major media houses. All three broadcasters employed conflict as their leitmotif, even if oftentimes shallowed to a feud between two heads of state. Following Bratić (2006), media have the power to influence processes in two ways, either supporting some notions or expressing opposition to them. Most modern media operate on conflict as their background for creating compelling stories. In the framing of North Korea the conflict and attribution of responsibility or be it possibility to alleviate the issue are the themes that emerge in most publications. The employment of particular frames enables to

reveal significant differences visible between stations. CNN sensationalizes their conflict reporting, following a common strategy of modern American media (Slattery, Doremus, & Marcus, 2001), which, according to authors, might be due to the assumption that this type of reporting is the reflection of the audiences' need for social order and maintenance of society's moral boundaries. At the same time the frames present in CGTN, most of the time lack any sort of contextualization, which would ground the stories relating the conflict and particular attribution of responsibility to certain characters. As it was mentioned before, this particular approach of the Chinese broadcaster seems to be the results of the inner processes taking place in the country (Anna Nelson, 2013) and local media (Li, 2013; Winfield & Peng, 2005) as well as general journalistic practices favoured by Chinese journalists who have been known to be adapting a sort of self-censorship which is based on filtering news that would be considered sensitive or in opposition to the Communist party (Du & Li, 2017). The unfortunate result of such a policy is the production of news which seems fragmentary and not adequate with certain parts either omitted or clipped entirely. At the same time when competing over audiences, pieces of news that lack particular analyses and summaries might be less attractive or digestible for audiences, thus attract less attention and lead to ebb of readership/viewership.

When contrasting the above stations with the third broadcaster analysed here, the reporting produced by Al Jazeera provides comprehensive and well-grounded pieces of news, despite particular similarities in the layout of frames. On top of that, different angles are adopted to present certain events in different light. There transpire complex explanations as well as varied sources that express different perspectives of the parties involved.

Particular frames in the reporting from the stations are partly influenced by the divergent ideologies and political inclinations of their headquarters. For CNN and Al Jazeera, Kim Jong-un is the tyrant responsible for numerous deaths of North Koreans in the prison

camps, general poverty of its people and international isolation of the country. However, the image of the leader of the DPRK in CGTN is completely different with mostly positive portrayal of Kim as the party able to alleviate all the problems and lead North Korea to economic and social welfare. He is depicted in the same manner as other world leaders, if not in a kinder light, which might be the result of Chinese political interest in the region, namely stable, friendly leader serving as a buffer to American presence and influences in South Korea. This kind of discrepancy might be the result of both national interest (especially in case of the US) as well as the tendency to follow Western media trends in the reporting on foreign countries (Al Jazeera). Nevertheless, the results of the analysis of generic frames in the stations reveal that on average the Middle Eastern broadcaster managed to attribute the blame for the conflict between the US and the DPRK and the events around it to both sides, which in turn allows for a less biased reporting.

The same tendency can be observed in terms of human interest frames which are a great background for expressing ideologies and dominant tendencies. With, what needs be mentioned, mostly impersonal and rather detached Al Jazeera style that focused on factual aspect rather than human interest, again CNN and CGTN present completely opposite sides of the spectrum. The Republic portrayed in these two stations seems to be two different places. Even though the reporting on the same events was analysed, the human interest frames adopted by the journalists in China painted an idyllic picture of a happy and peaceful neighbouring country with particular focus on sports, entertainment and culture. The editors of CGTN seem to have erased the reports of defectors from the country or numerous foreigners presenting less than an ideal view of North Korea. In contrast, CNN followed the tendency of portraying foreign nations in a negative way and only focused on negative aspects of the Republic. North Korea in American television portrays brutality of life, despair and general poverty and unhappiness of the people. The defectors that are shown by the stations

are the ones harmed by the system, there is a particular stress on American involvement in the country and an imminent threat to American citizens (casus of the American student imprisoned in Pyongyang for destroying a poster ("Trump: American college student Otto Warmbier did not die in vain," 2018)), even sports are contested with the brutality of the regime (Macguire, 2018).

All together the findings of the framing analysis allow to confirm significant discrepancies in the reporting of foreign countries by global media. The three stations being the representatives of global media in general, all follow either their national interests or local political influences, despite commonly claimed ideas of impartiality, lack of bias and journalistic ideas. In terms of framing it was Al Jazeera that turned out to be the station that attained most of its mission statement by providing comprehensive and, to a great extent, balanced reporting. Yet even this station was proven to follow American rhetoric in terms of foreign countries by focusing greatly on American sources and in a way copying the US stance and point of view on the overall situation in the Peninsula.

