The Hanoi Summit and Politically Biased Language

A Critical Discourse Study on Political Bias in the Language of Two South Korean newspapers

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On 27– 28 February 2019 the United States President Donald Trump met with the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un in Hanoi for a second US-North Korea summit. This study focuses on possible politically biased stances in several English language news articles from two prominent South Korean newspapers. The aim of the study was to find out if the two papers displayed biased attitudes that were visible in the language of the articles, and if the possible biases were consistent with the previously research biases of the papers.

The linguistic framework used in this study was Martin and White's Appraisal framework (2005). The sections of Attitude and Engagement from the framework were determined to best suit the needs of this study because it centers around value judgements and opinions expressed in the texts, as well as the commitment to those opinions and other voices in the text. The study also focuses on the different sources journalists deployed in the articles, their distribution, and the possible effects of uneven distribution of sources in terms of Appraisal and representation. This study also viewed the issue from the critical standpoint of misuse of power and the manipulation of audience, adding a Critical Discourse Analysis viewpoint to the issue.

The analysis consisted of two parts: the analysis of Appraisal features, as well the analysis of different sources. In addition, effects different sources had on the Appraisal features found were also discussed. The methods used were both qualitative and quantitative. This study found that despite the changing public attitudes towards engagement with North Korea, the perceived polarization of the South Korean news media in regard to North Korea is still persistent, even in English language 'hard news' articles. The results showed differences in the ways in which the two papers utilize authorial and non-authorial Appraisals, as well as differences in the sources they use. While one paper was clearly more inclined to negative Appraisal of both the summit itself as well as the actors involved in it, the other paper displayed a more positive bias, and these results were comparable with the opinions of the two ruling political parties in South Korea.

Keywords: discourse analysis, media analysis, appraisal theory, news discourse, media polarization, South Korea, United States, North Korea, Hanoi summit

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List of Abbreviations

CDA = Critical discourse analysis

Chosun = South Korean newspaper Chosun Ilbo

Hankyoreh data = data collected from articles published by Hankyoreh

Chosun data = data collected form articles published by Chosun Il

1 Introduction

In February 2019, President Donald Trump met the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un in Hanoi, Vietnam, for the second summit between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The relationship between the United States and North Korea is a difficult one, as well as one that concerns the whole world, and the recent developments in the relationship between the two countries have brought North Korea once again to the spotlight of the world news stage. Through the years, the issue of North Korea has become tied to partisan politics not only in South Korea, but also in the United States (Cha and Kang 2018, 2). According to Cha and Kang, many see the nation as a rogue, irrational and threatening country led by a "mad" regime, and they assert that the conversation and debate over North Korea in the United States has become emotional and ideologically charged (2018, 3-4). The issue of North Korea has for years been an emotional and dividing topic in South Korean politics as well, even more so than in the US political scene (Kwak 2012, 79). Because texts have an immense ability to shape the way we perceive things, and since North Korea is a subject of worldwide interest, the way in which the country is presented in the news media provides a topical subject for study.

Texts have an ability to alter our beliefs or attitudes about different phenomena (Fairclough 2003, 8), and social and cultural change is often linked to change in language (Fairclough 2002, 1). According to Fiske, an event can only be discussed by putting it in to discourse, and thus an event can only be constructed though discourse, making it an "discourse event" and not "discourse *about* the event" (1994, 5). This suggests that when real life events are discussed in the media, the discourse about them is rarely truly neutral, but shaped by the context and different powers at play around it, which in turn means that the discourse construction of an event does not represent the actual event, but rather becomes its own "discourse event"(Fiske 1994, 5). Since discourse and texts hold such a significant power over the way in which we perceive the world and events, it is important to study the ways in which different texts might express biased meanings and thus possibly influence our perceptions of things around us.

Polarization of the news media is a familiar concept to many. The divide that exists in the USA between conservative and liberal media outlets has been a widely studied subject, and it could be argued that after the election of Donald Trump as the president of the United States in 2016, the divide between the conservative and liberal

media has deepened. This polarization of news media is not a unique problem to the United States, and several studies have previously concluded that it is also a feature one of USA's closest economic and military allies: South Korea (Lee 2005, Kwak 2012, Hahn, Ryu and Park 2015). A study conducted by Yang et. al using data from several different countries suggests that polarization is not an issue strictly limited to the US and its allies (2016, 356). The stronger sense of polarization between two extremes in the USA and South Korea, however, could be due to their current political status as two-party systems.

Based on their stance on different political issues, the South Korean newspapers can be roughly divided to conservative, centrist and liberal (Work 2018). At this point it important to note, however, that even though the political divide between the different news outlets in South Korea might resemble the divide in the US, the Korean political left does not necessarily hold the same values and represent the same ideas as the political left in the United States. The same applies for the political right (Fuchs and Bard 2019, Chae and Kim 2008).

This polarization of the media can have significant effects on society. This is well summarized by Hahn, Ryu and Park: "The existence of this sharply polarized media environment is likely to aggravate partisan selective exposure, limiting exposure to cross-cutting views." (2015, 59). A study by Iyengar and Hahn also showed that people tend to gravitate towards news media that fit their own ideological and political beliefs when it comes to both "hard" and "soft" news items (Hahn, Ryu and Par 2015, 59). Thus, to rephrase Hahn, Ryu and Park's previous sentiment, when people who hold a certain political or ideological bias read only texts that also maintain ideas similar to theirs, those possibly biased attitudes will gain a stronger foothold in the general society (2015, 59). This may result in a very narrowed and possibly also somewhat unrealistic worldview, which again could have far-reaching effects in society in general, and more specifically in the way in which something is perceived in that society. Since the 1950s, North Korea has been a secretive hermit nation, with very few connections to the outside world. The true nature of the state is still a mystery to the many people, and their views about North Korea are shaped almost solely by media discourse.

The last Inter-Korean summit before the 2018 summit between Kim Jong-un and South Korean president Moon Jae-in took place over ten years ago in 2007 (Shin 2018). Since then the South Korean public's opinions towards North Korea and the government's foreign policy have changed several times. Nowadays most people seem

to, even amid several missile tests and other provocative actions by North Korea, hold a positive outlook towards inter-Korean relations. According to a poll by the Asan Institute for policy studies, South Koreans' support for the country's current North Korea policy increased from 41.7% in 2014 to 72.3% in 2018, which is a very significant shift in opinion (Kim, Kim and Kang 2018, 18). An even more significant change can be seen in the South Koreans' expectations towards the development of inter-Korean relations: in 2016, only 16.2% of South Koreans expected improving North-South Korea relations (Asan 2019), while in 2018 over 80% predicted improving relations (Kim, Kim and Kang 2018, 21). The changing social and political context of inter-Korean and US-Korea relations that has experienced several significant developments in the recent years warrant a study of the current state of political divide in the South Korean news media. The current study strives to achieve this through the study of evaluative language and sources used by journalists in articles published by two prominent South Korean newspapers.

My research will be a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of news articles concerning the North Korea – Unites States Hanoi summit that took place between the 27th and the 28th of February 2019. The summit, which ended earlier than planned, was considered unsuccessful, as the two leaders failed to reach any type of an agreement. The focus of this research will be on news articles concerning the summit before it happened, during the summit, and after the summit had ended. The news articles chosen for this study come from prominent South Korean newspapers, the Hankyoreh which is usually considered to be the representative of South Korean progressives, and the perceived conservative representative Chosun Ilbo (hence forth abbreviated to Chosun). Both of these news publications have an extensive English edition. The study will be a critical discourse analysis of the English language news articles in the sense that it focuses on the presence of attitudes and political bias that have, according to previous studies, existed between South Korean news publications. In this paper I will try to answer the following research questions:

1) How are different political entities such as the United States government and the North Korean political leadership, the main political actors connected to the Hanoi summit, and the Hanoi summit itself appraised in the two papers?
2) How do the accessed voices affect the appraisal of these entities?

In this context I define accessed voices as all of the sources that are referenced in both sets of data, as well as all vaguer entities such as "pundits" that opinions, statements, hopes etc. are attributed to. Lastly, I will also try to answer a broader question concerning the possible societal consequences of politically biased language:

3) In what sense do the possible appraisals of these different entities constitute a politically biased attitude and what does it mean in the context of CDA, for example could biasedly informing the public be considered misuse of power or as manipulation of the public? CDA

My hypothesis is that even though the public opinion towards North Korea and any developments in the inter-Korean relations is experiencing a change towards a more positive outlook, the longstanding political biases the newspapers hold will not be as susceptible to change. The previously existent bias will most likely still be present in the newspapers, even in the English editions, but it might not be as strong in "hard-news" articles than it is in, for example, editorials. However, an analysis of different linguistic features can provide an indication of how strong this bias seems in the context of more recent developments between inter-Korean, as well as U.S.-North Korean relations.

Many previous studies of media bias haven been conducted during times when conservative political parties were in power. Currently, however, the political power in South Korea is held by president Moon Jae-in, a representative of the liberal Democratic Party, who was elected in 2017 by "a landslide" (Campbell 2017). Thus, in my opinion, the study of the current state of political bias in the South Korean news media is of interest. In addition, although the ideological tendencies of both of these newspapers have previously been studied quite extensively, the English language editions of these papers have not been the focus of many studies. Since the English editions of these papers are available online all over the world and provide information to many of the foreigners living in South Korea, as well as the global press, their stance and attitude towards political topics is important, especially when North Korea is concerned.

I will begin by introducing the context of this study and the current state of South Korean news media, as well the two newspapers that are the focus of this study. Next I will move on to discuss CDA and the theoretical framework of this study, after which the collection of data and the manner of analysis will be introduced, followed by the analysis of results. The results will be then further examined in the Discussion section in relation

to the research questions, after which I will gather the most important discoveries in the Conclusion section, in which prospects for further studies will also be discussed.

2 Journalism and the South Korean News Media

As mentioned previously, the problems that the South Korean news media is facing in the 21ˢᵗ century are not unlike the problems the news media is battling with, for example, in the United States. There exists a perception of a media divided between political party lines, with one media outlet representing the views of the progressives, while the other is seen as the unwavering representative of the conservatives. In my opinion it is important to understand this context of perceived polarization in which the texts studied in this paper appear. CDA also considers the context of language use to be crucial to analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 5), which is why in this section I will briefly present the functions of news media and the ideal role of journalism in society. This section also includes a brief look at the current status of Freedom of the Press and the polarization of the news media in South Korea. Most importantly, I will focus on the current media environment in South Korea, as well as some previous studies that have focused on the South Korean news media.

2.1 Role of news media

In the *Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (1991), Teun A.van Dijk describes the importance of news media on the way we see the social and political world around us:

> Most of our social and political knowledge and beliefs about the world derive from the dozens of news reports we read or see every day. There is probably no other discursive practice, besides everyday conversation, that is engaged in so frequently and by so many people as news in the press and on television. (A. van Dijk 1991, 110).

This sentiment might nowadays seem a bit outdated since social media, smartphones, and the internet have had a significant effect on the way people consume news (Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019, 54). However, news articles still hold a considerable power over the way in which we construct our opinions and perceive the world, albeit in different formats than before. For this reason, the ideal news article should be as objective as possible. Roger Fowler sums up this ideal objective journalist in his 1991 book:

> He or she [journalist] collects facts, reports them objectively, and the newspaper presents them fairly and without bias, in language which is designed to be unambiguous, undistorting and agreeable to readers. This professional ethos is

common to all the news media, Press radio and television, and it is certainly what the journalist claims in any general statement on the matter. (Fowler 1991, 1)

Every linguistic form and expression in a text has been chosen for a purpose; often there are several ways to say something, so the chosen forms are never random or accidentally chosen (Fowler 1991, Thompson, White and Kitley 2008). These linguistic choices are important because "language is a semiotic code, it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin, on whatever is represented" (Fowler 1991, 4). As a form of discourse, the news is also naturally included since it is a representation of the world and phenomena around us through language, and often it is not free of values. Complete objectivity is a difficult feat to achieve. In the next section I will focus more closely on South Korean news media landscape, and the problems it has faced in terms of objectivity and polarization,

2.2 News media in South Korea

In this section I will discuss the South Korean media landscape and the current state of the freedom of the press in South Korea. I will also briefly describe the polarization of the news media in Korea, especially when it comes to the divide between liberal and more left-leaning, and conservative news publications. Lastly, I will conclude this section by presenting some previous studies involving the Korean news media and the existence of possible political bias. The purpose of this section is to give a brief introduction to the current state of the South Korean news media, as well as the context of this study.

According to Reuters Digital News report of 2019, most South Koreans consume their news online (84%), and online news consumption has surpassed, for example, tv news (Reuters 2019, 142). As the consumption of print media has decreased, the news media are looking for ways to sustain their finances (ibid.). As paywalls for online news sites are often not a sustainable option since people can access other news sites online for free, only 10% of Koreans pay for news online (Reuters 2019, 142). Domestic portal sites, such as Naver (66%) and Daum (34%), have continued to be the most used news source for South Koreans for the last decade (Reuters 2019, 142). They conveniently group together news, blog-posts, shopping etc. and provide access to the online editions and headlines of several different news corporations, including the two news publications studied in this thesis. The users of Naver are, according to Reuters, able to the selected the news brands they want to see when looking at the news headlines (2019, 142). The Reuters Digital News Report also references some critics who have expressed fears that

Naver's approach to the presentation of news might in the future end up favoring only the biggest and most popular news brands, diminishing the diversity of the South Korean news media (2019, 142).

In addition to the problems of visibility portal site domination creates, controversial practices, such as treating journalists to lunch and gifts, and even giving journalists envelopes of money in order to remain in a favorable position in the eyes of the media, were common practice in South Korea, and practiced by both, the government as well as private businesses (Kim 2018, 128). Only as recently as 2015, the South Korean government established an anti-corruption law in order to end the controversial and debated culture of apparent bribery by defining the practices as illegal and punishable offenses (Kim 2018, 129).

As English holds a privileged position above other foreign languages in South Korea (Park 2009, 1), it is no surprise that most of the prominent newspapers in South Korea have an English edition available online. According an article published in the Korea Times, English language newspapers are available in Korea six days a week, and they are a popular means for Koreans practice their English skills while at the same time keeping themselves informed and entertained (McLallen 2017). It is also reasonable to assume that the news articles written in English, which is a global language, are also aimed at global audiences interested in affairs concerning South Korea, its neighbors, and its allies, as well as foreigners and immigrants living in South Korea. Some of the articles are translated from Korean to English (indicated by the link to the original Korean article in the end of the English articles), while some appear to be independent English language articles without a link to a corresponding Korean article. Chosun also publishes articles attributed to Voice of America (VOA), a branch of the U.S. Agency for Global Media, which is funded by the U.S. congress and "oversees all non-military U.S. international broadcasting" (VOA website 14th October 2019).

2.2.1 Freedom of the press

The Reporters Without Borders World Press Freedom Index (RSF) yearly ranks 180 countries according to the freedom enjoyed by journalists in every region. In 2019 South Korea ranks 41st in the Reporters Without Borders World Press Freedom Index, while for example, the United States ranks 48th, and the United Kingdom 33rd (RSF 2019). In the 2018 report, South Korea rose a notable 20 spots from the previous year. The RSF credits the current administration of President Moon Jae-in for the advancement in press

freedom. But according to an article by Kang Tae-Jung published in the Diplomat (2018), there is room improvement, and the same sentiment is echoed in the 2019 RSF report. South Korea, like many other countries around the world, is eager to stop the spreading of false information and fake news, which has led to many problems that could potentially, according to The Diplomat article, lead to "the potential violation of speech and press freedoms" (Kang 2018). Another problem the South Korean media is facing is the deep-rooted polarization of the media, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 Polarization of the media

When it comes to foreign policy, the most politically dividing issues between the South Korean political parties tend to focus on its relationship with its military ally the US, and its closest neighbor, North Korea. According to Chae and Kim, in general, the South Korean progressives tend to support a more open diplomatic relationship with North Korea and a less significant relationship with the United States (2008, 77). On the other side of the divide, the South Korean conservatives tend to maintain a skeptical stance towards any engagement with North Korea and assert the importance of South Korea's military alliance with the United States (Chae 2010, 493). According to an article by Clint Work published in the Diplomat, the two newspapers selected for this study, Chosun Ilbo and Hankyoreh, are a rough representation of the conservative-progressive divide in South Korea (Work 2018).

