External Images of the EU: Comparative Analysis of EU Representations in Three Major South Korean Newspapers and Their Internet Editions

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And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose. (Romans 8:28)

Table of Contents

Tables and Figures

Figures

<u>Abstract</u>

This thesis explores textual and visual images of the EU in South Korea's three prestigious popular newspapers—*Chosun Ilbo, Dong A Ilbo and Joong Ang Ilbo*—and compares them to the imagery created by the internet versions of these newspapers. In recent years, much scholarly work has been done on the topics of EU imagery in print media, but no systemic attempt has yet been made to EU imagery in internet media. The thesis analyses EU news monitored daily in 12 months of 2008 (a year of the first G20 Summit in Washington and the 6th and 7th rounds of EU-Korea FTA negotiations).

This study is interdisciplinary. The thesis draws on several significant theories and concepts from the media studies and linguistics. On top of this, a wide range of approaches of content and visual analysis were reviewed. The study then considers and adopts a multimethodological approach of content analysis (studies by Chaban and Holland) and of visual analysis (by Bain) based on visual semiotics. However, to cope with internet media it also adds several categories which add the notion of interactivity to the original content analysis. It incorporates categories originating from a social semiotic approach (elements of interactive and compositional meta-functions) into the original visual analysis.

The results of this study are presented in three case studies. In the first section of each case study the thesis provides a comprehensive overview featuring the latest information and various perspectives (political, economic, social, environmental and developmental). The second section presents formal characteristics of EU images in print newspapers and their internet versions. The third section covers substantive characteristics in both versions. The last section suggests the results of visual analysis. The results of this thesis contribute to two areas of studies: EU external perception studies and internet communication studies—as well as enhancing a deeper understanding of EU-Korea relations.

Abbreviations

ABC—Audit Bureau of Circulation

APEC—Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEM—Asia-Europe Meeting

CDA—Critical Discourse Analysis

CFE—Centre for Free Enterprise

CFSP—Common Foreign and Security Policy

CMA—Critical Metaphor Analysis

EC—European Community

ECSC—European Coal and Steel Community

ECHO—European Communities Humanitarian Office

EEAS—European External Action Service

EEC—European Economic Community

EU—European Union

EUCCK—European Union Chamber of Commerce in Korea

ECB—European Central Bank

ECJ—European Court of Justice

ENPI—European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument

EP—European Parliament

ETP—Executive Training Programme

FA—Framework Agreement

FAO—Food and Agriculture Organisation

FP6—Sixth Framework Programme

FP7—Seventh Framework Programme

FTA—Free Trade Agreement

GI—Geographic Indication

IFF—Intergovernmental Forum on Forests

IMF—International Monetary Fund

KEDO—Korean Energy Development Organisation

MERCURY—Multilateralism and the EU in Contemporary Global Order

NAS—New Asia Strategy

NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NESCA—the Network of European Studies Centres of Asia

NIE—Newly Industrialised Economy

OECD—Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

OSCE—Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe

RP—Represented Participants

UNCSD—United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development

UNESCO—United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNFCCC—United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UNGA—the UN General Assembly

US—United States

USFK—The United States Forces Korea

WTO—World Trade Organisation

Introduction

Setting the Context

The European Union (EU) is a supranational community in Europe. South Korea is the southern half of a divided nation which is situated in between two Asian powers (China and Japan).[1] According to the introductions on official websites of the two parties, they both resulted from the Second World War, both were established in the 1950s, and are surrounded by other powerful nations.[2] However, arguably one of the most striking differences between the EU and Korea is that they have different diplomatic aims.

Until 1988, South Korea's dialogue with the world was restricted by Park's and Chun's military governments and was mainly shaped by its evolving relations with North Korea, China, Japan, Russia and the United States.[3] After the end of Chun's military government, Korea has appeared to interact more with the international community. For instance, it hosted the Olympic Games in 1988.[4] In the following year, it became one of the founding members of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum.[5] In 1991, Korea joined the United Nations (UN).[6] More recently, it co-hosted the 2002 World Cup Soccer Tournament with

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[1] Hereafter, South Korea is called Korea except when North Korea is specified in the text.
[2] EUROPA, United in diversity, http://europa.eu/abc/panorama/index_en.htm (retrieved on 15 November 2010); and, KOREA.net, About Korea, http://www.korea.net/korea/korea.asp (retrieved on 15 November 2010).
[3] W. Han, *The History of Korea: translated by K.-S. Lee and edited by G. K. Mintz*, (Seoul: the Eul-Yoo Publishing Company, 1970); P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, *The History of Korea*, (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1970); G. Rozman, *Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); K. Bae, *Korea at the Crossroads: The History and Future of East Asia.* (Seoul: Happy Reading Books, 2007); and, R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008), 214.
[4] US Department of State, Background. South Korea, http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2800.htm (retrieved on 27 February 2011).
[5] APEC, History, http://www.apec.org/About-Us/About-APEC/History.aspx (retrieved on 13 September, 2010).
[6] United Nations, Member States, http://www.un.org/members/list.shtml, (retrieved on 27 June 2008).

Japan and, in the same year, held the Second Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies.[7] In 2005, Korea held the chair of APEC and, in 2010, hosted the G20 Seoul Summit.[8] According to a review by the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Korea currently has foreign relations with more than 170 countries.[9] The main focus of Korea's diplomatic actions has always been building a huge trade network to expedite the exporting of its products to the world.[10]

The EU's external relationship was initiated when US President Truman recognised the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952.[11] For the next two decades, the EU's international actions and services sought to establish foreign missions globally. In 1966, the European Economic Community (precursor to the EU) placed delegates in 21 external locations around the world; by 1980, this number had expanded to 50 locations.[12] From 1980 until the collapse of the Soviet Union, the scope of the EU's foreign affairs expanded and the EU provided more diverse foreign services. For instance, the EU established more offices in Asia, the Mediterranean and Latin America and it instigated a comprehensive reform of delegation staff management.[13] With the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU's diplomatic relations underwent significant changes in terms of foreign action.[14] For example, the EU delegations gained full status as diplomatic missions in the Treaty.[15] Another notable example of change was the implementation of European Common Foreign and Security

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[7] US Department of State, (2011) op. cit.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship,* (London and New York: Routledge 1999); and, R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008) op.cit.

[11] EUROPA, European Commission, Taking Europe to the world: 50 years of the European Commission's External Service http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/docs/50_years_brochure_en.pdf (retrieved on 9 February 2011).

[12] Ibid. Currently, the EU has established the offices of an EU Delegation in 157 locations in the world. For more information, visit EUROPA http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/web_en.htm (retrieved on 9 February 2011).

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] According to Article 20 of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU Delegations and EU member states' diplomatic missions should cooperate in ensuring that the common positions and joint actions adopted by the European Council are complied with and implemented. For more information, see http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html. (retrieved on 9 February 2011).

Policy (CFSP). According to Treaty Article 21, the EU defines and implements the CFSP incorporating all areas of foreign and security policy and the aims of the CFSP are to address the EU's peacekeeping efforts.[16] Recently, in the Treaty of Lisbon, the EU established a new autonomous agency, the European External Action Service (EEAS), on 1 December 2009 (formally launched a year later).[17] The EEAS performs two main roles: first, the provision of foreign ministry and diplomatic services for the EU; and second, the execution of CFSP and other areas of the EU's external representation.[18] As Article 10A of Lisbon Treaty presents, the EU seeks to advance in the wider world by pursuing eight objectives of the EU's foreign policies.[19]

Over the years, the question of EU-Korea interaction has received some degree of scholarly attention. For example, Bridges has explored EU-Korea political and economic relations since 1986.[20] Dent revises the main issues EU-Korea economic and trade relations.[21] Medvigy examines major issues and areas of EU-Korea economic and trade cooperations.[22] Kim covers developments of EU-Korea relations with a multi-dimensional perspective (looking at multilateral, inter-regional and bilateral levels of cooperations).[23] In his article, he presents the current state of affairs, and explores problems and perspectives of EU-Korea

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[16] EurLex, The Treaty on European Union, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html#0001000001 (retrieved on 27 February 2011). For a more detailed aims of CFSP, see Article 21 of the Treaty.

[17] EUobserver, EU takes 'historic' step on new diplomatic service, http://euobserver.com/9/30448 (retrieved on 27 February 2011); EUobserver, EU states near agreement on diplomatic service, http://euobserver.com/9/28878 (retrieved on 27 February 2011); and, EUobserver, Ashton names EU foreign-service priorities at low-key launch event, http://euobserver.com/9/31413 (retrieved on 27 February 2011).

[18] EurLex, Treaty of Lisbon, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:0010:0041:EN:PDF (retrieved on 27 February 2011).

[19] Ibid. The objectives are as follows: to safeguard common values, fundamental interests, security, independence and integrity of the EU; consolidate and support democracy, the rule of law, human rights and the principles of international law; preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security; foster the sustainable economic, social and environmental development of developing countries; encourage the integration of all countries into the world economy; help develop international measures to preserve and improve the quality of the environment and the sustainable management of global natural resources; assist populations, countries and regions confronting natural or man-made disasters; and promote an international system based on stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance. For a more extensive treatment of those objectives, see Treaty of Lisbon.

[20] B. Bridges, *Korea and the West,* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986); B. Bridges, *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific Change, Continuity and Crisis,* (Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1999); and, B. Bridges, "The European Union and the Korean Conundrum," In *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, edited by R. Balme and B. Bridges, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008).

[21] C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

[22] I. Medvigy, *Economic and Trade Relations between the European Union and South Korea,* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008).

[23] H. Kim, "The Development of Korea-EU Relations: Multi-dimensional Approach," In *EU-Asian Relations: State of Affairs, Problems and Perspectives,* edited by R. Seidelmann and M. do Ceu Esteves, (Macau: Institute of European Studies of Macau, 2006).

relations.[24] Park and Kim touch upon history and new developments of EU-Korea economic relations within the context of EU-Asian relations.[25] It seems that EU-Korea political relations are less studied than the economic and trade relations between the two. Chapter 1 will present a detailed overview of the work of Park and Kim.

Investigations of Korean media representations of the EU are highly relevant to understanding given the interconnections between the EU and Korea. Chaban et al. present Korean media images of the EU as parts of their work.[26] Seo and Park explore Korean media portrayal and public perceptions of the EU.[27] Yoon, Chaban and Chung investigate EU imagery on Korean television with a focus on the EU-Korea FTA.[28] Recent scholarship has been inclined to consider EU perceptions in traditional media such as television and newspapers rather than on new media such as the internet.

Statement of Research Questions and Hypothesis

The argument of this thesis revolves around comparative analysis of EU representations in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions. The research question of this thesis is: What are the images of the EU generated by Korean internet media (specifically, web

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[24] Ibid.

[25] S. Park and H. Kim, "The Asia Strategy of the European Union and Asia-EU Economic Relations: History and New Developments," In *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, edited by R. Balme and B. Bridges, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008).

[26] N. Chaban et al., "When Enough is Enough? Dynamics of the EU Representations in Asia Pacific Printed Media," In *Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2004): 173-193; and, N. Chaban et al., "The European Union in Metaphors: Images of the EU Enlargement in the Asia Pacific News," In *The European Union and the Asia–Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU*, edited by N. Chaban and M. Holland, (London and NY: Routledge, 2008).

[27] S. Park and Y. Seo, "Impaired Vision? The EU in the Eyes of Korea," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007).

[28] S. Yoon, N. Chaban and S. Chung, "Trading Giant' and 'Economic Powerhouse'?: Images of the EU in Korean Television News" In *Journal of Contemporary European Studies (Yurŏbyŏngu)*, vol. 28, no. 3, (2011): 283-329. In this thesis, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies (Yurŏbyŏngu)* refers to a Korean journal published by the Korean society of contemporary European studies not the British Journal published by Routledge. For more information, see http://www.europe.ac.kr/(retrieved on 27 February 2011).

versions of leading, prestigious and most popular print newspapers) and how do they compare to EU images formed by print versions of the same outlets?

In addition to the research question, this thesis poses three sub-questions. The first sub-question is how these images differ from print versions of the same outlets (when the EU is framed as a political actor, when the EU is framed as an economic actor, and when the EU is framed as a social affairs, environmental and developmental actor).[29] The second sub-question asks about the role of newsmakers in shaping respective EU images in web and print versions. The last sub-question asks how those images and the capabilities of the internet (a new medium with limitless information, high speed of dissemination, multimediality and interactivity) can contribute to EU public diplomacy efforts.

The research question and its sub-questions allow that EU images produced by print newspapers and their internet versions could be different. However, this phenomenon is not allowed for in gatekeeping theory. White states that journalists play a significant role in decision-making process of news production.[30] Snider declares that newsmakers select which news items should be published in their news outlets.[31] In light of this, Bass presents an integrated model of media gatekeeping theory and this is investigated in detail in Chapter 3. Essentially, gatekeepers are likely to make decisions in the newsmaking process based on their own mental filters or framings. Tuchman claims that "the news frame organises the reality for the news audiences and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality… [it]

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[29] On the subject of EU external media perceptions, three framings of the EU (namely the EU as a global political actor, the EU as an economic actor and the EU as a social affairs actor) have become scholarly purview. For a fuller discussion of these issues, see M. Holland, "Assuming Superpower Status? Evolving Asian Perceptions of the EU as a Political and Economic Actor," and N. Chaban, "'Soft Power' and a 'Human Face': Images of the EU as a Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor in the Asian Media and Public Discourses," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia*, edited by N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan (Singapore: World Scientific Books, 2009).
[30] D. White, "The "gate-keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News," In *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 383-390.
[31] P. Snider, "Mr. Gates Revisited: A 1966 Version of the 1949 Case Study," In *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (1967): 419-427.

is an essential feature of news."[32] Entman describes that framing selects some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more prominent in a news text.[33] Saleem defines framing as "a term that implies how an event is portrayed in a particular story or article."[34] Further discussion about framing is considered in Chapter 3 (Theoretical Frameworks). These definitions prompt a vision that EU media images could be influenced by the gatekeepers' framings rather than the types of media. If a newspaper and its internet edition have the same editorial board, one might not be able to find any the difference between them. Hence, the hypothesis is as follows: the images of the EU formed by print newspapers and their internet editions are similar to each other even though internet versions produce more EU news than print versions.

Scope and Delimitations

This thesis explores and compares EU images in print newspapers and those in their internet versions. The thesis does not cover other types of internet media such as original online media, portal sites and individual blogs.[35] This study is limited to consideration of political, economic, social, environmental and developmental reportages of the EU in three Korean major print newspapers and their internet versions. Data collection of this study was

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[32] G. Tuchman, *Making news: A study in construction of reality,* (New York: Free Press, 1978).

[33] R. Entman, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," In *Journal of Communication,* vol. 43, no. 4 (1993): 52.

[34] N. Saleem, "U.S. Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image: An Analytical Perspective" In *Canadian Journal of Media Studies,* vol. 2, no.1 (2007):130-162.

[35] Original online media refers to internet media which have no print outlets. Korean Press Foundation suggests the representative Korean original online media are *Dailian*, *Digital Daily* and *Ohmynews*. Portal sites are the websites which functions as a point of access to information. The foundation also suggested that *Daum*, *Naver, Nate* and *Yahoo Korea* are representative sites in Korea. The blogs, as Blood states, are the websites which maintained by individual with regular entries of commentary, descriptions of the events and other materials such as photographs, cartoons or video. The blogs, as Mutum and Wang further elaborates, are inclined to be more interactive (with exchanging of messages between the newsmakers and their audiences) than other static websites. For an informative assessment of the question of internet media, see N. Krasnoboka, "Real Journalism Goes Underground: The Internet Underground': The Phenomenon of Online Media in the Former Soviet Union Republics." *Gazette* 64 (2002): 479-499; M. Choi and Y. Cho, *Int'ŏnet Shimmune Nyusŭsaengsangwa Sobi*, (Seoul: Korean Press Foundation, 2007); Korean Press Foundation, *2009 int'ŏnet Shimmun*, (Seoul: Korean Press Foundation 2009); R. Blood, "Weblogs: A History And Perspective" http://www.rebeccablood.net/essays/weblog_history.html (retrieved on 2 September 2011); and, D. Mutum and Q. Wang, "Consumer Generated Advertising in Blogs," In *Handbook of Research on Digital Media and Advertising: User Generated Content Consumption,* edited by N. Burns, T. Daugherty and M. Eastin, (Hershey: IGI Global, 2010).

conducted over an entire 12 month period—1 January to 31 December 2008. However, the study will avoid any arguments as to the stereotypes of and prejudices towards European people or the EU among Korean people from particular historical and geographical backgrounds. The thesis includes detailed discussions on subjects, area, time frame and the issues to which this study is focused.

Significance of the Study

This thesis applies a number of influential theories developed in media studies and linguistics to explain its rich and novel empirical findings. Importantly, these theories are applied to understand workings of a new medium of internet vis-à-vis traditional medium of press. Chapter 4 applies media-dependency theory when it examines which media sources are used by the Korean members to access news about the EU. Framing and agenda-setting theories are employed to understand the findings of the three case studies and Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU (Chapters 5-8). The results of Chapter 8 also are also conceptualised within the gatekeeping theory as the newsmakers are seen as the gatekeepers of the Korean media agenda. The outcomes of the three case studies (Chapters 5-7) are also analysed within Critical Discourse Approach (CDA) applying this approach to the investigation of a new medium of the internet. The theoretical frameworks employed in this investigation are detailed in Chapter 3.

In terms of the social relevance of this investigation, this analysis will be helpful to EU public diplomacy efforts in Korea, as well as to Korean political practitioners dealing with the EU. For EU diplomatic practitioners, this thesis elaborates EU images in Korean media discourses

analysed in a substantive volume of data. The thesis collected and analysed more than 5,000 articles describing EU-related issues in political, economic, social, environmental and developmental areas from three representative print newspapers and their internet versions. In addition, this thesis also offers insights into the views on the EU from highly-ranked newsmakers from prestigious *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com*. According to Bass' model of media gatekeeping theory, high-ranked newsmakers are significant because they are key decision-makers of news production.[36] Examination of the *Chosun* newsmakers' views provides key information to this analysis due to the outlet's print and online versions' influence in Korea. In 2010, *Chosun Ilbo* had the highest subscription rate among Korean newspapers (20.6% for *Chosun*, 15.2% for *Joong Ang* and 12% for *Dong A*).[37] This newspaper also had the highest market share of Korean newspapers (30.0% compared to *Dong A* 15.8% and *Joong Ang* 20.0%).[38] *Chosun Ilbo* was ranked in the 3rd most influential and trusted news medium for Korean media audiences (5th for *Joong Ang* and 7th for *Dong A*).[39] *Chosun.com* also hosts nearly 10 million readers, which is approximately 20% of Korean population, per one month.[40] The further details of the sample size are covered in Chapter 4 (Methodology).

This thesis also contributes to an increasingly popular area of EU external perceptions studies focusing on the relatively under-addressed topic of the EU's external media images. One exception is the studies by Chaban and her research associates who examine media images of the EU in the Asia-Pacific region.[41] In addition, Pardo examines Israeli media representations

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[36] A. Bass, "Redefining the gatekeeper concept: A U.N. radio case study." In *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (1969): 59-72.
[37] Korea Press Foundation, *2010 Ŏnronsuyongja ŭishikjosa,* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2010).
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit. The number of daily visitors of *Chosun.com* in October 2007 was 9,446,146, For more information, see Choi and Cho.
[41] N. Chaban et al., "When Enough is Enough? Dynamics of the EU Representations in Asia Pacific Printed Media," *Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2004): 173-193; M. Holland et al., eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Media Public and Elite Perceptions in China, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Thailand* , (Singapore-Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); J. Bain and M. Holland, eds., *European*

of the EU.[42] Oliver and Fioramonti investigate EU media perceptions in Africa.[43] Retzlaff and Gänzle showcase Canadian media descriptions of the EU.[44] In addition to the studies which focus on the media, the EU external perceptions field also features extensive research of external public and elites perceptions of the EU. Murray addresses the question of Australian elite perceptions of the EU.[45] Elgström accounts for non-EU diplomats' understandings about the EU's role in international negotiations as to economic partnership, international trade and environment.[46] Lucarelli and Fioramonti examine EU perceptions of public and elites in 16 countries.[47] Lisbonne de Vergeron presents China and India elite perceptions of the EU.[48] "Disaggregating Chinese Perception of the EU" project deals with Chinese public opinions about the EU.[49] "Eurobroadmap" explores Europeans' and non-Europeans' student views of Europe and the world.[50] "EUmagine" seeks to understand how perceptions of human rights and democracy affect migration aspirations of four

Union Identity, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007); N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Findings*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); and, N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *Europe and Asia: perceptions from afar*, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, forthcoming 2013).

[42] S. Pardo,"Between Attraction and Resistance: Israeli Views of the European Union," In *External Perceptions of the European Union as Global Actor*, edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 70-86.

[43] G. Oliver and L. Fioramonti, "The Emerging 'Global South': The EU in the Eyes of India, Brazil and South Africa."In *External Perceptions of the European Union as Global Actor*, edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 105-119.

[44] S. Retzlaff and S. Gänzle. "Constructing the European Union in Canadian News," In *CADAAD Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2008):67-89; and, S. Retzlaff, "The Representation of the European Union in the Canadian Media during the Climate Change Debate 2007," *CADAAD Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2010): 54-72.

[45] P. Murray, "An Asia Pacific Response to the European Union: Australian Elite Perceptions," In *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2003):103-119; and, P. Murray, "Perceptions of the EU Among Australian Elites" Paper to the Network of European Studies Centres of Asia (NESCA) Workshop on the EU's new identity and its perception in Asia: Responding to the 7th Framework Programme "Europe in the World", 27-29 July 2006.

[46] O. Elgström,"Outsiders' Perceptions of the European Union in International Trade Negotiations," In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 45 no. 4, (2007): 949-967; O. Elgström and J. Pilegaad, "Imposed Coherence: Negotiating Economic Partnership Agreements," In *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 30 no. 3 (2008):363-380; and, B. Kilian and O. Elgström, "Still a Green Leader? The European Union's Role in International Climate Negotiations," *Cooperation and Conflict* 45 (2010): 255-273.

[47] Garnet, http://www.garnet-eu.org/ (retrieved on 18 January 2011). Fioramonti and Lucarelli selected a sample of countries from each continent: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Egypt, Japan, India, Iran, Israel, Lebanon, Mexico, Russia, Palestine, South Africa, the United States and Venezuela. For more information, see http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/Activities/Flyer_survey_External_Image.pdf (retrieved on 18 January 2011).

[48] K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Contemporary Indian Views of Europe*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2006); K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Contemporary Chinese Views of Europe*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2007); and, K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Chinese and Indian Views of Europe Since the Crisis: New Perspectives from the Emerging Asian Giants*, (London: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Great Britain Office, 2011).

[49] Chinese Views of the EU, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/research/funded-projects/chinese-eu/consortium.aspx (retrieved on 17 January 2011).

[50] Eurobroadmap, the project—presentation, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/4 (retrieved on 30 January 2012).

representative neighbouring nations.[51] Chapter 2 critically reviews existing literature on EU external perception in detail.

Importantly, this analysis revises and extends existing methods used to study EU external media representations. In Chapter 4, this thesis reviews existing methods of content and visual analyses for print and internet media in order to develop and test a valid methodology for this analysis. Following the review, this thesis incorporates several new categories into media content analysis of EU representations, including the notion of interactivity when applied to internet editions (further elaborating Chaban and Holland's methodology of media content analysis). This thesis also extends Bain's visual analysis methodology by including categories originating from social semiotics approach. Chapter 4 details methods employed in this analysis.

Finally, this study could be used by Korean policy- and decision-makers and general public as yet another source of information about the EU and EU-Korea relations. It systematically explicates EU representations in Korean news media and demonstrates Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the Union. This thesis also attempts to detail on-going EU-Korea relations and presents its findings within the context of these relations. This thesis aims to contribute to further strengthening of EU-Korea relations through raising mutual awareness and also minimising those stereotypes that may impede good relations.

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[51] EUmagine, About EUmagine project, http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about.aspx (retrieved on 23 May 2013). Four participating nations of this project are Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine.

Organisation of the Study: Chapter Synopsis

This thesis consists of nine chapters covering the background knowledge of EU-Korea relations, literature overviews, theoretical frameworks, methodologies, three case studies regarding EU images, Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU and discussion. Chapter 1 explores the interactions between the EU and Korea in three sections. The first section examines the history of relations between Europe and Korea (from the beginning until the time of establishment of Korea). Then, the discussion proceeds with exploring the relations between the EU and Korea over the last 50 years. The last section reviews the studies of EU-Korea relations in order to illuminate gaps of these inquiries.

Chapter 2 reviews the pertinent literature from previous studies which are relevant to this thesis. Specifically, this chapter focuses on three related areas such as the studies on European political identity, EU internal perceptions and EU external perceptions. Chapter 2 first discusses the themes on studying European political identity (meaning and the traits of European political identity and the rationale for studying European political identity) by revisiting the literature. This chapter then presents an overview of the research trends of EU internal and external perceptions studies. Finally, the chapter shows lacunae in those studies.

Chapter 3 develops the theoretical frameworks for this study by drawing on relevant concepts, ideas and theories from linguistics and media studies. This study will use several media studies theories -- such as media dependency theory, agenda-setting theory, the common knowledge paradigm and the notion of interactivity -- as the first and second conceptual frameworks against which to understand print and internet media content and effects. The

third theoretical framework -- Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) -- is used to discuss concepts of linguistic framing, conceptual metaphor theory and social semiotics instrumental for this thesis' content analysis. The final framework -- the media gatekeeping theory -- lays out the theoretical grounding to explain the role of Korean newsmakers' understandings and perceptions of the EU in shaping the content of EU coverage in Korea.

Chapter 4 lays out methodological grounding of this thesis. The first part examines the landscape of Korean print and internet newspapers in terms of ownership, circulation, popularity and government regulations, and the data collection process. The second part of this chapter reviews several approaches of media content analysis such as discourse analysis, social constructivist analysis, narrative analysis, rhetorical analysis and conversational analysis. The third part explores the notion of interactivity of the internet media and outlines its contribution to the media analysis. The fourth part revisits the approaches of visual analysis including a visual anthropology approach, a visual cultural studies approach, a visual semiotic and iconographic approach, a social semiotic approach and an ethnomethodological approach. The final part details content and visual analyses methods chosen for this study.

Chapters 5 to 7 (three case studies of this study) map out the results of this thesis by illustrating the findings of EU images in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions in five areas: political, economic, and social, environmental and developmental (SED) areas. Each case study consists of four sections. The first section sets the background of EU-Korea political, economic and SED relations. The second section measures the *formal characteristics* of EU images in EU political, economic and SED news (*monthly distribution, type of media outlet, information sources* and *interactivity*) in both versions. The third section

contrasts the results of *substantive characteristics* of EU images (*focus of domesticity, degree of centrality, actors, most visible topics, evaluations, news values, journalistic attitudes* and *conceptual metaphors*) from both versions. The last section analysed visual images in EU political, economic and SED news in both versions according to social semiotic methodology (*representative meta-function, interactive meta-function* and *compositional meta-function*).