9.6 Frame dynamics in competitive environment

As it was noted before, the results of the newly introduced method of identifying frame strength and positioning in the news allowed for a more comprehensive analysis which produced significant findings in terms of the media scope and significance in general. The production of frames is oftentimes based on a set of qualifying indicators that seem to universally enhance the message of the given frame at the same time strengthening it with relation to other frames that are competing in the background. The identification of six recurring moderators of frames (official and/or credible sources, repetition/loudness, journalistic lexical bias (labelling), proximity hype, episodic frame and negativity bias) allowed to develop an easily replicable procedure of defining frame strength and dominance

which in return enables for a more precise and more comprehensive identification of underlying framing trends in news media.

The notoriety in the use of the newly identified frame attributes by all three stations allows to speculate on the genesis of frames as either largely ignorant but oftentimes conscious efforts of journalists to present an angle to any story they produce. As it was presented in the previous sections, editorial pressure along with political agenda and ideological standing are all involved in the final production of news reporting. By the same token the adoption of certain frames is the result of such processes. What is interesting is the fact that the initial analysis revealed that in terms of numbers the most common generic frame in the reporting studied here was attribution of responsibility. Nevertheless, when we consider the positioning of this frame within the competitive context, it turns out that conflict frame has become the most dominant frame in the articles researched here with as many as four different frame attributes present when this frame was employed. This finding supports the necessity of empirical identification of frame strength raised by numerous researchers (Busby, Flynn, Druckman, & Hall; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007a). As it was proven in this thesis the number of frames does not necessarily correspond to the dominant position of those elements within texts. Additional factors need to be taken into consideration to be able to define the inner power to skew messages and produce distinct biases in news reporting.

Following that stream of thought when we compare the presence of attributes in the researched frames, the results suggest that frames become stronger when they are placed in competitive context than when they stand alone. In the study, competing frames had on average 3,8 attributes to a frame in comparison with 44 individual frames standing alone in articles, which only had 2,5 frame attributes on average. This finding supports the claim that competitive environment will improve the potency of frames forcing and/or enabling journalists to enhance their reports with additional framing strategies in order to convey the

intended assumptions and ideology better and more effectively. All three stations exhibited similar rate of employment of the framing attributes, which reinforces the notion of common use of these elements in the news media to enrich the message and skew agendas. The knowledge of these mechanisms might benefit both media specialists as well as journalists themselves as it will allow for both a quick identification of inner framing processes taking place in news reporting and also enable the construction of media texts so that they become more compelling and enticing for audiences. Taking it all into consideration, it is safe to assume that the implementation of frame strengthening attributes in texts results in stronger framing practices which in turn skews the reality presented in the reporting to a greater extent.

Lately (as of June 2020), the outbreak of the coronavirus COVID-19 has created an opportunity for opposing and often competing considerations that fuel the hearts and minds of audiences around the world, scared of the unknown disease and eager to seek information on potential health-threats, symptoms, preventive measures and the global impact of the virus. Varying perspectives that the journalists as well as authorities have been adopting, allowed for unrestricted competition among contrasting ideas which as a result accounts for a growing state of information chaos and the flourishing of fake or unsupported news and angles that have dominated the media discourse, especially online. Different news providers have been adjusting the rhetoric to fit their agendas by threatening the public with doomsday scenarios while others have been attempting to lessen the panic and provide structured and informative solutions and guidance in how to handle the crisis situation (Khairy, 2020). Governments around the world have been constructively proportioning the ongoing news and developments in order to ensure acceptable amounts of facts to be distributed and disseminated by audiences. Different leaders have adopted divergent frames that are commonly in use in media at the moment. Connolly (2020) writes about a common practice of employing war metaphors by US, France or Australia, with the pandemic compared to a battlefield with the

main goal to beat the virus. Others bet on global health and economic crisis (Poirier, Ouellet, Rancourt, Béchar, & Dufresne, 2020) with more human interest frames occupying the news stories. Politically, the outbreak is also used as a part of the power struggle game in which the US president openly uses it to narrate his political agenda by repeatedly calling COVID-19, ‘the Chinese virus’ or ‘Wuhan virus’ (Connolly, 2020), which is an attempt at placing blame on the pandemics to its economic and political rival China. This attribution of responsibility frame is aimed at redirecting the attention of the audiences for the situation to external sources and absolving the US government for poor handling of the epidemic. At the same time there are recurring voices in the online sphere of those negating the entire virus outbreak situation (Karpiuk, 2020). Certain sources have argued that the virus either does not exist or that it was created on purpose and it is a conspiracy to eliminate part of the population and a tool to limit the personal freedoms and control the masses on a greater scale. Such conflicting claims have flourished in multiple publications, which only increased the competition among contradicting frames. Thus, being able to distinguish and also to purposely create strong, convincing frames might offer a key to lead and manage the discourse flow, at the same time providing a powerful tool to control audiences and what goes with that shift the perspective to fit ones’ agendas. The method of identifying frame potency proposed in this thesis, has the capacity to empirically identify and indicate the leading framing trends which might serve both, the researchers studying communication discourse and its biases as well as journalists attempting to create powerful, resounding stories.