Kwak suggests that these key differences between the political left and political right (inter-Korean relations and anti-American sentiments) have been prominent in South Korean media since the beginning of the 2000s and have largely contributed to the antagonism between media and state (Kwak 2012, 4). Under reformist governments, the polarization between the state and the media has grown stronger, and "conservative newspapers have aligned themselves with the opposition parties, the GNP [nowadays Liberty Party of Korea] in particular […]" (Kwak 2012, 68). This polarization of the news media has been quite prominent in news concerning the inter-Korean relationship: in 2000 then South Korean president Kim Dae-Jung met with the then North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il in Pyongyang. Before the visit when public opinion about the president's visit to Pyongyang was changing from suspicious to supportive, and the conservative newspapers seemed to tone down their criticism of the president's actions (Kwak 2012, 78). However, after Kim's visit to North Korea was finished, he was heavily criticized by conservative newspapers because of his 'soft policy' towards North Korea and for providing too much

financial aid to the DPRK without any promise of reciprocation (Kwak 2012, 53). In 2007, during the 2nd inter-Korean summit, the conservative press again displayed a negative attitude towards the summit, while the progressive newspapers presented the summit and its possible outcomes in a more positive tone, highlighting the possible contributions the summit could make to the stability of the peninsula, and distancing the summit from the upcoming presidential election (Kwak 2012, 79).

2.2.3 Chosun Ilbo

During the last five decades, three major conservative newspapers have dominated the public opinion market in South Korea (Park 2014, 57). One of the three conservative papers is Chosun Ilbo. It is the most widely circulated daily newspaper published in South Korea, and the first issue was published already in 1920, after which the paper went through several challenges due to the Japanese occupation of Korea which lasted from 1910 to 1945, and (among other thigs) significantly restricted the freedom of the press in Korea (Chosun Ilbo 2019).

Chosun is family-owned. According to Kwak, the papers is owned by the family of Bang Woo-young, who are also involved in other business pursuits, such as hotels and other publishing businesses (2012, 72), which in turn leads to connections to different political actors as well as different corporations with their own political interests. The current CEO and president of the company is Bang Sang-hoon (Chosun Ilbo 2017). In their own words, Chosun has through the years based on their "strong expertise in news reporting" grown to become one of South Korea's largest media groups (Chosun Media), which encompasses a range of different subsidiaries from "broadcast and new media to publishing" (Chosun Ilbo 2019). According to Yun, Ku, Park and Han, Chosun is one of the most conservative newspapers in South Korea and represents "the interests and concerns of the middle and the privileged classes and is strongly anti-communist" (2012, 209). Hahn, Ryu and Park also deem it "blatantly conservative" together with the two other largest newspapers in Korea (2015, 58-59). However, Kwak notes that in previous years, the conservative newspapers have on occasion tended to tone down their conservative bias in accordance with public popular opinion (2012, 78).

According to Kim Hui-shik, the conservative media in South Korea has through the years maintained a good relationship with the government, excluding a few controversial periods (2018, 128). As an example, in 2001 the then President of South Korea, Kim Dae-jung, launched a public criminal investigation against the three largest

conservative newspapers (Kim 2018, 128). The papers were accused of tax evasion, and the heads of all of the three papers were all arrested and prosecuted (ibid.). One of the papers accused was Chosun, which later claimed that the government had targeted it because of the papers critical stance on the government's North Korea policy (ibid.).

2.2.4 The Hankyoreh

The Hankyoreh is a slightly newer South Korean newspaper established in 1988. Politically, the Hankyoreh's tone and stance have not been balanced, "tilting towards 'progressive' or 'left- leaning'" (Kwak 2012, 73-74). According to the newspaper's website, the funding for the paper came from fundraising in 1987 after the popular uprising against the military dictatorship of president Chun Doo-hwan. In the news outlets own words, on the front page of its inaugural paper, the Hankyoreh committed itself to "representing the views of the people as well as to defend freedom of the press" (The Hankyoreh 2019). According to Hankyoreh's website, during the time of its establishment, Hankyoreh's journalistic personnel consisted mostly of former journalists who had been dismissed from their previous positions because of their involvement in "promoting freedom of the press and democracy" (The Hankyoreh 2019). According to Park, during its history Hankyoreh was seen as being one of the driving forces behind the freedom of the press, and a more open public sphere (Park 2014, 54).

The ownership of the Hankyoreh has been diverse, as it has been owned both by the general public, as well as the newspaper's employees (Kwak 2012, 73). The Hankyoreh is currently owned by around 62,000 shareholders, and on their website the paper emphasizes that these shareholders come from "all walks of life in Korea, ranging from teachers to university students to housewives" (The Hankyoreh 2019). However, according to Kwak, the newspaper has also strong connections to different political groups in South Korea, which is why the newspaper has not maintained the internal plurality that the diverse ownership of the paper might suggest, which interestingly is the case also with another diversely owned South Korean newspapers as well (2012, 73-74). These connections to different political groups and other financial affiliations will most likely have an effect on the way in which certain topics are handled in the newspaper. Nowadays the Hankyoreh ranks as the most popular left-leaning newspaper in South Korea and enjoys a significantly higher brand trust than Chosun, according to a survey conducted by Reuters in 2018 (Reuters 2018).

2.3 Previous studies

Media bias has been previously examined quite extensively from various different perspectives by academics from several different fields. Studies have been conducted from an economic standpoint (Groseclose and Milyo 2005, Ju 2008), as well as from a social and political studies perspectives (Park 2015, Kim, Baek and Kim 2015) in both Korean as well as in US contexts. Ki-sung Kwak gives a great overview of studies related to media bias in the South Korean context in his book *Media and Democratic Transition in South Korea* (2012). Kwak asserts that there have been several studies examining the reporting of Korean newspapers on issues regarding North Korea (2012, 77). Most of these studies have focused on semiotic or content analysis, and most of them have studied editorials (Kwak 2012, 77-78) rather than hard news articles, which are the focus of my study. In order to provide some context on the study of South Korean news media, in this brief section I will go through some of the results of the previous studies that Kwak presents in his 2012 book.

According to Kwak, a subject area in which South Korean newspapers are likely to display ideological inclinations, is North Korea (2012, 79). In the past, the Hankyoreh has prompted debates with conservative newspapers on issues related to inter-Korean relations, foreign policy, and the possibility of reunification (Kwak 2012, 77). The conservative newspapers have previously toned down their ideological bias when the public opinion has changed to favor a more supportive attitude towards constructive Engagement with North Korea (Kwak 2012, 78). But still, the conservative papers did not refrain from all criticism. According to Kwak, the ideological and political differences of the newspapers were very visible during the 2007 inter-Korean summit (2012, 79). In the papers' editorials the conservative press displayed a negative attitude towards the summit, while the progressive newspapers presented the summit and its possible outcomes in a more positive tone, highlighting the possible contributions the summit could make to the stability of the peninsula (Kwak 2012, 79). In this paper the existence of this previously studied bias could possibly present as ways in which the Hanoi summit and actors related to it (President Trump, President Moon, and the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un) are appraised thorough the language in the hard news articles.

Political biases and attitudes have also been visible between issues regarding the US-South Korea relationship (Kwak 2012, 78). Kwak gives an example of a situation when in 2006 the then President of South Korea, Roh Mu-hyun, proposed the dismantling the US–ROK Wartime Operational Command, which had previously placed South

Korea's military operations under the control of a US-led combined military command. In practice this meant that South Korea and the US would in the future operate under separate wartime commands (Kwak 2012, 78). This issue once again divided the South Korean Press. Progressive newspapers saw Roh's proposal as a positive move towards a more independent South Korea, while the conservative papers considered the dismantling of the Wartime Operational Command a threat to national security (Kwak 2012, 78). In the context of this paper, the possible bias towards the United States and its president could be present in the ways in which United States, its president and his actions are appraised.

In the light of the recent, quite fast paced developments between the North-South Korean and the US-North Korean relations, it is interesting to see whether the newspapers still express as distinct attitudinal differences as they did over ten years ago. As mentioned above, according to Kwak (2012) the conservative newspapers have previously toned down the politically biased reporting on North Korea due to the publics positive outlook on the warming inter-Korean relations. Over a decade has passed since the 2007 inter-Korean summit, and the situation of today is completely different. The position of supreme leader of North Korea has passed down from Kim Jong-il to his son Kim Jong-un. Since coming to power in 2011, Kim Jong-un seems to have taken steps towards a more peaceful Korean peninsula, while at the same time rousing fear around the world by conducting several missile tests. The recent developments between North and South Korea, as well as North Korea and the United States, have yielded several historical moments, such as the first US-North Korea summit in Singapore in 2018 as well as several inter-Korean summits. Still, however, no agreements beyond promises of future cooperation have been reached, and no concrete actions has been taken. The way in which the press report on these historical events shapes the public's perception of the success of failure of these events, which is why it should be important for the press to report as unbiasedly as possible, and the study of objectivity of this reporting is of significant interest.

3 Theoretical Background

In this section I will introduce the linguistic frameworks that are the basis of this study in more detail, as well as my own reasoning for choosing these frameworks for my study. I also discuss some criticism these frameworks have been subject to. I will start by discussing the field of Critical Discourse analysis and what it entails, after which I will give my own perspective on how CDA is suitable for the current study. Then I will move on to the Appraisal framework, its history, and its different aspects that form the basic analytic tools for the current study. Lastly, I will also comment on some criticism the framework has received in the past.

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Norman Fairclough, changes in language are closely related to wider social change (2002, 1), which is why in order to study social change, one must also study language. In other words, the analysis of media language in a critical manner is necessary in order to understand and study "contemporary processes of social and cultural change" (Fairclough 2003, 2). The description and analysis of media texts is useful in helping to make assumptions about how the media impacts its audiences (Cremades 2007, 28). In addition, language has a great significance in the use and maintenance of power relations (Fairclough 2003, 54). I chose to approach my study from a CDA standpoint due to its multidisciplinary nature, as my study combines the societal issue of biased media, and the linguistic means through which this bias might be visible. In accordance with Fairclough's idea of language as a means to understand societal and cultural change, I also wish to see whether the apparent change in the public opinion in South Korea might be reflected in the language of news reporting regarding polarizing political issues. I consider this study to be a Critical Discourse analysis in that it discusses the power relations between the news media and its audience, and critically looks at the ways in which the possible political bias of the news media might influence the ways in which people perceive different phenomena. I perceive the current study to be a part of CDA also because it focuses on what is "wrong" with an institution (the news media) and how that could affect society. In this section I will briefly discuss the origins of Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA research of media, as well as some criticism CDA has receives

through the years, and how I will do my best to avoid the usual problems CDA researchers are often faced with.

CDA is a fairly newly established branch of discourse studies (Titscher et al. 2000, 145), that was established as its own branch of discourse studies in the early 1990's (Wodak and Meyer 2009. 3). According to Wodak and Meyer, "Any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted" (2009, 2). Through the lens of CDA, scholars attempt to uncover ideologies and the use of power though systematic and retractable studies of semiotic data (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 3). Thus, according to Wodak and Meyer, CDA does not only focus on the study of linguistic units, but rather is interested in different social phenomena that "require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach" (2009, 2). The general essentials or CDA are well summarized by Breeze in her 2011 article:

> However, the general consensus is that Critical Discourse Analysis contains two essential elements: A more or less political concern with the workings of ideology and power in society; and a specific interest in the way language contributes to, perpetuates and reveals these workings. Thus the more explicit definitions all emphasise the relationship between language (text, discourse) and power (political struggle, inequality, dominance). (Breeze 2011, 495)

In this thesis, I use 'discourse' in its more familiar sense, as described by Fairclough in his 1992 book: "'discourse' is used in linguistics to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written language" (2002, 3).

Language is both, socially shaped, as well as constitutive, or socially shaping (Fairclough 2003, 54-55), and it is not unusual for discourse to become politically, or ideologically colored (Fairclough 2002, 66). Every text in some way shapes, reproduces or maintains, or transforms social identities, relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, and thus makes an impact on the social and cultural reality (Fairclough 2003, 55). Whether the conventional or transformative aspect of language dominates is always dependent on the" social circumstances and how the language and how the language is functioning within them" (ibid.), but still, language always maintains, creates or shapes the world around us. Because political events are usually not something that can be personally experienced by a member of the general public, news outlets hold the power to affect the ways in which the political system, event, or even polarization of the political system, is perceived by the public (Yang et. al 2016, 352). I chose the CDA approach for my study due to its ability to investigate and interpret these power relations that exist, for

example, between news publications and their readers, and the ways in which people in power use their power to maintain or construct different identities or interpretations or social issues and social actors. In addition, according to Kim, so far there have not been many linguistic studies focusing on news discourse about North Korea from a CDA perspective (2014, 223).

3.1.1 Criticism on CDA

According to Breeze, CDA is often criticized for the failures and difficulties in establishing an objective standpoint for research (2011, 494). Many CDA researchers have been accused of bringing their own political views into their interpretations of data, which has led to the whole scholarly field of CDA as being seen "heavily conditioned by political choice, rather than scientific criteria" (Breeze 2011, 501). CDA researchers have also been accused of choosing methods or focusing only on lexical items that would most likely provide the results they are seeking (Breeze 2011, 503), which is why researchers are encouraged to study larger amounts of data using different linguistic tools. CDA has also received criticism for both, being too linguistic, as well as not being linguistic enough (Wodak and Meyer 2009, 32). Another meaningful piece of criticism towards CDA is that, when a CDA researcher critiques discourse, he or she is also producing discourse, which begs the question, why is the discourse produced by the researcher superior to the discourse being studied? (Fairclough 2010, 8). According to Fairclough, in order to solve this problem, the researcher must provide both quantity (of data) and quality of explanation (2010, 9).

CDA is also, in my opinion, vulnerable to biased interpretation of data, as well as unobjective collection of data. To avoid these often-mentioned problems CDA faces, I have chosen to use two different frameworks that focus on two different aspects of language use: CDA to focus on the larger societal context, and Appraisal to focus on the specific features in language. In addition to this essential feature of a CDA study, I also chose to focus on a completely different aspect: the use of different sources in the text, which is not subject to biased interpretation. It brought another quantitative aspect to the study and further enabled the direct comparison of the two sets of data in addition to the linguistic features. Furthermore, my data set is quite extensive, and the articles selected for the study were chosen as unbiasedly as possible (I will discuss the methods of data collection more closely in section 4.1). I have also chosen a political topic in regard to which I consider myself neutral. I am quite well aware of the situation between these three

countries and the positions that the different publications have previously taken in political affairs, but since I myself feel quite far-removed from the situation, both geographically and politically, I feel like I am able to conduct this study as objectively as possible.

3.2 Martin and White's Appraisal framework

In this section I will introduce Martin and White's Appraisal framework, which forms the base for this study, in more detail. Martin and White's book *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English* focuses on *interpersonal* language and the way in which writers and speakers "adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate" (2005, 1). The Appraisal theory expands on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) paradigm by M.A.K. Halliday and his colleagues by developing one of the three modes of meaning in SFL, the interpersonal mode of meaning, pertaining to how "language is used between speaker and hearer, writer and reader" as well as how different modal features express the writer's attitudes towards themselves, their assumed audience, and the subject matter at hand (Paniagua et al. 2007, 6-7). Martin and White do this by focusing on the "three axes along which the speaker's/writer's intersubjective stance may vary" (Martin and White 2005, 1). The framework is divided in to three major categories, which I will briefly be introduced below.

Martin and White divide Appraisal into three domains that interact with each other: *Attitude*, *Engagement*, and *Graduation*. Attitude focuses on "our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things", while Engagement focuses on "sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinion in discourse" (2005, 35). The last aspect, Graduation, attends to ways in which feelings can be amplified in discourse, and how different category boundaries can be blurred or further strengthened (ibid.). After I conducted a small pilot study in order to define the scope of this study, I chose to not focus on Graduation features, even though they were present in the data, in order to give more attention to the different aspects of Attitude, as well as some features of Engagement. Thus, Graduation will not be discussed further in this paper.

The Appraisal framework gives an opportunity to try to define the ways in which writers evaluate and pass judgement on people, objects, phenomena, and texts and utterances, as well as how the writer or speaker forms connections with the people who

agree, or distances themselves from the ones who do not (White 2015). Martin and White take the study of what they call *Affect* (the way in which different things and affairs are evaluated positively or negatively in their texts) beyond its conventional accounts: their approach enables both the study of overtly presented attitudes, as well as more indirect evaluative stances (2005, 2). In other words, they study the way in which "attitudes, judgements and emotive responses are explicitly presented in texts and how they may be more indirectly implied, presupposed or assumed" (White 2015). The Appraisal framework can be applied to almost any type of discourse in order to investigate attitude and biases within that discourse, and the different ways in which these attitudes manifest themselves. The framework has been used, for example, in the context of language learners (Ngo and Unsworth 2015), in corpus-based studies on corporate images (Fuoli 2012), as well as in studies on news discourse (Thomson, White and Kitley 2008).