Chapter 8 explores Korean newsmaking practices by assessing Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU and their views on EU news making practices. The chapter starts with a justifying the necessity to explore newsmakers' EU perceptions when studying media content. The chapter then moves to present the findings from the interviews of newsmakers. The findings are presented under three rubrics: analysis of newsmakers' personal perceptions of the EU, their views on the production of EU news and perspectives from newsmakers' on the role of internet in news making and dissemination. The chapter also examines the findings of an interview with a highly-ranked EU diplomat to Korea. Using this interview as a starting point, the thesis elaborates a number of suggestions for EU diplomats in Korea on how to boost the EU public diplomacy efforts.

Chapter 9 discusses the outcomes of the case studies and examines whether the research questions and hypothesis were successfully addressed. Firstly, it sets out to provide the feedbacks to the concepts and theories employed as theoretical frameworks. Secondly, it lists recommendations to the EU and Korea (specifically the Korean newsmakers) on how to maximise their bilateral dialogue. Finally, it outlines directions for the future research of EU external perceptions. The Conclusions summarises why studies of EU images in both print

and internet media are important, synthesises and critically reviews the results, and briefly lists future directions for relevant research.

The focal point of our discussion will be EU representations in Korean print newspapers and their internet editions. As mentioned above, this study also investigates EU-Korea relations in five possible areas (political, economical, social, environmental and developmental). This thesis is significant in that it is expected to partially fill in the gaps of two research fields (EU-Korea relations and EU external perceptions). The outcomes of this thesis are of potential interest for the Korean stakeholders and EU diplomatic workers residing in Korea, and enveloping the Korean public. The results could be used to enhance the Koreans' understandings of the EU, to give helpful insights to Korean stakeholders when they set the policies towards the EU and to provide suggestions to EU diplomatic workers' efforts (e.g. when they are promoting the EU in Korea). In addition, they are also potentially useful for scholars of internet media. In particular, study of EU image in internet is an under-addressed topic in the growing literature on EU internal and external perceptions. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the Korean public relies on internet media as a source of information about the EU. Increasingly, publics in other locations outside of the EU's borders will rely on internet as main source of information about the Union. Consequently, this thesis argues that future studies of EU external images should aim at the analysis of the internet production including its many genres such as internet versions of print newspapers, original online newspapers, web portals and personal blogs/microblogs. This thesis continues with examination of the EU-Korea relations.

CHAPTER I

Europe-Korea/EU-South Korea Relations

1.1 Introduction

This chapter offers information on Europe-Korea and EU-South Korea relations. It aims to present an overview of the history of Europe-Korea relations and to outline the current state of affairs in EU-South Korea relations. It also contains a critical review of key scholarship in research on EU-South Korea relations.

The historical overview sets the background to the Koreans' perceptions of the EU. The results of public opinion surveys of South Koreans' EU perceptions showed the EU to be ranked fourth as an important international partner for Korea, after the US, China and Japan.[52] In the past, South Korea could not contact Europe or the EU directly due to the influence of its dominant neighbours (China and Japan), and the reign of the international

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[52] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific: Public Perceptions and Media Representations*, (NZ: NCRE, 2004). The results of previous Korean public opinion surveys conducted in 2004 and 2006 claimed that the EU placed in 6th place in 2004 and 4th place in 2006, but the constant top three important partners for South Korea were the US, China and Japan. This thesis drafted the public opinion surveys from Chaban and Holland's research project named "European Union in the Eyes of Asia." Since 2002, Chaban and Holland have explored EU external perceptions existing in Asia-Pacific region. Over the last decade, they and their research associates have published extensively on EU external perceptions existing in 24 locations in Asia-Pacific, Africa and Latin America. The locations are as follow: Australia, Brazil, China, Cook Islands, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Korea (South), Macau, Malaysia, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam. Until present, the researchers of this project have published various types of publications: 6 books, 34 articles in refereed journals, 2 special issue of journal, 21 chapters in edited volume 25 monographs, web publications, conference proceedings and reports. The list of books as follows: M. Holland et al., eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Media Public and Elite Perceptions in China, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Thailand,* (Singapore-Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); J. Bain and M. Holland, eds., *European Union Identity* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007); N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Findings*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); S. Bersick et al., eds., *Asia in the Eyes of Europe, Image of Rising Giant*, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2012). and, N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *Europe and Asia: perceptions from afar*, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, forthcoming 2013). For an account of this project, see EU External Perceptions, *Publications,* http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/pubs.shtml (retrieved on 11 June 2013).

superpowers (the US and the former Soviet Union).[53] After the armistice of the Korean War (1953), Korea has focused on having closer diplomatic relations with Japan and the US who both offer military support to counteract the threat from North Korea.[54] At the same time, EU-Korea relations have rapidly developed into close strategic economic and trade partnerships over the last 20 years. For example, EU-Korea free trade agreement has been in place since 1 July 2011, earlier than the EU's free trade agreements with either China or Japan.[55] For this reason, it seems that when considering EU-Korea relations, Koreans are likely to perceive the EU as a significant economic counterpart for Korea.

This thesis reviews a number of studies of EU-Korea relations. As argued in the introduction, economic and trade relations have attracted scholarly attention due to the remarkable developments in those relations. According to Dent, there are three major economic regions in the world—East Asia, the EU and North America—which are responsible for about 80% of world trade and investment.[56] Conspicuously, these three powerful and seemingly global economic giants are inherently dependent on each other for their survival.[57] Examples of this interconnection are the economic and political dialogues between the EU and East Asia, including multilevel and multilateral talks.[58] The EU considers Northeast Asian countries (China, Japan and South Korea) as its most significant partners due to their economic and

[53] B. Bridges,(1999) op.cit.; P. Preston and J. Gilson, eds., (2001) op. cit.; G. Rozman, (2004) op. cit.; and, K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.

[54] P. Preston and J. Gilson, eds., (2001) op. cit.; G. Rozman, (2004) op. cit.; and, K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.

[55] FTA Status of Korea, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, http://www.mofat.go.kr/english/econtrade/fta/Concluded/EU/index.jsp (retrieved on 13 July 2011); and, European Commission, Trade, South Korea, The EU-South Korea Free Trade Agreement (FTA), http://ec.europa.eu/trade/creating-opportunities/bilateral-relations/countries/korea/ (retrieved on 13 January 2011).
There are four concluded FTAs (Mexico, Chile, South Africa and South Korea), seven FTAs in negotiation (ASEAN, Canada, Gulf Cooperation Council—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates—, India, Singapore and Ukraine) and two associated agreements with FTA components (Central America Regional Association Agreement, Andean Community Association Agreement, and Mercosur). Mexico was the first country to activate an FTA with the EU (it fully came into force in October 2000), and Singapore was the latest country to initiate FTA negotiations with the EU (February 2010). For an overview of the EU's FTA, see European Commission, Enterprise and Industry, International Affairs http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/international/facilitating-trade/free-trade/index_en.htm (retrieved on 25 November 2011).

[56] C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

[57] Ibid.

[58] C. Dent, (1999) op. cit.; B. Bridges, *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific Change, Continuity and Crisis*, (Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1999); and, G. Rozman, *Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

political influence worldwide.[59] However, few studies have examined EU-Korea relations in as the political, social, environmental and developmental fields. Thus, the findings of this thesis offer a useful addition to studies of EU-Korea relations.

1.2 History of Relations between Europe-Korea

Traditionally, Korea was called by two different names—"the land of the morning calm" and "the hermit nation." [60] The latter description might imply Korea's geographical isolation. Arguably, the influences of China and Japan could have blocked Europe and Korea from contacting each other in the past, and Korea's geopolitical situation has made Europe and other parts of the Western world pay less attention to Korea. For this reason, of the first Europe-Korean encounters were much later than the Europe-Japanese and Europe-Chinese encounters. Lach claimed that Europe-Chinese relations were established in the era of the Mongol Empire (at the end of 13th century).[61] The initial Europe-Japanese encounter began in 1543 with the Portuguese introduction of the gun.[62] In 1593, the Europe-Korean encounter was initiated when a Spanish Jesuit priest, Gregorio de Cespedes, met Korean prisoners of war who had been sent to Japan and visited a limited number of Korean regions for about a

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[59] F. Kiichiro, F. Kimura and S. Urata, eds., *Asia & Europe: Beyond Competing Regionalism*, (Sussex: Academic Press, 1998); D. Maitland and Y. Hu, *Europe and Emerging Asia*, (London: Federal Trust for Education and Research, 1998); C. Dent, (1999) op. cit.; B. Bridges. *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific Change, Continuity and Crisis*, (Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1999); M. Santos Neves and B. Bridges, eds, *Europe, China and the Two SARs: Towards a New Era*, (London: Macmillan Press, 2000); P. Preston and J. Gilson, eds., *The European Union and East Asia: Interregional Linkages in a Changing Global System*, (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA, USA: Edward Elgar, 2001); and J. Gilson, *Asia Meets Europe: Inter-Regionalism and the Asia-Europe Meeting*, (Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar, 2002).

[60] K. Bae, *Korea at the Crossroads: The History and Future of East Asia*, (Seoul: Happy Reading books, 2007); P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, *The History of Korea*, (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1970); K. Lee, *A New History of Korea: Translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984); R. Tennant, *A History of Korea*, (London: Kegan Paul International, 1996), 18; M. Nelson, *Korea and the old orders in Eastern Asia*, (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1946); and I. Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, (Seoul: Yonsei University Press (reprint), 1970). Here, the West or the Western World refers to the countries of the European continent, the US and sometimes Russia. Sometimes, Western means European nations.

[61] D. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume I: The Century of Discovery. Book one,* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965). Lach has claimed that China and Europe exchanged delegates since mid-13th Century. In 1269, Europe sent the Polo brothers to Beijing as delegates. Likewise, the Mongol Empire (China) sent Rabban Sauma, a Nestorian monk and the first recorded Chinese visitor to Europe, as an ambassador to establish an anti-Arab alliance in 1281.For a more detailed discussion of this, see Lach.

[62] M. Yonemoto, "Tanegashima: The Arrival of Europe in Japan (review),"In *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2005): 196-200.

year and half.[63] At the time of the first Europe-Korean encounter, Europe had already established active commercial relations with China and Japan.[64] Because Europe was already heavily involved in trading with China and Japan there was little interest in Korea.[65]

As time progressed, Korea's isolation resulted in defensive attitudes towards Europe and subsequently led to conflicts between the two. At the end of 19th century, European countries sought to find a new market for the products of their rapidly developing capitalist system.[66] One after another, European powers began to knock on Korea's door requesting to become trading partners.[67] In 1866, the American vessel *General Sherman* supported by the British company "Meadows Co." entered the *Taedong* River and reached *P'yŏngyang* in order to ask the Korean government to establish a closer commercial relationship with Western (US and European) nations.[68] However, the Korean government refused both because Korea was shocked at China's defeat by the UK in the Opium War in 1842 and due to the occupation of Beijing by France and the UK in 1860.[69] The Korean government regarded requests for trade as a sign of invasion and the government violently resisted the West.[70] Korea's fury towards Europe was revealed in *Taewŏngun*'s persecution of French missionaries and Korean

[63]M. Nelson, (1946) op. cit.; D. Lach, (1965) op. cit.; and W. Han, *The History of Korea: translated by Kyung-shik Lee and edited by Grafton K. Mintz*, (Seoul: the Eul-Yoo Publishing Company, 1970). Father Cespedes brought young Korean boy prisoners from Japan to educate them in a Jesuit seminary. However, most of them were killed by the Japanese government or died in wars in Korea. One Korean was in the group of surviving prisoners, and was sold as a slave to Florentine Jesuit Francesco Carletti who set him free. This Korean, Antonio Corea, was the first Korean who went to Italy with Carletti in 1606.

[64] D. Lach, (1965) op. cit.; H. Gelber, *Nations out of Empires,* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001). Gelber points out that Europe managed to establish a commercial relationship with China and Japan after finding the circumnavigation route to India. See the excellent illustration of these relations provided by Gelber.

[65] W. Han, (1970) op. cit.; and, K. Bae. *Korea at the Crossroads: The History and Future of East Asia*, (Seoul: Happy Reading books, 2007). Gelber and Lach pointed out that the motivation of the commercial relationship between Europe and Asia was the spice trade. During the 16th Century, the price of spices was so high that they could be exchanged like silver or gold. For more detailed discussion of this, see Gelber and Lach.

[66] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, *The History of Korea*, (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1970); and, K. Lee, *A New History of Korea: Translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz,* (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1984).

[67] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; K. Lee, (1984) op. cit.; and K. Bae, (2007) op. cit. In the early 1880s, China desired to reinstate its control over Korea and to prevent Japan from exclusively controlling Korea. China recommended that Korea sign a series of commercial treaties with European powers and the US. Bae and Lee provide some useful additional evidence on this issue.

[68] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; and, K. Lee, (1984) op. cit.

[69] K. Bae, (2007) op. cit. Franco-British occupation of Beijing shocked Japan as well. From that time, China started to accept culture and knowledge from Europe and Japan opened its doors to modernisation and Westernisation. At first, Japan resisted the West (Europe and the US) but, in 1868, Japan started the process of Meiji Restoration to adapt to the new landscape of world politics.

[70] Ibid.

Christians in 1866.[71] Following Korea's victories over French and British-American war vessels *Taewŏngun* proceeded with a closed door policy until 1873.[72] However, eventually the violent approaches of the West towards Korea led to Korea signing disadvantageous commercial treaties with the US, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy and France.[73]

The advent of trade relations between Europe and Korea caused fierce competition between Europe and Northeast Asian countries as they vied to obtain trading relations with Korea.[74] After that, Korea became one of the target countries for colonisation. It is generally agreed among Korean historians that the colonisation of Korea was caused by the conflict between two axes of powers: the big axis (Russia vs. Britain) and the small axis (China vs. Japan).[75] Since the Crimean War, Russia had challenged Britain's hegemony several times.[76] When Russia advanced into the Manchurian region after the Sino-Japanese war to threaten Britain's own advance in China, Britain formed an alliance with Japan and supported Japan in the Russo-Japanese War.[77] Subsequently, when Russia tried to advance into Korea, Britain occupied *Kŏmundo* from 1885 to 1887 in order to monitor Russia's southward aggression.[78] After the Sino-Japanese War, Japan wished to dominate Korea more strongly without interference from any other countries. On 30 January 1902, the first Anglo-Japanese alliance was formed and the main purposes of the alliances were: safeguarding Britain's interests towards China and Japan's interests towards Korea; and, joining the war if either Britain or

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; K. Lee, (1984) op. cit.; K. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: The Story of a Phoenix*, (Westport: Praeger, 1997); and K. Bae, (2007) op. cit. On 22 May 1882, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the US and Korea was signed. On 6 June 1882, Korea signed a treaty with Great Britain. And, on 30 June 1882, Korea signed a treaty with Germany. On 26 November 1883, Korea signed revised treaties with Great Britain and Germany in Seoul. On 25 June 1884, a Treaty of Commerce was signed with Russia and was followed by another on 8 August 1888. In 1884, Korea and Italy signed a commercial treaty. On 4 June 1886, Korea signed a Treaty of Commerce with France. For a detailed examination of this issue, see Sohn, Kim and Hong.
[74] K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; K.Lee, (1984) op. cit.; K. Lee, *Korea and East Asia: The Story of a Phoenix*, (Westport: Praeger, 1997); and, K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.

Japan was involved in a war with more than one country.[79] Russia persuaded Germany and France to join in forcing Japan to give up the claim over Korea.[80] Consequently, Korea-Russia relations suddenly became very close. Korean people and their government finally believed that Russia would be Korea's strong friend who could rescue Korea from its international conflicts.[81] This made Japan furious with Russia. In 1903, Japan proposed an agreement to allow Russia's influence in Manchuria and Japan's influence in Korea.[82] However, Russia rejected the agreement and also increased its involvement on the Korean peninsula. This led to the Russo-Japanese war which took place from 1904-1905.[83] On 23 June 1905, Japan and Britain revised the Anglo-Japanese alliance to confirm Japan's colonisation of Korea after winning the war.[84] In 1910, Japan finally succeeded in annexing Korea.[85] Thus, the relations between Korea and Europe were temporarily severed until the termination of Japanese colonial rule over Korea.[86]

1.3 History of Relations between EU-Korea

On 15 August 1945, Korea gained independence from Japan.[87] Subsequently, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel north by the two global superpowers of the Cold War.[88] The conflict between the two ideologically opposed Koreas led to the outbreak of the Korean War on 25 June 1950.[89] After three years of brutal conflict, the US and the Soviet Union finally

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[79] K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] R. Tennant, (1996) op. cit.; and, K. Bae, (2007) op. cit.
[87] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; and, W. Han, (1970) op. cit.
[88] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; K. Lee, (1984) op. cit.; and K. Lee, (1997) op. cit. In the southern half of the country, the US military government and Syngman Rhee established the government of The Republic of Korea on 15 August 1948. In the northern half, Soviet Russia and Kim Il Sung established the communist government of The Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 8 September 1948. For a fuller discussion of these issues, see Sohn, Kim and Hong.
[89] P. Sohn, C. Kim and Y. Hong, (1970) op. cit.; W. Han, (1970) op. cit.; and, K. Lee, (1984) op. cit. During the Korean War, UN troops including the US, Britain and France supported the South Korean side and the Russian and Chinese armies supported the North Korean side.

signed a truce, and since then the Korean peninsula has been completely divided into North and South Korea.[90] Since the armistice of the Korean War, the US and Japan have provided economic and military support to South Korea to keep it as a "buffer zone" from the communist countries to the north—North Korea, China and the Soviet Union.[91] For the South Korean government, aligning with the US and Japan was essential to ensure Korea's economic recovery and keep it safe from the threats from North Korea.[92]

In the aftermath of World War II Europe divided into Eastern and Western Europe. In parallels to the Korean situation, post-war Europe became a Cold War battle field for the ideological struggle between the US and the Soviet Union.[93] In order to accomplish peace in Europe, Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister, suggested setting up the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) via the Schuman Declaration on 9 May 1950.[94] The six founding members of the EU (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) established the ECSC on 18 April 1951.[95] This body's initial aim was to establish a common market for coal and steel within those countries.[96] On 25 March 1957, the six ECSC nations established the European Economic Community (EEC) with the signing of the Treaty of Rome to construct a "wider common market" for a whole range of goods and services.[97] The establishment of the EEC indicated

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For a detailed examination, see Sohn, Kim and Hong.

[90] Ibid. On 23 July 1953, the US and the Soviet Union signed the truce negotiation of the Korean War. For a more extensive treatment of this issue, see Sohn, Kim and Hong.

[91] C. Dent, (1999) op. cit.; and G. Rozman, *Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Japan economically supported and became a developmental partner of Korea in the 1960s for South Korea to become a buffer zone. For more information, see Dent.

[92] C. Dent, (1999) op. cit.; G. Rozman, (2004) op. cit.; and K. Bae, (2007) op cit. Same as Japan, South Korea still heavily relies on the US when the Korean government is considering foreign policies. See Rozman. (2004)

[93] H.Gelber, *Nations out of Empires,* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 98.

[94] P. Fontaine, *Europe in 12 Lessons,* (Brussels: European Communities, 2006), 9.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] P. Fontaine, (2006), 10; S. Chia, J. Tan, eds, *ASEAN & EU:Forging New Linkages & Strategic Alliances,* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), 3.

the birth of the EU. Since then, the EU has grown into a supranational group of 28 countries,[98] currently considered as the most successful regional grouping in Europe.[99]

South Korea's relations with the Western world were reestablished by the accreditation of the South Korean ambassador to the EC in 1963.[100] In the 1960s and 1970s, the EU and South Korea did not have many opportunities for cooperation. Relations took the form of diplomatic meetings, since both parties had no common interests. South Korea was still recovering from its collapsed economy after the War and was mostly interested in developing relations with the US and Japan.[101] The EU was more interested in other Asian nations and focussed on entering the Japanese market (1960s until 1990s) and subsequently the Chinese market (since the mid-1990s).[102] Korea was not able to initiate regular diplomatic contacts with the EU until the mid-1980s.[103] After its economic recovery, in 1986, President Chun Doo Hwan was the first South Korean president to visit four Western European countries (the UK, France, West Germany and Belgium) as well as the EC headquarters.[104] This visit provided the

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[98] In 1973, the EEC underwent the first enlargement from six to nine nations as Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the community. Then, the EEC changed its name to the EC (European Community). In June 1979, the members of the European Parliament (EP) were elected by voting for the first time. This signalled the beginning of European political integration. Soon after the establishment of the EP, the EC enlarged again by accepting three Mediterranean nations—Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986). In 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall indicated the end of the division of Europe (between communist and non-communist countries). The EC faced the vital changes and made a decision to become a concrete unit. On 9-10 December 1991, a Treaty on European Union (also known as Maastricht Treaty) was adopted by the Maastricht European Council. On 7 February 1992, the Maastricht Treaty was signed. Finally, on 1 January 1993, an economically and politically integrated unit in Europe (the European Union—EU) was accomplished. On 1 January 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden entered the EU. The EU expanded into a group of 15 nations. The EU prepared another enlargement on a striking scale. On 1 May 2004, the EU enlarged to 25 countries when ten Eastern European states joined: Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. On 1 January 2007, Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU. On 1 July 2013, Croatia gained membership of the EU. Currently, the EU has 28 Member States and 5 candidate countries (Iceland, Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro and the former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia). See P. Fontaine, *Europe in 12 Lessons,* (Brussels, European Communities, 2006) and European Commission, Enlargement, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/policy/from-6-to-28-members/index_en.htm (retrieved on 4 July 2013**).**

[99] L. Yeo, "The Inter-regional Dimension of EU-Asia Relations: EU-ASEAN and the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Process," *European Studies: An interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics* 25 (2007): 173-92; S. Chia and J. Tan, eds., *ASEAN & EU:Forging New Linkages & Strategic Alliances,* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1997), 12; and, G. Rozman, *Northeast Asia's Stunted Regionalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 72.

[100] R. Balme and B. Bridges, (2008) op. cit.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] B. Bridges, *Korea and the West,* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986). The Korean economy began to grow at stunning rates during and after the Park Chung-Hee government in the 1960s and 1970s. Until the first regular annual Ministerial meeting between the European Commission and South Korea in 1983, there were no official contacts between the EC and South Korea. For a comprehensive discussion on the development of EU-Korea relations, see B. Bridges, (1986); and, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Republic of Korea, *Chronology of ROK-EU relations*, op. cit.

[104] B. Bridges, (1986) op. cit.; and, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Republic of Korea, *Chronology of ROK-EU relations*, op. cit. Bridges claimed that President Chun's visit to EC headquarters is the first regular annual meeting between senior officials of the European Commission and South Korea.

opportunity to work out the "Trade Agreement on Trade in Textile Products" between the EC and South Korea in 1987 and to open the office of the EC delegation in Seoul in November 1989.[105] Until the mid-1990s, EU-South Korea relations saw no major developments.[106]

From the mid-1990s until the present, the political crisis between South Korea and North Korea suddenly motivated both the EU and South Korea to establish a closer partnership. In 1994, the nuclear crisis in North Korea drew the EU's political attention to the Korean peninsula.[107] The EU began to take an interest in the Korean peninsula on a par with the US or China. In 1996, the EU supported South Korea's application to join the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development).[108] In the same year, the EU and South Korea actively participated in the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) in Thailand, and subsequently South Korea established the "Korea-EU Framework Agreement on Trade and Cooperation," which created a basic frame for EU-South Korea relations and the range and scope of EU-South Korea cooperation.[109] In 1997, the EU gained membership of KEDO (Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation).[110] In the same year, the EU and South

[105] The Delegation to the European Union to the Republic of Korea, Economy Trade, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/relations/rokrelations/traderelations.html (retrieved on 08 September 2009); and, The Delegation to the European Union to the Republic of Korea, Delegation, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/aboutus/delegation.html (retrieved on 13 January 2010).
[106] R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008) op. cit.
[107] B. Bridges, (2008) op. cit.; and, Global Security, North Korean Nuclear Crisis February 1993 - June 1994, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/dprk_nuke.htm (retrieved on 15 December 2010). On 2 June 1993, the United States and North Korea initiated a series of meetings in New York to discuss the impasse in nuclear site inspections, which continued until 4 January 1994, when Under Secretary of State Lynn Davis announced that North Korea had agreed to inspections of seven declared nuclear-related sites. In 2002, South Korea and the EU faced another North Korean nuclear crisis through senior US department official James Kelly's discovery of North Korea's possession of nuclear weapons in his visit to Pyongyang. For more information regarding this issues, see J. Kelly, "Why North Korea must act first for better relations with the US," South China Morning Post, 19 December 2002; and, B. Chong, "Another Nuclear Crisis," *Vantage Point* (January 2003): 10-3.
[108] Ibid.
[109] The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, EU-ROK relations, op. cit. This framework suggested that both sides should facilitate bilateral trade and investment, foster economic co-operation and strengthen political dialogues. See EU Delegation Korea Website
[110] R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds. (2008) op. cit.; The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, *EU-ROK relations*, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/kr_relations/rokrelations/political.html, (retrieved on 11 June 2013). Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO) was established in 1994 to prevent North Korea's nuclear development. In September 1997, the EU donated 75 million Euros to KEDO, through Euratom, over a five-year period. The EU joined as a member of the executive council of KEDO. Balme and Bridges claim that this is the best example of the EU's strong interest in South Korea. However, in 2005, KEDO had agreed in principle to terminate the light-water reactor project. On May 31 2006, the Executive Board of KEDO decided to terminate the light-water reactor project. This decision was based on the continuous failure of North Korea to perform the steps that were required in KEDO-DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) Supply Agreement for the provision of the light-water reactor project. For a detailed examination of this issue, see Bridges.

Korea signed a Joint Political Declaration in order to strengthen their political discussion, which was considered as the basic framework and scope of EU-South Korea relations.[111] The practical result of this Declaration can be seen in more active annual foreign ministerial and summit-level meetings and Presidential meetings between South Korea and the European Commission.[112]

Simultaneously, the economic crisis in East Asia became another motivation for the EU and South Korea to establish a closer strategic economic partnership. In 1997, due to the economic crisis in East Asia, the South Korean government opened its internal market to overseas investment.[113] The EU considered South Korea's economic crisis as an opportunity to establish closer trade relations with South Korea and, as a result, the EU enthusiastically supported South Korea to revitalise its economy.[114] The four largest EU Member States, namely the UK, France, Germany and Italy, were earlier economic supporters than South Korea's main trade partners, the US and Japan.[115] The EU supplied $5.9 billion, which was greater than the amount the US contributed.[116] Since 2001, the annual EU-South Korea Joint Committee has been held. This indicates more active cooperation between the EU and South Korea. The committee deals with a variety of issues such as economy, trade and activating

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[111] C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship.* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999); B. Bridges, (2008) op. cit.; and, The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, *EU-ROK relations*, op. cit. In 1997, the EU and Korea signed a Joint Political Declaration in order to strengthen their political discussion. According to the Declaration, the aims of political dialogue between the EU and Korea are: highlighting the importance of human rights and democracy; intensifying discussions about international security issues and related matters in the European and Asia-Pacific regions. And the Delegation considers this Declaration is the beginning of an EU-Korea relationship. Bridges has evaluated that the Declaration intensified the political ties between the two parties by increasing numbers of multilevelled political dialogues, ranging from regular meetings between governmental heads and foreign ministers to the daily interaction among working-level diplomats and officials. For more information, see Bridges.