9.7 Discursive practices in the reporting on the DPRK

The discourse analysis of selected publications confirmed the findings of the content analyses discussed above. The three stations exhibited varying semantic choices, despite reporting on the same events related to the DPRK and its leadership. When comparing the language

adopted by the broadcasters it was the American broadcaster that employed most biased and polarizing language aimed at influencing the message of its news stories. The CNN journalists exhibited a tendency to commonly employ clearly derogatory terms aimed at framing the DPRK and leading to its correct (clearly negative) positioning in the minds of the readers/viewers. North Korea in the station's output was referred to as *belligerent, rogue regime, a big world problem, a propaganda spectacle with human pixels as citizens*, and many others. The leader of the republic, unlike in the case of any other references to the heads of state involved in the conflict in the Peninsula, was most of the time referred to as *a volatile dictator, hostile threat, a criminal or a murderer*, in milder cases he became downgraded to simply *Kim*. This kind of lexicalization clearly suggests the uniform inclination to employ the technique of 'othering'. Ooi and D'arcangelis (2017) in their article on 'othering' in the US media, analysed the way China has been constructed by American media. They observed similar tendencies transpiring in the reporting. Tracing elements of Orientalism in the representations and language used in US news media and political rhetoric, the researchers found elements of the language that clearly polarized China as a potential threat, and a contender to American political and ideological hegemony. In the case of North Korea, the evident national interest reporting openly separates the good (the US) and the bad (the DPRK). By placing stress on conflict and military solution rhetoric, CNN clearly polarizes the situation to a battlefield forcing the readers/viewers to immediately take sides. Pessimistic and openly negative reporting augmented with common use of hyperboles and presuppositions creates an unfavourable impression of the republic, which only strengthens the hegemonic power display favouring America as the only rightful nation to set the global political stage. What has been observed to be notorious, was the following of American patriotic reporting (Kyle, 2001) by journalists with repeated lack of critical reports towards American administration. The findings on CNN as a representative of American media support previous

conclusions and allow to build a more comprehensive picture of the biases visible in the reporting. Most of the elements of American nationalism and power struggle polarization in reporting about other countries raised by Kyle (2001), Wolfsfeld (2003) or Ooi and D'arcangelis (2017) can be confirmed and even extended to an accusation of justification and a sort of enabling of media to resort to military solutions, clearly favoured by the US administration. Unlike other stations studied here, CNN glorifies the military solution to the conflict with the DPRK, repeatedly referring to clichés like North Korean missiles able to hit the US, or constant threat of nuclear weapons aimed at American soil. There are even voices presenting imminent war perspective and the possibility of pre-emptive strikes, that are all aimed at justifying the possibility of taking a military action by the US.

When contrasting the above findings with the Chinese station's content, there is a complete dissonance in terms of the language used as well as the positioning of the DPRK in the reporting. The discourse used by CGTN is void of diminutive lexicalization, however, it needs to be stated that it is also less complex and lacking in particular style. News reports provided by the station are twice as short as their American counterpart with evident lacks, omissions or cut outs at the editorial stage. Thus, the texts seem less coherent and rather reporting events step by step than reporting on events. The way the DPRK transpires in the articles builds an image of a peaceful, neighbouring country with a young and energetic leader that is able to alleviate all the problems and lead the country to social and economic wellbeing. China accentuates cooperation and development tones in most of its reports on that country, to the point that certain facts and events become strongly skewed to present the expected view. Unlike CNN, for whom Kim Jong-un is a clearly negative character, CGTN glorifies the leader of NK, presenting him in positive light only or going as far as to stretch facts and use simplifications to boost his importance (e.g. two long-time rivals – when referring to Kim Jong-Un and Donald Trump). At the same time certain uncomfortable pieces

of information have a tendency of being omitted or hand-picked from stories, like the case of the alleged murder of the half-brother of Kim Jong-un. Despite the political significance of the fact that the person who was killed at the airport in Kuala Lumpur was the leader's brother, CGTN only mentioned that some man from North Korea was murdered without revealing his identity. Overall the results of the analysis confirmed general tendencies of other researchers who claimed that Chinese media undergo heavy censorship and are an exact extension of the Party ideology (Xiaoling, 2010; E. Zhang & Fleming, 2005; Y. Zhang, 2008). The reporting is clearly void of any critical assumptions against strategic partners of China simply repeating official Party line, which distorts the reality and builds a one-sided picture that is far from reality.