The study of texts using the Appraisal framework is meaningful because it can "reveal the speaker's/writer's feelings and values" while also suggesting how a speaker's or writer's status or authority is construed in a text (Martin and White 2005). The Appraisal framework can also uncover how the text operates rhetorically to build "relations of alignment and rapport between the writer/speaker and actual or potential respondents" (ibid). In my opinion, this is especially interesting in the context of hard news articles, since the function of news media is to inform objectively and in an unbiased manner (Fowler 1991, 1), which is why I chose to use the Appraisal theory as an integral part of my research.

3.2.1 Attitude

Martin and White divide the first domain, Attitude, into three categories, or 'regions of feeling': *Affect*, *Judgement* and *Appreciation* (2005, 35). The different realizations of Attitude manifest through various different grammatical structures, especially when it comes to **Affect** (2005, 45). These different manifestations of Affect comprise of "modification of participants and processes, affective mental and behavioral processes, and modal Adjuncts" (Martin and White 2005, 45-46). For example, Affect can describe the quality of a participant, be attributed to a participant, or describe a manner of process (Martin and White 2005, 46). Affect can also be realized as a either a mental, or a behavioral process, as well as a comment (as a modal Adjunct) (Martin and White 2005, 46). The person feeling the affect is called the "emoter" by White (2015). In their 2005 book, Martin and White give examples of these different types of realizations of Affect:

Affect can be seen through verbs of emotion, such as to hate, to love, to like, to interest etc.

(1)   she's <u>pleased</u> with him (48).

It can also be realized through the use of adverbs, such as sadly, quickly etc. and through the use of adjectives like happy/sad, exited/bored, worried etc., as shown by the following examples:

(2)   <u>Sadly</u>, they decided to abandon the plan and leave the country.

(3)   I'm <u>excited </u>about our trip together.

It can also be realized through nominalizations of adjectives and verbs, for example

(4)   I was overwhelmed by sadness.

The different realizations of Affect be further classified into three sub-categories: un/happiness, in/security, and dis/satisfaction (Martin and White 2005, 49). Martin and White further exemplify these sub-categories as follows: "The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, hate, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect" (ibid.). The affect can be *authorial*, felt by the author of the text, or *non-authorial*; the author of the text is describing the ways in which someone else is feeling and attributing the affect to an emoter (White 2015).

The category of **Judgement** is divided by Martin and White into two sub-categories: Judgement dealing with *social esteem* and Judgement dealing with *social sanction* (2005, 52). Judgement of social esteem depicts how "normal" (or unusual) something is, how capable someone is of doing something, or how resolute they are in their efforts. In short, Martin and White establish these classifications as "normality", "capacity", and "tenacity". Judgements of social sanction, on the other hand, deal with "veracity" and "propriety", the former meaning how truthful someone is, while the latter is concerned with how ethical someone is (ibid.). Judgements can be attributed to people,

phenomena, states of affairs etc. directly by the journalist so that the Judgement is "unmediated", or through attribution, in which case the journalistic author is not the source of the Judgement, but the Judgement is attributed to a different authority, e.g. a person who has publicly shared their opinion on the subject of the text in question in an interview or otherwise (Martin and White 2005, 168). The following examples presented in Martin and White's 2005 book illustrate how Judgements can appear in texts:

(5)   It's <u>certain</u> he's naughty. [judgement of veracity] (54)

(6)   He's <u>often</u> naughty. [judgement of normality] (54)

(7)   He's <u>capable</u> of going. [judgement of ability] (55)

(8)   I'm <u>determined</u> to go. [judgement of tenacity] (55)

(9)   It'd be <u>unfair</u> for you to go. [judgement of propriety] (55)

Appreciation in deemed by Martin and White as the resources though which the value of things is constructed (2005, 36). "Things" includes both natural phenomena, as well as performances given and things we make (Martin and White 2005, 56). Sometimes people can also be evaluated through appreciation when they are seen more as entities than participants in an action (for example, a <u>key</u> figure) (White 2015). Appreciation can be divided into sub-categories: "our 'reactions' to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their 'composition' (balance and complexity), and their 'value' (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)" (ibid.). Appreciation is common especially in political news discourse, since events and policies are both major "things", as in objects, of Appraisal in political news (Khoo, Nourbakhsh and Na 2012, 863). Appreciation is exemplified as follows by Martin and White (2005):

(10)   a <u>penetrating</u> analysis (58)

(11)   a <u>weepy</u> rendition of the song (ibid.)

All of these different aspects of Attitude can be either explicitly expressed by a single lexeme (inscribed) or invoked by the context in which they appear in through various mechanism of associations or implication (Thompson, White and Kitley 2008, 15). As with the previous categories, Appreciation can be either authorial, or attributed to other accessed voices in the text.

3.2.2 Engagement

Martin and White's term Engagement groups together terms such as modality, polarity, and evidentiality among other to create a broader category through which the position and stance of the authorial voice can be studied, and through which means the authorial voice engages with other voices and alternative positions (2005, 94). Broadly defined, Engagement is "concerned with the ways in which resources such as projection, modality, polarity, concession and various comment adverbials position the speaker/writer with respect to the value position being advanced and with respect to potential responses to that value position – by quoting or reporting, acknowledging a possibility, denying, countering, affirming and so on" (Martin and White 2005, 36). Engagement can appear through different linguistic expressions, which all position the writer or speaker differently in regard to the value positions presented in the text. In their 2005 book, Martin and White created a taxonomy to identify the various meanings expressed through Engagement, which are shortly presented below.

The speaker or writer (the textual or authorial voice of a text) can "*disclaim*" the value positions presented in the text by positioning itself "at odds" or "rejecting" the value position completely (Martin and White 2005, 97). This is a *contractive* use of Engagement, meaning it does not suggest or provoke any alternate positions or propositions. Martin and White illustrate this well in their book (2005, 97):

(12)   You <u>don't</u> need to give up potatoes to lose weight. [deny]

(13)   Although he ate potatoes most days he still lost weight. [counter]

The textual voice can also "*proclaim*" the proposition, by "representing the proposition as highly warrantable (compelling, valid, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable, etc.), and the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions […]" (Martin and White 2005, 98). To demonstrate this, I will present a few of my own examples based on Martin and White's book (2005):

(14)   <u>Predictably</u>, the ice cream did no sell as well on a rainy day. [expectation]

(15)   <u>In truth</u>, the cold weather was a more important factor in the low sales than the slight rain. [pronouncement]

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Pronouncement is an interesting feature of Engagement because it can constitute as an "overt intervention in to the text by the authorial voice" which in turn makes the authorial position (the position of the writer) on the matter very clear. Through Pronouncement the authorial voice insists on the value or warrantability of a proposition, while also admitting the existence of a countering proposition. These authorial interventions can be aimed at these assumed or referenced contrasting propositions, in which case the authorial voice questions the truth value of this proposition and insists on the warrantability of the authorial intervention. When pronouncement is used in this manner, it is also constrictive strategy of Engagement.

According to Martin and White, the textual voice is also able to "**entertain**" an expressed proposition or value position by "explicitly presenting the proposition as grounded in its own contingent, individual subjectivity" (2005, 98). In other words, the textual voice presents a proposition as one of several possible positions, thereby entertaining or invoking the existence of the dialogic alternatives (ibid.). This aspect of the Appraisal theory is also presented in a slightly different way on the Appraisal framework website run by P.R.R White. White refers to the category as "*probabilise*" and explains the meaning of the category in simpler terms: the category of probabilise includes terms like "evidence", "likelihood" and "hearsay" (White 2015). All of these sub-categories include expressions that denote the probability or likelihood of something happening, reducing the responsibility of the textual voice in case the proposition proves to be untrue. White exemplifies this as follows on his website (2015):

(16)   It seems that this damaged the trust.

(17)   This may damage the trust.

(18)   It's said that this action damaged the trust.

The final category in Martin and White's taxonomy of different manifestations of Engagement is "*attribute*". Through attribution, the textual voice is "representing proposition as grounded in the subjectivity of an external voice, the textual voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions" (2005, 98). This style of Engagement also invokes and entertains the possibility of other possible positions and dialogic alternatives and is a typical feature of news discourse. I will demonstrate this with my own example based on Martin and White's book (2005, 98):

(19) <u>According to several experts,</u> the low ice cream sales during the summer months are often the result of cold weather conditions.

Attribution can be divided into two sub-categories: *acknowledge* and *distance* (Martin and White 2005, 112-113). The domain of acknowledge includes reporting verbs such as "say, report, state, declare, announce, believe and think" (ibid.). The choice of these types of verbs does not overtly indicate the authorial voice's position with respect to the proposition that is presented (but the position of the authorial voice may still be present in the text in other types of ways) (Martin and White 2005, 112). This sub-category of attribution is often present in hard news reporting, such as the articles studied in this paper, in which the ideal goal of the authorial voice is to present facts as unbiasedly as possible (Martin and White, 115). The second sub-category, distance, is most often realized through reporting verbs such as "claim" (Martin and White 2005, 113). The authorial voice clearly distances itself from the attributed material at the same time detaching itself from the responsibility for the material (ibid.), and thus reveals its position in regard to the proposition presented. Even though Engagement strategies are not the main focus of this study, constrictive uses of Engagement as well as attribution and authorial distancing are taken into consideration since attribution is a very common Engagement strategy in news discourse, and authorial distancing expresses the authorial attitudes very explicitly.

3.3 Comments and criticism on the Appraisal framework

Although the Appraisal framework has, according to Thompson, provided a way to study interpersonal meanings that had previously been neglected within SFL, it has also a number of problematic aspects: Thompson argues in his article that the categories presented in the framework are not defined clearly enough, and would benefit from a sharper description (2008, 185). Thompson also maintains that a "rigidly constituent-based analysis is therefore not appropriate, and overlaps, nesting, and ambiguity of evaluation are all to be expected" (ibid.).

In my opinion, the categories presented in the framework are quite flexible, and features from categories could easily overlap in some cases depending on the researcher's interpretation. For example, interpreting the appraisal of, for example, "the summit" to be either Judgement or Appreciation is difficult. "The summit" does not reference any concrete object, but the behavior of people (and thus Judgement). But the appraisal of

"the summit" could also be seen as an appraisal of certain qualities that 'the summit' entails, thus landing it in the category of Appreciation rather than Judgement. The somewhat interpretation-dependent nature of the framework can become a source of frustration and result in different researchers having different interpretations of how to classify a certain Appraisal feature. In this paper even though the appraisal of the summit would sometimes also have fit in the category of Judgement rather than Appreciation, I chose to pertain to the Appraisal of the summit as Appreciation in order to remain consistent and in order to make the division of Judgements and Appreciations between the two sets of data clearer.

In addition to the ideas presented by Thompson, Hommberg and Don note in their 2015 paper, that the Appraisal is not meant to be used as a context-independent semantic framework, but as a "flexible template for investigating the means through which language positions its users in every context of situation" (188). In other words, the context in which the texts appear must always be considered when using the Appraisal framework, which is why I made sure to familiarize myself with the Korean news media and its history, as well as provide the reader with a brief introduction to it as well.

3.4 Use of sources in news

In order to create an objective and unbiased news article, journalists must pay attention to the sources they use. Even though the journalist's emotions should usually not be clearly displayed in news reporting, the sources they are dependent upon often are not as unbiased (Rouner, Slater and Buddenbaum 1999, 43). If their use of sources is not balanced and only one viewpoint is expressed, the news article would also most likely become biased, presenting only one side of a story. According to O'Neill and O'Connor, research into the sources used in news articles can also be used to uncover different power relation in society, since the sources news articles choose to use highlight those voices and given them the power to set agendas, debate problems, and shape ideology (2008, 488).

In this study I will refer to the sources journalists' reference or attribute information to as *accessed voices* as Fowler does in his book (1991, 22). My definition of accessed voices includes both the clear sources that the journalists name in their articles, as well as the vaguer voices (such as "pundits" or "observers") that opinions, statements, concerns and information is attributed to. According to Fowler, the media

often have a set of accessed voices they usually reference in their articles, and this access to the limited set of voices creates and imbalance: the already privileged voices of authority often receive more of the attention, while the less privileged on the other hand are constantly underrepresented (ibid.). According to Fowler, this practice often results in partiality in terms of both content and style, which in turn could be seen as presenting an ideological perspective (1991, 22-23). The use of accessed voices is also of interest in this study due to the ways in which they might add to the appearance of bias in the news articles studied between the two papers. The different accessed voices might affect the ways in which the summit or the main actors related to it, and thus I will also include them in the analysis, and they will be discussed in the Analysis as well as the Discussion section.

4 Material and Methods

In this section I will introduce the criteria through which both the newspapers, and the articles studied were selected. I will also discuss the methods used to try and answer the research questions established in more detail in the introduction section. I will repeat the research questions here in a slightly more compact form: 1) How are different political entities, the main political actors connected to the Hanoi summit, and the summit itself appraised in the two papers? 2) How do the accessed voices affect the appraisal of these entities, and 3) In what sense do the possible appraisals of these different entities constitute a politically biased attitude and what does it mean in the context of CDA?

4.1 Articles selected for study

As mentioned before, in the past two years the developments between the two Koreas as well as the DPRK and the USA have been very fast paced, which has led to rapid changes in opinion in both South Korea and all over the world. This would most likely also mean that both the newspapers have had to adapt to the rapidly changing political situation to accommodate the emerging new attitudes. Thus, articles from the Hankyoreh and Chosun Ilbo were chosen for this study due to the biased attitudes they have previously displayed.

These two publications are also one of the Korea's most trusted newspapers and one of South Korea oldest and most widely circulated papers. In their 2011 article, Heo and Park quote the Korea Audit Bureau of Circulation, according to which Chosun was then the newspaper with the largest circulation in South Korea (1,799,166), while Hankyoreh had the largest circulation of all liberal newspapers (280,906) (2011, 2903). This is also one of the reasons why I chose these two newspapers for this study, as they are often pitted against each other as the largest representatives of their respective categories.

The articles chosen were all published online both few months before, as well as few months after the Hanoi summit on the 27th and 28th of February 2019. Online articles were chosen to be used in this study because of their easy accesses, as well as because of the fact that nowadays most South Koreans tend to consume their news online (83% according to the Reuters Digital News Report of 2019). The collection of data from both before as well as after the summit facilitates the comparison of appraisal of the summit both before and after it took place. The articles were collected by retrieving them from

the newspapers respective websites by using the websites' search function with several search words ('summit', 'Hanoi', 'Trump', 'North Korea' and 'Kim Jong-un'). I used the same search words for both news websites. The broadness of the search words meant that articles not directly related to the Hanoi summit also appeared in the search results, which is why I did not collect all of the articles that appeared in the search results, but only the ones that were related directly to the Hanoi summit or its direct after effects. In the end the material collected consisted of a corpus of ca. 9000 words per newspaper. The main focus of data collection was to collect a proportionate number of articles from both before and after the summit from both of the publications, as well as have a similar amount of text to analyze from each publication.

The articles deemed relevant to the focus of the study were collected based on the order they appeared in the search results after the different search words were used. In the case of Hankyoreh this meant 16 articles of which 7 (accounting for 44% of the total number of articles from Hankyoreh) were published before the summit, 3 (19 %) during the summit, and 6 (38 %) after the summit had concluded. For Chosun the collection criteria narrowed the data to 27 articles in total, of which 11 (41 %) were published before the summit, 5 (18 %) during, and 11 (41 %) after the summit. These articles related to the Hanoi summit were chosen in the order they appeared in after the different searches were conducted on the websites of the newspapers. The search words used often resulted also in articles that were not strictly related to the Hanoi summit to be present in the results, but I chose to disregard these articles and only collect articles that were strictly related to the Hanoi summit or its immediate consequences. A manageable number of articles was first collected from Hankyoreh, after which the same searches were conducted on Chosun's website and the articles related to the Hanoi summit were collected in the order they appeared in. Chosun tends to have shorter articles compared to the Hankyoreh, which is why in order to have a similar amount of text from both of the newspapers, more articles from Chosun were collected. These two sets of data will from now on be referred to as "Chosun data" and "Hankyoreh data".

Although the same search words and a similar time frame (a few months before, as well as few months after the summit) were used in the searches done on the publication's websites, the news articles retrieved for this study were somewhat varied in topic. However, all of the articles discuss the Hanoi summit and the main politicians and other persons involved in the summit proceedings and the political relations between the

three countries, which is why I think that the slight variation in topic will not be a major variable in this study.