[112] R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008), op. cit.

[113] The financial crisis of East Asia struck the Korean economy and the Korean government asked for financial assistance from the IMF (International Monetary Fund). For Koreans, the economic crisis established a forum for Korean politicians, officials and public opinion to overcome the difficulties from 'the former dirigisme.' Finally, the Korean government decided to change its attitudes on trade (from protective to open). For a fuller discussion of this issue, see. R. Balme and B. Bridges.

[114] Ibid.

[115] R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008) op. cit.; and, Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, *Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,*
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_korea/documents/news/factfile2012.pdf (retrieved on 11 June 2013). Since 2005, the EU has become the largest investor in Korea in terms of net amount of FDI. For an overview of EU-Korea trade interaction, see Fact File.

[116] European Commission Communication, *European Policy Towards the Republic of Korea* (issued 09 December 1998).

cooperative action plans including the Executive Training Programme (ETP).[117] The EU has

enthusiastically developed trade relations with South Korea. For instance, the EU and South

Korea held the first FTA negotiations on 7 May 2007, and the FTA was officially activated

on 01 July 2011.[118]

Historically, there have been limited relations between Europe and Korea principally because

Korea has been heavily influenced by its regional neighbours (China, Japan and North Korea)

and global powers (the US and the Soviet Union). Yet, over the last 20 years, the two parties

have rapidly established a closer trade partnership. EU-Korea relations have attracted some

scholarly attention, with a focus on economic and trade interactions. The following section

provides a thorough review of these studies of EU-Korea relations.

1.4 Overview of the Studies of EU-Korea relations

Bridges is a pioneer in exploring EU-Korea relations. In 1986, he investigated economic and

political relations between South Korea and the European Community (EC), exploring the

political and economic issues of Korea, the four major powers (namely, China, Japan, the

Soviet Union and the US) that influence the two divided Koreas and Western Europe's

interests and expected future roles in the Korean peninsula.[119] In 1999, Bridges covered EU-

Korea trade relations in his article on EU-Newly Industrialised Economy (NIE) trade

relations.[120] In this publication, he discussed recent issues and problems of EU-Korea trade

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[117] The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, EU-ROK relations, op. cit. The Committee deals with more cooperative actions in practical fields like science and technology, competition, industrial cooperation, telecommunication, the environment and aviation.
[118] Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Korea-EU FTA, http://www.fta.go.kr/user/fta_korea/data_list.asp (retrieved on 11 June 2013); and, European Commission, Trade, South Korea, The EU-South Korea Free Trade Agreement (FTA), http://ec.europa.eu/trade/creating-opportunities/bilateral-relations/countries/korea/ (retrieved on 11 June 2013).
[119] B. Bridges, *Korea and the West,* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986).
[120] B. Bridges, *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific Change, Continuity and Crisis,* (Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar, 1999).

relations, the main trade products between the two entities and also political cooperation (specifically, the political declaration of 1997).[121] Recently, Bridges has published an article outlining the extent of the EU-Korea economic, political and strategic relations.[122] In this article he analyses how the recent trends in EU-Korea relations are impacting on the two parties. He explores the EU's impacts and involvement in the Korea's economic challenges, the financial crisis and political declaration in 1997, the aftermath of the Sunshine Policy and nuclear tension between the two parties.[123] Bridges' publications are balanced investigations of political and economic relations. However, his investigation is weakened by the fact that he focuses more on economic than political relations. Furthermore, he neglects other areas, such as social affairs, environmental and developmental issues.

Dent investigates EU-Korea economic relations from the 1980s until the 1990s by examining the issues such as trade friction in the 1980s, the intensification process of EU-Korea economic and trade relations, investment (FDI—Foreign Direct Investment) flows and Korea's financial crisis.[124] Dent concludes by synthesising the old issues in EU-Korea economic relations and outlining the contemporary challenges.[125] He also focuses on the investigation of EU-Korean economic relations. In contrast to Bridges, Dent provides more in depth coverage of the EU-Korean economic relationship, but his analysis lacks the balanced investigation of EU-Korea economic and political relations. Dent also neglects to cover the social, environmental and developmental issues, which may impact economic relations between the EU and Korea.

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[121] Ibid.
[122] B. Bridges, "The European Union and the Korean Conundrum" In *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, edited by R. Balme and B. Bridges, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008).
[123] Ibid.
[124] C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).
[125] Ibid.

Medvigy offers a more recent study of EU-Korea economic and trade relations looking at the period 2000 to 2005.[126] He contextualises his work by introducing the facts between the EU and Korea and the economic history of South Korea.[127] Medvigy then reviews EU-Korea political relations in terms of existing policies and political dialogues (focusing on ASEM) and he investigates the issues that affect EU-Korea economic relations by considering economic and trade related agreements; economic and trade frictions; bilateral trade between Korea and five EU Member States (France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the UK); major fields and industry of EU-Korea trade cooperation; and investment flows between the EU and Korea.[128] Finally, he covers economic relations between Korea and Hungary (and also Eastern Europe).[129] Medvigy's book is an excellent introduction to EU-Korea economic relations and offers a broad contextualisation of EU-Korea relations. However, despite this broad focus, it lacks a depth of investigation of EU-Korea relations in other areas. For instance, he tackles the issues of social affairs and intellectual issues of the relations but does not cover cooperation in environmental and developmental areas between the EU and Korea.

In addition to these European scholars, some Korean researchers have also investigated EU-Korea relations. Kim explores the development of EU-Korean relations using a multidimensional approach.[130] First, at the multilateral level, he deals with trade competition between the EU and two Koreas.[131] Next, at the inter-regional level, he examines the ASEM as a stage of EU-Korea relations.[132] Finally, at the bilateral level, he covers the problems of EU-South Korea economic relations, EU-Korea FTA (as a trade issue) and EU-Korea

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[126] I. Medvigy, *Economic and Trade Relations between the European Union and South Korea,* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2008). His volume also deals with economic and political relations between the EU and North Korea.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid. In conjunction with his investigation on political relations, he also covered other areas (such as social, cultural and intellectual pillars of ASEM) of EU-Korea relations.
[129] Ibid.
[130] H. Kim, "The Development of Korea-EU Relations: Multi-dimensional Approach," In *EU-Asian Relations: State of Affairs, Problems and Perspectives,* edited by R. Seidelmann and M. do Ceu Esteves, (Macau: Institute of European Studies of Macau, 2006).
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.

political cooperation over the nuclear crisis of North Korea.[133] In contrast to previous scholarly works in the context of bilateral relations, Kim's work deserves attention for its broader coverage of EU-Korea relations which deals with relations at various levels and looks at the different areas of cooperation between the EU and Korea. However, the weakness of this research is that there is not enough specific detail of EU-Korea relations. For example, in his analysis of EU-Korea economic relations at the bilateral level, Kim does not explore the investment flows between the two and focuses instead on trade issues at this level. He tackles social areas of EU-Korea relations by dealing with ASEM but he still misses other possible areas of EU-Korea relations two such as environmental and developmental relations, which are inextricably linked to economic relations.

Kim has also published an article with Park about EU-East Asia economic relations.[134] This research includes the main features of the recent EU-Korea economic interactions, such as Korea's share of EU exports from 1995 to 2005, its role as a beneficial trade partner and the amount of the EU's investment flows to Korea over the same years.[135] They subsequently refer to the new challenges in EU-East Asia relations, such as the financial crisis and East Asian regionalism, including Korea in this analysis.[136] Like Kim's previous publications, the strength of this work is the portrayal of EU-Korean relations from a broader regional angle. However, the range of their investigation is narrower than their previous works. As in their previous works, Park and Kim neglect related areas of EU-Korea relations which are linked to economic relations.

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[133] Ibid.
[134] S. Park and H. Kim, "The Asia Strategy of the European Union and Asia-EU Economic Relations: History and New Developments," In *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralism*s, edited by R. Balme and B. Bridges, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008).
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

This review of the existing literature on EU-Korea relations demonstrates that most of the relevant research covers economic and trade relations between the two partners. EU-Korea relations in other areas are considered as secondary in this field. There is a need to address this gap and offer a comprehensive investigation into EU-Korea relations in social, environmental and developmental areas, in addition to the ongoing research into political and economic relations.

1.5 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter explored the history of Europe-Korea and EU-Korea relations, and reviewed existing research into EU-Korea relations. The first part of this chapter demonstrated that in the past Korea and Europe had minimal relations, mainly due to the 'blocking' great powers surrounding Korea. The second part of this chapter pointed out that although Korea began to develop its diplomatic relations with the EU later than China and Japan, the two parties have rapidly established a close partnership in political and economic areas. However, the scholars of EU-Korea relations (both from Europe and Korea) have mainly focused on EU-Korea economic links rather than political ones. Moreover, EU-Korea social, environmental and developmental relations have stayed on the periphery of scholarly attention.

This chapter presents three main points for further discussion. The first point is that a comprehensive investigation into EU-Korea relations that addresses political, economic, social, environmental and developmental areas is necessary. The second point is that there

has been a great deal of research into EU-Korea relations using official discourses. However, scholarly insights into the representations of EU-Korea relations in other discourses, such as the media, remain under-researched. This study will therefore comprehensively examine EU-Korea relations complementing this with an analysis of EU images in the Korean media. The last point is that the rapid development of EU-Korea relations is unusual given that Europe and Korea had been disconnected for a long period in history. Arguably, over the last two decades, Korean perceptions of the EU might have improved to some degree. Consequently, it will be helpful to revise the literature regarding EU perceptions and their related concepts (characteristics and significances of European political identity). Thus, next chapter will cover an overview of three representative themes of European political identity and EU internal and external perception studies.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of European political identity studies and EU internal and external perceptions studies. The quest for European political identity has always been a subject for criticism among many scholars.[137] Galtung argues that "Euronationalism is age-old" and "[w]hat we are dealing with is European supernationalism in search of institutions, rather than supra-European institutions in search of nationalism."[138] The notion of identity is complex and abstract. Descartes defined identity as "thing that thinks."[139] Leary and Tangley depict identity as "the capacity for self reflection and the awareness of self."[140] However, exploring European political identity might be significant for the EU. In Castano's understanding, it guarantees not only the existence of the EU but also its influences both inside and outside EU borders.[141] Thus, this chapter starts with an examination of the three themes regarding European political identity: sociocultural vs. political identities of Europe, characteristics of European political identity and significance of European political identity.

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[137] P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, "European Identity: Theory and Empirics," In *European Union Studies,* edited by M. Cini and A. Bourne, (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 135; T. Adorno, *Negative Dialektik,* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1973); R. Brubacker and F. Cooper, "Beyond "Identity." *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1-47; and, I. Neumann, "European identity, EU Expansion, and the Integration/ Exclusion Nexus," In *Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension*, edited by L. Cederman, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001).

[138] J. Galtung, "The emerging European supernationalism," In *Toward a European Nation*, edited by M. Haller and R. Richter, (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1994), 212-225.

[139] C. Chimisso, "What is identity?" In *Exploring European Identities*, edited by C. Chimisso, (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 2003), 7.

[140] M. Leary and J. Tangley, *Handbook of Self and Identity*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2003).

[141] E. Castano, "European Identity: A Social-Psychological Perspective," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).

2.2 An Overview of Three Themes of European Political Identity

2.2.1 Theme 1: Sociocultural vs. Political Identities of Europe

This chapter presents brief explanations on two different types of European identity: sociocultural and political.[142] It then critically assesses which interpretation of European identity is more appropriate for this analysis. Finally, it draws out the working definition of European identity to be used in this study.

Chimisso offers a comprehensive account of European sociocultural identity. It can be defined as the identification of one individual, the group or community where he or she belongs and the culture of this group or community.[143] This identity is underpinned by four factors: history, geography, religion and language.[144] It consists of three different elements which define the boundary of "Europeanness."[145] These are presented as follows: "identities of people living in Europe; identities which are specific to Europe; and, one of the identities that some people have, when they declare that they are of they feel European."[146] This approach is useful when exploring Europe as a cultural unity. In this sense, politicians and the media often use the term "Europe" as a synonym for the EU.[147]

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[142] M. Bruter, "Civic and Cultural Components of a European Identity: A Pilot Model of Measurement of Citizens' Levels of European Identity," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); M. Bruter, *Citizens of Europe: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); E. Castano (2004) op. cit.; I. Neumann, (2001) op. cit.; and, T. Meyer, "Challenges of European Identity Research," In *European Union Identity*, edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007).

[143] C. Chimisso, (2003), 40-53.

[144] Ibid.

[145] C. Chimisso, (2003) op. cit.; and *Eurozine*, European Union, Europeanness, and Euro-Turks: *Hyphenated and multiple identities by Ahyan Kaya* http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2005-10-04-kaya-en.html (retrieved on 15 January 2011). *Eurozine* has pointed out that Europeanness means Europeans' perceptions to themselves as Europeans.

[146] C. Chimisso , (2003), 61.

[147] Delegation of European Union to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, EU Symbols, http://www.delmkd.ec.europa.eu/en/europe-a-to-z/eu-symbols.htm (Retrieved on 14 January 2011); and, C. Chimisso, "What is identity?" In *Exploring European Identities*, edited by C. Chimisso, (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 2003), 5.

Meyer's taxonomy talks about three levels of European cultural identity. The first level is the *religious-metaphysical* level of collective belief systems (*ways of believing*). The second level is *socio-cultural* level of everyday life (*ways of living*). The last level is *political-cultural* level of political basic values and objectives (*ways of living together*). [148] However, the concept of belonging to Europe is a confusing one for the EU citizens and it is currently a challenge for European identity scholars. [149] More specifically, some Europeans see themselves as Europeans, but not as EU citizens.[150] For example, Bruter pointed out that European identity could be a combination of the acceptance of belonging to Europe in a geographical or cultural sense and the denial of the EU as a meaningful political project.[151] As a consequence, the concept of sociocultural identity might be just one interpretation of the notion of European identity, yet other concepts are needed in order to understand how the so-called 'European identity' is linked to the EU.

The notion of European political identity must also be considered. According to Meyer, this type of identity refers to a political sense of belonging and indicates support for the economic-political project of European integration.[152] In Meyer's view, this type of identity is one of the preconditions for powerful and credible EU-actorship both internally and in the foreign policy arena.[153] In contrast to the sociocultural identity, political identity has a more focused conceptualisation of 'Europe', namely in terms of political integration: Meyer claims that European identity must be constructed and understood as a political concept, for instance, the EU; European integration, rather than one of cultural or historical substances (Europe).[154] Meyers' understanding of European identity from a political standpoint is shared by

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[148] T. Meyer, (2007) op. cit.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.
[151] M. Bruter, (2005) op. cit.
[152] T. Meyer, (2007), 48.
[153] Ibid. For a detailed examination of European political identity, see Meyer's article.
[154] Ibid.

numerous authors in the field.[155] This thesis is also informed by Meyer's view. This analysis aims to contribute to the studies of European political identity, more specifically how the project of European integration and the EU's actions in political, economic and social areas are recognised from outside the EU's borders, and how these perceptions are instrumental in the legitimisation of the project of on-going integration in Europe.

2.2.2 Theme 2: Characteristics of European Political Identity

Delving further into the notion of European political identity, this thesis reexamines Gillespie and Laffan's explanations on characteristics of European political identity and summarises their study in four main points. Firstly, European identity is relational rather than isolated.[156] It seems that Cartesians believe understanding "the others" is not necessary for having sense of "the self."[157] However, Mummendey and Waldzus contend that European identity cannot be understood without "the others." [158] According to Cerutti, recognising the difference between "the self" and "the others" is important for explaining European identity.[159] Thus, self (the EU) and the others (non-EU countries) are essential components in explaining European political identity.

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[155] M. Bruter, (2005) op. cit.; R. Harrison *Europe in Question: Theories of Regional International Integration*, (London: Allen and Unwin 1974); P. Schmitter, *How to Democratize the European Union...And Why Bother?* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000); R. Herrmann and M. Brewer, "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); D. Beetham and C. Lord, *Legitimacy and the European Union* (London & New York: Longman, 1998); E. Castano, (2004) op. cit.; and C. Schildberg, "Exploring EU-Identity as a "Social One"? Theoretical-Conceptional Considerations for an Analysis of European Political Identity Through Social Policies," In *European Union Identity,* edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007); and, F. Cerutti, "Why Political Identity and Legitimacy Matter in the European Union," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).
[156] P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, (2006) op. cit. Hereafter, European identity refers to European political identity.
[157] C. Chimisso, (2003) op. cit.
[158] A. Mummendey and S. Waldzus, "National Differences and European Plurality: Discrimination or Tolerance between European Countries," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).
[159] F. Cerutti, "Why Political Identity and Legitimacy Matter in the European Union," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

Secondly, European identity is a notion which has been steadily shaped by the EU's ongoing enlargement.[160] In the last fifty years, the EU has achieved the outstanding task of European integration by gathering European nations as EU Member States.[161] In addition, the European Commission expects that the number of candidate countries of the EU will increase.[162] As the EU's border expands within Europe, the EU can be regarded as an active 'identity builder' in Europe. Taking into account the dynamic nature of the notion of European political identity as illustrated by the enlargements, it is vital to continue studies of the European political identity across time and space.

Thirdly, European identity consists of multiple senses of belonging.[163] Eder asserts that European identity tends to be collective because the modern society is a functionally differentiated system.[164] Consequently, it is widely agreed that European identity is multilayered because each EU citizen has multiple identities.[165] An example of this is the coexistence of regional, national and European identities. This issue has become controversial in the relevant academic debate not least due to a pervasive belief that identity is a 'zero-sum game' where more of one identity means less of the other.[166] In addition,

[160] P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, (2004) op. cit.; I. Neumann, (2001) op. cit.; D. Beetham and C. Lord, *Legitimacy and the European Union* (London & New York: Longman, 1998); E. Castano, (2004) op. cit.; C. Schildberg, "Exploring EU-Identity as a "Social One"? Theoretical-Conceptional Considerations for an Analysis of European Political Identity Through Social Policies," In *European Union Identity,* edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007); C. Bretherton and J. Vogler, "Nature of the Beast: the Identity and Roles of the EU," In *The European Union as a Global Actor,* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006); and, F. Cerutti, (2008) op. cit.

[161] T. Risse, "European Institutions and Identity Change: What have we learned?" In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 255.

[162] Due to 2007 EU enlargement, the number of candidate countries to enter the EU has increased from two (Turkey and Croatia) to five (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Iceland). And also, European commission also considers other four countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Kosovo) in Balkans as potential candidate countries for joining the Union. For the most recent updates of EU enlargement, see European Commission, Enlargement, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/candidate-countries/index_en.htm (retrieved on 4 December 2011).

[163] P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, (2004) op. cit.

[164] K. Eder, "Remembering National Memories Together: The Formation of a Transnational Identity in Europe," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[165] M. Bruter, "Civic and Cultural Components of a European Identity: A Pilot Model of Measurement of Citizens' Levels of European Identity," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, (2004) op. cit.; M. Bruter, (2005) op. cit.; I. Neumann, (2001) op. cit.; and, R. Herrmann and M. Brewer, (2004) op. cit.

[166] T. Risse, "European Institutions and Identity Change: What have we learned?" In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); E. Siapera, "EU correspondents in Brussels: Between Europe and the Nation-State," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU,* edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); H. Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); S. Duchesne, and A.Frognier. 1995. "Is there a European Identity?" In T. Risse, (2004); and, E.

Spohn asserts that European identity is weaker than national identity because EU citizens are not well-informed about the EU. [167] In this light, economic integration, geographical boundaries and symbolic items, such as flags, passports and a single currency, are insufficient for people to identify with the EU.[168] On the other hand, another group of authors believes that European identity is in fact stronger than national identity. The EU possesses an identity hegemony in Europe in terms of social and political impacts in Europe, and Europeans have recently begun to recognise the EU as a synonym for Europe.[169] Zeff and Pirro claim that the EU is a powerful transnational group on the European continent.[170] These multiple layers to European identity and its fluid concepts continue to pose a challenge in this field.

Finally, European identity is transnational.[171] This identity is a superordinate concept of existing national identities of EU Member States.[172] Bruter declares that identity is a network of feelings of belonging to and exclusion from human subgroups.[173] It is therefore possible to argue that each EU citizen has a network of senses of belonging to his or her nation and to the EU (as an extended supranational group). However, this idea might not be applicable to every EU citizen. Moreover, Thiel argues that the existing problem of transnational aspect of European identity is exclusion of third-country nationals and ethnic minorities living in EU Member States.[174] Thus, the transnational aspect further challenges the conceptualisation of European identity.

Castano,(2004) op. cit.

[167]W. Spohn. "National Identities and Collective Memory in an Enlarged Europe," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[168] E. Castano, (2004) op. cit.

[169] B. Laffan, "The European Union and Its Institutions as "Identity Builders"" In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).

[170] E. Zeff and E. Pirro, "Introduction," In *The European Union and the Member States,* edited by E. Zeff and E. Pirro, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.2006), 1-10.

[171] P. Gillespie and B. Laffan, (2004) op. cit.

[172] T. Risse, (2004) op. cit.; and, E. Siapera (2004) op. cit.

[173] M. Bruter, *Citizens of Europe: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 8.

[174] M. Thiel, "European Identity and the Challenge of Enlargement," In *Towards the Completion of Europe: Analysis and Perspectives of the New EU enlargement* , edited by J. Roy and R. Domínguez, (Coral Gables, FL: European Union Center/Jean Monnet Chair, University of Miami, 2006).

2.2.3 Theme 3: Significances of European Political Identity

In the preceding sections, this chapter has covered the contested meanings and characteristics of European identity. In the next section, this chapter will demonstrate the importance of the notion of European identity. Internally, the significance of the concept of European identity lies in its ability to ensure the EU's political legitimacy.[175] Political legitimacy explains the EU as "a democratic ruling authority" based on a new European social contract among EU citizens rather than merely the product of undemocratic choice by political elites of the EU.[176] Weber emphasises that "without identity, there can be no true, durable legitimacy attached to a political entity, no conscious acceptance of the power of the state and of its monopolistic right to use legitimate coercion."[177] However, some theorists assert the deficit of political legitimacy as one of the political problems of the EU.[178] As Schmidt argues, the EU faces the problem of political legitimacy because the citizens are not closely related with the activities of the EU and the national elites have not said much about the EU to their citizens except in negative situations.[179] One of the representative examples of this is evidenced in the past failures of constitutional referenda and the existence of Euroscepticism.[180] Assessing the notion of European identity is prerequisite for ensuring political legitimacy of the EU at the current stage.[181]

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[175] R. Herrmann and M. Brewer, (2004) op. cit.; C. Schildberg, (2007) op. cit.; and F. Cerutti, (2010) op. cit. Cerutti stressed that the political identity plays a pivotal role for the legitimacy of the EU.

[176] R. Harrison, *Europe in Question: Theories of Regional International Integration*, (London: Allen and Unwin 1974); P. Schmitter, *How to Democratize the European Union…And Why Bother?* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000); R. Herrmann and M. Brewer, "Identities and Institutions: Becoming European in the EU," In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004); and, M. Bruter, (2005) op. cit.

[177] M. Weber, *Selected Works,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).

[178] D. Beetham and C. Lord, (2003) op. cit.; E. Castano, (2004) op. cit.; M. Bruter, (2005) op. cit.; and C. Schildberg, (2007) op. cit.

[179] V. Schmidt, *The European Union in search of political identity and legitimacy: Is more Politics the Answer?* Working Paper No. 05/2010, September 2010 http://www.eif.oeaw.ac.at/downloads/workingpapers/wp2010-05.pdf (retrieved on 15 September 2011).

[180] EUROPA, Treaty of Lisbon, http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/index_en.htm, (retrieved on 27 November 2009). On 3 October 2009, the second Irish referendum of the ratification of the Treaty was held. A recent example of Euroscepticism could be the hesitation of Czech President Klaus Vaclav's signing the Treaty ratification. For the most thorough study of Euroscepticism to date, see EUROPA.

[181] M. Bruter, *Citizens of Europe: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Externally, the significance of European identity is dependent on illustrating its existence and global influences. Wang cites that European identity refers to "a common approach amongst EU Member States to their foreign relations."[182] European identity is one of the essential preconditions for the EU to become global power.[183] It is commonly agreed that the EU aspires to be a global power, along with others such as the US and China.[184] Yet, according to the results of public opinion surveys conducted by Chaban and Holland in Asia-Pacific, most of the general public respondents recognised the US and China as the most important partners to their location.[185] According to the results of Bertelsmann Stiftung Gallup 2007, the respondents commented that the EU is considered as a marginalised or mid-range global power.[186] In addition, the EU is ranked fourth as a global power after the US, China and Russia.[187]

In summary, this chapter attempted to define the notion of European political identity. In doing so, three themes in the studies of the so-called "European identity" were explored. The relevant literature mentions two types of European identity: sociocultural and political. This analysis considers sociocultural identity to be inadequate concept for this study and instead selects the notion of European political identity which explicitly focuses on the EU as a legitimate economic-political project of integration. Gillespie and Laffan's four insights into European political identity: namely, it is relational, changeable, multiple and transnational are

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[182] Y. Wang, "On the Significance of Culture Construction of European Identity," In *Review of European Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2009): 152-155.

[183] A. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); J. Peterson, (2008) op. cit.; V. Balli "An EU Self-Understanding of the European Union Revealed Through Justifications of Political Action," In *European Union Identity*, edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007); N. Chaban, C. Schneider and R. Malthus. "Visibility, Framing and Importance: Images of the EU in Japan and South Korea," In *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies,* vol. 27, no. 1 (2009): 88-125.

[184] J. Peterson, "The EU as a Global Actor" In *The European Union: How Does it Work?* edited by E. Bomberg, J. Peterson and A. Stubb, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); C. Archer, *The European Union,* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2008); K. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing world,* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Inc., 2003); H. Spondenberg, "Europeans Want the EU to Take More Global Responsibility," *Euobserver*, 9 Sept 2007; K. Hughes, "The EU in a globalised world," European Voice, 11 Nov. 2007.

[185] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific: Public Perceptions and Media Representations*, (New Zealand: NCRE, 2004).