Al Jazeera's reporting projects as the most detached and fact-oriented stance, which is aimed at presenting a comprehensive report on the events concerning, in this case, the situation and the image of the DPRK and its leadership. What characterises its discourse is a more complex and sophisticated language employed when compared with the other two stations. The articles seem to follow a logical flow with clear narrative, extensive paraphrasing and analyses provided in almost every story. The conflict accentuation goes beyond a feud between two leaders, but it is put in context allowing for a more general assumptions and understanding of the issues. To some extent, the Middle Eastern station does fall in the trap of following Western style of reporting and Western prism of portraying other countries, yet the results of the discourse analysis allow to state that their articles contained fewer obviously biased lexical techniques of framing the reality with lack of particular favouring of one of the sides. The reason behind this fact might be the geographical distance as well as a lack of particular involvement of the Middle Eastern countries in the politics on the Peninsula. CNN and CGTN are indirectly both heavily engaged in the power struggle

between the DPRK and the US by having easier access and a more natural inclination to represent and follow their respective countries of origin.

CONCLUSIONS

This final section concludes the results of the research of this thesis. On top of that, the limitations to the study are scrutinized here with particular recommendations and suggestions for further investigation. Overall this research confirms that the framing of foreign countries by media is a highly debatable matter, oftentimes subject to political, ideological, editorial and sometimes geographical influences. There is no single definition of particular framing trends on the DPRK in global media, but they are a result of a combination of different factors that all influence the final outcomes in the form of media reports that distort the reality in certain ways. Also the issue of frame strength and dominance is still a developing notion that can be seen from a number of perspectives that inherently influence the perception of those notions. The three stations depicted in this research all work towards providing audiences with comprehensive reports on global events. By employment of different stylistic and lexical devices they yearn to present their vision and projection of the world to greater audiences at the same time skewing and moulding the reality to fit their aims and agendas.

The portrayal of the DPRK by the three stations is moulded by the above factors, all working towards presenting carefully designed image of the country that will serve particular purposes of each news provider. In the eyes of the Chinese journalists working for CCTV, North Korea is a recalcitrant neighbour, who requires encouragement and praise to be able to reach its full potential with China in the lead. CNN presents the DPRK through the prism of American values and beliefs with additional patriotic skew that obscures the image creating an unbearable 'hermit kingdom' with a lunatic leader armed with nuclear weapons threatening the world. Having entirely different perspective on the situation on the Peninsula, the American station accentuates the divergences from their own country and the government system, unlike China which filters the negativity and focuses on the good sides. Here, the third broadcaster, seemingly not directly involved in the situation, has managed to attain the

highest level of impartiality by employing dual perspective in the form of the balance between the Western skew and the Asian perspective, allowing for a greater levelling of particular competing frames.

Among the main conclusions of this research, the employment of particular tones in the reporting allows to confirm that there is a general tendency of media to skew to the governmental and national line of reasoning and portraying issues, especially when national interest is involved. The news providers studied here, especially CNN and CGTN, adjusted the tones of the reporting to correspond with the policies and strategies of their respective governments. At the same time the third station, Al Jazeera, by not being directly involved in the affairs on the Peninsula, has managed to attain most unbiased perspective with an inclination towards producing most neutral tones in their reporting.

Another point worth mentioning comprises the actors employed to support the stories and frames presented in the reporting. Apart from legitimizing and confirming particular notions, sources used in news articles also serve other functions. In certain cases they are able to communicate particular viewpoints of the journalists without ostentatious statements that would openly express taking specific stances. At this point, the framing of the story in certain directions becomes legitimized by mere quoting of what others have said. The three stations persistently employed American administration and their voices expressing their take on the issue of North Korea. That dominance has led to a partly distorted image of the Republic which might be the result of the routine of journalists to employ the same sources. As it was proven in previous chapters, oftentimes, media routines promote the narrowing of sources to officials and elite policy makers. In the researched publications, only two individuals, namely the leader of NK, Kim Jong-un and the US president Donald Trump, were granted majority of the voice, which led to partial simplification and misrepresentation of the general issues presented.

Further conclusion that can be drawn from the framing analysis conducted in this research is that there transpires an omnipresent ‘mediatization’ of news (Matthes, 2012) in the articles covered. The analysis of the publications from the three stations confirmed that political actors tend to adjust their frames in a way to make them more attractive for the media. This way the media logic (Strömbäck, 2008) becomes dominated by conflict, sensationalism and personalization. This type of discourse can be seen in the publications of all three stations. As both leaders of the conflicted countries (the US and the DPRK) are highly medialized profiles they both adopted certain strategies in the type of discourse they choose to employ so that their frames dominate the discourse. At the same time, this research has confirmed that to a large extent the news media adopt the main frames from the political elites, oftentimes without changing their substantive nature. The result of which is a trap that we as the audiences might fall into, namely we are being exposed to the exact angles that the politicians intended us to see and the understanding of issues promoted by them. A good example of such practices might be the employment of sensationalized direct quotes of both leaders in publications of all three stations. This overuse of direct frames might lead to the shallowing of general issues understanding and perception by audiences and limit them to individualized feuds between conflicted sides, which in turn might mould the opinion formation process that requires a more holistic overview and a more decided engagement of thematic frames that ought to build the contextual picture of any news event.