4.2 Methods

As mentioned before, the news articles were retrieved from the respective websites of the Hankyoreh and Chosun using the same search term. After the retrieval of the articles, the texts were copied and collected into two separate Word files for an easy access into the data. Next, I conducted a small pilot study using a few news articles from both sets of data in order to see whether the Appraisal framework was an appropriate tool for analysis, and to see which classification categories of the framework would best serve the goals of my study. After the small pilot study, I found that the category of Attitude and its sub-categories of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation would be most useful in the study of possibly biased language in the news articles, since it includes all of the different options for expressing positive or negative evaluation of things, happenings, and people. Thomson, White and Kitley also emphasize this category to be "key" in the study of journalistic objectivity (2008, 14). In addition, I also chose to use an aspect from the category of Engagement, more specifically *contractive* uses of Engagement strategies, since the pilot study also revealed a few interesting instances of contractive use of Engagement. I only chose to use this one sub-type of Engagement because, as Martin and White have suggested, news reports usually prefer the types of expansive Engagement strategies (such as entertain and attribute) that do not take a stance on the issue discussed (2005, 112-113), and this was also mostly the case in the both of my data sets. Even though the data also included instances of Graduation it was deemed less important in this data set because it did not serve a purpose in answering the research questions, so the category of Graduation was left out in order to focus the scope of the study on features of Attitude.

I used the Appraisal framework to classify and recognize different types of appraisal in the news articles selected for this study. The categories used for this classification were Attitude, which includes the sub-categories of Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation. Authorial distancing from the Engagement category also had a role in the analysis. I introduced these categories in more detail in the Theoretical section (3.2), which is why I will not discuss them in more detail here. I manually annotated the instances where appraisal appears in the two data sets in Word, after which these instances

were transferred to an Excel file, where the different features were categorized, and negative and positive appraisals were color-coded.

In addition to the appraisal analysis, the distribution of different accessed voices was studied between the two papers. I decided to classify the different accessed voices quoted or references in the articles in to four categories: U.S. sources, South Korean sources, North Korean sources, and other sources (sources that could not explicitly deemed to be South Korean, U.S. or North Korean sources, for example "analysts" and "pundits"). Finally, the news articles from the two different publications were compared to ascertain possible differences and similarities in both, the appraisal analysis, as well as the distribution of the accessed voices.

5 Analysis

In this section I will present the results of both the results of the Appraisal analysis based on the categories established by Martin and White (2005), as well as the results of the analysis of the different accessed voices used in the data. I will begin by presenting the results of the Appraisal analysis after which I will present the results of the analysis of accessed voices for both sets of data.

5.1 Appraisal

In this first sub-section, I will go through the different aspects of Appraisal studied in this paper. I will start by presenting the different ways in which the Hanoi summit was Appreciated in the two sets of data, after which I will move on to the Judgement of the main actors of the summit. Then I will discuss the features of Affect in the data sets, with a focus on the different emoters of the tokens of Affect. Lastly, the different uses of constrictive Engagement will be discussed.

5.1.1 The Appreciation of the Hanoi summit

Both the Hankyoreh data as well as the Chosun data included several instances of both positive and negative Appreciation of the Hanoi summit. The Chosun data included significantly more instances of authorial Appreciation of the summit than the Hankyoreh data. Most of the tokens of Appreciation of the summit in both sets of data were focused on the general valuation and the social valuation of the summit, which is unsurprising since according to White these social values are often the most prominent in media texts (2001, 14). Thus, I will not further classify the types of Appreciation into its subtypes because I feel that it will not bring added value to the current study. I will also not classify instances where the summit was referred to as "the second summit" as Appreciation because in my opinion, referring to the summit this way does not imply any Appreciation of the summit, but only shortly distinguishes it from the first summit between USA and North Korea. Hence, I will focus on whether the different Appreciations of the Hanoi summit were positive or negative, and authorial or attributed to other entities or people. For the sake of readability, I will from here on refer to tokens of positive Appreciation as [+appreciation] and tokens of negative Appreciation as [-appreciation]. I will adopt this same manner of reference also for the sections on Judgement and Affect. The following

Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate the percentages of both authorial and attributed Appreciation in the two data sets.
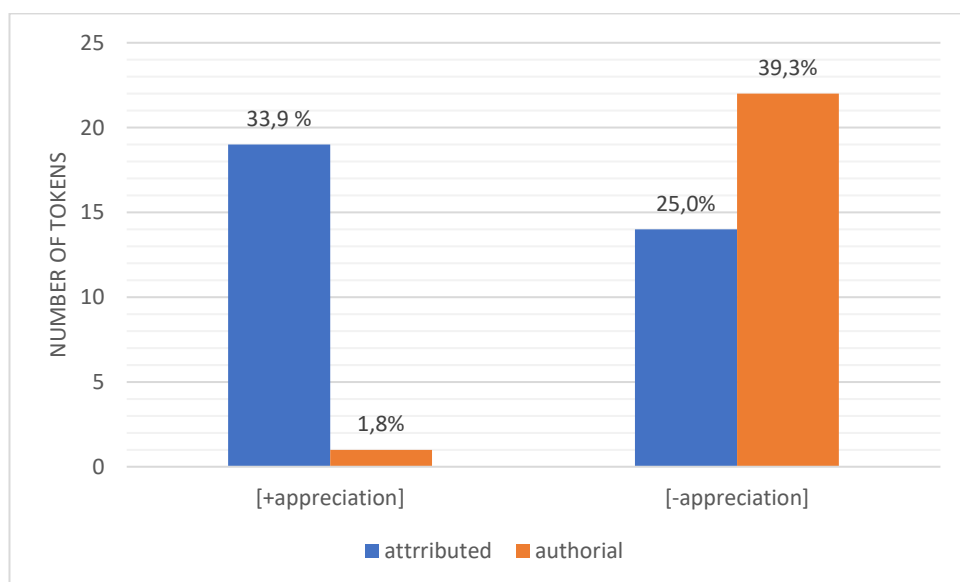
Figure 1 The Appreciation of the Hanoi summit in the Hankyoreh data.
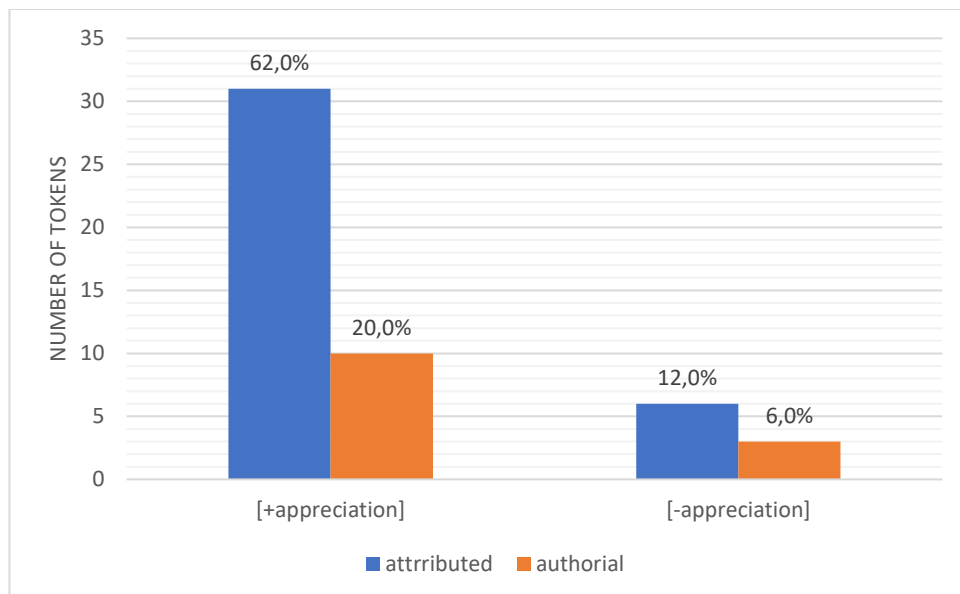
total number of tokens **n=50 (100%)**

[+appreciation] = positive tokens of Appreciation; [-appreciation] = negative tokens of appreciation

Figure 2 The Appreciation of the Hanoi summit in the Chosun data.

total number of tokens **n= 56 (100%)**

[+appreciation] = positive tokens of Appreciation; [-appreciation] = negative tokens of appreciation

Overall, the Chosun data included more instances of Appreciation (56 tokens) than the Hankyoreh data (50 tokens). 13 of the 50 Appreciation tokens in the Hankyoreh data were authorial, while in the Chosun data 23 tokens out of 56 were authorial. While the few tokens of authorial Appreciation in the Hankyoreh data were [+appreciation], most of the authorial Appreciation tokens in the Chosun data were [-appreciation]. There were also differences in the way in which the summit was Appreciated before and after it had taken place. Before the summit on February 28th, most of the tokens in Hankyoreh were [+appreciation] (Example 20), with some instances of caution and [-appreciation] especially when it came to the expectations surrounding the summit (Example 21). There were no authorial [-appreciation] tokens in the Hankyoreh data before the summit took place.

(20)   […] the eyes of the world are turning to Hanoi, which will be the site of an event that many expect to be **a turning point in the history of the Korean Peninsula**. [+appreciation]

(21)   […] Seoul doesn't want the second North Korea-US summit to result in a **"small deal**." [-appreciation]

Positive appreciations of the upcoming summit were also expressed in Chosun prior to the 28th of February, while [-appreciation] of the summit was not very prominent. However, there were two authorial tokens of [-appreciation] in the pre-summit data as opposed to none in the pre-summit Hankyoreh data. Most of the tokens of [+appreciation] in the Chosun data were focused on the valuation of the summit, as indicated by example (22):

(22)   A government official here said, "We are ready to hold the 'Key Resolve' exercises for two weeks starting on March 4, but it looks like the U.S.-North Korea summit will become a **major** variable."

(23)   The two allies considered announcing their resumption late last month but held off amid progress of talks preparing for the **fresh** summit.

After the Hanoi summit finished, tokens of [-appreciation] of the Hanoi summit increased in both publications, but more clearly in Chosun than in Hankyoreh. In Chosun the summit was appraised negatively after no agreement was reached between the two leaders: 18 tokens of authorial [-appreciation] were found in the articles written after the

summit. Several of these tokens refer to the summit as the "failed summit", as demonstrated by examples (24) and (25):

> (24) The train carrying North Korean leader Kim Jong-un back home from his **failed** summit with U.S. President Donald Trump in Vietnam […]. [-appreciation]

> (25) U.S., S.Korea Decide to Scrap Drills Despite **Failed** Trump-Kim Jong-un Summit [-appreciation]

The [-appreciation] of the summit is also expressed more strongly, for example by referring to the summit as the "Hanoi Debacle", "abortive summit" and it as having "failed dismally".

The Hankyoreh, however, took a different approach and reported on the failure of the summit mostly through verb phrases, as indicated by the following examples:

> (26) "The message was different in tone from the North's firm rebuttal of Trump's remarks claiming the agreement had **failed** because of North Korea's demands for a removal of all sanctions."

> (27) Reuters suggested the document might help in understanding why the Hanoi summit **failed to yield an agreement**, […]

In addition to the use of verb phrases to discuss the summit's failure, Hankyoreh also used a variety of different expression, such as in example (28), that could be argued to "softer" than the word failure:

> (28) […] since the second North Korea-US summit **concluded without a joint agreement**

There are also several tokens of [+appreciation] of the summit in the Hankyoreh data after it had concluded without an agreement. However, the three instances of authorial Appreciation that appear after the summit concluded are all negative. When considering the tokens of [+appreciation] in the Hankyoreh data after the summit concluded, it is important to take note of the accessed voices to which several of these tokens are attributed to: many of them come from North Korean sources referenced and quoted in the text (the North Korean national newspaper Rodong Sinmun as well as the Korean Central News Agency, which is the official news agency of the North Korean state). The

Hankyoreh articles that referenced these sources appreciated the summit in a positive manner, as indicated by examples (29) and (30):

(29)   In terms of the summit's content, the report said the two leaders "highly appreciated [. . .] that **remarkable progress** has been made […].

(30)   The Rodong Sinmun roped together Kim's summits with the US and Vietnam as both being "**successful**" without going into the details.

The implications of the effect of accessed voices on the appraisal of the summit will be discussed in more detail in the Discussion section.

5.1.2 The Judgement of actors related to the summit

Overall, the Hankyoreh data included more tokens of Judgement than the Chosun data. Unsurprisingly, the articles in Hankyoreh which referenced North Korean sources also included many tokens of Judgement of Kim Jong-un's character, both Judgements of social esteem, as well as Judgements of social sanction. Both sets of data included instances of attributed Judgement, but also some unmediated Judgement. The instances of Judgment in the Hankyoreh data (both unmediated and attributed) are visualized in the figure below. Some tokens of Judgement were directed, for example, towards both the US and North Korea at the same time and they are displayed in figures 3 and 4 as NK&USA. Only one token of [-judgement] of veracity appeared in the data, and thus I chose to not include it in Figure 3 and Figure 4, but it will be briefly discussed below. The following Figure 3 depicts the number of different Judgement tokens in the Hankyoreh data.

Figure 3 Tokens of Judgement in Hankyoreh.
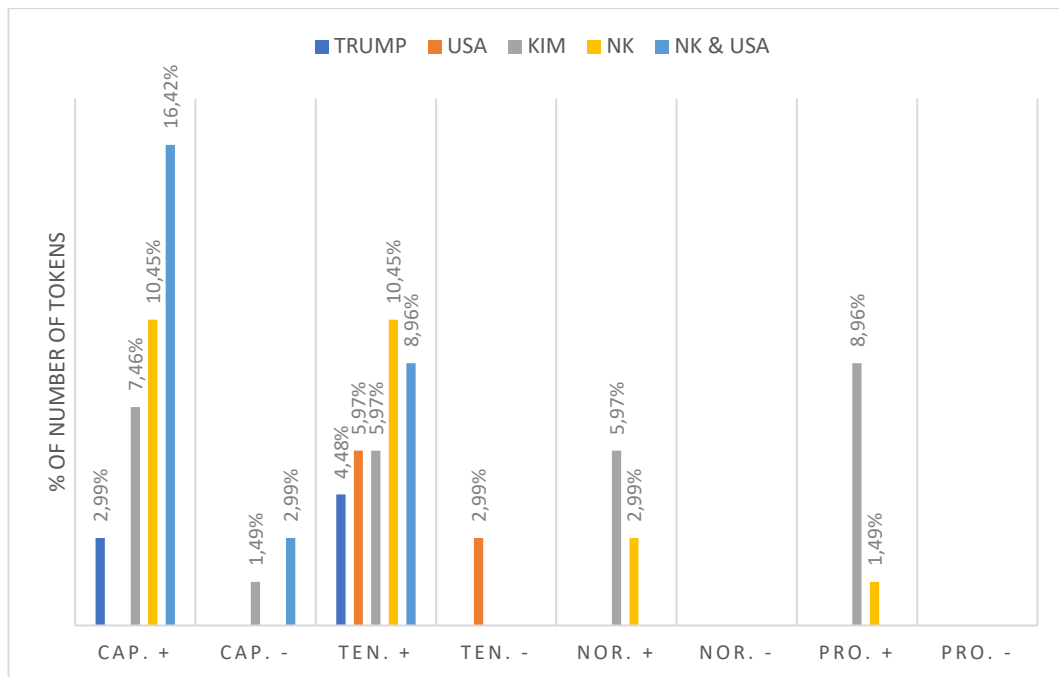
total number of tokens **n= 67 (100%)**

cap. +/- = capacity; ten. +/- = tenacity; nor.+/- = normality; pro.+/- = propriety; NK= North Korea; KIM= Kim Jong-un; NK&USA= tokens of Judgement where the USA and North Korea were judged together

As mentioned earlier, both the Chosun data and the Hankyoreh data included instances of both attributed and unmediated Judgement. While Hankyoreh had more instances of Judgement overall, there were less instances of unmediated Judgement when compared to the Chosun data. Only nine tokens of unmediated Judgement were found in the Hankyoreh data, and all of these tokens were positive. The tokens of Judgement were focused on assessments of the competence and ability of the main actors of the summit (capacity), as well as their determination and resolve in relation to the summit and its goals (tenacity). The Hankyoreh data also included Judgements of social sanction in addition to the judgements of social esteem. The following examples from the Hankyoreh data demonstrate first a positive Judgement of social esteem (Example 31) and a positive Judgement of social sanction (Example 32):

(31)   The message of this propaganda is that Kim is **dedicating himself to his country and to the future of its people.** [Judgement: tenacity]

(32)   Kim's trip to Hanoi was a "great journey of **patriotism and love for his people**." [Judgement: propriety]

The judgements of social esteem were significantly more prominent in the Hankyoreh data than Judgement of social sanction. While North Korea was judged significantly more than the US, it did not receive any tokens of [-judgement] while US received two. Kim received significantly more tokens of Judgement when compared to Trump, but only one of the Judgement tokens was [-judgement]. The large amount of [+judgement] tokens of propriety, as well as most of the [+judgement] tokens of tenacity in the Hankyoreh data come from one article that extensively reference North Korean media sources. Most of the [+judgement] of Kim originated from President Trump's tweets or interviews.