[186] Bertelsmann Stiftung, *Who Rules the World? The Results of the Second Representative Survey in Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, Berlin, October 22, 2007* http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bst/de/media/xcms_bst_dms_23371_23372_2.pdf (retrieved on 13 June 2013).

[187] Ibid.

also integral to this study. Finally, the notion of European political identity was shown to be instrumental in understanding the mechanisms of the EU's internal and external political legitimacy. This thesis will now turn to a review of existing EU internal and external perceptions studies, interpreting both types of perceptions as one evidence of EU's political legitimacy being recognised (or not) inside and outside the Union's borders.

2.3 An Overview of EU Internal Perceptions Studies

This section overviews studies of internal perceptions of the EU. The self-perceptions are an essential component in exploring European identity. Scholars from different academic backgrounds have employed diverse methodologies to illuminate the elusive notion of European identity. This section will overview several approaches employed by these scholars: analysis of the EU's inward and outward actions and policies; interpretations of the EU as a psychological entity; the perceptions of the EU among its elites; the perceptions of the EU among its general public, and the representation of the EU in its own news media.

The first approach focuses on the investigation of inward and outward policies or political actions of the EU. The scholars of this approach believe that European identity can be realised by the EU's visible actions inside and outside the EU border. This approach can be found in Balli's investigation of a set of institutionalised political actions and practices of the Union;[188] Lucarelli's examination of the EU's external foreign policies;[189] and Balfour's

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[188] V. Balli, (2007) op. cit.
[189] S. Lucarelli, "European political identity, foreign policy and the Others' image: an underexplored relationship," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

exploration of human rights promotion of the EU outside the EU.[190] Hill's study points out that the EU's external policies are helpful to analyse the EU's international role.[191] In response to Hill's study, Holland conducted a case study about the EU's CFSP in South Africa.[192] He points out that the EU's external actions are effective to minimise expectations-capability gap of the EU.[193] Manners explores the EU's network of international relationship to find out the EU's capabilities in international society.[194] Ginsberg asserts that exploring the EU's external actions conceptualise the EU as an international actor.[195] Sjursen comments that the EU's international identity can be promoted by normative/civilian power in external policies.[196] These studies focus on the analysis of the EU's concrete actions which are often informed by the idea of European political identity. However, this approach has neglected to explore insights into the perceptions of the EU's actions.

The second approach examines the EU as a psychological entity in general. It takes the EU as a belief, perception and memory of EU citizens. These concepts become focal points in exploring European identity. This approach has become a prominent subject of discussion in relevant literature over the past ten years. Castano deals with the investigation of psychological existence of the community of the EU.[197] Mummendey and Waldzus examine discrimination and tolerance between EU Member States.[198] Spohn and Eder cover collective memories, which describe a mixture of real connections or differences and prejudices among

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[190] R. Balfour, "Human Rights Promotion," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).
[191] C. Hill, "The capability-expectations gap or conceptualising Europe's international role," In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1993): 305-328.
[192] M. Holland, "Bridging the Capability-Expectations Gap: A Case Study of the CFSP Joint Action on South Africa," In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 32, (1995): 555-572.
[193] Ibid.
[194] I. Manners, "Towards Identifying the International Identity of the European Union: A Framework of Relationships," In *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 21, no. 2 (1998): 231-249.
[195] R. Ginsberg, "Conceptualising the European Union as an International Actor: Narrowing the Theoretical Capability-Expectations Gap," In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 37, (1999): 429-454.
[196] H. Sjursen, "What Kind of Power?" In *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2006): 169-181.
[197] E. Castano, (2004) op. cit.
[198] A. Mummendey and S. Waldzus, (2004) op. cit.

EU Member States. [199] In Spohn and Eders' volume, Schmidtke, Favretto and Jáuregui explore national identities and collective memories in Western Europe. Schmidtke illuminates historical memories of the relations between Germany and Poland. [200] Favretto examines historical memories of Italy within the context of EU-enlargement. [201] Jáuregui touches upon the theme of Spanish memories of EU-enlargement. [202] For collective memories in Eastern Europe, Kovács discovers Hungarian public opinions about European integration. [203] Kubiš investigates Czech public opinion about Czechoslovakia and EU Member States. [204] These authors considered the concept of 'European identity' from multiple angles. Yet, while focusing on psychological elements, these studies did not consider those discourses informing the perceptions and beliefs, for instance the media.

The third strand in the literature investigates the European elites' perceptions of the EU. The authors employing this approach believe political elites within the Union understand the EU more clearly than EU citizens do. [205] Arguably, these elites have more opportunity to participate in EU political activities. In contrast to the two other approaches, the investigation of elites employs an interdisciplinary mix of methods. Political scientists Beetham and Lord explore political elites' perceptions of the EU with the special focuses on their loyalties to the

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[199] K. Eder and W. Spohn, eds., *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[200] O. Schmidtke, "Re-modelling the Boundaries in the New Europe: Historical Memories and Contemporary Identities in German-Polish Relations," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[201] I. Favretto, "Italy, EU-Enlargement and the 'Reinvention' of Europe: Between Historical Memories and Present Representations,"In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[202] P. Jáuregui, "Spain's 'Special Solidarity' with the East: The Influence of Collective Memory on Spanish Attitudes to EU-Enlargement," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder. and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[203] A. Kovács, "NATO and Hungarian Public Opinion," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[204] K. Kubiš, "Troublesome Anniversary: The Rise of the Czechoslovak Republic and its European Fellows in Czech Collective Memory," In *Collective Memory and European Identity: The Effects of Integration and Enlargement,* edited by K. Eder and W. Spohn, (Wiltshire: Ashgate, 2005).

[205] D. Beetham and C. Lord, op. cit.; B. Laffan, op. cit.; F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, op. cit.; and, M. Bruter, *Citizens of Europe: The Emergence of a Mass European Identity*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

EU.[206] Laffan examines elite perception of the EU institutions as an identity builder.[207] Wodak, a linguist, undertook discourse analysis of interviews with EU officials to reveal how European identity is constructed in their narrative.[208] This approach has its limitations in that it only provides a limited insight into the notion of European identity by drawing upon the perceptions of a selected political elite group. Missing are the investigations of other types of EU elites such as EU business, civil society, media, academia, etc. In contrast, Spini has attempted to investigate the opinions on the EU in European civil society circles.[209]

The fourth group of studies explores public perceptions and opinions on the Union. This approach deals with the perceptions of large groups of Europeans. Indeed, Beetham and Lord have pointed out the importance of searching the general public's knowledge of the EU.[210] Eurobarometer's numerous public opinion surveys have concentrated on the perceptions of the EU among its citizens.[211] Bruter investigates the public opinion of the EU to reveal civic components of European identity.[212] The results of their studies form informative and comprehensive accounts exploring the debated notion European identity. However, taking into account changing profile of the EU, the dynamics of public opinion should also be considered. So far, only the Eurobarometer studies provide some insights into the dynamics of the European public perceptions of the EU.

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[206] D. Beetham and C. Lord, (2003) op. cit.
[207] B. Laffan, (2004) op. cit.
[208] R. Wodak, "National and Transnational Identities: European and Other Identities Constructed in Interviews with EU Officials,"In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, edited by R. Herrmann, T. Risse and M. Brewer, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).
[209] D. Spini, "The Double Face of Civil Society," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). In her research, she did not actually conduct a public opinion survey. However, she employed the sample from Eurobarometer surveys in 2004 in order to support civil society as a source of public opinion.
[210] D. Beetham and C. Lord, (2003) op. cit.
[211] EUROPA, *Eurobarometer*, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm (retrieved on 15 December 2009). According to the website, Eurobarometer conducted at least 1,000 face-to-face interviews per each member states. For more details of the survey participants, see http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb44/chap8_en.htm (retrieved on 15 December 2009).
[212] M. Bruter, (2006) op. cit. In the first part of his volume, he individually conducted a public opinion survey in three EU member states (namely the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands) on a total sample of 210 respondents. In the second part, at an aggregate level, he utilised the series of Eurobarometer surveys from 1970 to 2000.

The final group of studies examines the reporting, representation and rhetoric of the EU in European news media. This analysis centres around news reportage which references the EU in domestic news media.[213] Examples of this approach can be found in Semetko, Valkenburg, Kevin and Spini's works. Semetko and Valkenberg analysed contents of EU print and television news.[214] Kevin investigated and compared EU reporting, representation and rhetoric in news from European national television and newspapers.[215] Spini presented representations of values, policies and legitimacy of the EU by analysing European media.[216] De Vreese and his co-authors have also extensively investigated news coverage of the EU in newspapers and television in Europe.[217] This strand of studies was a pioneering attempt to analyse one of the main sources of EU citizens' information and perceptions on the EU. However, the studies in this field continue to neglect the internet as a medium to communicate the EU to the Union's citizens.

To summarise, images and perceptions of the EU inside the Union's borders have attracted close scholarly attention. Relevant literature explored EU political actions linking them to the notion of European identity. Extensive research exists on psychological entities in the vision of European integration (e.g. memories, beliefs, perceptions). Internal perceptions of the EU are of special interest to this analysis. Research in the field has successfully explored European elites' perceptions, citizens' opinions and media representations of the EU. The

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[213]B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* (London: Verso, 1983); E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); and, D. Kevin, (2003) op. cit.

[214] H. Semetko and P. Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News," *Journal of Communication*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2000): 93-109.

[215] D. Kevin, *Europe in Media: A Comparison of Reporting, Representation, and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe*, (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003).

[216] D. Spini, "The Double Face of Civil Society," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

[217] C. de Vreese, "Europe in the News: A cross-national comparative study of the news coverage of key EU events," *European Union Politics* 2 (2001): 283-307; J. Peter, H. Semetko and C. de Vreese, "Politics on television in Europe: How European is it," *EU Politics,* vol. 4, no. 3 (2003): 305-327; and, R. Vliegenthart, A. Schuck, H. Boomgaarden and C. de Vreese, "News coverage and support for European integration 1990-2006," In *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2009): 415-439.

findings of these studies serve as a valuable reference to the debate on European identity. However, the literature also demonstrates some gaps in the scholarship. With this thesis focusing on media studies, this review demonstrate that only a limited number of media channels were studied – mostly press and television. In contrast EU representations in radio or internet as well as in other media (such as textbooks, fiction books, movies, etc) remain under-addressed.

2.4 An Overview of EU External Perceptions Studies

In the conceptualisation of the notion of European identity, views from the Others' (non-EU) are also significant. As Worchel claims, "Nearly every aspect of group identity is defined in terms of the out-groups."[218] Stråth poses an insightful question about European identity; "What makes Europeans European?" and answers his own question with "Europe does not exist without non-Europe," and "Europe can only be realised in the mirror of others."[219] Over the last decade, many attempts have been made to explore EU external perceptions in different geographic locations in Asia-Pacific, Africa and Americas. Professional social research companies conducted several large-scale surveys which studied the public perceptions of the EU alongside other major international actors. The EU has also begun a systematic examination of EU perceptions in the EU's neighbouring nations. The following section reviews key research on EU external perceptions.

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[218] S. Worchel, "A Developmental View of the Search for Group Identity," In *Social Identity: International Perspectives,* edited by S. Worchel et al., (London: SAGE, 1998).

[219] B. Stråth, "A European Identity To the Historical Limits of a Concept European,"In *Journal of Social Theory,,* vol 5, no. 4 (2002).

Chaban and Holland's project "The EU in the Eyes of Asia-Pacific" is considered to be a pioneering project in the field of EU external perception studies. Since 2002, Chaban and Holland's research team has published extensively on EU external perceptions in 21 locations in Asia-Pacific and two in Africa.[220] Within the framework of the project, Bain published her PhD thesis about EU images in New Zealand television news.[221] In contrast to other research groups, Chaban and Holland's studies should be singled out for their systematic, comprehensive and comparative methodology analysing public, media and elite perceptions of the EU in various locations in the Asia-Pacific region and in different time periods. Other scholars in the field have been influenced by the methodology employed by this project. For example, Zhang employed Chaban and Holland's methodology to explore EU media and public perceptions in Northeast Asian nations.[222] In another example, Sommerauer and Tumer utilised Chaban and Holland's methodology for exploring the representations of ASEM in South Korean print newspapers and those of Asia in German newspapers.[223] However, with exception of Bain's study, EU external media analysis by Chaban and Holland has overlooked visual analyses of EU images. In addition, the project has not addressed EU perceptions in a number of smaller Asia-Pacific locations [224] Furthermore, while analysis of EU imagery in traditional news media of the press and television has attracted considerable scholarly attention, the EU's external internet images have not been examined to date.

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[220] EU External Perceptions, Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region: a comparative study, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/comparitive/index.shtml (retrieved on 03 December 2009); and, EU External Perceptions, Publications, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/pubs.shtml (retrieved on 11 June 2013). So far, the research associates of this project have published a variety of publications: 6 books, 34 articles in refereed journals, 2 special issue of journal, 21 chapters in edited volume 25 monographs, web publications, conference proceedings and reports. The locations are as follows: Brazil, China, Japan, South Korea, India, Thailand, Hong Kong, Macau, Vietnam, Malaysia, India, Indonesia, Singapore, Palau, Papua New Guinea, The Philippines, Solomon Islands, Fiji, Samoa, Cook Islands, New Zealand, Australia, Kenya and South Africa. For a more detailed list of publications, see the website of EU external perceptions. http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/pubs.shtml (retrieved on 11 June 2013).
[221] J. Bain, *Europe at 6pm: Images of the EU on New Zealand Television News,* (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, August 2007).
[222] L. Zhang, "EU Perceptions in North-East Asia: A Cross-National Comparative Study of Press Coverage and Citizens' Opinion," In *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2010): 161-175. The author said that she employed the data from Chaban and Holland's research project.
[223] Y. Sommerauer and B. Turner, *Representations of Euro-Asian relations in 2010: South Korean newspapers report on ASEM and German newspapers on Asia (especially China),* EU Centre in Singapore Working Paper, December 2010.
[224] Although this research project has covered most countries in the Asia-Pacific region, more research is needed to illuminate the perceptions of remaining big and small locations in the regions such as Mongolia, Myanmar, Cambodia, Nepal, Pakistan, Bhutan (Asian locations) New Caledonia, Vanuatu, French Polynesia and Solomon Islands(Pacific locations).

In another Asia-Pacific location, Murray has investigated Australian elite perceptions of the EU.[225] Her survey of Australian elite respondents provided a useful feedback for the EU-Australia closer partnership. However, the survey focused on the EU's perceptions in economic or industrial terms rather than on political issues.[226] Compared with the project by Chaban and Holland, Murray's study, did not consider other types of Australian elites such as civic society elites.

Australian perceptions of the EU were also explored by Stats who studied Australian media representations of the EU. She and her co-authors employed Chaban and Holland's methodology for exploring *formal characteristics* (such as *volume, dynamics, length, placement* and *leading topics*) and *substantive characteristics* of EU representations (such as *information inputs, framing, proto-typical zone, actors, evaluations, journalistic attitudes* and *news values*) in EU-related articles from Australian national print newspapers.[227] In her other study, she has explored the findings from EU-related Australian television news in 2004, the EU's 'Big Bang' enlargement year. [228] She also analysed EU-related news items in Australian television and newspapers according to the elements of *framing*, *actors, evaluation* and *in-depth analyses* and subsequently has compared her findings of media analysis with those of Australian public opinion surveys.[229] She has collaborated with Chaban

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[225] P. Murray, "An Asia Pacific Response to the European Union: Australian Elite Perceptions," In *Asia Europe Journal,*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2003):103-119; and, P. Murray, "Perceptions of the EU Among Australian Elites" Paper to the Network of European Studies Centres of Asia (NESCA) Workshop on the EU's new identity and its perception in Asia: Responding to the 7th Framework Programme "Europe in the World", 27-29 July 2006. National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. In her first article, the number of respondents was 133 out of more than 650.

[226] P. Murray, (2003) op. cit. For detail of questionnaire, see Murray.

[227] N. Chaban et al., "When Enough is Enough? Dynamics of the EU Representations in Asia Pacific Printed Media," In *Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2004): 173-193. The categorisations of this artile are different from those of this thesis. For more information about the categories of this thesis, see Chapter 4.

[228] K. Stats, "Reading Europe: Representations of the European Union in the Australian Media," *La Trobe Forum*, Political Science Society, La Trobe University 25 (2005).

[229] M. Rogahn et al., "A Mediator on the World-Stage? - How the EU's Commitment in Foreign Affairs is portrayed by New Zealand and Australian Media," In *European Law Journal,* vol. 12, no. 5 (2006).

and Bain to examine metaphorical images of the EU enlargement in Australian and New Zealand newspapers.[230] Most recently, she has published an article regarding Australian media perceptions and media framings of the EU.[231] Stats' investigations are noteworthy because of her thorough and detailed investigation of Australian media perceptions of the EU. Her publications contribute to EU external perceptions studies by filling the existing gap of the external media studies, however, she considered EU images in television and newspapers and did not consider the internet.

EU perceptions in Asia-Pacific (more specifically in China and India) also attracted scholarly attention from a number of scholars. Among those studies are Lisbonne de Vergeron's works which examined Chinese and Indian elites' perceptions of the EU.[232] Her analysis explored Chinese and Indian elites' comments about the EU at high-level ministerial meetings (such as World Economic Forum), as well as data from some interviews with those elites and official discourses of EU-India and EU-China relations.[233] The merit of her studies is in undertaking longitudinal and comparative approach and in putting the spotlight of research onto the EU perceptions of 'emerging' powers in Asia.[234] The scholar herself justifies the choice of China and India due to their economy size in terms of nominal GDP.[235] Using this criterion, future studies may also consider other major economies in Asia such as Japan and Korea.[236]

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[230]N.Chaban, J. Bain and K. Stats, "Under Construction': Images of the Enlarging EU in the Australasian News Media," *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* (*CADAAD*), vol. 1, no. 2 (2007): 79-95.

[231] K. Stats, "The View from Down Under: The Australian News Media's Understanding and Framing of the European Union," In *Australian Studies*, 2 (2010):1-33, http://www.nla.gov.au/openpublish/index.php/australian-studies/article/viewFile/1761/2136 (retrieved on 19 September 2011). Comparing this article with the article published in 2005, she extended the research period from three months to six months of 2004. In addition, she has dealt with not only EU coverage of five Australian daily newspapers and two daily broadcastings but also Australian newsmakers' perceptions of the EU.

[232] K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Contemporary Indian Views of Europe*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2006); K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Contemporary Chinese Views of Europe*, (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2007); and, K. Lisbonne de Vergeron, *Chinese and Indian Views of Europe Since the Crisis: New Perspectives from the Emerging Asian Giants*, (London: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Great Britain Office, 2011).

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Ibid.

[236] International Monetary Fund, World Economy Outlook Database 2010: Nominal GDP list of countries, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2010/02/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=2007&ey=2010&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=%2C&br= 1&c=941%2C914%2C946%2C911%2C137%2C962%2C122%2C912%2C181%2C913%2C124%2C921%2C943%2C963%2C918%2C138

Study of EU perceptions in the Middle East includes Pardo's work on Israeli perceptions of the EU. According to Pardo, research of Israeli EU perceptions was under-addressed for some time.[237] In response to this Pardo's project investigates Israeli EU perceptions in three areas: public opinion, political elites and the media.[238] Pardo provides comprehensive insights into Israeli perceptions and his further investigation is aiming to look into the influence on the EU perceptions of several factors, including the Israeli public's personal connections to the EU in terms of travel or professional visit and the preferred sources of information such as the media or interpersonal communication. Pardo's media research concentrates on the EU images in the prestigious newspapers, and overlooks other media, including the internet.

Croci and Tossutti produced several publications about Canadian governmental elites' perceptions of the EU.[239] Their work tackles the deficit of EU perceptions studies in the Northern America. Yet, their analysis has extended only to political elites' and overlooked other cohorts of decision-makers. Canadian media perceptions of the EU were investigated by Retzlaff who extensively used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach in her analysis.[240] In contrast to other approaches, her work investigated journalists' lexical choices

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%2C142%2C964%2C182%2C960%2C968%2C423%2C922%2C935%2C128%2C942%2C936%2C939%2C961%2C172%2C184%2C132%2C915%2C134%2C174%2C144%2C146%2C944%2C176%2C186%2C178%2C926%2C136%2C112%2C916%2C967&s=NGDPD&grp=0&a=&pr1.x=62&pr1.y=12 (retrieved on 30 January 2012). IMF World Economic Outlook Database October 2010 shows that there are five biggest economies in Asia—China was the first biggest economy, Japan was the second, Russia was the third, India was the fourth and Korea was the fifth. For more information, see the website of IMF.

[237] S. Pardo,"Between Attraction and Resistance: Israeli Views of the European Union," In *External Perceptions of the European Union as Global Actor*, edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 70-86.

[238] Ibid.

[239] L. Tossutti, O. Croci and A. Verdun, "National Threat Perception: Survey Results from Canada," In *Global Threat Perception: Elite Survey results from Canada, China, the European Union, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States*, edited by E. Kirchner and J. Sperling, GARNET Working Papers No. 18/07 (2007); O. Croci and L. Tossutti, "That elusive object of desire: Canadian perceptions of the European Union," *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2007): 287-310; O. Croci and L. Tossutti, "Canada and the European Union. A story of unrequited attraction," In *The EU in the Global Political Economy*, edited by F. Laursen. (Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2009), 149-176; and, O. Croci and L. Tossutti, "The external image of the European Union: Report from Canada" in "The External Image of the European Union," edited by S. Lucarelli, GARNET Working Paper No. 17/07 (2007).

[240] S. Retzlaff and S. Gänzle. "Constructing the European Union in Canadian News,"In *CADAAD Journal*, vol. 2 no. 2 (2008):67-89; and, S. Retzlaff, "The Representation of the European Union in the Canadian Media during the Climate Change Debate 2007,"In *CADAAD Journal* , vol. 4, no. 1 (2010): 54-72.

of verbs and nouns in order to describe the EU or its actions.[241] However, Retzlaff's research did not consider the opinions of the newsmakers in explaining journalistic choices in covering the EU. In addition, Retzlaff did not examine some other key media aspects of the articles reporting the EU, such as the character of news, for instance asking why the news item in question was published or the journalistic attitudes behind the reportage. In addition, Retzlaff's research deals only with major print media rather than other news media such as television or the internet.

The research into EU perceptions by Fioramonti is very important to this thesis. As one of the leaders of the project "The external images of the European Union",[242] Fioramonti conducted analysis of EU external perceptions in numerous locations in the world.[243] Importantly for this thesis, his works analysed websites to track the EU's perceptions among the civil society representatives. Yet, his research did not address the internet as the subject of EU media images analysis.

Another pioneering project in the field of EU perceptions is Elgström's investigation into how non-EU diplomats perceive the roles of the EU in international multilateral negotiations. Some of the results from this investigation were presented in his 2006 co-edited volume *The*

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[241] S. Retzlaff, (2010) op. cit.

[242] 'Research Report: The External Image of the European Union - Phase Two', edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, GARNET Working Papers No. 62/09 (2009). Garnet explores EU external perceptions in political elites, public opinion, the press and organised civic society (such as trade union, academic institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations) by accessing open sources (newspapers, websites, official documents and available opinion polls).

[243] L. Fioramonti and S. Lucarelli, "What Do They Think of the EU? External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor," *Eyes on Europe* 9 (2008); L. Fioramonti and A. Poletti, "Facing the Giant: Southern Perspectives on the European Union," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1, (2008); L. Fioramonti and S. Lucarelli, "How do the Others See Us? European Political Identity and the External Image of the EU," In *The Search for a European Identity: Values, Policies and Legitimacy of the European Union,* edited by F. Cerutti and S. Lucarelli, (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); L. Fioramonti, *African Perceptions of the European Union: Assessing the Work of the EU in the Field of Democracy Promotion and Peacekeeping*, IDEA Working Paper, October 2009; S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, eds., *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor*, (London: Routledge, 2010); and, G. Oliver and L. Fioramonti, "The Emerging 'Global South': The EU in the Eyes of India, Brazil and South Africa," In *External Perceptions of the European Union as Global Actor*, edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010). His project covered 16 locations over the world. For more information, see http://www.garnet-eu.org/fileadmin/documents/Activities/Flyer_survey_External_Image.pdf

European Union's Roles in International Politics where the scholar posed two key questions: Is the EU seen as a great power and as one unified actor?; and, Is it considered a leader in international relations?[244] In his co-authored article with Chaban and Holland, which also addressed these two questions, Elgström claimed that EU images in the context of EU foreign policy are underexplored and to study the EU's perceptions using only EU foreign policy documents and speeches is not enough. [245] Elgström's prolific research stressed the importance of the empirical component to the EU external perceptions studies, while his focus remained on exploration of EU images in international negotiation.[246] His analysis examined images of the EU as a leader in international negotiations,[247] in international trade negotiations,[248] EU coherence in its aid and trade policy,[249] EU-Pacific islands Economic Partnership Agreement[250] and in climate change negotiations.[251] The strength of Elgström's approach in his sophisticated combination of several method of analysis including face-to-face interviews and examination of official discourses, however, his studies did not look into EU perceptions in the multilateral negotiations preventing international conflicts, such as war, mass-destruction and terrorism.

[244]O. Elgström and M. Smith, eds., *The European Union's Roles in International Politics: Concepts and Analysis*, (London; Routledge, 2006); and, Personal Page, O. Elgström, http://www.svet.lu.se/Dynamic/personal_page/personal_homepage.lasso?-token.kod=OEL&-token.language=eng (retrieved on 23 July 2011).

[245] N. Chaban, O. Elgström and M. Holland, "The European Union as Others See It?" In *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (2006): 245-262.

[246] Personal Page, O. Elgström, op. cit.; and, B. Kilian and O. Elgström, "Still a Green Leader? The European Union's Role in International Climate Negotiations," *Cooperation and Conflict* 45 (2010): 255-273.

[247] O. Elgström, "The European Union as a Leader in International Multilateral Negotiations—a Problematic Aspirations?" *International Relations*, vol. 21 no. 4 (2007): 445-458. In this article, he has dealt with three representative negotiations in trade and environmental areas (such as UNFF, CITES and WTO). For more information about these negotiations, see Elgström.

[248] O. Elgström,"Outsiders' Perceptions of the European Union in International Trade Negotiations," In *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 45 no. 4, (2007): 949-967.

[249] O. Elgström and J. Pilegaad, "Imposed Coherence: Negotiating Economic Partnership Agreements," In *Journal of European Integration*, vol. 30 no. 3 (2008):363-380.

[250] L. Sheahan et al., "Benign Partner or Benign Master? Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations between the European Union and the Pacific Islands," In *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2010):347-368; and, O. Elgström, "Partnership in Peril? Images and Strategies in EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations," In *External Perceptions of the European Union as Global Actor*, edited by S. Lucarelli and L. Fioramonti, (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 105-119.

[251] B. Kilian, and O. Elgström, "Still a Green Leader? The European Union's Tole in International Climate Negotiations," *Cooperation and Conflict* 45 (2010): 255-273.