The initial study of frames presented in the articles revealed a uniform spread of the most common biases among the three news providers, which allows to speculate on the unification of editorial practices in major media houses. Conflict and attribution of responsibility frames were confirmed to dominate the reporting which is compliant with previous findings of other researchers regarding media content. Nevertheless, the remaining generic frames studies here enabled a more distinct presentation of varying ideological,

political and editorial influences on the production of media texts. On the other hand, the research also revealed the limitations in understanding dominant framing trends, at the same time allowing for a development of exploratory technique of investigating frames strength.

This research has managed to reveal a gap in the framing studies regarding the exact definition of frame strength when in competitive context. As the previous paragraph stated, the method of identifying frames proposed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) only allowed to define particular frames with complete disregard for the potential of those frames to exhibit varying strength when contested together. While attempting to study frame dominance, the above technique was found to be inadequate, thus an exploratory procedure of identifying frame strength was proposed in this thesis. Based on the fragmentary findings of other researchers, the case study texts were tested for recurrence of particular attributes of frames that could boost their strength. Having considered a number of criteria and conditions, finally six recurring attributes were identified as the ones able to potentially skew the reception of frames in competitive context. The method, despite focusing only on frames in communication has turned out to be a replicable technique of empirically defining frame strength, limiting the risk of additional biases evident in previous studies that assumed frame potency based merely on personal opinions of scientists or participants of test. Future work lies in adapting and testing the frame strength attribution scheme to individual frames (the so called ‘framing effects’) which will require augmenting the method with questions of individual biases, namely personal experiences of frame receivers as well as their background knowledge regarding tested issues or duration of framing effects. Nevertheless, when testing media language the technique has produced replicable results, which were tested by a trained intercoder receiving acceptable inter-rater concordance.

Another point worth mentioning is the specificity of frame potency. The findings of this thesis allow to conclude that competing frames not only boost the strength of frames but

by doing so they also encourage more active deliberation on the issues presented. The assumption is that when presented with multiple contradictory ideas or notions, all competing over the lead in a story, the audiences are forced to deliberate more and engage their background knowledge along with particular beliefs and traditions while they are not provided with readily set of uniform message skew, which is the case when single framing is employed (a single frame throughout the article). Also the notion of frame strength and weakness has prompted the author of this thesis to look for particular indicators that would reliably define frame potency, the findings have proven that stronger competing frames tend to possess more than two attributes which enable them to seem more pronounced and more definite while the weaker ones exhibit single attributes that are only able to partly boost the frames they encompass.

As the findings have revealed, when we consider the adoption of tones, the use of sources and the selection of generic frames in the reporting, all these factors consistently work towards building certain framing processes that construct the narration of each news station researched here. At the same time the analysis of recent studies into the competitive nature of frames has shed light on particular gaps and limitations in the framing research. Numerous studies have focused on producing unique sets of issue-specific frames that produce certain findings unable to make any connection to the broader theoretical or conceptual issues of framing (Borah, 2011a). In several other cases, framing has been perceived exclusively through the prism of particular framing effects with repeated disregard for frame production and construction. Unfortunately, with repeated lack of frame construction grounding, particular ambiguities in conceptualization have been observed to emerge, which in turn have led researchers to formulate numerous hypotheses that only refer to narrow angles of the framing research. The gradient frame strength attribution scheme presented in this thesis remedies some of this conceptual muddle, by offering a replicable and what is more a broad

spectrum tool to analyse the origin of frames and their inner construction. Additionally, the method allowed to formulate and support a theory that single frames exhibit weaker potency when compared to multiple frames in competitive environment which enforce particular angles to be enhanced with additional frame attributes that boost the message and skew the reception of the pieces of news. Yet, the six most often recurring attributes of frames that have been confirmed also exhibit certain limitations as the interrelations and interdependencies between particular attributes have not been covered in this research which leaves space for future research into particular relations of each of the six attributes towards one another and how it affects the overall process of frame building and dominating discourse.

From the methodological point of view, the innovative method proposed here, ensures a solid and reliable solution for future research into frame dynamics. The question-form of the procedure has been based on the previous works of other researchers with questions designed to exhaustively state whether the attributes encompassing frames are present. In the table composed for the research, each attribute is assigned three questions. Positive answer to any of the questions indicates the presence of the proposed attribute. The questions had been designed and then retested for general application with the help from the coder (a fellow communication researcher) who assured a more unbiased structure of work by providing additional critical feedback.

In conclusion, this thesis sought to analyse and combine particular framing trends evident in the global media with emerging theories on competitive nature of frames exhibiting varying strength and potency when contested together which in turn might affect the reception and understanding of news stories produced by journalists and their editorial houses. It is hoped that the dynamics of frames scrutinized in this thesis has offered particular solutions

and has enabled to yield novel insights into the ever-developing communication research studies.

Limitations to the study

This study has offered particular findings that allow for a better understanding of framing processes and their significance in the production as well as interpretation of global media. Specific solutions that have been identified here might serve other researchers in the studies on framing. Nevertheless, this thesis presents some limitations and potential for improvements that offer opportunities for further research. These are presented below along with suggestions for future studies.