Similarly to Hankyoreh, the Chosun data also included Judgements of both social sanction and social esteem. The Chosun data included overall more tokens of [-judgement] than the Hankyoreh data. These tokens of [-judgement] were quite evenly divided between Kim and Trump, while North Korea was judged clearly more negatively than the United States. The unmediated Judgement tokens in Chosun were mostly [-judgement], and directed towards the United States, Trump, North Korea, and Kim Jong-un. The distribution between the different actors and different categories of Judgement in the Chosun data is exemplified below in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Tokens of Judgement in Chosun Ilbo.
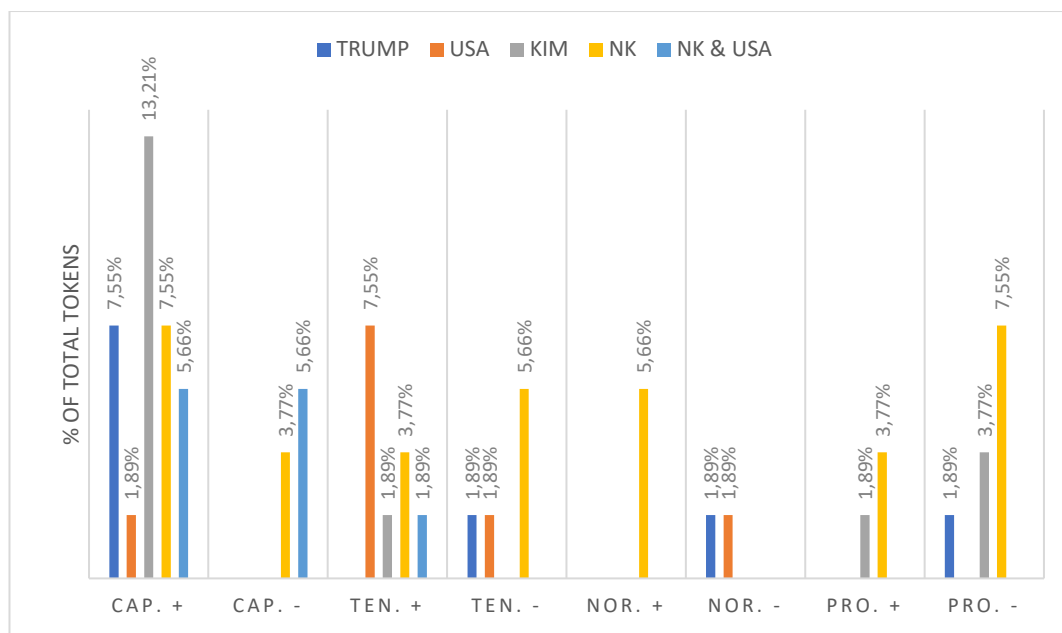
total number of tokens **n= 53 (100%)** cap. +/- = capacity; ten. +/- = tenacity; nor. +/- = normality; pro. +/- = propriety; NK= North Korea; KIM= Kim Jong-un; NK&USA= tokens of Judgement where the USA and North Korea were judged together

Both sets of data included tokens of [+judgement] of Trump in addition to [+judgement] of Kim Jong-un. Interestingly, most of the [+judgement] of President Trump as well as Kim Jong-un come from direct quotes from Trump (or his Twitter), in which he usually invokes [+judgement] of both his own capacity, as well as the capacity of Kim Jong-un as the leader of North Korea, as well as the capacity of North Korea to develop into an "economic rocket". These positive Judgements are invoked in the following examples:

(33)   "Chairman Kim realizes, **perhaps better than anyone else,** that without nuclear weapons, his country could fast become **one of the great economic powers anywhere in the World**," he tweeted that day. [Judgement: capacity; Judgement: normality]

(34)   He may surprise some but he won't surprise me, because I have gotten to know him & **fully understand** how **capable** he is. [Judgement: capacity; Judgement: capacity]

Saying that Chairman Kim is able to realize something, "perhaps better than anyone else" invokes positive Judgement of Kim Jong-un's competence or capability to understand things. In a similar manner, saying that he can "fully understand" Kim Jong-un's capabilities invokes a positive judgement of Donald Trump's intellect and capabilities.

In addition to several Judgements of social esteems, the Chosun data included several judgements of social sanction. Several of the articles in the data discussed the possible "purge" of North Korean officials of the summit had failed. As purge is a word with several negative connotations, I chose to classify it as a token of [-judgement] of propriety. The Chosun data also included one instance that could be considered a [-judgement] of veracity:

(35)   Pundits are concerned that Washington and Pyongyang **could make a deal over South Korea's head** by trading a nuclear weapons freeze or the dismantlement of intercontinental ballistic missiles in North Korea for a reduction in American troops numbers here. [Judgement: veracity]

"Going over someone's head" means bypassing someone involved in a matter and going directly to their superior or someone of higher rank. In this context this would mean USA making a deal with North Korea without consulting South Korea, which could be seen as invoking that the two countries are acting in a dishonest manner by not including South Korea in negotiations that it is a significant part of. The Chosun data also included a few

tokens of Judgement directed towards South Korea, but I will not discuss them further since South Korea was not the main focus of the Hanoi summit (even though it is strongly connected to all issues related to North Korea). Next, I will move on to discussing the distribution of tokens of Affect in both sets of data.

5.1.3 Affect

Overall, the Hankyoreh data included more tokens of Affect (56) than the Chosun data (42). The Hankyoreh data also included numerically significantly more [+affect] tokens (39) than the Chosun data (17), but percentually the distribution of [+affect] and [-affect] between the two papers was very similar. These findings are well exemplified below in Figure 5. In the [+affect] tokens in the Hankyoreh the emoters were often both, Trump and Kim, or both the USA and North Korean governments. In the Chosun data on the other hand, Affect tokens were attributed almost always to Kim or Trump, but not both of them at the same time. A more detailed table of the different emoters in both sets of data can be found in the Appendix, while the following figure indicates the percentages of [+affect] and [-affect] in the two papers:

Figure 5 Positive and negative Affect tokens in both sets of data.
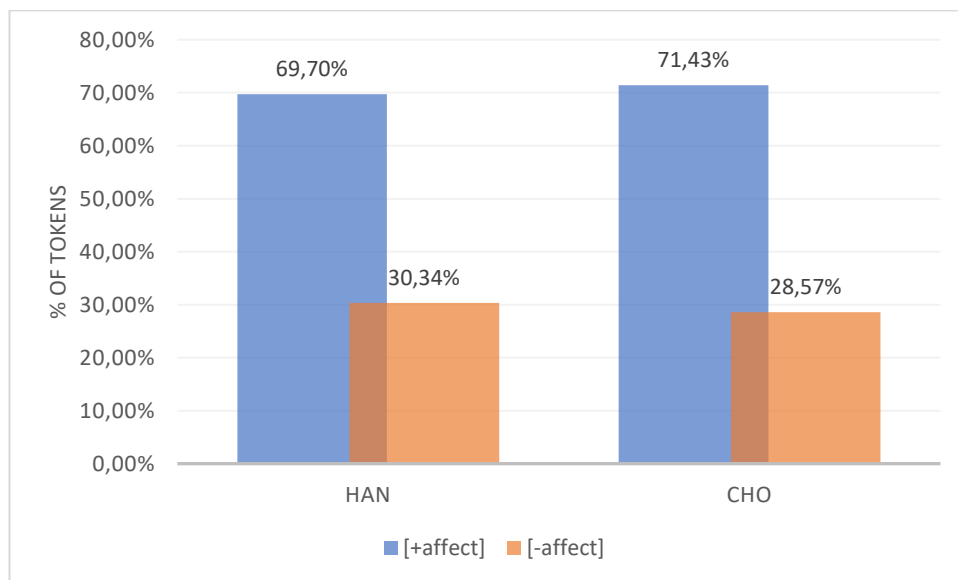
total number of tokens HAN **n= 56 (100%)** total number of tokens CHO **n= 42 (100%)**
HAN = data from Hankyoreh; CHO = data from Chosun Ilbo; [+affect] = positive tokens of Affect; [-affect] = negative tokens of Affect

Before the Hanoi summit took place, there were several tokens of [+affect] in the Hankyoreh data, mostly expressing hope and anticipation for the upcoming summit, confidence in that the summit would produce positive results, but also some caution in raising expectations. The Affect tokens were non-authorial and positive, focused on describing the feelings and emotions of the Blue House, Trump, and other US actors, as in example (36):

(36) "We're expecting to achieve big results at the Hanoi summit, and **I look forward to** meeting to share those results with you," he [Trump] reportedly said during the conversation.

As mentioned previously, in the Hankyoreh data the two leaders were often grouped together and both parties were the emoters of several tokens of [+affect] in the Hankyoreh data. Several tokens of both [+affect] and [-affect] were also attributed to the USA and different actors representing the US government, while only a few were attributed to North Korea or North Korean people or the actors representing the North Korean government.

Before the summit, only a few Affect tokens were present in the Chosun data. Those that were found, were mostly non-authorial [+affect] tokens expressing the positive feelings of anticipation or satisfaction, and the Chosun data actually contained percentually more tokens of [+affect] than the Hankyoreh data. When the emoter was Trump, the Affect was almost always [+affect], expressing satisfaction or confidence. Affect tokens where the emoter was North Korean leader Kim Jong-un were not very prevalent in the articles before the summit but appeared more after the summit had finished. The affect tokens where the emoter was Kim were also mostly [+affect], but compared to Trump's affect tokens, there were more instances of [-affect]. A more detailed distribution of the Affect tokens between the main actors can be found in the Appendix. The following example indicates one of the ways in which [+affect] was expressed in the data:

(37) Trump said he is **looking forward to** a big success in Hanoi and a meeting with Moon in person.

After the summit had finished, the tokens of Affect in Chosun were non-authorial and mostly [-affect], expressing feelings of unhappiness or dissatisfaction. The [-affect] tokens expressed the feelings of Kim Jong-un, as well the North Korean people as a

whole. The [+affect] tokens in the Chosun data in which the emoter was Kim Jon-un or a person affiliated to North Korea were mostly from articles that referenced North Korean sources.

Most of the Affect tokens in Hankyoreh before the summit took place were focused on dis/inclination, in other words, the hopes for a successful summit. The emoter of these positive affect tokens was most often "The Blue House" (equivalent of the White House in the U.S, the South Korean president's residence). In a few cases the emoter of the [+affect] was also Trump or his staff (such as Stephen Biegun, the U.S. special representative for North Korea). The articles referencing North Korean news media sources in Hankyoreh also included many [+affect] tokens. The [+affect] tokens describe they ways in which Kim Jong-un was acting and how he was feeling during and after the summit.

After the summit had ended, the tokens of Affect in Hankyoreh were very similar to Chosun (excluding the tendency to group the two leaders together): most of the tokens of Affect were negative, non-authorial, and describing mostly the feelings of Kim Jong-un and his response towards the conclusion of the summit, as well as towards the United States. The tokens of positive Affect came from references to North Korean media sources. This is demonstrated in examples (38) and (39):

(38)   […] Kim had "**expressed his thanks** to Trump for making positive efforts […].

(39)   […] photographs showing Kim **smiling and waving** at the crowds gathered to welcome him at Pyongyang railway station.

The effect of the accessed voices on the Affect tokens in the data will be discussed further in later sections, after a brief discussion of the selected features of Engagement.

5.1.4 Engagement

As discussed earlier, according to Martin and White there are some Engagement strategies 'hard news' articles tend to prefer: acknowledgement, which includes the use of reporting verbs such as 'say', 'report' or 'state' (2005, 112-113), as well as entertain, which acknowledges the possible value of the current proposition without dismissing other possible options . The news articles studied in this paper also seem to largely follow this pattern of Engagement suggested by Martin and White (2005). Therefore, the analysis of these types on instances of Engagement does not bring much added value to this study.

However, instances where the authorial voice break the usual pattern and distances itself from a proposition or steps up to pronounce the value or warrantability of a proposition are of interest. A clear authorial distancing from a proposition implies that the author does not want to take responsibility for the reliability of the proposition or value position presented, and thus "acts to mark explicitly the internal authorial voice as separate from the cited, external voice" (Martin and White 2005, 113-114). In both newspapers, interestingly, most stereotypical instances of authorial distancing (using the verb *claim*) were instances where the authorial voice was distancing itself from President Trump's views toward requests or promises made by North Korea during the Hanoi summit, as in the following examples from the Chosun data (Example 40) and the Hankyoreh data (Example 41):

(40)   U.S. President Donald Trump on Sunday **claimed** that North Korean leader Kim Jong-un offered to scrap just one or two out of five nuclear sites in the North when they met in Hanoi in February.

(41)   After US President Donald Trump **claimed** that North Korea had demanded that all sanctions be lifted, North Korea issued a rebuttal in a late night press conference.

In Chosun, the authorial voice clearly distanced itself from Trump's views on three occasions in two separate articles, while in Hankyoreh the verb *claim* was used only once by the authorial voice to distance itself from a proposition made by president Trump. In Chosun the direct instances of clear distancing were often related to direct quotations of Turmp's tweets and claims he made in them, while in Hankyoreh the only instance where the verb *claim* was used to distance the authorial voice from an opinion expressed by Trump, Trump was not directly quoted and the source of the opinion was a press conference, not Twitter.

In addition to the clear distancing using the word claim, there were also few instances where the authorial voice proclaimed and pronounced their positions while at the same time directly challenging the warrantability of a counter position (Martin and White 2005, 127). As mentioned previously, this type of Engagement strategy is also contractive in nature. In the current study, this subtype of Engagement was only present in the Chosun data, and it is demonstrated in examples (42) and (43):

(42)   **But in truth** the agenda looks far from satisfactory for those hoping for a palpable commitment to denuclearization from the North.

(43)   **In fact**, the North fired several missiles only last week.

The sentence in example (43) was preceded by a direct quote from Trump where he claimed that North Korea had not conducted new missile or nuclear tests in two years, making Example (43) a very strong and explicit token of pronouncement and contractive Engagement.

When it comes to the different uses of Engagement strategies, it seems that Chosun is more inclined to use strategies that are less usual in hard news contexts. Even though the instances of contractive uses of Engagement were not that prominent, they were nevertheless more prominent in the Chosun data than in the Hankyoreh data. However, the instances where this type of Engagement was used, were similar in both data sets which suggest that even though the papers have several differences, they also have some similarities when it comes to specific actors involved in the Hanoi summit. Since Engagement strategies were not the main focus of this study, I will now move on to discussing the different accessed voices found in the data.

5.2 Accessed voices

At first glance, Chosun seems to have a wider range of different accessed voices. A total of 82 different voices were found in the 27 articles studied. In Hankyoreh, on the other hand, propositions and information were attributed to a total of 57 different voices in the 16 articles studied. However, when the total amount of sources used is compared to the number of articles in the data, on average Hankyoreh has more sources per article (3,5 per article) than Chosun (3,0 per article). The results of the analysis are exemplified further in the table below:

Table 1 Reference to different accessed voices in the news articles studied

	Chosun Ilbo	Hankyoreh
US	21 (25,6%)	22 (38,6%)
South Korea	29 (35,4%)	12 (21,1%)
North Korea	10 (12,2%)	12 (21,1%)
other	22 (26,8%)	11 (19,3%)

total	n= 82 (100%)	n= 57 (100%)

US = accessed voices affiliated to the United States; South Korea = accessed voices affiliated with South Korea; North Korea = accessed voices affiliated with North Korea; other = accessed voices not strictly affiliated with any one of the previous categories, or ambiguous voices

In the Chosun data South Korean accessed voices were most common accounting for 35 percent of all of the sources. Source deemed "other" (such as ambiguous sources such as "pundits" or international sources such as "Reuters") were the second most used accessed voices in Chosun with 26,8 percent, closely followed by U.S. sources with 25,6 percent. The least accessed voices in Chosun were North Korean, accounting only for 12,2 percent of the total voices accessed. In Hankyoreh, the most accessed voices were from, or affiliated with, the U.S. (38,6 percent), while the second most accessed voices were South and North Korean, both at 21,1 percent. The least accessed voices in Hankyoreh were "other" accessed voices, accounting for 19,3 percent.