In 2011, Free University of Berlin's NFG (*Nachwuchsforschergruppe*) launched a new project named "Asian Perceptions of the EU: China and India."[252] This project (2011-14) aims to identify, analyse and assess factors and causes that affect the difference in perception of the EU (as the "sender") and Chinese and Indian foreign-policy elites (as the targeted "recipients") in one issue-area: security.[253] The project is yet to produce the report of its major findings, thus, it is difficult to comment on the strengths and shortcomings of this study.

In addition to the research on EU external perceptions by individuals or groups of scholars, EU images were also studied in large-scale surveys by professional social research companies.[254] The first survey of this kind considered here is *World Powers in the 21st Century* conducted by Bertelsmann Stiftung in June 2006. The respondents of this survey were asked to comment on the perceived importance of global powers in the 21st century and Europe's global responsibility.[255] This survey was conducted with 1,000 respondents in each of the nine locations: Brazil, China, Germany, France, the UK, India, Japan, Russia and the US.[256] The second large-scale survey *Transatlantic Trends 2007* was conducted by the US German Marshall Fund in September 2007.[257] There were 1,000 American respondents in this survey who answered the questions about their perceptions of the US, the EU, Iran, Israel, the Palestine, Turkey, Russia and China.[258] A large-scale survey *Voice of the People* was conducted in 2007 (an annual survey supported by Gallup International in collaboration with

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[252] NFG, Asian Perceptions of the EU, https://www.asianperceptions.eu/ (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[253] NFG Research Group, Asian Perceptions of the EU, http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/Associated_Projects/nfg/index.html (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[254] Even though all of these surveys mentioned do not focus on public opinion towards the EU, these surveys partially illustrate the public perceptions of the EU.
[255] *World Powers in the 21st Century*, Bertelsmann Stiftung, June 2006, http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bst/en/media/xcms_bst_dms_19189_19190_2.pdf
[256] The survey was conducted under the CATI (Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing) Technology. However, for the respondents in China, Russia and India, the interviewers conducted face-to-face interviews in the urban areas because of technical difficulties. And the mean margin of error is +/- 3.1 percentage points. For more information, see http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/bst/en/media/xcms_bst_dms_19189_19190_2.pdf (retrieved on 13 June 2013).
[257] *Transatlantic Trends 2007*, US German Marshall Fund survey, September 2007, http://trends.gmfus.org/doc/2007_US_party_breakdown.pdf (retrieved on 13 June 2013).
[258] Ibid.

European Council on Foreign Relations).[259] The sample included 57,000 respondents from 52 countries. [260] These large-scale surveys provide unique insights into the EU's public perceptions on a global level. They allow comparative perspectives in their assessments of the perceptions of the EU vis-à-vis other global actors. However, these types of surveys are costly and time-consuming. Furthermore, typical for any public opinion survey, the respondents' answers to the questions might not reflect their true feelings.

Recently, the European Commission (EC) has begun to explore EU external perceptions by supporting several projects, among those "Disaggregating Chinese Perception of the EU", Eurobroadmap, and EUmagine within Seventh Framework Programme (FP7).[261] According to the FP7 website, these programmes support the EU in its ambition to accomplish the goal of the EU's Lisbon Strategy, which is to become the "most dynamic competitive knowledge-based economy in the world."[262] In addition, a large scale study of EU perception in the EU's neighbourhood was supported by European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).

China Policy Institute in the School of Contemporary Chinese Studies at the University of Nottingham has led a collaborative research project with five academic institutes in China and three European nations.[263] Since 2009, the research participants of this project have

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[259] *2007 Voice of People, EUObserver*, <http://euobserver.com/9/25036/?rk=1>
[260] Ibid.
[261]"Disaggregating Chinese Perception of the EU", http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/research/funded-projects/chinese-eu/consortium.aspx (retrieved on 17 January 2011); Eurobroadmap, the project—presentation, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/4 (retrieved on 30 January 2012); European Commission, Cordis, Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/home_en.html (retrieved on 17 January 2011); ENPI Info Centre, http://www.enpi-info.eu/ (retrieved on 17 January 2011); and, EUmagine, About EUmagine project, http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about.aspx (retrieved on 23 May 2013).
[262] European Commission, Cordis, Sixth Framework Programme (FP6), http://cordis.europa.eu/fp6/dc/index.cfm?fuseaction=UserSite.FP6HomePage (retrieved on 18 January 2011); and, European Commission, Cordis, Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), The main objectives of FP7: Specific programmes, http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/understand_en.html (retrieved on 17 January 2011).
[263] Chinese Views of the EU, op. cit. There are six participating academic institutes for this projects: China Policy Institute at the University of Nottingham (the UK), Chinese Academy of Social Science, Renmin University of China, Leiden University (the Netherlands), Jakobs

published numerous working and policy papers.[264] Yang covers Chinese urban residents' perceptions of the EU.[265] Dekker and van der Noll explain how the Chinese public evaluated the EU (positive, negative or neutral) and why they gave such evaluations to the EU.[266] Wang and Popescu point out that Chinese people who understand more about the EU's internal complexities (such as history of the EU and the membership of the EU) are inclined to show positive attitudes towards the EU and its citizens.[267] Everts' works show that Chinese public's interests, knowledge and involvements about the EU impact upon Chinese views of Europe.[268] Spakowski and Thies cover the description of Europe in a representative selection of history and geography textbooks currently used in Chinese senior and junior high schools.[269] Dong's articles cover Chinese elite opinions to explore most controversial issues

University Bremen (Germany) and Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, London (the UK).

[264] Research Outputs, School of Contemporary Chinese Studies, China Policy Institute, University of Nottingham, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/research/funded-projects/chinese-eu/research-outputs.aspx (retrieved on 29 October 2012). The research participants of this project published 14 policy papers and seven working papers. For more information, see Research Outputs.

[265] D. Yang, The role of urban characteristics in the construction of ideas towards EU in developing China, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-du-yang.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[266] H. Dekker, and J. van der Noll, Chinese Citizens'. Dekker, and J. van der Noll, Chinese Citizens Origins, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-citizens-attitudes.pdf (retrieved on 16 October 2011). The public opinion survey of this project involved among 3,019 urban residents across six cities in China. This paper has dealt with two questions of the questionnaire in order to explore Chinese attitudes towards the EU. The first question was "Please tell me if you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or a very favorable impression of the EU?" The second question was: "Please tell me if you have a very unfavorable, somewhat unfavorable, somewhat favorable or a very favorable impression/image of EU citizens?" Given that there is no margin of error found, it seems this project did not hire professional social research groups to implement the survey in China. For the most thorough study of this project to date, see http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/research/funded-projects/chinese-eu/research-outputs.aspx (retrieved on 29 October 2012).

[267] Z. Wang and B. Popescu, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-views-of-eu-2.pdf (retrieved on 16 October 2011); Z. Wang and B. G. Popescu, Understanding EU's internal complexities help increase Chinese perception of the EU and Europe, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-wang-popescu.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012); and, Z. Wang, B. G. Popescu, Knowledge breeds affects: how does the understanding EU's internal complexities increase EU's image among Chinese people? http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-wang-zhengxu.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).In these papers, the questionnaire consists of two parts. The first part comprises of five questions about respondents' attitudes towards the EU. The first question was "Please tell me if you have unfavourable, somewhat unfavourable, somewhat favourable or very favourable impressions of: the EU." The second question was "Please tell me if you have favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable impression/image of: EU citizens." The third question was "Do you think in general EU citizens are trustworthy or cannot be trusted? Please select on the 7 point scale below a value that expresses your view. (1 very trustworthy, 2 quite trustworthy, 3 somewhat trustworthy, 4 neutral, 5 somewhat untrustworthy, 6 quite untrustworthy, 7 very untrustworthy)." The fourth question was "In your opinion, would you say that the EU tends to play a positive or a negative role regarding: a. Peace in the world; b. The international economy; c. Protection of the environment; d. Scientific progress; e. Fighting poverty in the world; f. Fighting international terrorism." The last question was "In general how friendly is the China-EU relationship?" The respondent rated this relationship with a number that can range from "1" representing "very unfriendly" to "10", "very friendly." The second part consists of four questions about the respondents' knowledge about internal complexities of the EU. The first question was "Where the EU headquarters is located?" The second question was "How many member states does the EU have?" The third question was "Is each of these countries part of the EU: Turkey, Switzerland, Poland, Russia, and Norway? (comprising five separate questions)" The last question was "Which these countries do not use Euro: France, Germany, Poland, or Russia? (comprising four separate questions)" As with the previous paper, more detailed information about the surveys (such as whether it employed professional agents oand what margin of error is present in the results) is still unknown. For the most thorough study of this project to date, see http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/research/funded-projects/chinese-eu/research-outputs.aspx (retrieved on 29 October 2012).

[268] P. Everts, The role of interest, knowledge and involvement Chinese views of Europe and the EU and policy implications, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-everts.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012); and, P. Everts, Familiarity breeds content: Chinese views of Europe and international affairs: the role of interest, knowledge and travel, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-everts.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[269] A. Thies and N. Spakowski, Europe in current Chinese history textbooks and options for cultural exchange between China and the European Union, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-thies-spokowski.pdf (retrieved on 29

affecting the EU's China policy.[270] Yu inquires about Chinese civil society elites perceive the EU and its aids. [271] Stockmann explores how ethnocentrism impacted upon Chinese perceptions towards Europeans. [272] Tang presents negative perceptions of the EU among Chinese urban residents. [273] Liu touches upon Chinese business elites perceptions of the EU.[274] Zhang examines Chinese view of the EU as a developmental actor by conducting opinion surveys and interviews of different segments of Chinese society (such as government officials, urban residents, business leaders, scholars and researchers and reporting and editorial staffs of mass media).[275] Delhey and Graf explore Chinese perceptions of European trustworthiness, aggressiveness and overall images and compared with those of Russia and the US.[276] Sun's articles presented the differences between Chinese elite and public opinions about the EU. [277]

Overall, this project has provided ample information about Chinese public and elite perceptions. The strength of this project comes from its provocative questions on the Chinese public's in-depth knowledge about the EU. Furthermore, this project has attempted comparative analysis between public and elite perceptions of the EU bringing new insights to

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October, 2012); and, N. Spakowski, From antagonist to model? – The function and place of Europe in Chinese middle school history textbooks, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-everts.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[270] L. Dong, Opinions of the Chinese elites on the most controversial issues affecting the European Union's China strategy: the policy implications, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-dong1.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012); and, L. Dong, Opinions of the Chinese government officials on the EU and China-EU relations: the policy implications, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-dong2.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[271] Y. Yu, Supporting civil society in China: challenges and opportunities for the EU, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-yu.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[272] D. Stockmann, Media influence on ethnocentrism towards Europeans, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-view-of-eu-danie.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[273] H. Tang, Negative Chinese views of the EU: a report on 6 focus group interviews in 2010, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-view-of-eu-tang.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[274] J. Liu, The Chinese business elite's perception of the EU, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-liu-jianxiong.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[275] L. Zhang, Communicating the EU as an environmental actor to China: raising EU's profile in EU-China environmental cooperation, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-zhang.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[276] J. Delhey and T. Graf, Chinese trust in Europeans: research findings and policy implications, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-delhey-graf.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012); and, J. Delhey and T. Graf, The determinants and consequences of Chinese trust in Europeans, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-delhey-graf.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

[277] L. Sun, Chinese public and elites' views of the EU: implications for EU's China policy, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-chinese-viewsof-eu-sun.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012); and, L. Sun, Elite vs. public opinion: divergent perceptions of EU in urban China, http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/cpi/documents/funded-projects/fp7-working-papers-sun-long.pdf (retrieved on 29 October, 2012).

analysis of EU external perceptions, such as textbook analysis. However, with the exception of a few articles, this project is not concerned with EU representations in the Chinese media.

Another FP7 EU external perceptions project is Eurobroadmap. The project proposes two interlinked objectives aiming to demonstrate that different visions of the Europe and the EU in it in the world currently exist and to examine the place allotted to the EU in the vision of the world produced by other non-European countries and to chart their implications.[278] Since 2008, this project has been led by 12 multidisciplinary teams (France, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, Malta, Romania, Turkey, Brazil, Cameroon, China and India).[279] The teams focus on conducting the surveys on mental maps in order to compare and contrast the visions of Europe and the world held by Europeans and non-Europeans.[280] This project consists of seven work packages (WP).[281] In WP2, the project workers conducted a survey investigating mental maps of the students from EU member states (France, Belgium, Romania, Sweden, Portugal and Malta) and non-EU nations (Turkey, China, India, Cameroon and Brazil).[282] WP3 focused on revealing migrants perceptions of the EU.[283] Within this work package, Storeliu et al. have dealt with Moldovan migrants to Romania.[284] Thapan and Deka have explored Indian migrants' views of Europe.[285] Quiminal and Blum le Coat have examined

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[278] Eurobroadmap, the project—presentation, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/4 (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid. The seven work packages of Eurobroadmap are as follows—WP1: Management, WP2: Mental Maps of Students, WP3: Migrants and Borders, WP4: Politics and Ideology, WP 5: Flows and Networks, WP6: Integrated Visions and WP7: Valorisation of Results. In here, WP1, WP6 and WP7 will not be reviewed because these packages have not yet presented the results. For more information, see http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/4 (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[282] Eurobroadmap, World Package 2, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/19 (retrieved on 30 January 2012). The question of the survey is as follows: "With the exception of the country or countr(ies) where you currently have citizenship, list up to 5 countries, for each of the following questions…where you would like to live in the near future?...where you would NOT like to live in the near future?" Unfortunately, the website has not yet released the portrat of the survey respondents of Eurobroadmap (such as age, gender and ethnic group). For more information, see http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/19 (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[283] Eurobroadmap, World Package 3, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/21(retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[284] O. Stoleriu et al., Migrants and Borders: Romania and Moldova, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/63/82/53/PDF/EWP_migrants_borders_moldova.pdf (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[285] M. Thapan and M. Deka, Migrants and Borders –M. Tha, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/63/82/63/PDF/EWP_migrants_borders_india.pdf (retrieved on 30 January 2012).

African migrants' understandings of Europe.[286] WP4 aims to check how Europe exists in relation to political discourse.[287] In WP4, the project workers analysed the websites of international organisations and national foreign offices, international economic media and teaching materials of history and geography.[288] Van Well and Reardon have investigated how the EU was perceived in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiations.[289] Delcourt has dealt with the EU behaviour at the United Nations General Assembly (plenary session plus the six committees) during the 64th session.[290] Brennetot, Mendibil and Rosemberg have examined representations of Europe and those of the EU in geography textbooks of secondary schools in France, the US and Brazil.[291] WP5 deals with how is Europe linked to the rest of the world by flows.[292] Project researchers analyse trade flows between the EU and non-European nations.[293]

The Eurobroadmap project represents a solid contribution to the field of EU external perceptions. The greatest strength of this project is its extensive geographic coverage; public opinion surveys were conducted in EU Member States, the US, African, Middle East and East Asian nations. This project provides rare up-to-date analyses of the current state of EU external perception studies, including textbook analysis, migrant analysis and flow analysis. The novel approaches of this project offer valuable material for further research. In addition,

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[286] C. Quiminal and J. Blum le Coat, Migrants and Borders – Synthesis, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/63/82/45/PDF/EWP_migrants_borders_synthesis.pdf
(retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[287] Eurobroadmap, Work Package 4 – Politics and Ideology, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/node/22 (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[288] Ibid.
[289] L. van Well and M. Reardon, The WTO and the EU: Leadership versus Power in International Image, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/64/87/61/PDF/EWP_politics_ideology_EU_WTO.pdf (retrieved on 30 January 2012). In this working paper, the authors examine the 'actorness' of the EU via two negotiation cases: one related to the 'Banana War,' and the other one related to Genetically Modified Organism (GMO). For more information, see van Weel and Reardon.
[290] B. Delcourt, The EU at the UNGA, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/63/83/79/PDF/EWP_politics_ideology_EU_at_the_UN.pdf(retrieved on 30 January 2012). Delcourt's analysis is based on an extensive review of voting behaviour, statements, and meetings PV, focuses on external perceptions of EU.
[291] A. Brennetot, D. Mendibil and M. Rosemberg, Europe Representations in Textbook, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/64/87/67/PDF/EWP_politics_ideology_textbook_analysis.pdf (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[292] Eurobroadmap, Work Package 5 – Flows and Networks, http://www.eurobroadmap.eu/Flows_and_Networks (retrieved on 30 January 2012).
[293] G. van Hamme and C. Grasland, Statistical Toolbox for Flow and Network Analysis, http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/docs/00/65/45/32/PDF/EWP_flows_networks_toolbox.pdf (retrieved on 30 January 2012).

this project is noteworthy because of the discussion on both internal and external perceptions of the EU. In sum, this project is a serious and engaging study of EU external perceptions; however, this project did not focus on the studies of EU media images or non-European elite perceptions of the EU. Nonetheless, Eurobroadmap is a challenging and proactive contribution to the study of EU external perceptions.

In 2010, the ENPI project investigated public and elites' perceptions of the EU in its 16 northern and southern neighbouring countries (specifically, nine ENPI south countries and seven ENPI east countries). [294] The value of this project is in its focus on the EU's Neighbourhood countries whose general public may have more frequent personal experiences of the EU. This project conducted the opinion polls of the general public and interviews with opinion leaders. Yet, no analysis of EU representations in the media of these locations was undertaken. In addition, the study did not include analysis from EU neighbour countries, such as Switzerland and Norway.

In February 2010, 34 researchers from eight institutes in seven European countries launched a new transnational research project called EUmagine. [295] This project aims to find out how Europe is perceived from outside the EU, and how these perceptions affect migration aspirations and decisions. [296] Based on a two-fold theoretical starting point, this project focuses on exploring "migratory imaginations" and "geographical imaginations" of the

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[294] ENPI Info Centre, About the ENPI, http://www.enpi-info.eu/main.php?id=402&id_type=2 (retrieved on 17 January 2011). Participating countries for this projects are Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Occupied Palestinian Territories, Syria and Tunisia.
[295] EUmagine, About EUmagine project, http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about.aspx (retrieved on 23 May 2013). Participating institutes of this project are University of Antwerp (UA), Belgium - *Co-ordinator*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, United Kingdom, International Migration Institute (IMI), University of Oxford, United Kingdom, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), Norway, Koc University, Turkey, Université Mohamed V – Agdal (UMVA), Morocco, Centre of Sociological research (CSR), Ukraine and Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD), Senegal.
[296] Ibid.

citizens of Morocco, Senegal, Turkey and Ukraine.[297] Quantitative data has been collected from 8,000 respondents (500 each in 16 research areas from four research countries).[298] The qualitative data has been collected from 320 informants (20 each in 16 research areas from four research countries) and resource persons at migration NGOs, civil society organisations and the embassies of the major immigration countries (8 to 9 institutions in each research country).[299] By January 2013, numerous publications about this project were presented on the project's website. [300] The strength of this project lies in the mix of quantitative and qualitative data collection. In addition, the researcher will offer insight into the diversity of perceptions, aspirations and motivations within each country by exploring the four different research areas from each country.

In summary, over the past decade, scholars have examined non-EU media, public and elite images of the EU in various regions and countries and from a variety of analytical and methodological approaches. There are still a number of overlooked areas in this field. For example, EU perceptions in some smaller locations are under-addressed, and in some cases there is scope for the elite cohorts studied to be further diversified. Media analysis remains a relatively overlooked area of analysis. Where media analysis is performed, research on EU images of the internet is non-existent. However, in spite of these limitations the

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[297] Ibid. On the EUmagine website, the first theoretical point is that different types of discourses on human rights and democracy might influence how individuals in countries of origin and transit perceive issues of human rights and democracy. The website then argues that individuals' perceptions in turn influence their migratory aspirations and decisions. The term "migratory imaginations" means people's attitude to migration as a valuable life project. The other term "geographical imaginations" refers to the meanings and images that make up people's subjective conception of particular places, including Europe. For more information, see EUmagine website. http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about (retrieved on 23 May 2013).
[298] EUmagine, Newsletter Issue 1, February 2011, http://www.eumagine.org/newsletter/EUMAGINE%20Newsletter%201%20-%20February%202011.pdf (retrieved on 23 May 2013). In this project, the researcher chose four different localities in each research country according to following categorisations 1) an area that is characterised by high-emigration rates; 2) a second, comparable socio-economic area with low emigration; 3) a comparable area with a strong immigration history; and 4) a location with a specific human rights situation.
[299] EUmagine, Newsletter Issue 2, February 2012, http://www.eumagine.org/newsletter/EUMAGINE%20Newsletter%202%20-%20February%202012.pdf (retrieved on 23 May 2013).
[300] EUmagine, About EUmagine project, http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about.aspx (retrieved on 23 May 2013). In this project, the researchers published 12 work packages, 14 project papers and 13 other publications (such as questionnaires in seven different languages, five policy briefs and one executive summary of EUmagine). For more detailed information, see the EUmagine website. http://www.eumagine.org/pages/eumagine_about. (retrieved on 23 May 2013).

aforementioned EU external perception studies offer a significant contribution to the ongoing debate on European political identity.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter started with an elaboration of the meaning and characteristics of the concept of European political identity. It also argued why European political identity needs to be systematically investigated demonstrating that it is a key factor in eliciting support to the project of European integration from EU citizens and showing that it also provides evidence for the Union's global influences. The EU's internal and external perceptions provide a way to evaluate the concept of European political identity. EU internal perceptions are explored in the literature on the EU's diplomatic actions as well as on media, public, elite images of the EU. External perceptions of the EU are examined by various authors investigating non-EU media, public and elite perceptions of the EU as well as non-EU diplomats' perceptions in the context of international multilateral negotiations. By reviewing research on EU internal and external perceptions, this thesis made two prominent findings. Firstly, the current academic discourse on European political identity studies has shifted from examining internal perceptions to the study of external perceptions. The number of publications related to EU internal perceptions has decreased over the last decade, while, over the same period of time, the volume of publications related to EU external perceptions has increased. Secondly, there is a significant lack of studies of EU media images on the new medium of the internet. This analysis addresses this gap, and turns to examining EU representations on the internet.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Frameworks

3.1 Theoretical Frameworks

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis aims to investigate how EU images in Korean print and internet versions of newspapers contribute to EU external perceptions studies. The first two chapters have identified two gaps in existing empirical studies which support the legitimacy of this thesis: there are insufficient examinations of EU-Korea relations in comprehensive areas (political, economic, social, environmental and developmental) and there are no studies of EU representations in internet media. This chapter presents a number of theories to understand the empirical findings of EU-Korea relations as presented on the internet. The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows: Framework 1 considers media dependency theory; Framework 2 covers agenda-setting theory, the common knowledge paradigm and the notion of interactivity, providing justification for this study's focus on the news media; Framework 3 examines gatekeeping theory to describe how newsmakers' perceptions might be another possible area to consider when analysing Korean media perceptions of the EU; Framework 4 elucidates several approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis to explain the insights into the analysis of linguistic texts and visual images in the news media.

3.1.1 Framework 1: News as One Possible Source of Information about the World

This thesis rests on the assumption that foreign news about the EU in the Korean media (both newspapers and their internet versions) might play a significant role in the political education of the Korean public about the EU. However, this research also acknowledges that the Korean public may draw their information about the EU from other equally influential sources. According to Dearing and Rogers, when someone is personally involved in a specific issue, this personal information overrides media influences upon them.[301] However, particularly in the case of international news, intervening factors such as direct personal experiences of a foreign policy actor are limited; thus there is a limit on how personal experiences can influence people's perceptions.[302] Results of Korean public opinion surveys on the EU indicate that more than half of the respondents mention that they have no direct or personal contact with the EU Member States.[303]

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[301] J. Dearing and E. Rogers, *Agenda-Setting*, (New York: SAGE Publications, 1996), 52.
[302] J. Dearing and E. Rogers, (1996) op. cit.; J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.; and, N. Chaban, J. Bain, and K. Stats, "Frenemies," *Critical Policy Analysis* vol. 1, no. 1 (2007): 62-95.
[303] EU External Perceptions, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz (retrieved on 21 August 2008).

Figure 3.1: Personal and Professional Connections with the EU Member States for Korean General Public (2004 and 2006)
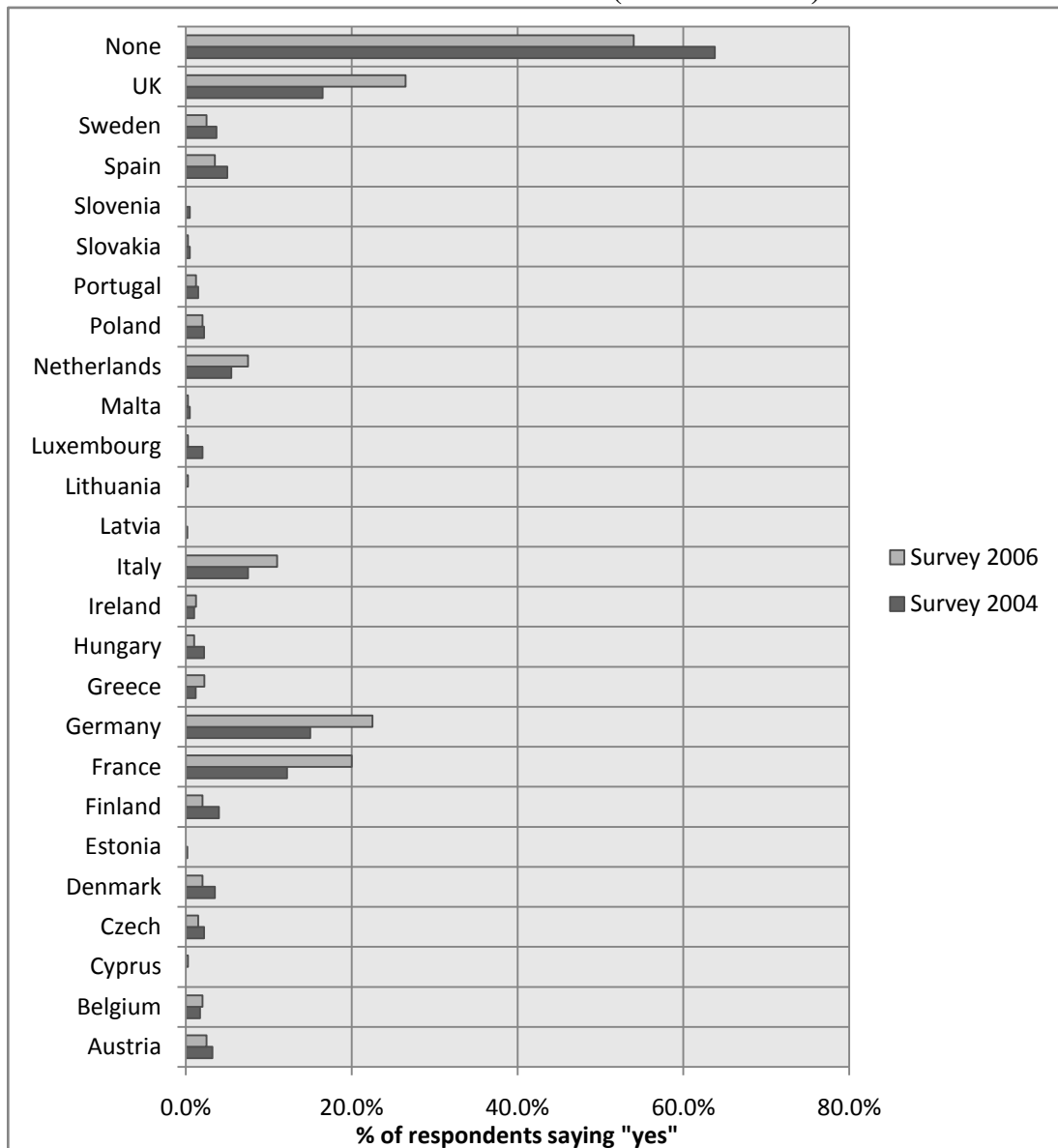
The results suggest that the Korean public depend upon the news media as an alternative main source of information about the EU. There are three supporting reasons for this suggestion. Firstly, the general public is inclined to rely on the contents of the news media to get the information about international affairs (including EU-related issues). According to Figure 3.1, about 60% of the Korean public has no personal contact with any EU Member States. In addition, previous investigations of EU perceptions in 12 Asian locations (South Korea inclusive) discovered that majority of public in the region received their information

about the EU from the news media, rather than from direct contacts.[304] According to Bretherton and Vogler, general public perceptions of the EU are constructed when the public (the media audiences) acknowledge, contest or confirm the information about the EU in the news media.[305] Thus, EU-related news articles in the media can be key sources of information about the EU in terms of their influence upon Korean perceptions of the Union.