This research has focused on written reports published online, it would be vital for further studies to include other means of mass communication especially TV broadcasts and newspapers publications. The comparison between different types of media would offer a more comprehensive findings and might allow for a comparative analysis which might produce more generalizable conclusions.

Another limitation refers to the type of frames analysed here. In order to assure high reliability ratio, particular generic frames, suggested by previous researchers (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), have been employed in this study. Further studies could augment this research with issue specific as well as other generic frames that might test the theories proposed here. Despite heavy criticism from the academic body for being difficult to replicate and assess (Borah, 2011a; Hertog & McLeod, 2001a), issue specific frames might offer additional conditions required to strengthen frames and build their dominance in competitive context. Particular topics might trigger the employment of different attributes of frames and thus augment the framing studies and provide interesting findings.

The proposed method of identifying frame strength has been limited to studying frames in communication which eliminates the necessity for measuring audiences' responses and their influence on frame strength building. For that reason, in the process of compiling most common frame attributes, the author rejected potential audience induced factors that could potentially strengthen frames. Further studies could extend the research to individual frames that would offer additional factors necessary for enhanced potency of frames. Particular researchers (Borah, 2011a, 2011b; Busby et al., 2007; D. Chong & Druckman, 2007b) involved in the emerging studies on frame dynamics have stressed a need for a replicable method of identifying strength boosting attributes in audiences' frames.

This thesis adopted content presented in CNN, CGTN and Al Jazeera as its case study material. Additional research could extend this scope to other global stations, which would offer even more comprehensive results. European perspective, for instance, has been neglected here for the alleged similarities in reporting to CNN, resulting from similar democratic political systems and press freedoms. Nevertheless, it would be worth testing particular European reporting for potential discrepancies and different forms of framing foreign countries. Given the fact that the DPRK has no close relations or particular business contacts with the EU countries, the framing tendencies might potentially resemble those of Al Jazeera, which presented most disconnected and balanced reporting among the three.

Another point worth analysing closer is the issue of different framing modes. This research has focused on frames in texts, language biases and underlying tones. Nonetheless, particular attention should also be paid to visual frames present in pictures and videos which are taking over traditional reporting for being easier to digest and comprehend by audiences. A review of past studies indicates that little of the work examining the framing of news events has focused on visual images (Fahmy, 2010). 'In an era of information warfare and image management, the results of this study, (could) add to the current literature on framing by

exploring differences and similarities of visual reporting in a cross-cultural and transnational context'(2010, p. 697). Additionally, such studies could reveal particular interactions between visuals of foreign countries and varying editorial processes taking place in media stations, as the framing process starts as early as with the selection of material that is to be covered, adapted and in the end published.

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APPENDIX A

Codebook Manual

Please read the whole article at least once before coding. Next, if you cannot easily decide on how to code a section, please read again the instructions and definitions provided below and then go over the article again.

Part I

- (A) Each coder will be assigned a number representing the person coding the articles.
- (B) Please, write the story number which will be visible on top of each article provided
- (C) Include the date of the publication of the article. Format: 2018.01.22
- (D) Each coder will mark (with tick (V) or X) the name of the station the articles were retrieved from. The names of the news agencies are as follows: CNN.com, Al Jazeera English, CGTN
- (E) Next please write the number of words in each article, visible at the bottom of each article.

(F) Please choose the type of news section:

F1. Entertainment/Culture F2. Economy/Business F3. Politics F4. Sciences F5. Society F6. Other

(G) Please read the instructions and definitions carefully before coding for **Tones**. This research aims to identify among: positive, neutral, negative and mixed tone of the articles. Please choose one only.

Positive tone: The case study – DPRK- is portrayed in a positive light, the stress is on the development of the country, the article presents cooperation, agreement and hopeful outlook for the future, the actors in the text are presented in a positive way, the stress is on progress, economy, humanities, sport, science, etc.

Neutral tone: The news article does not appear to discuss the issue either positively or negatively. The focus is on conveying the message; the publication contains information without additional analysis or suggestion of the outcomes or results, there is no commentary from the journalist or potential solution to the problem/issue presented.

Negative tone: The country and its leadership are presented in a negative way, the focus is on conflict, war, poverty, lack of cooperation among nations, peoples; there is some mention of immediate threat, danger, the future seems negative, pessimistic and unattractive.

Mixed tone: DPRK and its leadership are presented using both positive and negative tones that balance each other out, there is no dominance of either positive or negative tones. The message seems clear and comprehensive. There are some solutions to the problems presented, however, they do not skew the overall impression of the article either way.