The largest differences in the use of sources between the two papers was found in the use of accessed voices deemed "other" as well North Korean voices. Compared to the total number of different voices accessed, Hankyoreh referenced more North Korean voices than Chosun. Out of 57 sources 12 were North Korean sources in Hankyoreh, while in Chosun out of 82 sources only 10 were North Korean. Chosun and Hankyoreh's use of US and South Korean sources were also mirror images of each other: while 35 percent of the sources referenced by Chosun were South Korean and 25 percent US sources. These figures were reversed in Hankyoreh. The different implications for these differences between the accessed voices and their connection to the features of Appraisal will be discussed further in the following section.

6 Discussion

In this section I will discuss the findings presented in the section above in more detail, and in terms of my research questions. I have divided the following section in to three separate sub-sections, the first one dealing with the Attitude features found in both sets of data, in which I aim at answering the first research question of how the summit itself and the different political actors connected to it were appraised in the two sets of data. In the second sub-section I present a few interesting notes on Engagement features found in the text. In the next sub-section, I will answer the second research question and discuss the differences and similarities in the accessed voices, and their implications in regard to political bias and their possible effects on the Appraisal features found in the data. The discussion section concludes in a sub-section reflecting on the results and their meaning in the context of CDA, in which I will also answer the third research question of the possible partisan bias.

6.1 Attitude features and political bias in the language

In this section, as well as in section 6.2, I will answer the first research question of how the different political entities such as the United States government and the North Korean political leadership, the main political actors connected to the Hanoi summit, and the Hanoi summit itself appraised in the two papers. The differences between Appraisal tokens in the two sets of data suggests a difference in attitude towards the summit and its main actors. These biases seem to align with the political agendas of the South Korean political progressives and conservatives. The fact that a political bias can be seen even in "hard-news" reporting of both of the papers strengthens the already existing divide between the attitudes of the progressives and the conservatives towards North Korea in general, and more specifically, engagement with North Korea. Next, I will discuss and compare the different features of Attitude in the two sets of data in more detail.

The negative attitude towards engagement with North Korea can be seen very clearly in the way in which Chosun appraises the Hanoi summit. Several mentions of "failed summit" in the Chosun data constitute as authorial tokens of [-appreciation] of the summit. The authorial [-appreciation] of the summit highlights its failure and paints a picture of a summit that failed to contribute anything of value to the US-North Korea relationship, and it implies a biased attitude towards the summit. This could also be

generalized as a biased attitude by the paper as a whole, since the tokens of [-appreciation] of the summit appeared in different news articles written by different journalists. If the combination "failed summit" only appeared in articles written by the same journalist, it would not in my opinion prove the existence of a political bias on part of the whole paper, only on the part of that specific journalist. However, in the Chosun data the same combination of words was used by several different journalists which implies a general negative attitude towards the summit and its result.

This negative attitude (or bias) towards the summit might be explained by the status of Chosun as the representative of the political conservatives in South Korea. As mentioned before, the South Korean conservatives tend to be skeptical of any Engagement with North Korea and view the North more as a potential threat than a potential ally (Chae and Kim 2008, 82). Thus, it is not surprising that Chosun chooses to emphasize the failure of the summit, since its potential readership (the conservatives in South Korea) were possibly not supportive of a summit between the United States and North Korea in the first place. Since most of these tokens of [-appreciation] are authorial appraisals of the summit and not attributed to different sources or groups, they are, in my opinion, a stronger reflection of the biased attitude of Chosun in regard to the Hanoi summit and developments between the United States and the Koreas. Chosun leads it readers towards a very negative understanding of the summit's proceedings leaving them with a picture of complete failure. The fact that the negative Appreciation of the summit was not as prevalent in the articles written before the summit took place agrees with the previous studies, which have concluded that the conservative papers often toned down their biased language when public opinion toward North Korea was significantly more positive. It is very likely that Chosun was more cautious of partisan bias before the summit, but after it had failed Chosun embraced the failure and returned to a clearly more biased stance in its language.

In comparison with Chosun, there were considerably fewer instances of authorial Appreciation of the summit in the Hankyoreh data. Most of the few tokens of authorial Appreciation of the summit were [+appreciation]. In my opinion, this reflects the perceived biased position of Hankyoreh as the representative progressive newspapers and as almost the mirror image of Chosun. As mentioned before, the South Korean progressives tend to hold more positive views toward the North and inter-Korean relations. [+Appreciation] of the summit reinforces this positive attitude towards developments between the two Koreas, however small they may be, and thus also displays

a biased attitude. Compared to the Chosun data, Hankyoreh's bias towards the summit does not manifest as strongly because of the lower amount of authorial Appreciation. Overall, however, including both attributed and authorial tokens of Appreciation, the Hankyoreh data included significantly more tokens of [+appreciation] than the Chosun data. Even though the Attitudinal effect of attributed Appreciation if not as strong as authorial Appreciation, the fact that the Appreciation of the Hanoi summit in the Hankyoreh data was overwhelmingly positive reinforces the image of progressive bias. Hankyoreh chose quote and attribute information and opinions to sources who saw the summit in a positive light even though it did not produce any groundbreaking results.

A significant amount of positive Appraisal in Hankyoreh after the summit failed is also partly due to the source referenced: the freedom of the press is practically inexistent in North Korea, and the state controls the information that is made available to the media (RFS 2019). The actions, political decisions and aspirations, and the character of Kim Jong-un is always positively appraised. In this case this also seems to apply to the Hanoi summit. The Hankyoreh does not distance itself from the view presented by the North Korean state media, but it also does not proclaim them. It keeps to presenting both sides of the aftermath of the summit after no joint agreement was reached: the US side, as well as the North Korean view. The Hankyoreh chooses to make its readers familiar with the news discourse the North Korean citizens will read. This could be seen as an attitudinal, biased position since it supports the political progressive's policy of more proactive and friendly relations towards North Korea, but it could also just be good and objective reporting. On the other hand, however, it could also be interpreted as a means to showcase the negative aspects of North Korean society and the way in which they will only be able to see the "official" version of the events the North Korean state wants them to see. Presenting South Korean and international audiences the version of events the North Korean people will receive shines also a light on the uneven power relations that exist in North Korea between the state and the people, who will not be able to (officially) receive a truthful report of the summit proceedings. In my opinion, this could also be interpreted as a favorable thing for the North Korean people: international and South Korean readers could feel sympathetic towards the North Korean people who live under an oppressive government who keeps them in the dark.

In the Chosun data, there were also instances of unmediated Judgement. Unmediated Judgement displays a more explicit authorial attitude than Judgements attributed to other sources, which is why Chosun , which more readily makes these

unmediated Judgements, might appear more biased than its progressive counterpart. Several of the unmediated Judgements were connected to the behavior a President Trump, who, it could be argued, is universally quite unpopular, which is possibly why Chosun chose to make these unmediated Judgements without the fear of appearing biased. On the other hand, the fact that Trump is politically pursuing something that the South Korean conservatives do not necessarily support, the authorial Judgement of Trump is his pursuit of rapprochement with North Korea could also be considered a sign of a politically biased attitude. The same reasoning applies to the [-judgement] of the United States government, but unlike in the case of Trump, the unmediated [-judgement] of the US is balanced with tokens of unmediated [+judgement]. This could reflect a political stance in which Chosun does not support the political pursuits of Trump in regard to North Korea, while also not wanting to completely denounce the actions of the United States in general.

Overall when it comes to the Appraisal of Trump and his actions in Chosun, it seems that the paper is taking a fairly negative stance towards Trump and his efforts to reach common ground with Kim Jong-un. The unmediated Judgements of Trump's behavior as "bizarre" and "boasting" paint a picture of a less than admiring attitude towards the president. The South Korean public's approval towards Trump before the first summit in Singapore was not very high, but after the Singapore summit his approval among the Korean general public rose considerably in tandem with the very positive rating of the first summit (Asan 2018). But since no considerable agreements or denuclearization steps were achieved in 2018 despite the successful first summit, the attitudes of the news publications could be returning to their previous state before the first summit, when the public's approval of the U.S. president was not very favorable and even though the conservatives are generally more pro-USA, the less favorable attitudes of the South Korean public towards Trump could be reflected in the tokens of Judgement in Chosun.

In terms of Judgement, the Hankyoreh data included less instances of unmediated Judgement when compared to the Chosun data. The Hankyoreh data did not, for example, include unmediated [-judgement] of Trump or the US government. It did, however, include tokens of unmediated [+judgement] of both Kim and the North Korean government, two [+judgement] tokens of Trump, as well as one token of [+judgement] both the USA and North Korea together. In comparison to the Chosun data, the existence of unmediated tokens of [+judgement] of North Korea and Kim and Trump in the Hankyoreh data suggest a politically aligned bias, since all of the unmediated tokens of

Judgement that appear in the data are positive, continuing the positive images already established through [+appreciation] of the summit. Overall, however, the Hankyoreh seems less biased in terms of Judgement since it refrains from the use of unmediated Judgement when compared to Chosun. The reason for this might be the difficult situation Hankyoreh finds itself in; even though most of the South Korean progressive's support rapprochement with North Korea, a significant number of progressives remain skeptical. Especially younger generations, despite the widely held beliefs that younger generations usually lean strongly towards the progressives, tend to be more pragmatic when considering the US-South Korea alliance, and moderate and cautious in their approach to ideology and the inter-Korean relationship (Chae 2009, 493). Therefore, the Hankyoreh has to find a balance between supporting negotiations with North Korea while also not alienating the more skeptical readers. This balancing act might be a reason behind the Hankyoreh's refrainment from unmediated Judgements, as well as other authorial Appraisals regarding the summit when compared to the Chosun, who's readership might be more consistent in their beliefs than Hankyoreh's.

While the percentages of negative and positive Affect were very similar in both sets of data, there were differences in the emoters these tokens of Affect were attributed to. In the Hankyoreh data, several of the [+affect] tokens were attributed to both Trump and Kim (instances where they were referred to "the two leaders" or "they"), or both the US government and the North Korean government together. The fact that the emoter of several [+affect] tokens is "both" suggest a picture of harmony and togetherness: the two leaders are feeling the same things and working closely together to achieve a common goal. This approach fits the Korean Progressive's hopes for the inter-Korean and USA-North Korea relationships at the same time painting a picture of a summit where the relationship between the two leaders developed even if no new significant agreements were reached, and thus it can be perceived to be a sign of partisan bias. As a contrast to the significant amount of [+affect] where the emoters were grouped together in Hankyoreh, this only happened three times in the Chosun data. A similar pattern was present in the tokens of Judgement, where North Korea and United States were often judged as a unit as well. The effect of keeping the leaders and their emotion and reactions separate from each other creates the opposite effect than grouping the leaders together: the leaders appear further away from each other, both in their emotions and thus also in their opinion. Hence, while grouping the leaders together in the Hankyoreh data suggests

a bias towards the progressives of South Korea, does keeping them separate suggest a conservative bias, or is it just the norm?

Even though news values and the varied topics of the articles studied are not the focus of this study, one point has to be noted. Chosun published several articles about the "purge" of North Korean officials after the summit failed, which all came up in the searches performed on the Chosun website in the data collection process for this study. Similar articles did not surface when the same key words were used in the Hankyoreh website. These articles published in Chosun trigger a [-judgement] of the Propriety of North Korea. Reports about the "purges" of government officials highlight the human rights violations conducted by North Korea, and thus questions the morality of the government and invokes [-judgement] of Propriety, deeming the actions of North Korea morally corrupt and bad. Since similar articles did not appear in the searches conducted on the Hankyoreh website, I consider this another sign of a politically biased reporting between the two news publications. However, I cannot conclusively confirm that similar articles never existed on the Hankyoreh website, which is why I will not discuss this aspect further and move on to discussing some features of Engagement present in the data.

6.2 Some notes on Engagement features

Even though the instances of distancing were not numerically that significant in the data, it is nevertheless interesting that both of the papers distanced themselves from the views of president Trump. This find could mean that when it comes to Trump, the papers hold no distinct politically biased attitudes. Like mentioned earlier, the Korean political parties are not directly comparable with their U.S. counterparts, which is why it cannot be assumed that a South Korean conservative newspaper would undoubtedly be supportive of Trump while the progressive papers would not. In Chosun, these results could also reflect on the way in which the news outlet values Twitter as a source of information: the propositions made there are often newsworthy, but their credibility and reliability is somewhat questionable. During the Trump presidency, news media all over the world has had adapt to the way in which Trump uses Twitter to voice his unfiltered opinion, and sometimes even policy decision. The careful attitude in Chosun when it comes to referencing Twitter as a credible source for political news could still be caused by general distrust on the social media as a source for political news, and it might not be a significant

sign of bias. However, when the Engagement features are considered in connection with all the other instances of Appraisal mentioned above, the most likely deduction would be that the Engagement features also contribute to the perception of political bias.

In addition to the clear instances of authorial distancing, instances of authorial Pronouncement were also present in the Chosun data. The most obvious examples of authorial Pronouncement were also both connected to propositions made by Trump. which makes the negative attitude in the Chosun data even more prominent. As mentioned before in section 3.2.2, Pronouncement is also a constrictive use of Engagement, as it at the same time acknowledges the existence of a different proposition while also at the same time invalidating the truth value of that position by emphasizing the truth value of the authorial position. They way in which Chosun chose to phrase this instance of authorial Pronouncement highlights the absurdity of Trump's claims and reinforces the picture of Trump as a unreliable source of information, who has also previously expressed opinion that had no factual basis. This authorial Pronouncement could also signify a politically biased attitude, which is one again based on the South Korean conservatives' unenthusiastic attitude towards any Engagement with North Korea.

Another note-worthy, although arguably small, fact on Engagement is that in addition to distancing itself from Trump's opinions, Chosun also distanced itself from opinions expressed by South Korea's president Moon Jae-in. This distancing, however, appeared only once in the Chosun data, but taking in to consideration the overall rarity of contracting Engagement features in both sets of data, I feel it is important to note that in addition to distancing itself from Donald Trump, the conservative newspaper also distanced itself from the current, progressive, president. In contrast, the only instances of distancing in Hankyoreh were directed towards Trump. However, since the distancing from Moon happened only once in the Chosun data no significant conclusion can be drawn from it. Still, in my opinion, the fact that Chosun chose to also distance itself from Moon, it could be seen as a hint of the newspaper's political stance: a conservative paper might not want to appear as supportive of a president who represents the views of the opposing political party.

6.3 Accessed voices and their implications in terms of political bias

In this section I will answer the second research question: How do the accessed voices affect the appraisal of these entities? As a brief summary, in this context I define accessed

voices as all of the sources that are referenced in both sets of data, as well as all vaguer entities such as "pundits" that opinions, statements, hopes etc. are attributed to. In terms of bias, the more diverse sources are used, the more different voices and viewpoints there are present in the text, which again usually makes the text less biased. Even though the numbers at first might make it seem like Chosun uses more varied sources than Hankyoreh, However, when the total number of sources used is compared to the number of articles studied, Hankyoreh actually uses more sources per article on average than Chosun. In addition to this, Chosun is clearly behind Hankyoreh in the use of certain types of sources: North Korean ones. Even though the number of references to North Korean sources was also low in Hankyoreh, it was comparatively much lower in Chosun. This could be seen as affirming the hypothesis that Chosun is biased towards the South Korean political conservatives, who as discussed before, are not enthusiastic about a closer relationship with North Korea, and thus would not necessarily give as much value or interest to information from North Korean sources. At the same time Hankyoreh references comparatively more North Korean voices, thus giving the North Korean sources a much larger presence, while also expressing their side of the story. This follows the line of the South Korean progressives, who have expressed more positive attitudes towards North Korea, the future of the Korean peninsula, and the prospects of unification and peace.

In my opinion, the fact that on its website Chosun publishes articles that are credit to VOA (Voice of America) could also be seen as a form of political bias. As mentioned previously in section 2.2, VOA is an agency that is a part of the U.S. government, and an agency that, in their own words, strives for objective and unbiased reporting without any political partisanship. In my opinion it could be argued, however, that even if the news articles credited to VOA news might themselves be unbiased and unpartisan, the fact that Chosun chooses to publish these articles credited to an agency of the U.S. government might be a sign of a political bias. As mentioned several times previously, the South Korean conservatives tend to value their relationship with the United States more than the progressives, in which case choosing to publish articles from U.S. sources rather than, for example, South Korean ones, could be seen as reinforcing the conservative's views towards the United States. The fact that in the Hankyoreh data no articles are credited to any outside sources makes Chosun's choice to use these articles even more meaningful.