A second reason is that the information in the news media is released regularly and frequently through a range of means, including television, newspapers and the internet, so the general public can access information from multiple media channels. Galtung and Ruge contend that "the regularity, ubiquity and perseverance of the news media will in any case make them first-rate competitors for the number-one position as international image former."[306]

Finally, the news media may also influence perceptions of the elites who make policies and decisions. From Buckley's perspective, the news media have an impact on the elite and the public in terms of forming and conducting foreign policy.[307] Livingston points out that the news media have significant influence on government and politicians.[308] Her investigation showed that the 'CNN effect' on the US government's policy-making process was clearly visible during the period of political conflicts in Third World countries, such as Somalia, Iraq, Haiti and Bosnia.[309] Images produced by CNN may have convinced the government to

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[304] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., (2004) op. cit.; M. Holland et al., eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: Media Public and Elite Perceptions in China, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Thailand.* (Singapore-Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU.* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008); and, N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Findings,* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009). The 12 Asian locations are as follows: China, Hong Kong SAR, Macau SAR, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia and India

[305] C. Bretherton and J. Vogler, "Nature of the Beast: the Identity and Roles of the EU," In *The European Union as a Global Actor,.* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006).

[306] J. Galtung and M. Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News," In *Journal of Peace Research,* vol. 2, no. 1 (1965): 64-91.

[307] B. Buckley, *The News Media and Foreign Policy: An Exploration,* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, 1998).

[308] S. Livingston, *Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention* http://www.genocide-watch.org/images/1997ClarifyingtheCNNEffect-Livingston.pdf (retrieved on 13 June 2013).

[309] Ibid.

undertake immediate military actions as videos and images were broadcast worldwide immediately after and sometimes even during the political crisis. In addition, international news influences the public's perception of policy-making in the area of foreign affairs both directly and indirectly.[310] It is generally agreed that international news is a powerful shaper of the general public's opinion on issues of foreign policy.[311] Thus, the South Korean public's limited chances for contact with Europe/the EU and/or its Member States suggest that EU news may play a vital role in shaping EU perceptions.

This hypothesis is supported by media dependency theory. Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur endeavour to "...explain why mass communications sometimes have powerful and direct effects and at other times have indirect and rather weak effects."[312] According to their theory, the more a person becomes dependent on the media to fulfil his or her needs for information about their immediate society and the wider world, the more important the media will become to that individual.[313] Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur hypothesise that people in contemporary society seem to rely more on the media than any other sources of information. They assert that, as a society becomes more complex, the less contact within the given society with each other, making them less aware of the society they inhabit because they have very limited approachable sources of information.[314] This means that media influence upon the public is much more significant. Since the introduction of media dependency theory, the study based on this theory has been replicated by several media scholars. Auter partially

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[310] S. Livingston, "The Rise and Fall of Audience Research: An Old Story with a New Ending," In *Journal of Communication,* vol. 43, no. 4 (1993): 5-12; C**.** Moisy, "Myth**s** about the Global Information Village," *Foreign Policy* 107 (1997): 78-87; M. Belknap, "The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk? U. S. Army War College," Strategy Research Project, (2001); C. Naveh, "The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework," *conflict & communication online*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2002); and, M. Peña, News media and the foreign policy decision-making process, CNN or Washington in Razón **y** Palabra, N 32, Abril - Mayo 2003 http://www.cem.itesm.mx/dacs/publicaciones/logos/anteriores/n32/mpena.htm.
[311] B. Cohen. *The Press and Foreign Policy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); J. Galtung and M. Ruge, (1965) op. cit.; C. de Vreese, (2001) op. cit.; D. Kevin, (2003) op. cit.; and, E. Östgaard, "Factors Influencing the Flow of News,"In *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 4, no.3 (2003): 305-327.
[312] S. Ball-Rokeach and M. de Fleur, "A Dependency Model of Mass-media Effects," In *Communication Research,* 1,(1976): 3-21.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Ibid.

adopted Ball-Rokeach and her colleagues' methodologies measuring media dependency in television shopping shows.[315] Blumler argued that media dependency resides in the audiences' needs.[316] Donohew and his co-authors studied psychological and social factors of the media dependency.[317] Littlejohn explained a concept of the media dependency theory in his volume.[318] Infante and his co-authors have also described media dependency in texts.[319]

As argued by dependency theory, the news media play a vital role in informing people about out-of-contact areas such as political, economic and social issues. Unless individuals there are able to draw on personal beliefs and experiences, they tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions through discourses from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources such as the media.[320] By applying this theory, if the Korean public have limited direct contact with the EU, the media play a significant role in supplying the information about the EU to the Korean public. However, it is still difficult to accept this statement because there is no evidence to support the assertion that the Korean public actually rely on the news media to get the information about the EU. Figure 3.2 demonstrates that this theory is valid to the context of this thesis by illustrating the Korean public's actual sources of information about the EU.

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[315] P. Auter, "TV that Talks Back: An Experimental Validation of a Parasocial Interaction Scale," In *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 36 (1992): 173-181; and, A.Grant, K. Guthrie and S. Ball-Rokeach, "Television Shopping: A Media Dependency Perspective," In *Communication Research* 18 (1991): 773-798.

[316] J. Blumler, "The Role of Theory in Uses and Gratifications Studies," In *Communication Research* 6 (1979): 9-36.

[317] L. Donohew, P. Palmgreen and J. Rayburn, "Social and Psychological Origins of Media Use: A Lifestyle Analysis,"In *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 31 (1987): 255-278.

[318] S. Littlejohn, *Theories of Human Communication* (6th ed.), (Albuquerque, NM: Wadsworth Publishing, 1999).

[319] D. Infante, A. Rancer and D. Womack, *Building Communication Theory* (3rd ed.). (Prospect, Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, Inc, 1997): 387-393.

[320] T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 357.

Figure 3.2: Sources of Information on the EU for Korea (2004 and 2006)
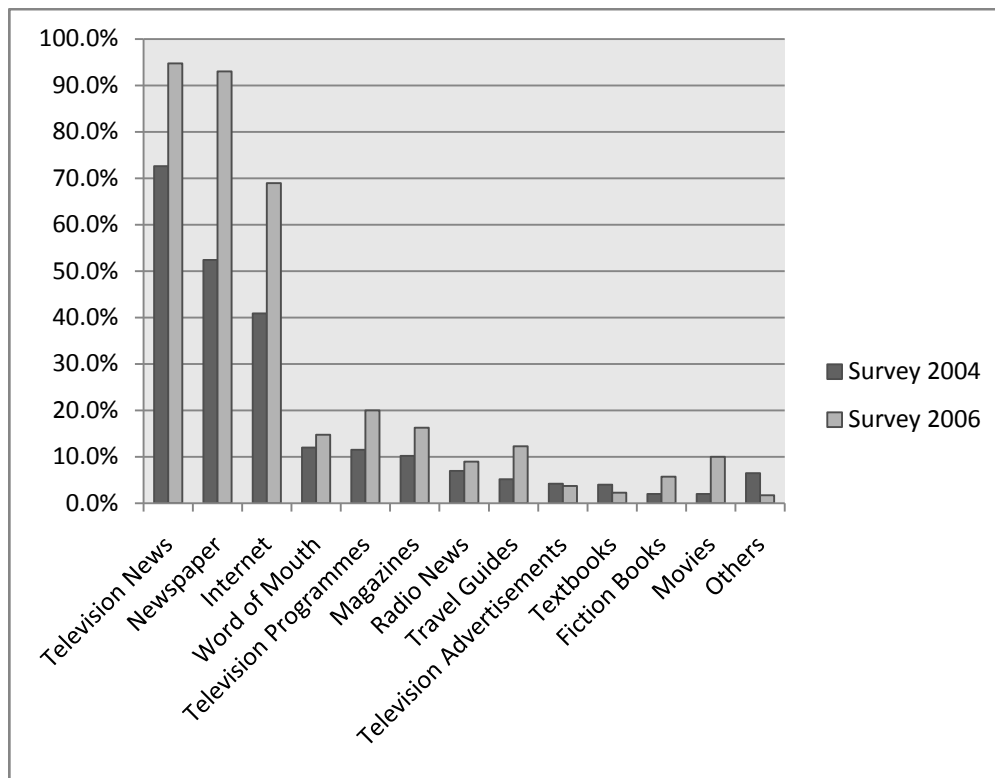
Figure 3.2 indicates that the members of the Korean public rely heavily on television news, newspapers and the internet. Out of these three major sources, this thesis concentrates on exploring EU images in print and internet versions of newspapers. There are three reasons why print newspapers were chosen. The first reason is that print newspapers invite the public and elites to share common understandings in certain issues. Print newspapers provide a forum for decision-making among the Korean public.[321] The forums established by the media, including newspapers have plugged the knowledge gap between the public and the elites.[322] However, this phenomenon could also be applicable to other types of media such as television and the internet.

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[321] G. Gilder, *Life after Television: The Coming Transformation of Media and American Life*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994); T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.; and H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.
[322] S. Coronel, "The Role of the Media in Deepening Democracy" United Nations Public Administration Network, http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan010194.pdf (retrieved on 20 September 2011).

The second reason is that print newspapers are concrete and tangible.[323] Print newspapers have a permanent and retrievable quality because, once acquired, they become the available information sources on multiple occasions.[324] The newspapers are accessible because they are easily transportable, whereas television news reports are not.[325] Due to the development of computer technology, scanned and stored articles from print newspapers may be retrieved at any time provided the access to this information is granted.

The last reason is that print newspapers provide more in-depth analyses than any other news media. Galtung and Ruge contend that print newspapers have been "a traditionally well studied source of foreign news."[326] Readers are required to actively participate in order to understand the information presented in print form which is linguistically highly structured.[327] In spite of a changing media environment, print newspapers are still considered as one of the main sources of information on foreign affairs.[328] According to Mughees-uddin's interview with Mark Cohen (one of the former policy makers of the US), Cohen mentioned that "most of us gather our impressions of our countries and societies from the media."[329] Furthermore, most Korean scholars of media studies agree that the news in newspapers provides more in-depth analysis of international events than television news for the Korean public.[330] Thus, meticulous investigations of print newspapers on the EU and its related issues could provide some helpful insights about Koreans' perceptions of the EU.

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[323] I. Marshall and D. Kingsbury, *Media Realities: The News Media and Power in Australian Society*, (Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman, 1996).
[324] N. Chaban et al., (2004) op. cit.
[325] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.
[326] J. Galtung and M. Holmboe Ruge, (1965) op. cit.
[327] N. Chaban et al., "When Enough is Enough? Dynamics of the EU Representations in Asia Pacific Printed Media," In *Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies,* vol. 2, no. 2 (2004): 173-193.
[328] G. Stempel and T. Hargrove, "Mass Media Audiences in a Changing Media Environment," In *Journalism and Mass Communications,* vol. 73, no. 3 (1996): 549-555.
[329] S. Mughees-uddin, "The Case of Pakistan (1980-1990) Editorial Treatment of U.S.Foreign Policy," In *The New York Times. Quarterly Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1997):33-68.
[330] M. Kang, *Hangukŏnrone Gujobyŏndonggwa Ŏnronjŏnjaeng,* (Hangukŏnronhakhoe, 2004), 319-45; W. Kim, "Nyumidiŏwa Jŏngbosahoe" In *Ŏnronhak Wŏnron* edited by Korea Press Foundation, (Seoul: Beomusa, 1994); B. Woo, "Ŏnronmaechee Kyŏngyŏng" In *Ŏnronhak Wŏnron* edited by Korea Press Foundation, (Seoul: Beomusa, 1994); H. Lee, *Hanguk Shimmunsanŏbe Mirae*, (Seoul: Yeonamsa,

Internet versions of newspapers are another object of this study. In Chapter 2, this thesis has argued that exploring EU representations in online versions of newspapers constitutes a pioneering contribution to the studies of EU external perceptions. This section will examine why internet versions of newspapers are appropriate objects of this study. Firstly, like print newspapers, internet versions of newspapers also provide a forum for decision-making among the Korean public but in a different way.[331] Online versions of newspapers and original online newspapers allow the Korean public to exchange their opinions or ideas about the articles by offering a comment board or discussion forum on the websites.[332] However, in contrast to other types of news media, the internet media also provides retrievable traces of audience responses.

Secondly, the current trend in Korean media usage explicates that the public's reliance on internet versions of newspapers as a genre of internet newspapers has increased over the last twenty years. In the mid-1990s, print newspapers faced a huge obstacle called "informatisation" which can be defined as knowing how to use digital technology devices such as computers or Personal Digital Assistance (PDA).[333] Since the time of informatisation, the Korean public's readership has expanded from print newspapers to internet newspapers, including original online newspapers and online versions of newspapers, to obtain information.[334] Scholars of media studies generally support the view that internet newspapers

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2000); J. Chŏng, "Hangugŏnron Maechaee Yŏksa" In *Ŏnronhak Wŏnron* edited by Korea Press Foundation, (Seoul: Beomusa, 1994); T. Hahn, *Hangukŏnrone Gujojŏk T'ongjewa Ŏnronjayu,* (Seoul: Pulbit, 2002); and, Y. Hwang, "Int'ŏnet Shimmun: Hyŏnhwangwa Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan," In *Wigie Hanguk Shimmun: Hyŏnhwangwa Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan* ,(Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2005). To judge from the writings, print and internet newspapers are known as the most effective sources of information for the Korean public on international issues.

[331] G. Gilder, (1994) op. cit.; H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.; T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.; and, M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.

[332] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; and, K. Kim and J. Kim, "Ohmynews Dokjaikyŏnbunsŏk: Nanjangerosoe Gongronjang Ganengsong T'amsaek," In *Hangukbangsong Hakbo,* vol. 19, no. 3 (2005): 41-35. It has been pointed out that comment board and discussion forum are situated beneath the text of the articles in internet newspapers.

[333] W. Kim, (1994) op.cit.

[334] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.

are also influential sources of information for the Korean public because of high internet literacy rates in Korea.[335] While Figure 3.2 pointed out that members of the Korean public are still more likely to rely on television and newspapers than internet media to access news on the EU, this study's focus on internet is valid because public dependency on internet media may become even more significant in the future.

Finally, online versions of newspapers are regarded as an integrated version of print newspapers in terms of quality and services.[336] Internet versions provide services that are unavailable in print newspapers such as posting more vivid photos and video clips to the audiences.[337] By introducing the online versions of newspapers, print newspapers manage to supply more news with in-depth analyses more efficiently by using their websites.[338] Cho and Choi assert that informatisation has allowed print newspapers to spread news more quickly and more efficiently through their websites.[339] Given the internet versions' distinctive structure of forum, potentials and in-depth analysis inherited by print newspapers, internet versions of newspapers can be another appropriate target of analysis.

In summary, this section has attempted to provide justification of this study's focus on print newspapers and their internet editions in the study of EU media images. This chapter outlined why the news media are appropriate objects of investigation in perceptions studies and explained the guiding assumption that the Korean public are more likely to rely on the news

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[335] J. Chŏng, (1994) op. cit.; B. Woo, (1994) op. cit.; H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.; T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.; M. Kang, (2004) op. cit.; Y. Hwang,, (2005) op. cit.; and, M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit. According to the research conducted by the Korean government, the internet literacy rate of the Korean public is significantly high (81.2% in 2009). For more information, see e-narajipyo, internet literacy of South Korea, http://www.index.go.kr/egams/stts/jsp/potal/stts/PO_STTS_IdxMain.jsp?idx_cd=1345 (retrieved on 13 April 2011).

[336] The scholars claim that informatisation enables the print newspapers to upgrade themselves rather than to become extinct. For a comprehensive discussion of this issue, see G. Gilder, (1994) op. cit.; H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.; and, T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.

[337] G. Gilder, (1994) op. cit.; H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.; T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.; M.Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; and, J. Hamilton and E. Jenner. "The New Foreign Correspondence," In *Foreign Affairs Journal of American History,* vol. 82, no. 5 (2003): 131-134.

[338] Ibid.

[339] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.

media to get the information about the EU as they have limited opportunity for personal contact with the EU and its Member States. This assumption was then linked to the results of Korean public opinion surveys (2004 and 2006) about EU perceptions. After that, the chapter considered media dependency theory as one explanation for the type of news media the Korean public actually rely upon for foreign news (including the EU news). The results of the 2004 and 2006 public surveys showed that the Korean public depend mainly on three types of news sources: television, print newspapers and the internet. This was followed by an explanation for why print newspapers and their internet versions are legitimate objects for the investigation of EU images. However, to understand how the Korean media describe the EU and thus inform the Korean public other relevant theories must also be considered.

3.1.2 Framework 2: Conceptualisation of Media-Public Relationships

In discussing the process of media influence on the public, agenda-setting theory deserves to be mentioned. The main point of agenda-setting theory is that the news media can influence the public by transmitting salient issues between the media agenda and the public agenda.[340] According to McCombs, this theory is derived from Lippmann discussions on the effects of the news media.[341] In 1922, Lippmann pointed out that people live in a pseudo-environment composed of "the pictures in our heads" which were shaped by the news media.[342] At the end of his work, he also hypothesised a relationship between the mass media agenda and the public agenda.[343] In the 1940s, Lazarfeld and Merton identified the status-conferral function

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[340] M. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. (Maiden: Blackwell Publishing Inc, 2004), 19-20.
[341] Ibid.
[342] W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, (New York: Macmillan, 1922), 29.
[343] Ibid. Later, other media scholars like Dearing, Rogers and McCombs quoted his hypothesis as their hypothesis in order to explain the relations between the media and the public agenda (indicating the news media—television, radio and print newspapers—can influence public opinions). For a detailed examination of agenda-setting theory, see J. Dearing and E. Rogers. *Agenda-Setting*. (New York: SAGE Publications, 1996), 55; and, M. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. (Maiden: Blackwell Publiching Inc, 2004), 3.

of the media through an exploration of the movement of salient issues between these two agendas.[344] In the 1960s, Bryson republished their ideas to indicate his previous identification of salience.[345] The process of transmission of issue salience can be explained as the process of an outstanding social problem that has received media coverage, from media agenda to another (such as public agenda or policy agenda).[346] This process is shown in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 Process of Agenda-Setting by Dearing and Rogers[347]
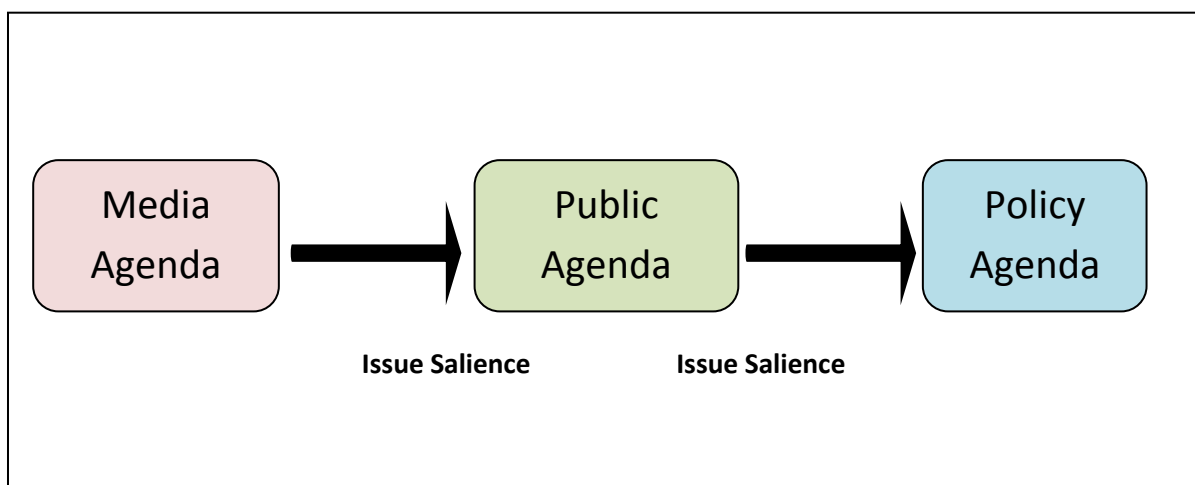
The decade of the 1960s can be considered as a period of emerging agenda-setting theory. In 1963, Cohen investigated the impact of the news media upon the areas of foreign policy and implied the concept of agenda-setting, although he did not introduce this concept.[348] In 1968, McCombs and Shaw in their Chapel Hill Study initiated the investigation of the media's agenda-setting influences in the presidential campaign of that year in the university town of Chapel Hill, North Carolina.[349] Four years later, the outcomes of the investigation were published and the term "agenda-setting" was coined.[350] From the 1970s until the present, the

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[344] P. Lazarsfeld and R. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action," *The Communication of Ideas*, edited by L. Bryson, (New York: Cooper Square, 1948), 95-118.
[345] L. Bryson, ed., *The Communication of Ideas: A Series of Addresses,* (New York: Harper, 1964).
[346] Ibid.
[347] J. Dearing and E. Rogers, *Agenda-Setting*, (New York: SAGE Publications, 1996), 55.
[348] B. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).
[349] J. Dearing and E. Rogers, *Agenda-Setting*, (New York: SAGE Publications, 1996), 6-7.
[350] Ibid.

Chapel Hill Study has been replicated in hundreds of empirical studies of agenda-setting influences of the news media, which deal with internal political and social issues in many countries. These works can be summarised into two large groups. The first group of studies has examined the topics related to the agenda-setting function of domestic issues in the US, such as presidential elections, civil rights, public opinions and foreign affairs in the US.[351] The second group has covered the agenda-setting function in other countries such as the public opinion and elections in Germany, Spain, Japan and Argentina. [352] The only shortcoming in these works that replicate the Chapel Hill Study is that most studies have only dealt with the agenda-setting functions of domestic news. To get a complete understanding of agenda-setting, it is necessary to explore the agenda-setting influences of foreign news on public opinion of foreign nations.

Since the 1980s, some media scholars have investigated the agenda-setting function of foreign news for the domestic public. Most of these studies focus upon the agenda-setting effects on the American public perceptions of foreign nations. Salwen and Matera cover agenda-setting effects of foreign news on public opinion.[353] Recently, Wanta, Golan and Lee have expanded their research scope by studying the agenda-setting effects of foreign news

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[351] Shaw, McCombs, Weaver and others have covered the topic of US presidential election. Winter and Eyal have discussed civil rights in the US. Eaton Junior has discovered US public opinion. Mosr recently, Soroka and McCombs have dealt with the topic of the US government's foreign affairs. For more information, see D. Shaw and M. McCombs, eds, *The Emergence of American Political Issues*, (St Paul: West, 1977); D. Weaver et al., *Media Agenda Setting in a Presidential Election: Issues, Images and Interest,* (Westport: Greenwood, 1981); J. Winter and C. Eyal, "Agenda Setting for the Civil Rights Issue," In *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45 (1981): 376-83; H. Eaton Junior, "Agenda Setting with Bi-weekly Data on Content of Three National Media," In *Journalism Monographs* 101 (1987); S. Soroka, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy," Paper Presented to the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 2001; and, M. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*, (Maiden: Blackwell Publishing Inc, 2004), 8-9.

[352] The Chapel Hill studies have also been duplicated in several locations other than the US. Brosius and Kepplinger have approached the agenda-setting functions in Germany. Each week, the researchers chose 1000 randomly sampled West Germans selected from a list of respondees to sixteen issues over the last fifty-three consecutive polls over the research period. Alongside the results of public opinion, their research examined 16,000 news articles. Jose Canel, Pablo Llamas and Rey have investigated agenda-setting in Spain. Takeshita has observed Japanese media's agenda-setting functions. Casermeiro de Pereson attempted to discover agenda-setting of Argentinian media. For more information, see H. Brosius and H. Kepplinger, "The Agenda Setting Function of Television News: Static and Dynamic Views" In *Communication Research,* 17, (1990): 183-211; M. Jose Canel, J. Pablo Llamas and F. Rey, 'El Primer Nivel Del Efecto Agenda Setting en la Informacion Local: Los Problemas Mas Importantes" de la Ciudad de Pamplona', Communicacion y Sociedad, 9, number 1 & 2 (1996): 17-38; T. Takeshita, "Agenda-setting Effects of the Press in a Japanese Local Election." *Studies of Broadcasting*, 29, (1993): 193-216; and, A. Casermeiro de Pereson, *Los medios en las elecciones, Agenda Setting en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires,* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones EDUCA, 2003).

[353] M. Salwen and F. Matera, "Public Salience of Foreign Nations," In *Journalism Quarterly* 3 (1992): 623–32.

upon public perception of twenty one nations.[354] McNelly and Izcaray present how news exposure of foreign nations forms the public's positive perceptions of these nations.[355] Semetko et al. claim that the audiences' positive perceptions to foreign nations are derived from frequent coverage of international news containing positive descriptions about these nations.[356] Wanta and Hu exhibit agenda-setting effects of conflict-related international news on American public opinion.[357] This thesis can also claim that EU-related news in the media has agenda-setting effects upon non-EU public perceptions of the Union. However, this review points to the fact that studies of agenda-setting effects in countries other than the US are rare. The findings of this thesis and the studies of EU external media and public perceptions could offer a contribution to studies on agenda-setting.