(H) Please, select the sources used or quoted by the author of the article to support their claims. If more than one is mentioned please mark them all. The sources include: North Korea officials (incl. government), US officials (incl. government), China officials (incl. government), Qatar/Arab officials (incl. government), international officials (incl. international organizations), South Korea officials, South Korean citizens, North Korean defectors, other (e.g. foreign diplomats, etc.) *Please write the source* in the space provided, and not mentioned.

(I) Each coder will select the generic frame(s) present in the text by answering the (Y/N) questions provided in the codebook. Please mark with a circle the total number of questions answered **Yes** below each frame. Following Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and Boydston et al. (2013), the characteristics of the five generic frames used in this thesis are presented below:

Conflict frame - stresses conflict or disagreement between individuals, groups, or institutions. The actors are presented as representing opposing sides, relations or interests. There might be a mention of weapons, armed conflicts or forceful solution of some problem. Also there might be arguments or defence presented by sides of the issue in question.

Attribution of responsibility - some issue or problem is presented in a way to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either government, an individual or a group. This type of frame is often connected to episodic nature of an article, which presents an issue with a face on it, namely there is a victim or a perpetrator of some issue, presented as guilty or responsible for initiating some problem or being able to alleviate it.

Human interest frame - this frame brings a human face or emotional angle to the way some issue, event or a problem is presented. There is a person or a character of the story that is put in the centre of attention. The article is supposed to evoke emotions, it is often personalized and dramatized to capture and retain readers' attention.

Economic frame – it reports an event, or issue in terms of costs or financial consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or a country. There is mention of money, potential gains and losses, improvement or worsening of a (financial/economic) situation of some country region, etc. due to some events or issues.

Prescription and evaluation frame – this frame presents commentary, opinions or suggestions of journalists on presented issue or problem along with remedy solution. There is some mention of policy evaluation or potential outcomes of certain policies being implemented. The story suggests a way to alleviate a problem or issue.

Part II

(J) In the situation when there were at least two generic frames identified in the previous part of the analysis, the coder should follow the instructions of identifying dominant media frames provided below.

In the code sheet you will find a table with six variables strengthening frames: *official and/or credible source*, *repetition/loudness*, *journalistic textual bias*, *potential global consequence*, *episodic nature of frame* and *negativity bias*. Please read the article again paying attention to the previously identified generic frames and decide if these frames possess any of the variables described below. In the code sheet mark the variables that are present as 1, if absent 0 and write the total number of points for each frame at the bottom of the table (I.1 to I.5).

Definitions:

Official and/or credible source – the frame is strengthened by official and/or generally respected and trustworthy sources other than the author of the article, they might be quoted or they comprise an element of support for the claim or opinion of the author of the article, these include: government officials (prime minister, cabinet members etc.), heads of state (e.g. US president Donald Trump), diplomats, international organizations or their representatives, reputed individuals (e.g. Nelson Mandela, Pope, Dalai Lama, etc.), witnesses of some events and other commonly respected sources. Sources that do not strengthen frames are private individuals, common people, passers-by or people asked about their personal opinion on some issue, etc.

Repetition/Loudness – if the frame has been repeated a number of times in the same article (e.g. US-NK conflict frame repeated throughout the whole article), supported or expressed by a number of sources, or mentioned in different contexts, it is supposed to resonate more or ‘scream louder’, and thus strengthen the frame.

Journalist (textual) bias – if the frame or the actors of the frame, are described using polarized, diminutive, opinionated or stark biased language, the journalistic textual bias is supposed to strengthen the frame, making it stand out more and be easier and quicker to pick out. In this thesis, an example of journalistic bias would be a conflict frame evident in one of the articles on NK, where the country was described by the journalist as: *iron grip, fanatical*

devotion, defiant show of force, anachronism, throwback, and regime. In another article, the *morality frame* –presenting a solution to the issue between US and NK, was described with the use of extremely diminutive language suggesting: *to squeeze (North Korea) hard, (send NK to) economic and diplomatic quarantine, make (NK) feel extreme pain,* etc.

Proximity hype – here the *proximity* or in other words *relatability* of the frame, refers to the frame presenting potential threat, implications or direct influence on the reader of the article – for instance, apart from the issue taking place in one location, there is a suggestion that the implications might affect other places, groups or individuals. The frame might propose that the consequences of some action or issue, despite being a local or territorially confined problem, will influence others globally. An example of such a technique can be seen in a publication on a missile test in North Korea with an added piece of information on the range of the rockets tested and the time needed to hit various locations in the US, Europe or Australia. Despite the fact that the rockets had never been aimed at any of the sites mentioned or that there had never been any implications (in the article) suggesting a potential attack of DPRK on any of the above target locations. Another example would be an ecological disaster that happened in one region, however, its consequences are presented through the influence of the event on other parts of the globe. The reason behind the articles being enhanced with a local threat, is supposed to make the story more compelling at the same time attracting more attention and evoking stronger feelings, thus strengthen the frame.