In addition, Chosun attributed considerably more opinions and decisions directly to President Moon, while Hankyoreh attributed these opinions and decisions to "the Blue House" (the South Korean counterpart of the White house). Chosun's decisions to focus the attention to Moon rather than the whole government implies that Moon is the individual responsible, and in the case of failures he is also the one to blame. In my opinion, also this small difference between the two papers between the ways in which they use (or do not use) the term "Blue House" is suggestive of a political bias present in the language. Using the term Blue House while referencing government decisions or opinions suggests an atmosphere of harmony and governmental unity, which in my opinion would be a beneficial view of the progressive government of Moon Jae-in. In contrast, discussing decisions and opinion only in reference to President Moon does not imply that the whole government agrees with the President. This small difference in the two sets of data also contributes to the polarized, politically biased view of the two news publications.

As already established earlier, the voices accessed had an effect on the way in which entities and political actors were appraised in the two sets of data. Most of the positive affect tokens, for example, came from US sources, who were often affiliated with the Trump administration. As Hankyoreh tended to access more US voices, there were also more tokens of positive appreciation and positive judgement in the Hankyoreh data. In addition, as mentioned before, the North Korean sources often had several tokens of positive appreciation, as well as positives judgements of Kim Jong-un, which is one of the reasons why Hankyoreh, which referenced more North Korean sources also had more tokens of positive Appraisal. In conclusion, when it comes to the different accessed voices in the two publications, the hypothesis that the two newspapers are politically biased seems to hold true. Most importantly the difference between the use North Korean sources could be, in my opinion, seen as a sign of a partisan attitude, especially because it also has an effect on the way in which different political actors are judged, as well as on the way in which the summit itself is appreciated.

6.4. Political bias and the CDA perspective

In this section I will discuss the third research question: In what sense do the possible appraisals of these different entities constitute a politically biased attitude and what does it mean in the context of CDA. As exemplified in the previous sections, the Appraisal

analysis of the data indicated that both papers do in fact display signs of politically biased attitude in their hard-news coverage of the Hanoi summit. In the Chosun data, the presence of more tokens of unmediated Judgement and authorial Appreciation demonstrate a stronger biased attitude when compared to Hankyoreh. However, the significant amount of non-authorial positive Appraisal in the Hankyoreh data overall also effectively contributes to a positive mental image of the summit even though it was considered a failure. Because of this difference in the language and Appraisal between the two paper their respective readers will most likely have different construals of the summit's social value and significance to the relationship between the two countries, as well as to inter-Korean relations. When all the features of the Appraisal theory studied in this paper are considered together, there seems to be clear difference in the way in which the two news publications appraise both the summit and its actors, and I argue that these different Appraisals often align with either of the opinions of the two largest political parties in South Korea. This biased alignment may be due to political or commercial connections that the two papers have, or the historical precedent of political bias throughout the two publications histories. As South Korea has for several years been divided between two large political parties that have taken turns as the ruling party, and could thus be considered a two-party system, it is not surprising to see the news media dividing between similar lines.

The use of biased language in news reporting maintains and reinforces biased attitudes. It has the power to shape and change people's views and opinion, and thus the world. Consistent use of biased language does not suddenly change the way we see things, but if the biases attitude in the language is present only in a very subtle manner, it can overtime shape our perceptions and opinions about most things. Due to the instances of subtle biased language the readers of Chosun might develop a negative attitude towards the Hanoi summit, rapprochement with North Korea, and the possibility of future summits. On the other hand, the readers of Hankyoreh could remain somewhat positive towards the possibility of other summits even though the summit failed.

As mentioned in the theory section, research has concluded that the use of different sources in the news media can also contribute to uneven power relations between the news media and its audience (O'Neill and O'Connor 2008, 488). The voices accessed have the power to influence the audience and set forth agendas and opinions. If the use of different accessed voices is unbalanced, so is the power distribution between the different groups of people the different accessed voices represent. As already established in the

analysis section, a few significant differences were found in the use of different accessed voices between the two news publications. This suggests that the two news publications contribute to uneven power relations between different groups of people. The Hankyoreh gives more power to US actors by accessing more US based voices in their articles, while Chosun accesses more South Korean voices, thus giving them more power to assert their views and ideologies. And while Hankyoreh also accesses several North Korean voices thus giving them power, Chosun accessed considerably less North Korean voices, thus creating an uneven distribution of power between different accessed voices in its articles.

The fact that a politically biased attitude could be seen even in "hard-news" reporting implies that the two news outlets are maintaining the already existent political divide. This is further exemplified in the way news articles are arranged on the South Korean portal sites. Giving reader's options between different news outlets reinforces the politically divided nature of the South Korean news media where readers are choosing their news based on their political standing, and thus only receiving a point of view that matches their own ideas and attitudes, leaving no room for other points of view. In an ideal situation, informed readers would read a news article discussing the same issue from several different news outlets. Facilitating this might have been the idea behind the design of the South Korea's most prominent portal sites, but it can only work if the readers are aware of the biased attitudes of the papers, and willing to dedicate time to go through these different points of view. In an even more ideal situation, the different news outlets should refrain from partisan language in their hard-news reporting in order for the readers to form their own opinions and views of political or other events.

7 Conclusion

Biased attitudes in the news media not only create political divides, but also reinforce already existent ones. As mentioned previously in section 2.2.2, the existence of a political divide in the South Korean press has been previously well established, and this study also showed that despite the significant political developments in the recent years, as well as the changes in the South Korean general public's attitude, a clear differences in the use attitudinal language still remain between the two news outlets. This political bias is present even in "hard-news" reporting. The current study suggests that the two news publications still hold perceivable biased attitudes in regard to the Hanoi summit, as well as the US-North Korea, and inter-Korean relations even amid the changing public opinion. They do it, however, in different ways. Through the analysis of different features of Appraisal, I was able to find that the Chosun Ilbo more openly displays instances of negative authorial appreciation of the summit and as well as negative unmediated Judgement of the actors involved in the summit proceedings. Comparatively, the Hankyoreh highlights the togetherness of the two leaders through tokens of Affect and Judgement while also Appreciating the summit in a positive manner, however mostly though attributed Appreciation. Chosun gives an impression of a stronger bias through the use of more authorial Appraisal, while the Hankyoreh tends to be more careful with authorial Appraisal, while nevertheless painting a positive and hopeful picture of the Hanoi summit thorough non-authorial Appreciation and attributed Judgement.

It seems that even though the public opinion in South Korea towards engagement rapprochement with North Korea has changed in the recent years notably, the political biases Chosun and Hankyoreh have had in the past are still existent. The two papers expressed significantly different attitudes towards the Hanoi summit, especially after it ended without a joint agreement. While both of the papers discussed in this study displayed biased language, the bias appears stronger in the Chosun. The less strong examples of bias in the Hankyoreh data are most likely due to its difficult position in regard to public opinion and its readership, which is both hopeful towards developing inter-Korean relations, while at the same time remaining pragmatic and cautious of the potential threats posed by North Korea. As mentioned previously in section 2.3., even though the public opinion towards North Korea in South Korea might have been mostly positive, the conservative papers have previously not completely refrained from the display of criticism and negative attitude towards developments between the two Koreas

(Kwak 2012, 78). The current study suggests similar results: even though the Korean public's perception of the developments between the two countries has consistently been more positive, the differences in attitude between conservative and liberal papers still pertain.

The possibilities for further research in regard to the topic of media bias in the South Korean media seem endless, and more and studies using larger amounts of data are definitely needed in order to quantitatively ascertain the current state of political bias in the South Korean news media. This study focused in evaluative language use, but there are also other features, such as the study of social actors and transitivity, or metaphors, that could provide interesting results if studied more closely. There is also a wide variety of different linguistic, as well as social sciences approaches that would most definitely provide interesting perspectives to the current situation of the South Korean news media.

Studies using larger amounts of data, and corpus studies focusing on all the Appraisal features present in the papers is needed in order to ascertain the strength of these political biases more definitely and study the existing trends in the language use of the different news outlets. A study of data consisting of all articles related to North Korea from the recent few years could result in interesting findings if compared to the conclusions from previous studies focusing on political bias in news media. A study of what the news publications deem 'newsworthy' would also be an interesting perspective of analysis in order to detect bias in media and it would give the study an added layer of depth: what type of things do the two publications deem newsworthy? Even though this was not the focus of my study, seems to suggest that the news values of the two papers have some differences. A diachronic study of the attitudinal language in the two publications contrasted with the general public's opinion towards, for example, USA or North Korea would also be an interesting approach.

In addition to the linguistic analysis of the news articles, a survey of the opinions of the readers of these papers would also give valuable background information on the perception their readers have of possible biases these publications hold. A comparative study of the original Korean news articles and the corresponding English articles could also yield interesting results; is the political bias as strong in the Korean language articles, or perhaps weaker? Does the political bias of the papers present itself in a different way in the Korean articles? What type of indications does this have in terms of CDA: do the publications use the power they have over their audience differently when it comes to articles written in English?

The South Korean news media, which has experienced a variety of different circumstances and challenges throughout its history, has in the recent years proceeded in the right direction: like mentioned at the beginning of this paper, South Korea has consecutively improved its position in the Freedom of the Press rankings, and implemented laws to fight corruption in the news media. But the strong polarization of media is still an obvious problem that continuously maintains the divide between the political liberals and conservatives by recreating the values expressed by only certain political entities. Since the polarization between the news outlets appears to be so steep that it is also apparent in "hard news" coverage and not only reserved for editorials and opinion pieces, profound changes in the way that these outlets operate is not very likely. If a significant change did happen in the papers, it would influence the whole society around them, possibly for the better. In the current situation, however, the consumers of these news outlets should expose themselves to both viewpoints and be aware of the power language has in our everyday lives.

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Appendix 1.

Table 2. The division of unmediated Judgement in the Chosun data.

Unmediated Judgement	[+judgement]	[-judgement]
Trump	-	3
USA	2	2
Kim Jong-un	-	-
North Korea	1	4
both	1	2

Table 3. The division of unmediated Judgement in the Hankyoreh data.

| Unmediated Judgement	[+judgement]	[-judgement]
Trump	2	-
USA	-	-
Kim Jong-un	5	-
North Korea	1	-
both	1	-

Figure 6. The different emoters and positive and negative Affect in the Chosun data.
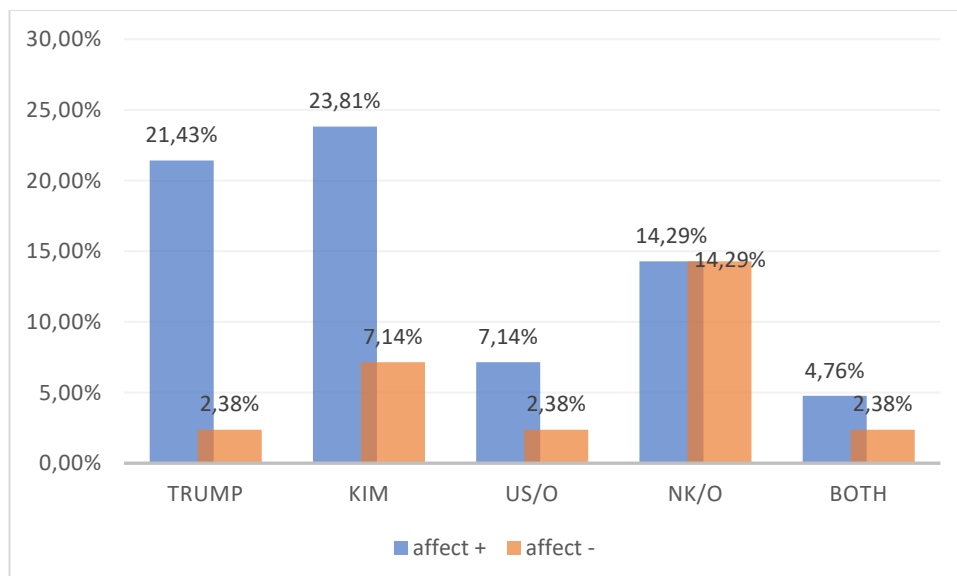
total number of tokens **n= 42 (100%)**

US/O = US government of different persons affiliated with the Unites States; NK/O = North Korean government or different persons affiliated with North Korea.

Figure 7. The different emoters and positive and negative Affect in the Hankyoreh data.
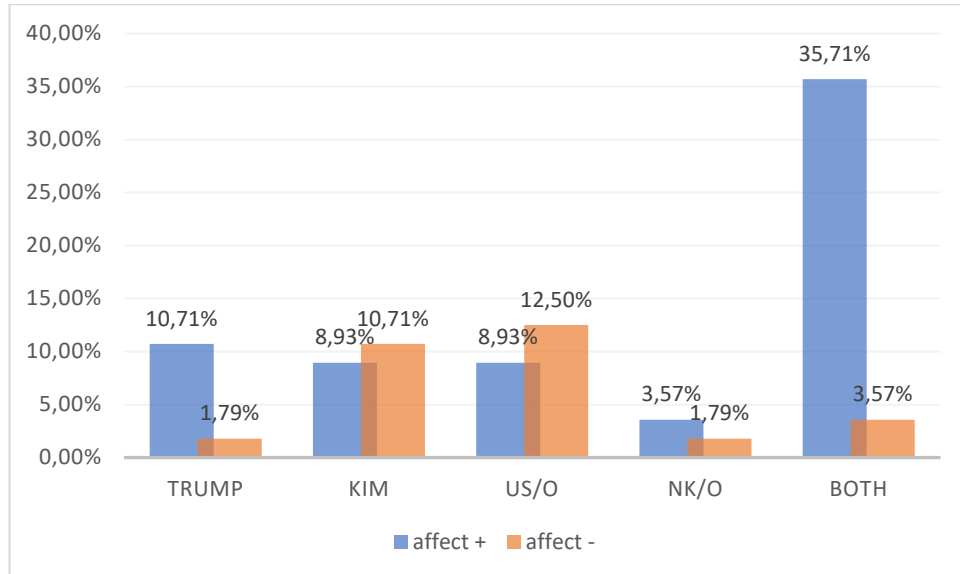
total number of tokens **n= 56 (100%)**
US/O = the United States government or persons affiliated to the United States. NK/O = the North Korean government or persons affiliated to North Korea.

Appendix 2. Finnish summary.

Hanoin huippukokous ja poliittisesti puolueellinen kieli

Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi poliittisesti puolueellisesta kielestä kahdessa eteläkorealaisessa sanomalehdessä

Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa käsitellään poliittisesti puolueellista ja arvottavaa kieltä kahden eteläkorealaisen sanomalehden Hanoin huippukokousta käsittelevissä uutisartikkeleissa. Tutkielman tavoite on selvittää, eroaako näiden kahden lehden arvottava kielenkäyttö toisistaan ja kallistuuko se mahdollisesti kohti Etelä-Korean poliittisia liberaaleja, vai konservatiiveja. Lisäksi tavoitteena on selvittää, mitä mahdollisia seurauksia poliittisesti puolueelliset asenteet artikkeleissa saattavat aiheuttaa kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta. Hanoin huippukokous, jossa USA:n presidentti Donald Trump tapasi Pohjois-Korean johtajan Kim Jong-unin järjestettiin 27–

28. helmikuuta 2019. Huippukokous oli jo pitkään ennen alkamistaan, sekä myös pitkään ennenaikaisen päättymisensä jälkeen, uutisotsikoissa sekä Etelä-Koreassa että maailmalla. Tämän tutkielman aineistona on 43 huippukokousta käsittelevää englanninkielistä uutisartikkelia kahdesta suuresta korealaisesta sanomalehdestä. *Chosun Ilbo* on perinteikäs korealainen sanomalehti, jota pidetään eteläkorealaisten konservatiivien edustajana, kun taas nuorempi lehdistä, *Hankyoreh*, nähdään poliittisesti liberaalien arvojen kannattajana.