However, the main criticism about agenda-setting is that this theory might be unrealistic if the media audiences are passive in terms of showing interest in the issues raised by the news media.[358] To overcome this criticism, the common knowledge paradigm in political communication studies could be useful in demonstrating media influences upon public opinions from a different angle, notwithstanding the possibility of public indifference to serious issues. Neuman and his colleagues' study is concerned with "how political information is organised and structured in the public discourses of different media."[359] Their study champions the examination of "a three-way interaction of individual, medium and issue."[360] The writers premised that media audiences were active and they may not be

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[354] W. Wanta, G. Golan and C. Lee, "Agenda-setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations," In *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* vol. 81, no. 2 (2004): 364–377.
[355] J. McNelly and F. Izcaray, "International News Exposure and Images of Nations," *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 3 (1986): 546–553.
[356] H. Semetko et al., "TV News and US Public Opinion and Foreign Countries: The Impact of Exposure and Attention," In *International Journal of Public Opinion Research,* vol. 4**,** no. 1 (1992): 18–36.
[357] W. Wanta and Y. Hu, "The Effects of Credibility, Reliance, and Exposure on Media Agenda-setting: A Path Analysis Model," In *Journalism Quarterly,* vol. 71, no. 1 (1994): 90-98.
[358] M. McCombs, (2004) op. cit.
[359] W. Neuman, M. Just and A. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 1-3.
[360] Ibid.

interested in everything.[361] They assert that the news media, at least, can influence the public agenda by determining common knowledge among the members of the public.[362] In this regard, the common knowledge paradigm compensates for the shortcomings of agenda-setting theory. Thus, agenda-setting theory and the common knowledge paradigm could be employed in this thesis to provide explanatory insights into the correlations between the media and the public agendas.

Since the advent of the internet, there has been a need for a new theory to support the influences of internet media. In 2006, Li compared the salient issues between print and internet newspapers to explore the agenda-setting function of internet newspapers.[363] He found that the agendas in internet newspapers and public opinion were unalike and so concluded that the agenda-setting of internet newspapers may work differently.[364] He contended that one of the biggest obstacles to researching the agenda-setting role of internet newspapers was the difficulty in determining whether readers were actively or passively engaging with the issues under discussion.[365] Some might deny the influences of the internet upon the public understandings but this does not seem plausible. Dahlgren and Olsson found that internet newspapers could also shape public opinion, especially the younger generation, by providing various sources of information.[366] They interviewed selected young citizens aged 16 to 19 who were active readers of online news articles.[367] They found that younger members of the public rely on internet newspapers to seek information because they believe it to be a concentrated store of information from various primary and alternative sources.[368]

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[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] X. Li, "News of Priority Issues in Print vs. Internet Newspapers," In *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium*, edited by X. Li, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., 2006), 262.
[364] Ibid.
[365] Ibid.
[366] P. Dahlgren and T. Olsson, "From Public Sphere to Civic CultureL Young Citizens' Internet Use," In *Media and Public Spheres*, edited by R. Butsch, (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 202.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Ibid.

Arguably, interactivity could be one of the distinctive features of internet media when comparing the core characteristics of traditional media (television, print newspapers and radio) with those of internet media. Interactivity refers to a two-way communication between the readers and writers, for example when the writer sets the agenda and the reader sends an e-mail to the writer as a comment about the article.[369] By contrast, traditional media are a one-way communication, whereby the writer sets the agenda, while readers give almost no direct messages to the writer.[370] If we consider this difference, we will see that the agenda-setting function of the internet is challenging to explore because the internet influences the public by exchanging messages between the readers and writers and even among readers themselves not by passing salient issues to the readers. In addition, it is also hard to investigate salient issues in internet media due to the rapid changes caused by interactivity. The real time exchanging of messages among the participants of internet media means that the form and content exist in a perpetually mediated environment.[371]

The traits of interactivity can be explained by indicating the dimension of interactivity. Ha and James outline five dimensions of interactivity: playfulness, choice, connectedness, information collection and reciprocal communication.[372] Liu explains interactivity in three dimensions: active control, two-way communication and synchrony.[373] Zeng and Li claim that those dimensions are not wholly applicable because they did not cover news interactivity of newspaper websites.[374] They present traits of interactivity of internet versions of

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[369] S. Rafaeli, "Interactivity: From New Media to Communication," In *Sage Annual Review of Communication Research: Advancing Communication Science: Merging Mass and Interpersonal Processes,* edited by R. Hawkins, J.Wiemann and S. Pingree, (Beverly Hills, Sage, 1988),110-134; T. Schultz, "Interactive Options in Online Journalism: A Content Analysis of 100 U.S. Newspapers," In *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication,* vol. 5, no. 1 (1999); L. Ha, and E. James, "Interactivity Reexamined: a baseline analysis of early business websites," In *Journal of Broadcasting and electronic Media*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1998): 457-474; R. Blattberg, and J. Deighton, "Interactive Marketing: Exploiting the Age of Addressability," In .*Sloan Management Review,* vol. 33, no. 1 (1991): 5-14; and, B. Massey, "Market-based predictors of interactivity at Southeast Asian online newspapers," In *Internet Research,* vol. 10, no. 3 (2000): 227 – 237.
[370] T. Schultz, (1999) op. cit. Letters to the Editor is considered as an example of two-way communication of print media.
[371] J. Steuer, "Defining Virtual Reality: Dimensions Determining Telepresence," In *Journal of Communication: Autumn*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1992): 73- 93.
[372] L. Ha and E. James, (2004) op. cit.
[373] Y. Liu, "Developing a Scale to Measure the Interactivity of Web Sites," In *Journal of Advertising Research* 43 (2003): 207-16.
[374] Q. Zeng and X. Li, "Factors Influencing Interactivity of Internet Newspapers: A Content Analysis of 106 U.S. Newspapers' Web Sites," In *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium*, edited by X. Li, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006).

newspapers in two dimensions: *interpersonal* and *content interactivity*. [375] Through understanding these conceptualisations of interactivity, possible options for *interpersonal interactivity* can include journalists' email address, readers' comments sections which are placed below the news texts, online surveys and discussion forums. The available option for *content interactivity* can be hypertexts. Zeng and Li explained that hypertexts are an innovation of the internet because they lead the readers into deeper texts as they connect the readers with the content available in hypertexts. [376] However, as this thesis focused on EU news, it was difficult to investigate the hypertexts at the front page of internet newspapers. If we take into account that *content interactivity* is related to readers' choice of the content of specific internet media, the newsmakers, like the reader, can choose the contents of specific articles in other media outlets for their news coverage. From this it might be deduced that identical or similar content found across the internet versions of newspapers in the sample and those found between internet media and its print outlet can be other possible options for *content interactivity*. In researching *content interactivity*, the sample used in this thesis identified some duplicated articles across the internet versions of newspapers and between print newspapers and their internet versions.

To summarise, this section examined agenda-setting theory, the common knowledge paradigm and the notion of interactivity by seeking to explain how the news media, specifically, print newspapers and their internet versions, may influence public opinion. Agenda-setting theory and the common knowledge paradigm have been used to investigate the transfer of the message from the media agenda to the public agenda and also to assess the influence of traditional media, in this case, print newspapers). The notion of interactivity focuses on the exchange of messages between the writer and the reader as evidence of the

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[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid.

influence of internet media, in this case internet versions of newspapers. These theories offer plausible models from which to consider EU images in the chosen print newspapers and their internet editions. To achieve a robust analysis, this thesis will also consider another theoretical area in exploring the media agenda. Specifically, the question of "who sets the media agenda of Korea?" is asked. According to McCombs, there are three key setters of the media agenda: "...major sources who provide the information for news stories, other news organisations and journalists' norms and traditions." [377] Thus, it can be deduced that a conceptualisation of the newsmaking process is also of critical importance to this investigation.

3.1.3 Framework 3: Theoretical Background of the Study of Newsmakers' Contributions to the Newsmaking Process

McCombs pointed out the importance of the investigation of newsmakers because they are decision makers about news items presented in the media. As specified by Schudson, the newsmakers "... are the deep and dark secret of the power of the press." [378] Gatekeeping theory is used to illuminate newsmakers' influences upon media production.

In 1951, Lewin coined the word gatekeeping by explaining how food reaches the family table from different channels. [379] He explained that to put fruit and vegetables on the table, there are two channels available to the family: the grocery store or the family garden. [380] In each channel, there is a gate and its keeper to move the food from each of them. [381] Lewin explains that the movement of food from each channel is dependent on the gatekeepers' choices. [382] Although Lewin developed this gatekeeping theory to describe food consumption channels

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[377] M. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. (Maiden: Blackwell Publishing Inc, 2004), 114-117.
[378] M. Schudson, *The Sociology of News*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 134.
[379] K. Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics," In *Human Relations*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1947): 145.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid.

for a family, he also mentioned the possibility for news items to travel through certain communication channels in a group.[383]

White was the first scholar who applied this theory to communication studies. [384] His conceptual model of media gatekeeping shows how we get the news from news media (Figure 3.4). He focuses on identifying who makes the decision in the newsmaking process.[385]

Figure 3.4 The Process of the Selection of News by White[386]

GATES

N1
N2
N3
N4

$N2^1$
$N3^1$

N

M

N1   N4

N: Source of News Items

N 1,2,3,4: News Items

M: Audiences

N1,4: Discarded Items
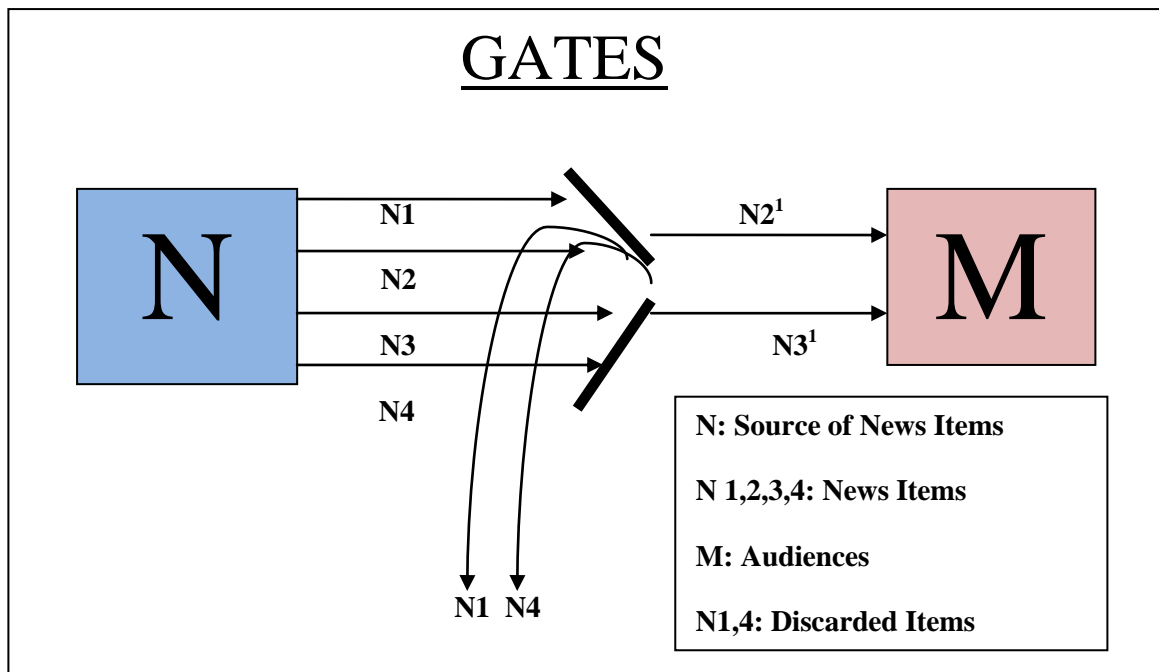
Reese and Ballinger evaluate this model in the following way: "White brought into focus the intuitive notion that not all that happens in the world gets into the news" and draw attention

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[383] Ibid.
[384] P.Shoemaker and T. Vos, "Media Gatekeeping." In *An integrated approach to communication theory and research (2nd ed.)* edited by M. Salwen and D. Stacks, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 77.
[385] D. White, "The "Gate-keeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News," In *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 383-390.
[386] D. White, "The "Gatekeeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News," In *People, Society and Mass Communication,* edited by L Dexter and D.White, (New York: Free Press, 1964).

to the subjectivity of newsmakers in the news selection process. [387] In the 1960s, Snider replicated this model to investigate other gatekeepers who select the news to publish. [388] Based on this model, Shoemaker and Vos suggested that news items in the media are dependent upon the choices of gatekeepers of the news. [389] Thus, White's model of gatekeeping theory demonstrates the newsmakers' huge influence upon the news items we read or view. In 1969, Bass criticised White's model for its simplicity. [390] Bass claimed that newsmakers could not be key decision-makers and argued that it is necessary to categorise newsmakers in order to identify who these decision-makers could be. [391] He then suggested another model to indicate the substantive gatekeepers. Bass's model is presented in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5 Bass's Model of Media Gatekeeping[392]
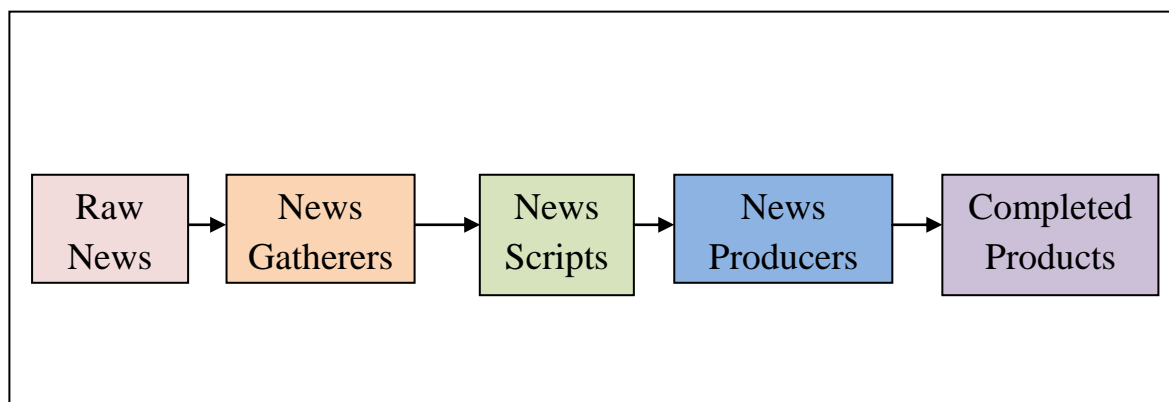
Shoemaker points out that Bass's model exhibits the identity of gatekeepers of the media by explaining the whole newsmaking process. Bass differentiated newsmakers into two different groups of people: newsgatherers (such as foreign correspondents, low-ranked journalists and

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[387] S. Reese and J. Ballinger, "The Roots of a Sociology of News: Remembering Mr. Gates and Social Control in the Newsroom," In *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* vol.78, no. 4 (2001), 641-658.
[388] P. Snider, "Mr. Gates Revisited: A 1966 Version of the 1949 Case Study," In *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (1967): 419-427.
[389] P.Shoemaker and T. Vos, (2008) op. cit.
[390] A. Bass, "Redefining the Gatekeeper Concept: A U.N. Radio Case Study," In *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (1969): 59-72.
[391] Ibid.
[392] P. Shoemaker, *Communication concepts 3: Gatekeeping*, (Newbury Park: Sage, 1991).

editors) and newsproducers (such as chief editors, high-ranked editing journalists and translators of the news articles).[393] In this way, this model suggests that news producers are the most influential gatekeepers for completed news items. Based on this model, EU media perception studies should be based on news producers' perceptions of the EU. White's model and Bass' model of media gatekeeping demonstrates that perceptions of media elites are vitally important as they are ultimately a source of EU images in the news media.

3.1.4 Framework 4: Theoretical Background into the Study of Media Content

The three theoretical frameworks outlined in the previous section justify the choice of media (print newspapers and their internet editions) as appropriate objects of analysis. In addition newsmakers' perceptions have been identified as an additional area of study, key to analysing Korean media images of the EU. The final theoretical framework considered in this thesis will provide an analytical model of how to analyse the media content (linguistic texts and visual images in news items). This thesis adopts Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a core approach to investigate EU representations in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions. The following section will cover four topics: (1) What is CDA? (2) Notion of Images: CDA's Cognitive Link, (3) Cognitive Linguistics in CDA (framing and conceptual metaphors) and (4) Application of Social Semiotics in CDA.

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[393] Ibid.

Topic 1. What is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)?

Van Dijk defines CDA as "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted reproduced, and registered by text and talk in social and political context."[394] In a similar vein, Fairclough described CDA as

> discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.[395]

According to Sheyholislami's summary, CDA concentrates on revealing "the connection between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures, connections that might be opaque to the layperson."[396]

CDA comprises three interacting processes of analysis (description, interpretation and explanation) which investigate three interrelated dimensions of discourse (texts, interaction and social action).[397] The first, description, (textual analysis) focuses on texts including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts and this process covers the description of linguistic properties of texts.[398] The second process, interpretation, (process analysis) concentrates on interaction (production process of discursive practice such as writing, speaking/designing, and interpretive process such as reading, listening and viewing).[399] The third process of explanation (social analysis) concentrates on the clarification of social action (the relationship

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[394] T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *The handbook of discourse analysis,* edited by D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003), 352-371.
[395] N. Fairclough, "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketisation of Public Discourse: the Universities," In *Discourse and Society,* voll 4, no. 2, (1993):133-168.
[396] J. Sheyholislami, Critical Discourse Analysis, http://http-server.carleton.ca/~jsheyhol/articles/what%20is%20CDA.pdf (retrieved on 27 September 2011).
[397] N. Fairclough, *Language and power*, (UK: Longman Group Ltd, 1989); and, N. Fairclough, *Discourse and social change*, (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992).
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.

between discursive and social practices).[400] The summary of dimensions of discourse and processes of CDA is presented in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Fairclough's Model for CDA[401]
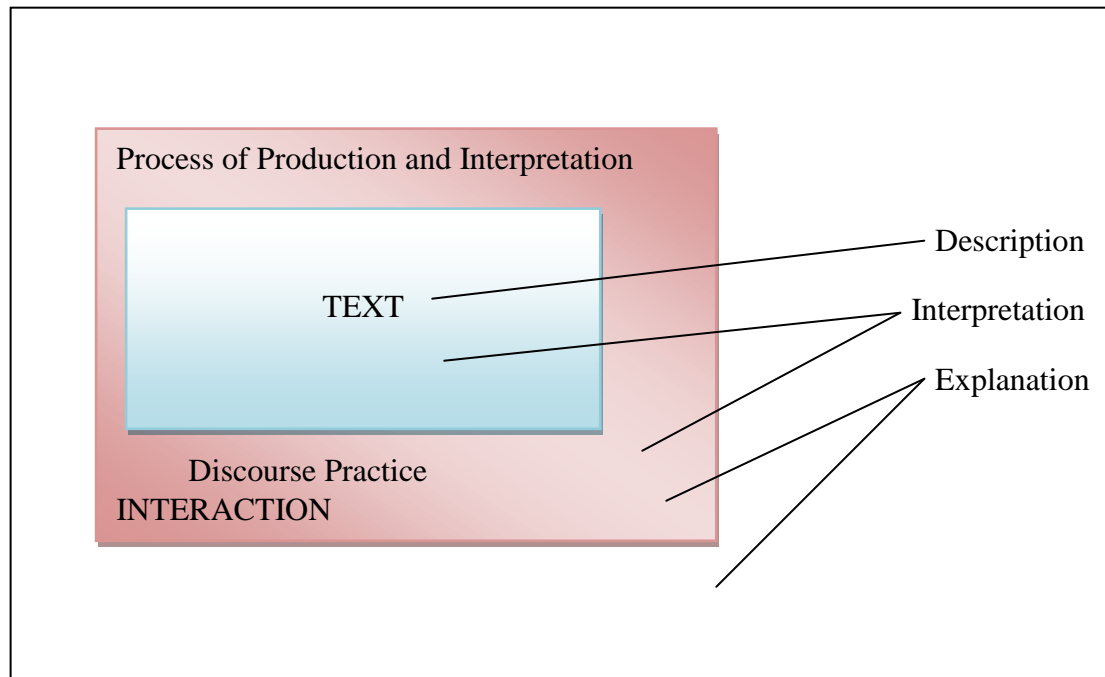
In order to accomplish the aims of CDA, the analysts pursuing this approach need to satisfy the following requirements.

> As is often the case for more marginal research traditions, CDA research has to be "better" than other research in order to be accepted; It focuses primarily on cordial problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions; Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary; Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure; And, more specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.[402]

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[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Ibid.

Many discourse analysts have offered their explanations of the general principles of CDA.[403] The straight-forward and thorough descriptions of CDA outlined by Fairclough and Wodak are likely to be used.[404] Their eight fundamental principles of CDA are as follows: CDA addresses social problems; power relations are discursive; discourse constitutes society and culture; discourse does ideological work; discourse is historical; the link between text and society is mediated (by context); discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory; and, discourse is a form of social action.[405]

The theoretical origin of CDA has its roots in the works of Western Marxism: Gramsci, Althusser, Foucault and Habermas. Their theoretic discussions are arguably devoted to the relations between discourse and ideology. As Gramsci argued, the combination of political and civil societies hugely influenced the capitalist class.[406] He asserts that ideologies of the domain of hegemony support the existing power and authority of the domain of coercion.[407] Althusser claims that ideologies are not derived from vague area of "ideas" but they are from material practice fixed upon social institutions.[408] Foucault's description of "discourse" seems to address Althusser's "material practice." He depicts discourses as "knowledge systems of the human sciences (medicine, economics, linguistics etc.) that inform social and governmental technologies which constitute power in modern society."[409] Habermas delimited the types of discourses that are legitimate to investigate. He points out that critical science must consider which linguistic and social interactions take place.[410] People are

[403] T. van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE, 1993); N. Fairclough and C. Holes, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, (London and New York,: Longman, 1995); R. Wodak, *Disorders of Discourse*, (London: Longman, 1996); N. Fairclough and R. Wodak. "Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse as Social Interaction(vol. 2)* edited by T. van Dijk, (London: SAGE, 1997); R. Wodak, and M. Meyers, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, (London: SAGE, 2001); and, W. Wang, *Newspaper Commentaries on Terrorism in China and Australia: A Contrastive Genre Study,* (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, July 2006).
[404] W. Wang, (2006) op. cit.
[405] N. Fairclough and R. Wodak. "Critical Discourse Analysis" In *Discourse as Social Interaction vol. 2*. edited by T. van Dijk, (London: SAGE, 1997), 258-284.
[406] A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Books*, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982).
[407] Ibid.
[408] L. Althusser, *Lenin and philosophy and other essays.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971).
[409] Ibid.
[410] J. Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 106.

affected by rational discourse which could be the fundamental power causing these interactions.[411] This thesis addresses the two significant facets of CDA, namely, discourse and ideology,

The notion of discourse is coupled with people's perceptions. Discourses refer to ways of constituting knowledge, both implicit knowledge and relationships between types of knowledge.[412] People are affected by discourse to the extent that discourse may be their main source of opinion.[413] Discourse is "a form of power that circulates in the social field and can attach to strategies of domination as well as resistance."[414] Yet, this notion of discourse does not offer a coherent concept for the analysis in this study as the objects of discourse can be varied. Thus, in light of the fact that this thesis aims to investigate EU representations in print newspapers and their internet versions, the object of discourse analysis will be discourses in the news.

Fairclough regards news discourses as the linguistic and discursive nature of media power and ideology.[415] According to his study, media discourses consist of various genres.[416] The main genres of news discourses are the spoken and written media language of radios, televisions, newspapers or magazines, which are the objects of the majority scholars of CDA of media contents.[417] Their sub-genres are covered by many different analysts of media discourses such as news reporting texts,[418] editorial articles,[419] interviews,[420] illustrations and

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[411] Ibid.

[412] C. Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory,* (Oxford and New York: B. Blackwell, 1987).

[413] J. Habermas, (1996) op. cit.

[414] I. Diamond and L. Quinby, *Feminism and Foucault*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988).

[415] N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (Boston: Addison Wesley, 1995).

[416] Ibid.

[417] R. Fowler et al., *Language and control*, (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1979); Glasgow University Media Group, *Bad News; foreword by Richard Hoggart,* (London: Routledge, 1976); and, Glasgow University Media Group, *More Bad News*, (London: Routledge, 1980).

[418] G. Smitherman-Donaldson and T. van Dijk, eds., *Discourse and Discrimination*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1988); and, N. Fairclough and C. Holes, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, (London and New York,: Longman, 1995).

[419] E. Le, "Active Participation Within Written Argumentation: Metadiscourse and Editorial's Authority," In *Journal of Pragmatics* 36 (2002): 687-714; and, W. Lee, "A Linguistic Analysis of Representation of Ideologies in Newspaper Editorials: The Case of Controversy on Abolition of the 'National Security Laws," In *The Sociolinguistic Society of Korea,* vol. 13, no. 1 (2005): 191-227.

photographs.[421] Thus, the scope of media discourse is quite broad. Narrowing down these concepts for the purpose of developing a working definition for this thesis, media discourse can be described as linguistic texts and visual images of newspapers and their internet versions.

The following section examines the notion of ideology. According to Petitclerc, in 1796, French philosopher de Tracy coined the term "idéologie" by combining two Greek words "ideo-" and "-logie" which roughly means the idea from written and spoken language.[422] Later, Marx developed concepts of this term further. Petitclerc claimed that Marx has never actually defined ideology.[423] However, Thompson, with great lucidity, presents Marx's descriptions on ideology.[424] Marx defined ideology as "a theoretical doctrine and activity which erroneously regards ideas as autonomous and efficacious and which fails to grasp the real conditions and characteristics of socio-historical life."[425] Subsequently, he presents an epiphenomenal conception of ideology which refers to "a system of ideas which expresses the interests of the dominant class but represents class relations in an illusory form."[426] Thompson also derived a latent conception of ideology from Marx's account of "ghost of the past" and he asserts "ideology is a system of representations which serves to sustain existing relations of class domination by orienting individuals towards the past rather than the future or towards images and ideas which conceal class relations and detract from the collective

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[420] N. Fairclough and C. Holes, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, (London and New York: Longman, 1995); C. Lorda and E. Miche, "Two Institutional Interviews: Jose Maria Aznar and Jacques Chirac on the Iraq Conflict," In *Discourse and Society,* vol. 17, no. 4 (2006): 447-472.

[421] O. Medubi, "Language and Ideology in Nigerian Cartoons," In *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought*, edited by R. Roslyn, F. Dirven and M. Pütz, (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 159-198; T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, eds., *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, (London: Sage, 2002); and, D. Machin, "Visual discourses of war: Multimodal analysis of photographs of the Iraq occupation," In *Discourse, War and Terrorism*, edited by A. Hodges and C. Nilep, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007): 123-142.