Episodic frame - The next factor strengthening the frame is its episodic nature. The difference between the two types of frames lies in their focus. Thematic frames deal with political issues, events are presented in a broader context; they present collective findings, often over time. Thematic frames go back in history, showing trends and changes over time. At the same time episodic frames describe specific people or events, particular cases happening now. They focus on a particular issue without presenting broader historical perspective. For instance reactions of US and Korean governments to NK missile tests, expressed right after the test, would be seen as episodic, however, historical perspective on relations between China and NK spanning over 60 years, would be seen as a thematic frame.

Negativity bias - negative frame that presents events, people, situation in a negative way, puts them in bad light, the language is negative, pessimistic. An example of a negativity bias can be the stress put on potentially deadly outcomes of a course of action, for instance: ‘The risk of dying due to side effects in cancer patients undergoing chemotherapy is as high as 60%.’ vs. a positive bias which can present the same situation in a positive light namely: ‘Cancer

patients undergoing chemotherapy have 40% chances of avoiding potentially deadly side effects’.

APPENDIX B

CODE SHEET

The unit of analysis: The textual form of the news story.

Part I

(A) **Coder name:** _____ (B) **Story number:** ____ (C) **Date of publication:**

(D) **News station website:** CNN.com D1. ____ Al Jazeera English D2. ____ CGTN D3. ____

(E) **Number of words:** ____

(F) **Topic:** F1. Entertainment/Culture F2. Economy/Business F3. Military F4. Politics F5.

Science F6. Society F7. Other

(G) **Tone of the article:** Positive G1. ____ Negative G2. ____ Neutral G3. ____ Mixed G4. ____

(H) **Sources:**

H1. ____ North Korea officials (incl. government)

H2. ____ US officials (incl. government)

H3. ____ China officials (incl. government)

H. ____ Qatar/Arab officials (incl. government)

H5. ____ International officials (incl. international organizations)

H6. ____ South Korean officials

H7. ____ South Korean citizens

H8. ____ North Korean defectors

H9. ____ Other (e.g. foreign diplomats, etc., write the source) _____

H10. ____ Not mentioned

(I) **Generic Frames:**

I1. Conflict frame Y (1)/N (0)

Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individuals-groups-countries? (Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?) **Y/N**

Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another? **Y/N**

Does the story refer to winners and losers? **Y/N**

0-1-2-3

I2. Attribution of responsibility Y (1)/N (0)

Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/problem? **Y/N**

Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is resp. for the issue-problem? **Y/N**

Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue? (Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?) **Y/N**

0-1-2-3

I3. Human interest frame Y (1)/N (0)

Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue? Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors? **Y/N**

Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion? Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion? **Y/N**

Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue? **Y/N**

0-1-2-3

I4. Economic frame Y (1)/N (0)

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? **Y/N**

Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved? **Y/N**

Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action? **Y/N**

0-1-2-3

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p.100)

I5. Prescription and evaluation frame

Is there a mention of potential results or effects of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action? **Y/N**

Does the story analyse if certain policies/steps/proposals will work, or if existing ones are effective? **Y/N**

Does the story offer specific prescriptions about how to solve a problem/what should be done to alleviate the issue? **Y/N**

0-1-2-3

Boydstun et al. (2013)

Part II

(J) (Perceived) Frame strength /dominance

<p>Attributes of frames (0-1 per attribute, max 6 points) Y N</p>	Frame	Frame	Frame
<p>Official and/or credible source Does the frame contain officially recognized and/or respected source supporting the claim? Is there a quotation or indirect report on what a politician, official representative or a specialist in some field said, supporting journalist's opinion/claim?</p>			

<p>Repetition/loudness</p> <p>Has the frame been mentioned a number of times?</p> <p>Have different sources supported the claim?</p> <p>Has the frame been a recurring topic of the article?</p>			
<p>Journalistic (textual) bias</p> <p>Does the frame use polarized, diminutive, opinionated language?</p> <p>Does the lexis used in the frame, present strong personal opinions of the journalist?</p> <p>Are there any words, commonly regarded as offensive used to describe someone or some place, a situation?</p>			
<p>Proximity hype</p> <p>Does the frame present potential threat/ implications/influence on the reader?</p> <p>Is there a mention of a global consequence beyond the location/point of the event/issue/problem?</p> <p>Does the frame imply the use of external sources or force to solve the problem?</p> <p>Is there are feeling of omnipresent catastrophe or a disaster potential to happen in the future due to the results of the frame?</p>			
<p>Episodic frame</p> <p>Does the frame focus on an episodic event, a human story?</p> <p>Is there are representative or a main character of the frame?</p> <p>Is there an emotional angle to the frame? Does it evoke feelings of happiness, anger or sadness?</p>			
<p>Negativity bias</p> <p>Does the frame present the event, people, situation in a negative way?</p> <p>Does it put them in bad light? Is the language negative, pessimistic?</p> <p>Is there are feeling of incoming disaster or some worsening of the situation due to the results of the frame?</p>			
<p>Total number of attributes present:</p>			