Tutkielman lähtökohtina ovat viimeisen kahden vuoden aikana tapahtuneet muutokset Yhdysvaltojen ja Pohjois-Korean välillä, muutokset korealaisten asenteissa sekä Yhdysvaltoja että Pohjois-Koreaa kohtaan, sekä poliittisen jakautumisen korostuminen mediassa. Etelä-Korean ulkopolitiikka sen pohjoista naapuria kohtaan on aina ollut polarisoiva aihe korealaisessa mediassa ja politiikassa, ja keskustelu Pohjois-Koreasta on saanut myös Yhdysvalloissa poliittisesti ideologisia vivahteita. Eteläkorealaiset liberaalit kannattavat Koreoiden välisiin suhteisiin panostamista ja rauhansopimuksen sekä ystävällisten suhteiden tavoittelua – he näkevät Pohjois-Korean toiveikkaassa valossa. Eteläkorealaiset konservatiivit taas pitävät Pohjois-Koreaa edelleen uhkana ja suhtautuvat kaikkeen kehitykseen maiden välillä epäilevästi ja varovasti. Toinen suuri vastakkainasettelu Etelä-Korean suurimpien puolueiden välillä on niiden suhtautuminen Yhdysvaltoihin: liberaalit haluavat enemmän itsenäisyyttä Yhdysvalloista ja sen armeijasta, kun taas konservatiivit haluavat säilyttää vahvat suhteet USA:han ja sen hallintoon siltä varalta, että Etelä-Korea päätyy konfliktiin pohjoisen naapurinsa kanssa. Muutokset Yhdysvaltojen ja Pohjois-Korean välisissä suhteissa vaikuttavat näin ollen merkittävästi myös Etelä-Korean politiikkaan ja yhteiskuntaan, minkä vuoksi on tärkeää tutkia ja ymmärtää, miten muutoksista uutisoidaan mediassa. Fairclough toteaa, että yhteiskunnan muutoksia tutkiessa on myös tarkasteltava muutoksia kielessä, sillä nämä kaksi ovat vahvasti yhteydessä toisiinsa (2002, 1). Tästä syystä Yhdysvaltain ja Pohjois-Korean suhteita käsittelevien uutisartikkelien lingvistinen analyysi on mielekästä ja auttaa ymmärtämään eteläkorealaista mediamaisemaa sekä mediassa hallitsevia mielipiteitä ulkopoliittisten muutosten lomassa.

Tutkielmassa pyrin selvittämään arvottavaa kielenkäyttöä tutkien, miten sanomalehdet suhtautuvat huippukokoukseen ja sen tärkeimpiin toimijoihin, miten eri lähteiden käyttö mahdollisesti vaikuttaa arvottavan kielen käyttöön sekä miten löydökset mahdollisesti muodostavat käsityksen poliittisesti puolueellisista asenteista. Pohdin

myös, mitä mahdolliset tulokset merkitsevät kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta. Tutkielma pyrkii vastaamaan seuraaviin tutkimuskysymyksiin:

1. Miten poliittisia kokonaisuuksia, kuten esimerkiksi Yhdysvaltojen hallitusta tai Pohjois-Korean johtoa, Hanoin huippukokoukseen liittyviä tärkeimpiä poliittisia toimijoita sekä huippukokousta itseään arvotetaan kielen avulla molemmissa lehdissä?
2. Miten eri lähteiden käyttö vaikuttaa arvottavan kielen käyttöön?
3. Muodostavatko mahdolliset löydökset arvottavassa kielenkäytössä kuvan poliittisesti puolueellisesta kannasta, ja mitä se tarkoittaa kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta?

Kysymysten avulla pyrin selvittämään, pidettiinkö huippukokousta tärkeänä ja arvokkaana tapahtuma, ja miten siihen suhtauduttiin sen päätyttyä ennenaikaisesti. Tutkin myös, miten tärkeimpiä poliittisia toimijoita ja heidän toimintaansa arvioitiin moraalisten lähtökohtien pohjalta, sekä miten eri toimijoihin liitettiin erilaisia positiivisia ja negatiivisia tunteita.

Teksteillä on suuri vaikutus siihen, miten rakennamme käsityksiämme eri tapahtumista ja ilmiöistä. Fisken mukaan median rakentaessa kuvauksen tapahtumasta diskurssin kautta kuvaus ei enää vastaa täysin todellisuutta, vaan sitä ovat värittäneet eri kontekstit ja vaikutukset sen ympärillä: se ei ole enää diskurssia tapahtumasta, vaan diskurssitapahtuma (1994, 5). Tiivistettynä sanoen tekstien on vaikea kuvata mitään tapahtumaa tai asiaa täysin neutraalisti, vaan useimmat tekstit sisältävät kontekstin synnyttämiä puolueellisia näkökulmia. Fairclough toteaa tekstien vahvistavan, uudelleentuottavan, luovan ja muokkaavan sosiaalisia identiteettejä, arvoja ja käsityksiä, minkä vuoksi teksteillä on suuri vaikutus meitä ympäröivään sosiaaliseen ja kulttuuriseen todellisuuteen (2003, 54-55).

Martinin ja Whiten appraisal theory (2005) pyrkii arvottavaa, asennoituvaa ja affektista kieltä tutkimalla selvittämään, miten yksittäisissä teksteissä tai tekstijoukoissa ilmaistaan esimerkiksi arviointia ja tunteita, ja millainen merkitys niillä on tekstin retoriseen vaikutukseen. Näin ollen pyritään selvittämään myös sitä, miten identiteettejä, arvoja ja erilaisia uskomuksia kuvaillaan ja arvostellaan teksteissä. Tämän vuoksi teoria sopii hyvin uutisartikkeleiden puolueellisuuden tutkimiseen, sillä teoria mahdollistaa tekstin kirjoittajan tunteiden, arvojen ja mielipiteiden kartoittamisen sekä tekstin

kirjoittajan auktoriteetin ja yleisösuhteen tarkastelun. Teoria ei keskity vain yhteen kieliopilliseen kategoriaan, vaan sen kautta on mahdollista tutkia useita kategorioita ja niiden luomia yhteisvaikutuksia.

Martinin ja Whiten suhtautumisen teoria (käännös Katajamäki 2006) on jaettu kolmeen alajärjestelmään: asennoituminen (attitude), sitoutuminen (engagement) ja asteittaisuus (graduation) (termien käännökset Juvonen 2007). Tässä tutkielmassa syvennyin käyttämään ensisijaisesti asennoitumisten alajärjestelmää ja sen eri kategorioita sekä valikoituja osia sitoutumisen alajärjestelmästä, sillä ne soveltuivat parhaiten tutkimuksen tarkoituksiin ja tutkimusmateriaaliin. Asennoitumisen alajärjestelmä sisältää kolme eri alaryhmää, joiden pohjalta erilaisia asennoitumista ilmaisevia kielenpiirteitä on mahdollista tarkastella. Ensimmäinen alaryhmä (affect) keskittyy erilaisten tunteiden ilmaisuun tekstissä, seuraava ryhmä (judgement) taas inhimillisen toiminnan arviointiin moraalisesta näkökulmasta (Martin and White 2005, 35). Viimeinen alaryhmä (appreciation) keskittyy vuorostaan siihen, miten ei-inhimillisiä asioita ja esineitä arvioidaan teksteissä (Martin and White 2005, 35). Alaryhmien lisäksi nämä arvioinnit voivat olla tekstin kirjoittajan, "auktoriteetin" tekemiä (authorial) tai "lainattuja" ulkopuolisilta tahoilta (non-authorial, un-mediated).

Tutkimuksen analyysi koostuu kahdesta eri tasosta: asennoituvan kielen tutkimisesta suhtautumisen teorian avulla sekä journalistien käyttämien lähteiden analyysistä. Analyysi toteutettiin manuaalisesti Wordiä ja Exceliä hyödyntäen. Tutkimus yhdisti sekä määrällisiä että laadullisia menetelmiä ja pienen pilottitutkimuksen jälkeen asennoitumisen ja sitoutumisen alajärjestelmät valikoituivat tutkimuksen pääpainopisteiksi lähdeanalyysin ohelle. Analyysissä tekstiosuudet, joissa oli asennoituvaa kieltä Hanoin huippukokousta tai siihen liittyviä tärkeimpiä poliittisia toimijoita kohtaan, luokiteltiin eri alajärjestelmien mukaan joko positiivisiksi tai negatiivisiksi. Inhimillisten kohteiden arvioinnin tarkastelussa keskityttiin vain tekstiosuuksiin, joissa arvioitiin huippukokouksen tärkeimpiä osapuolia, joihin kuuluivat Yhdysvallat ja sen hallintoon kuuluvat henkilöt, presidentti Donald Trump, Pohjois-Korea ja sen hallintoon liitetyt tahot sekä Pohjois-Korean johtaja Kim Jong-un. Lähdeanalyysissä journalistien kussakin artikkelissa mainitsemat lähteet jaoteltiin neljään kategoriaan: yhdysvaltalaiset, eteläkorealaiset, pohjoiskorealaiset ja muut lähteet.

Artikkeleiden analyysi osoitti, että sanomalehtien huippukokoukseen liittyvissä artikkeleissa esiintyi eroavaisuuksia huippukokouksen ja poliittisten toimijoiden toiminnan positiivisessa ja negatiivisessa arvioinnissa ja arvottamisessa, sekä eri

toimijoiden tunteiden kuvaamisessa. Eroja oli myös siinä, oliko arvottava kielenkäyttö tekstin kirjoittajan tekemä vai oliko arvottavan kielenkäytön lähde tekstin ulkopuolinen lähde. Lähteiden analyysi osoitti myös eroavaisuuksia sanomalehtien käyttämissä lähteissä ja näin ollen myös äänissä, jotka ovat läsnä teksteissä. Tulokset havainnollistivat, että vaikka eteläkorealaisten asenteissa on viime vuosien aikana tapahtunut merkittäviä muutoksia, sanomalehtien poliittiset asenteet ovat silti näkyvissä jopa englanninkielisissä uutisartikkeleissa.

Lehtien osoittamat asenteet ovat verrattavissa Etelä-Korean hallitsevien poliittisten puoleen asenteisiin ja arvoihin. Konservatiivinen Chosun Ilbo osoitti enemmän negatiivisia asenteita huippukokousta ja sen tuloksia kohtaan, kun taas liberaali Hankyoreh käytti vähemmän auktoriteettista arvottamista ja keskittyi huippukokouksen positiivisempaan kuvailuun. Tämän lisäksi Hankyoreh kuvailee usein sekä Trumpin että Kim Jong-unin tunteita yhteneväisesti korostaen mielikuvaa ystävällisistä ja läheisistä suhteista, kun taas Chosun Ilbossa johtajien tunteita huippukokouksen aikana ja sitä kohtaan kuvailtiin lähes aina erikseen. Chosun Ilbon kieli antaa vahvemman vaikutuksen poliittisesta puolueellisuudesta, sillä lehti käyttää Hankyorehia useammin auktoriteettista arvottamista sekä huippukokousta että siihen osallistuneita toimijoita kohtaan. Chosun Ilbo uutisoi esimerkiksi pohjoiskorealaisen hallinnon teloittaneen epäonnistuneeseen huippukokoukseen osallistuneita neuvottelijoita, mikä vahvasti kyseenalaistaa Pohjois-Korean hallinnon ja käytäntöjen moraalin. Vastaavaa artikkelia ei löytynyt Hankyorehistä.

Sitoutumisen alaryhmän analyysi Chosun Ilbo -aineistosta antoi myös vaikutelman vahvemmista poliittisista asenteista. Asenteet tulivat esille siinä, miten tekstin kirjoittaja selkeästi osoitti olevansa eri mieltä tekstissä esiintyvien äänten ja niiden meilipiteiden kanssa esimerkiksi käyttämällä verbiä *väittää* (claim) tai kumoamalla täysin tekstissä lainatun äänen mielipiteen totuusarvon virkkeillä, kuten *todellisuudessa* (but in truth). Nämä sitoutumisen piirteet olivat läsnä Chosun Ilbossa merkittävästi enemmän kuin Hankyorehissa. Vaikka lehdet käyttivät tässä suhteessa erilaisia taktiikoita, oli niillä myös jotain yhteistä. Molemmat lehdet etäännyttivät itseään presidentti Trumpin mielipiteistä. Tämä saattaa kertoa siitä, että kun kysymyksessä on Trump, lehdillä ei ole erityisen vahvoja poliittisesti puolueellisia mielipiteitä.

Aineistojen lähdeanalyysi osoitti sekä yhteneväisyyksiä että erovaisuuksia sanomalehtien välillä. Hankyoreh käytti useammin pohjoiskorealaisia lähteitä, kun taas Chosun Ilbo käytti lähteiden määrään suhteutettuna todella vähän pohjoiskorealaisia

lähteitä. Tämä piirre voidaan yhdistää eteläkorealaisten konservatiivien epäluuloisuuteen Pohjois-Koreaa kohtaan: Chosun Ilbon konservatiivinen yleisö ei ehkä ole kiinnostunut pohjoiskorealaisista näkökulmista, joten Chosun Ilbo keskittyy eteläkorealaisiin ja yhdysvaltalaisiin näkökulmiin. Vastaavasti Hankyorehin raportoinnissa pohjoiskorealaiset äänet saavat suhteessa käytettyjen lähteiden määrään suuremman roolin, mikä saattaa kieliä poliittisesta puolueellisuudesta liberaaleja kohtaan. Eri lähteiden käytöllä oli myös usein vaikutus arvottavaan kielenkäyttöön. Hankyoreh, joka käytti paljon yhdysvaltalaisia lähteitä, suhtautui sekä huippukokoukseen että sen toimijoihin positiivisesti, kuten Presidentti Trump ja Yhdysvaltojen hallituskin. Chosun Ilbo, joka käytti merkittävästi eteläkorealaisia lähteitä, suhtautui huippukokoukseen ja sen päätoimijoihin Hankyorehia negatiivisemmin varsinkin sen jälkeen, kun huippukokous päättyi yllättäen ilman minkäänlaista uutta sopimusta.

Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta tutkimuksen tulokset kielivät ongelmista eteläkorealaisessa mediaympäristössä. Puolueellisen kielen käyttö uutisoinnissa ylläpitää ja vahvistaa puolueellisia asenteita. Puolueellisen kielen käyttö pystyy muokkaamaan ja muuttamaan ihmisten näkemyksiä sekä mielipiteitä ja niin ollen myös maailmaa. Tämä ei tarkoita sitä, että puolueellinen kieli muuttaisi mielipiteitä ja asenteita välittömästi. Jos esimerkiksi sanomalehti tuottaa jatkuvasti poliittisesti puolueellisia näkökulmia uutisoinnissaan, on puolueellisuus sitten miten vahvasti tai heikosti nähtävissä tahansa, pystyy se ajan kuluessa huomaamattamme vaikuttamaan omiin näkemyksiimme ja mielipiteisiimme. Chosun Ilbon lukijat saattavat artikkeleita lukiessaan asennoitua yhä negatiivisemmin Hanoin huippukokousta ja mahdollisia tulevia huippukokouksia kohtaan, kun taas Hankyorehin lukijat saattavat huippukokouksen epäonnistuttuakin säilyttää positiivisen asenteen tulevia huippukokouksia ja Pohjois-Koreaa kohtaan.

Uutisoinnin perusperiaate on puolueettomuus ja objektiivisuus. Näin ollen lukijoiden oletus usein onkin, että heidän lukemansa uutiset eivät ole puolueellisia tai aja jonkin poliittisen puolueen tai rahoittajan propagandaa. Median kahtiajako Etelä-Koreassa vahvistaa puolueiden välistä kuilua ja poliittista polarisoituneisuutta. Uutismedioiden jakaminen "konservatiivisiin" ja "liberaaleihin" johtaa yleensä siihen, että lukijat valitsevat lukemansa median omien arvojensa ja mielipiteidensä perusteella. Jos heidän valitsemansa media tukee ja vahvistaa näitä arvoja uutisartikkeleissaan, kasvattaa se edelleen poliittista kuilua sekä eri puolueiden että niiden kannattajien välillä. Lisäksi se antaa valtaa vain muutamalle näkökulmalle ja niitä edustaville auktoriteeteille.

Vaikka Etelä-Korean media on tehnyt viime vuosikymmenten aikana huimia harppauksia esimerkiksi lehdistönvapauden ja lehdistön korruption saralla, joutuu se vielä taistelemaan median kahtiajakoa vastaan. Nopeat muutokset sanomalehtien uutisoinnissa vaikuttavat melko epätodennäköisiltä. Ideaalitilanne olisi, että kaikki eteläkorealaiset olisivat tietoisia tästä kahtiajaosta ja tutustuisivat useampiin näkökulmiin ennen omien mielipiteidensä muodostamista. Jos nämä lehdet kuitenkin tulevina vuosina pyrkivät muuttamaan uutisointiaan neutraalimmaksi, olisi sillä todennäköisesti positiivisia vaikutuksia niitä ympäröivään yhteiskuntaan.