[422] The first component of this term (ideo-) derives from 'idea' which refers to associated element denoting an idea or an image. The next component (–logie) derives from the lexical item 'logos,' which means either 'to speak about or to study' or 'word or discourse.'" For a detailed examination of the notion of ideology, see A. Petitclerc, *"Ideology": From Destutt de Tracy to CDA*, http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/groups/lip/papers/Petitclerc_2008.pdf (retrieved on 28 September 2011).

[423] Ibid.

[424] J. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

[425] Ibid.

[426] Ibid.

pursuit of social change."[427] In this vein, Marx seems to explain ideology in negative terms. However, even in a neutral interpretation of his description, it seems that ideology has affinity with dominant power.

After that, Althusser revised Marx's conceptualisations of ideology and threw some light on the strong relationship between language and ideology. His quote is presented as follows:

> *Comme le disait admirablement Saint-Paul, c'est dans le « Logos », entendons dans l'idéologie, que nous avons « l'être, le mouvement et la vie.*[428]

It has been pointed out that Althusser introduces the study of discourse analysis because the analysts can find out ideology by a close investigation of discursive manifestation in text and talk. [429] Pêcheux pinpoints the unity among social position, ideology and discourse.[430] Van Dijk has suggested a conceptual triangle of the society, discourse and social cognition for illustrating the construction of meaning at the societal level. [431] Following the studies of Althusser and Pêcheux, Fairclough claims that power relations within the society derive from ideological common sense which establishes and consolidates "solidarity relations among members of a particular social groupings."[432] All this considered ideology can be regarded as power which forms the knowledge or perceptions commonly accepted by the society.

Van Dijk is concerned with the social functions of ideology. According to his study, the basic function of ideology is managing "the problem of coordination of the acts or practices of

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[427] Ibid.

[428] L. Althusser, "De l'Idéologie," In *Sur la Reproduction*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995). According to Petitclerc's translation, it says "Just like St Paul admirably said, existence, movement, and life are situated in the Logos, i.e. in ideology"

[429] A. Petitclerc, (2008) op. cit.

[430] M. Pêcheux, *Les Vérités de La Palice : Linguistique Sémantique, Philosophie*, (Paris: François Maspero, 1975).

[431] T. van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press," In *Approaches to Media Discourse*, edited by A. Bell and P. Garrett, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998), 21-63.

[432] N. Fairclough, *Language and Power*, (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

individual social members of a group."[433] He also adds that "once shared, ideologies make sure that members of a group will generally act in similar ways in similar situations […] and will thus contribute to group cohesion."[434] In the same vein, ideology controls the evaluative belief system of a group by saying "ideologies are the axiomatic basis of the mental representations shared by the members of a social group."[435] Furthermore, it has been suggested that ideology addresses the question of group identity in terms of membership, activities, goals, values, norms, social positions and resources.[436] From what we have seen of the description, we might expect that ideology supports the identity of a group by ensuring the existence of the group based on the members' common knowledge.

According to Fairclough, news reports are portrayed as prolific areas of ideologically oriented CDA.[437] Since the end of 1970s, extensive literature on the investigations of ideology has developed. From 1976 to the present, the Glasgow Media Group has widely explored ideology behind the discourses relating to news coverage of conflicts and published their findings in numerous volumes.[438] In 1979, Fowler et al. published a volume about the ideology behind media language but their focus was about exploring ideological differences between different media.[439] For example, Trew examined why the journalists of two British newspapers describe the same event in significantly different ways and found out that the difference is a product of their disparate ideological standpoints.[440] During the 1980s, Hall

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[433] T. van Dijk, "Discourse as Interaction in Society,"In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction,* edited by T. van Dijk, (London: Sage, 1997).
[434] Ibid.
[435] T. van Dijk, (1998) op cit.
[436] T. van Dijk, "Discourse Semantics and Ideology," In *Discourse & Society,* vol. 6, no. 2 (1995): 243-289.
[437] N. Fairclough, (1995) op. cit.
[438] Glasgow Media Group, *Bad News; foreword by Richard Hoggart, (*London: Routledge, 1976); and, Glasgow Media Group, *More Bad News*, (London: Routledge, 1980); Glasgow Media Group, *Really Bad News*, (London: Writers and Readers Co. op., 1982); Glasgow Media Group, *War and Peace News*, (London: Open University Press, 1985); G. Philo, *Seeing & Believing: The Influence of Television*, (London: Routledge, 1990); J. Eldrige, ed., *Glasgow Media Group Reader Volume 1: News Content, Language and Visuals*, (London: Routledge, 1995); G. Philo, ed., *Glasgow Media Group Reader Volume 2: Industry, Economy, War and Politics,* (London: Routledge, 1995); J. Eldridge, J. Kitzinger and K. Williams, *The Mass Media & Power in Modern Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); D. Miller et al., *The Circuit of Mass Communication, (*London: SAGE, 1998); G. Philo, ed., *Message Received,* (London: Longman, 1999); G. Philo and D. Miller, eds., *Market Killing*, (London: Longman, 2000); G. Philo and M. Berry, *Bad News from Israel*, (London: Pluto Press, 2004); and, G. Philo and M. Berry, *Israel & Palestine: Competing Histories,*(London: Pluto Press, 2006).
[439] R. Fowler et al., *Language and Control*, (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1979).
[440] T. Trew, "Papers Say Linguistic Variation and Ideologically Different," In *Language and Control,* edited by R. Fowler et al., (London:

and his associates carried out critical approaches of media discourses focusing on exploring ideology behind the media within the framework of cultural studies.[441] Since the end of 1980s, three representative theorists have produced critical studies of media discourses. Van Dijk was the scholar who first viewed news as a mediated text so he critically studies discourse, ideology and social groups from the news discourses within the context of racism in the press.[442] Fairclough concentrates on exploring those discursive and ideological patterns in media discourse which produce unequal power relations in society. In the same vein, Fairclough has analysed both the spoken and written language of newspapers and televisions to examine the texts, discourse practices and sociocultural practices.[443] Van Leeuwen performed CDA with social semiotic application in his investigation of media language as ideological representation.[444] Since analysts are able to choose their preferred theories and methodologies, CDA has immense appeal for critical analysis of discourse and ideology in recent decades and has engaged contemporary scholarship across a range of fields such as cultural studies, political science, sociology and linguistics. The complexity of CDA makes it challenging for future analysts. Despite the shortcomings of CDA, it offers an important contribution to one of the most interesting studies of language and perceptions. In sum, CDA allows for various analytical approaches and thus has great potential for multifaceted analysis of news media production.

Routledge and Kegan, 1979).

[441] S. Hall et al., eds., *Culture, Media, Language,* (London: Hutchinson, 1980); H. Davis and P. Walton, eds., *Language, Image, Media*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); and, R. Collins et al., eds., *Media, Culture, and Society*, (London: SAGE: 1986).

[442] T. van Dijk, *News as Discourse*, (New York: Academic Press, 1988); T. van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, (New York: Routledge, 1991); T. van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE, 1993); T. van Dijk, *Discourse as Structure and Process. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction Vol. 1*, (London: SAGE, 1997); T. van Dijk, "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press," In *Approaches to Media Discourse*, edited by A. Bell and P. Garrett, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998), 21-63; T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, edited by D. Tannen, D. Schiffrin and H. Hamilton, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001); T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis,* edited by D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2003); and, T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach," In *Methods of Critical Analysis*, (2nd Edition), edited by R. Wodak and M. Meyer, (London: SAGE, 2009).

[443] N. Fairclough, *Language and Power*, (UK: Longman Group Ltd, 1989); N. Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992); N. Fairclough and C. Holes, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. (London and New York: Longman, 1995); N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (Boston: Addison Wesley, 1995); and, N. Fairclough, and R. Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *Discourse as Social Interaction vol. 2*. edited by Teun A. van Dijk, (London: SAGE, 1997).

[444] T. van Leeuwen, "Genre and Field in Critical Discourse Analysis" In *Discourse and Society*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1993): 193-223; T. van Leeuwen, "The Representation of Social Actors," In *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis,* edited by C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard, (London: Routledge, 1996); and, T. van Leeuwen, "The Representation of Social Actors," In *Critical Discourse Analysis,* edited by M. Toolan, (London: Routledge, 2002).

Mitchell defines images as the symbols of the object in other objects.[445] For instance, we are able to find images of an apple in pictures, sculptures, mirrors, languages and memories. He claims that "images are simply the wide range of things that go by this name…and it does not mean all images have necessarily something in common."[446] For example, beyond their object of representation, one cannot find commonality between images of an apple in pictures and mirrors and those in language and memories as the former is visible and the latter invisible. Consequently, it is challenging for theorists of images to reveal every possible reflected object of images. Mitchell has developed a plausible classification of images by their semantic categories in order to present a comprehensive conceptual picture of images (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7 Five Semantic Categorisations of Images by Mitchell[447]

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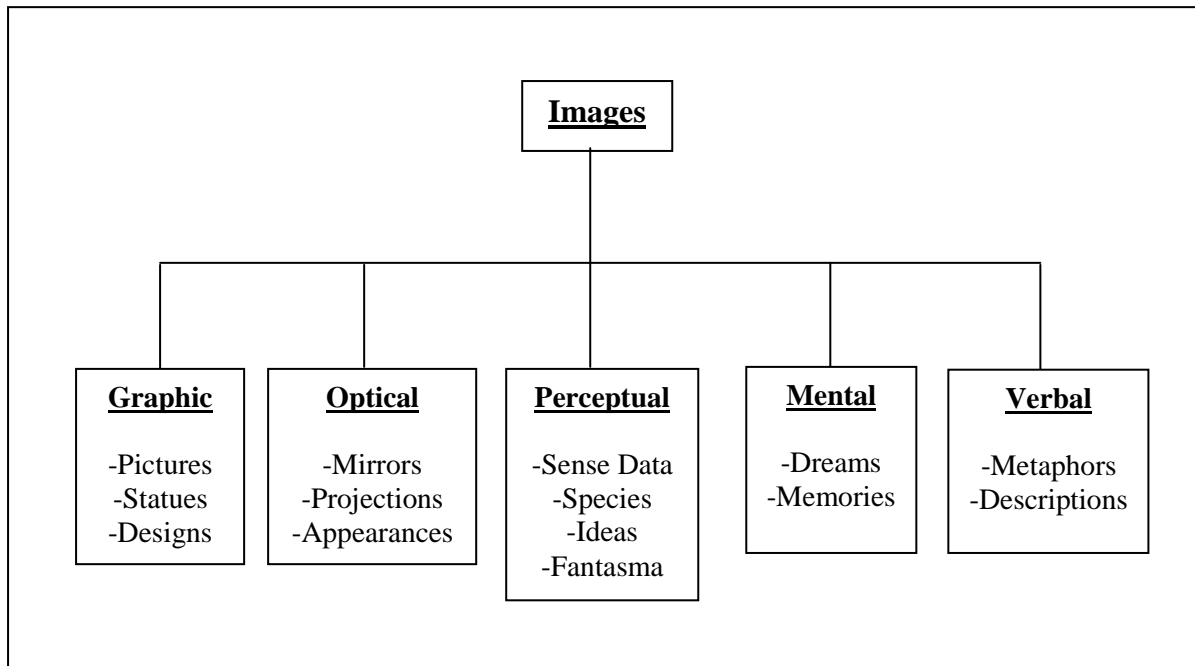
[445] W. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 7.
[446]Ibid.
[447]Ibid.

Among Mitchell's categorisations of images, imagologists pay their attentions to mental images.[448] Arguably, they concentrate on exploring the images of nations from the texts in literary pieces. Scholz describes mental images as "inner pictures" or "pictures in the mind or in the soul."[449] Block states that validation of mental images derives from the analysis of verbal and written texts.[450] Imagologists claim that the significance of mental images of nation lies in controlling our behaviour towards the relevant nation.[451] This thesis applies this practice and attempts to reveal EU images from linguistic texts.

The above descriptions demonstrate that national images can be also retrieved from the news media which influences the public's perceptions of foreign nations and the policy makers' decision-making concerning domestic and foreign policies. Saleem gives this definition of images from the media:

> The image of a country can be defined in the terms of political, economical, military, diplomatic and religious relations in the changing domestic, regional and international scenario and its effects on the thoughts, behaviours, feelings, and inclinations of the owners of the media organisation.[452]

She subsequently points out those images can be explored by analysing the language employed in the media and the findings can discover "a country's positive or negative standing in the news media."[453] Saleem's account of images makes it clear that the results of this thesis may provide suggestions for political stakeholders to improve the foreign relations of their respective countries. Thus, this thesis concentrates on exploring the mental images of

[448] M. Beller, "Perception, Image, Imagology," In *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters,* edited by M. Beller and J. Leerssen, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007).
[449] O. Scholz, *Bild, Darstellung, Zeichen: Philosophische Theorien bildhafter Darstellung,* (2nd Edition: Frankfurt, 2004), 9-11.
[450] N. Block, "Mental Pictures and Cognitive Science," *Philosophical Review* 92 (1983), 499-541.
[451] M. Beller, (2007) op. cit.
[452] N. Saleem, "U.S. Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image: An Analytical Perspective," In *Canadian Journal of Media Studies,* vol. 2, no. 1 (2007): 130-16.
[453] Ibid.

the EU that lie behind the linguistic texts in the media (Korean print newspapers and their internet editions) and which shape the Korean public's understandings of the EU.

Topic 3: Application of Cognitive Linguistics in CDA

In order to study verbal texts in print newspapers and their internet versions, this thesis will cover the application of Cognitive Linguistics in CDA. Before introducing this application, we must make the distinction between "small c" and "capital C" cognitive linguistics. Taylor commented that "small c" cognitive linguistics refers to "linguistics which is generally cognitive in orientation."[454] However, "capital C" Cognitive Linguistics can be defined as

> …a particular branch of linguistics associated with scholars such as George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, Charles Fillmore and Gilles Fauconnier, which has developed a unique conception of grammar and semantics as based on the same general cognitive principles and conceptual process.[455]

With this in mind, this thesis focuses on "capital c" Cognitive Linguistics because it arguably corresponds with CDA. Van Hoek's introduction of Cognitive Linguistics is presented below.

> Cognitive Linguistics is not a single theory but is rather best characterised as a paradigm within linguistics, subsuming a number of distinct theories and research programs. It is characterised by an emphasis on explicating the intimate interrelationship between language and other cognitive faculties. [456]

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[454] J. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[455] *Language and Control* was written by Fowler et al. in 1979 and *Metaphors We Live By* was written by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. C. Hart and D. Lukes, eds., *Cognitive Linguistics in Critical Discourse Analysis: Application and Theory*, (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2007); and, C. Hart, "Moving beyond Metaphor in the Cognitive Linguistic Approach to CDA: Construal Operations in Immigration Discourse," In *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition,* edited by C. Hart, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2011).

[456] K. van Hoek, "Cognitive Linguistics," In *The MIT encyclopaedia of the cognitive sciences*, edited by R. Wilson and F. Keil, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 134.

CDA and Cognitive Linguistics were established around the same time with the appearance of the scholarly works titled *Language and Control* and *Metaphors We Live By*.[457] Both studies have developed independently but they bear striking resemblance to each other.[458] Both are comprised of multiple theories and methodologies and their analytic attention was directed to the investigation of connection between language and ideology.

Lakoff and Johnson lay the groundwork for Cognitive Linguistics by dealing with conceptual metaphors and their mechanisms.[459] Lakoff then provides categories, cognitive models and philosophical implication of Cognitive Linguistics and in this volume he enquires about how categories of language and thought reveal the human mind.[460] More recently he has investigated how conceptual framings have created persuasive discourse within the context of the American election campaigns.[461] Langacker concentrates on how language influences upon ideology. He laid the foundation of cognitive grammar by publishing two volumes.[462] His central claim is that grammar forms a continuum of symbolic structures with lexicon.[463] He denies the autonomous existence of grammar since it reduces to patterns for the structuring and symbolisation of conceptual content.[464] Fillmore, Fauconnier and Turner focus on revealing cognitive features behind language. Fillmore's article investigates frame semantics which means semantic operations in syntactic or morphological phenomena.[465] Fauconnier and Turner introduce conceptual blending which is "a basic mental operation that

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[457]Hart cited that the establishment of Cognitive Linguistics is at the time of publication of Lakoff and Johnson's publication named *Metaphors We Live By* published in 1980. Recently, Cognitive Linguistics inside CDA has become one of the most widely debated topics. Hart pointed out that Chateris-Black, (2004 and 2006), Koller (2004 and 2006) and Musolff (2004) are the representative scholars in this area. For a more comprehensive treatment of this issue, see Hart, (2011) op. cit.

[458] P. Stockwell, "Towards a critical cognitive linguistics." In *Discourses of war and conflict*, edited by A. Combrink and I. Bierman, (Potchefstroom: Potchefstroom University Press, 1999), 510-28.

[459] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1980).

[460]G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[461] G. Lakoff, *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate.* (White River Junction, Vt.: Chelsea Green Publishing Company, 2004).

[462] R. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. I: Theoretical Prerequisites,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); and, R. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. II: Descriptive Application,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,1991).

[463] Ibid.

[464] Ibid.

[465] C. Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," In *Linguistics Society of Korea,* edited by Linguistics in the Morning Calm, (Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Co., 1982).

leads to new meaning, global insight, and conceptual compressions useful for memory and manipulation of otherwise diffuse ranges of meaning."[466] As with CDA, studies of Cognitive Linguistics also feature diverse theories. Yet, so far, Cognitive Linguistics has been only recently applied in CDA restricting this theoretical interaction to conceptual metaphor theory.[467] This thesis progresses with consideration of the two core concepts of this interaction: framing and conceptual metaphors.

Framing

Human beings are by nature "cognitive misers" who prefer to do as little thinking as possible.[468] While there is no precise definition of frames, there seems to be a consensus that there are two types of framings: media and individual.[469] Media framing conveys the coders' mental filters to accept new information. Tuchman was the first scholar to describe framing in the context of the news media, stating that the news frame arranges and is the root of the matters of everyday reality.[470] Gitlin depicts media framing as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organise discourse, whether visual or verbal."[471] It has been suggested that media framing selects "some aspects of a perceived reality" for making them more salient in a communication, so the text can promote "a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the items

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[466] G. Fauconnier and M. Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities,* (New York: Basic Books, 2002).

[467] J. Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approach to Critical Metaphor Analysis,* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004); J. Charteris-Black, "Britain as a Container: Immigration Metaphors in the 2005 Election Campaign." *Discourse & Society*, vol. 17, no. 6 (2006): 563-582; V. Koller, *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: A Critical Cognitive Study, (*Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); V. Koller, "Of Critical Importance: Using Corpora to Study Metaphor in Business Media Discourse," In *Coprus Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, edited by A. Stefanowitsch and S. Griess, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 229-257; and, A. Mussolff, *Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical Reasoning Debates in Europe*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[468] S. Fiske and S. Taylor, *Social Cognition (2nd Edition)*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991).

[469] Ibid.

[470] G. Tuchman, *Making News. A Study in the Construction of Reality*, (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 193.

[471] T. Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1980).

described."[472] Price, Tewksbury and Powers explain that media framings systematically affect how recipients of the news are to understand these events.[473] Consequently, media framings play a significant role in establishing and organising discourses in the news media. Furthermore, media framings have power in the society because the framings impact upon the receivers' acceptance of new information from the discourses.

Individual framing refers to the pattern of understanding of everyday reality among individual members of media audiences. Goffman argues that individuals rely on framing, which consists of "a schema of interpretation," in order to understand new events.[474] Entman describes individual framing as mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information.[475] In addition, individual framing retains significant social forces by formulating public ideology.[476] McLeod and his co-authors conceptually define individual framing as cognitive devices that operate as non-hierarchical categories that serve as forms of major headings onto which any future news content can be filed. [477] Scheufele classifies individual framings into two types: "global and long-term political views" and "short-term, issue related frames of references."[478] "Global and long-term political views" are a result of certain personal characteristics of individuals and have rather limited influences on the perception and interpretation of political problems.[479] "Short-term, issue related frames of references" can have a significant impact on perceiving, organising and interpreting incoming information and on drawing inference from that information. [480] Individual framing also retains societal powers since it establishes the frameworks of the public's perceptions to the

[472] R. Entman, (1993) op. cit.
[473] V. Price, D. Tewksbury and E. Powers, "Switching Trains of Thought: The Impact of News Frames on Readers' Cognitive Responses," In *Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research*, November, 1995, Chicago, IL.
[474] E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).
[475] R. Entman, (1993) op. cit.
[476] T. Gitlin, (1980) op. cit.
[477] J. McLeod, Z. Pan, and D. Rucinski, "Levels of Analysis in Public Opinion Research," In *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent,* edited by T. Glasser and C. Salmon, (New York: Guilford, 1995), 55-85.
[478] D. Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects,"In *Journal of Communication,* vol. 49, no. 1, (1999):103-122.
[479] D. Kinder, "Diversity and Complexity in American Public Opinion," In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, edited by A. Finifter, (Washington, DC: APSA Press, 1983), 414.
[480] Z. Pan and G. Kosicki, "Framing Tenalysis: An Approach to News Discourse," In *Political Communication* 10 (1993):55-75.

facts. To conclude, the concept of framing in media texts is highly applicable to CDA because it helps to explain the persuasive power media production has over people to make them understand or accept a particular presentation of everyday reality.

Conceptual Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson define conceptual metaphors as understanding one idea in terms of another.[481] Charteris-Black asserts that conceptual metaphors are one of the most influential linguistic tools because they have "semantic tensions" or an ability to transfer a speaker's ideology behind the metaphors to others' ideologies.[482] He subsequently defined the ideology behind the metaphor as "a belief system through which a particular social group creates the meaning that justifies its existence to itself, it is therefore an exercise in self-legitimisation."[483] Thus, studies of conceptual metaphors may contribute to explaining and articulating the ideological structure behind metaphorical expressions.

In order to conduct deeper discussion of conceptual metaphors, there are two issues which deserve attention: the mapping of conceptual metaphors and the comparison between conceptual metaphors and conventional (linguistic) metaphors. In order to explore the structure of conceptual metaphors, the metaphorical mapping introduced in Lakoff's contemporary theory of metaphor is considered. According to his theory, conceptual metaphors usually operate by mapping a source domain, a more concrete or a more highly structured subject matter, onto a target domain, an abstract or inherently unstructured subject matter.[484] Conceptual metaphors are systematically connected between the source domain

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[481] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[482] J. Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approach to Critical Metaphor Analysis,* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 34.
[483] Ibid.
[484] G. Lakoff. "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," In *Metaphor and Thought,* edited by A. Ortony, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 202-251; P. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice.* (New York: Routledge, 2004); and C. Schaffner,

and the target domain. In other words, conceptual metaphors are systematic in terms of a rigid connection between "the structure of the domain to be understood [target domain] and the structure of the domain in terms of which we understand it [source domain]."[485] Let us consider the example of Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor 'TIME IS MONEY'. Generally, people find it difficult to make other people to understand abstract concepts using language because they do not share common understanding of those concepts. However, by applying the commonly understood concept of money, which is something touchable or controllable to the abstract concept of time, which is untouchable or out of control, people can communicate verbally about those abstract concepts. People typically understand abstract concepts based on common experiences. According to Lakoff and Turner, people are largely oblivious to this process, though if it is drawn to their attention they become aware of it.[486] Conceptual metaphors are distinct from conventional metaphors. According to McGlone, the significant difference between conventional and conceptual metaphors is in the fact that "the knowledge base is presumed to underlie the metaphor interpretation process."[487] He declares that there are two ways to interpret metaphors: Attributive Categorisation View (ACV hereafter) for conventional metaphors and Conceptual Metaphor View (CMV hereafter) for the conceptual metaphors.[488] According to CMV, numerous examples of metaphorical correspondents between source and target domains are the primary knowledge base for interpreting metaphors.[489] For interpreting the conceptual metaphor of TIME IS MONEY, a rich set of related metaphorical examples is essential, such as: *you are wasting my time, how do you spend your time these days? that flat tyre cost me an hour, I have invested a lot of*

"It's just a metaphor…' – From Visions to Reality in Political Discourse on the European Union," In *Political Discourse: Different Media – Different Intentions – New Reflections*, edited by W. Tubingen et al., (Germany: Stauffenburg, 2005), 213-229.
[485] G. Lakoff and M. Turner, *More Than Cool Reason*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
[486] Ibid.
[487] M. McGlone, "Conceptual Metaphors and Figurative Language Interpretation: Food for Thought?" In *Journal of Memory and Language* ,35 (1996):544-565.
[488] Ibid.
[489] Ibid.

time in her, I don't have enough time to spare for that and *you are running out of time*).[490] In contrast, ACV does not have the metaphorical structures of CMV. Rather, when interpreting the metaphor people rely upon their knowledge of the multiple categories that the topic (which refers to a principal subject) and vehicle (which refers to an object used for exemplification).[491] Subsequently, to decipher the meaning of the metaphor, people deduce the common category between topic and vehicle concepts among these multiple categories. Taking McGlone's example of metaphor *their lawyer is a shark*, he explains that the topic (*their lawyer*) and the vehicle (*a shark*) is not related in terms of taxonomy so it might not be ultimately considered as a vehicle for interpreting this metaphor.[492] However, when the speaker tries to explain the concept by using the vehicle concept, the interpreter infers the common category between these two concepts seeing both lawyer and shark as vicious and cunning beings.[493]

Among the methodologies used to investigate conceptual metaphors in news texts, Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) offers a useful theoretical approach for this thesis: "CMA is an approach to the analysis of conceptual metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use."[494] CMA consists of three steps: identification, interpretation and explanation of conceptual metaphors.[495] For identifying and interpreting conceptual metaphors, detecting literal categories of the source and target domains is an essential prerequisite.[496] Taking a metaphorical expression *you are wasting my time* as an example, the interpreter must recognise whether source domain (time) and target domain (wasting) belong to the appropriate categories ("time" and "money"). Subsequently, for

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[490] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, (1980) op. cit.
[491] M. McGlone, (1996) op. cit.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid.
[494] J. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric: the Persuasive Power of Metaphor,* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 26.
[495] Ibid.
[496] M. McGlone, (1996) op. cit.

explaining conceptual metaphors, the coders should be able to present both the conceptual metaphors and sufficient number of supporting examples.

Topic 4. Application of Social Semiotics in CDA

To analyse the visual images attached to media texts, this chapter examines application of the theory of social semiotics in CDA. Social semiotics is derived from Saussure's semiotic theory which focuses on exploring how language is dominantly influential in terms of determining human beings' perceptions of the world.[497] As Saussure described, semiotics is "the science of the life of signs in society" and he claims that systems of communication are constructed signs in society and language is one of those signs.[498] A sign is comprised of the combination of "the signifier and the signified."[499] The signifier is a sign's physical form in the real world which is recognisable by the five human senses: sight, smell, hearing, touch and taste.[500] The signified is the part of a mental concept we learn to associate with the signifier.[501] Saussure contends that the signifier and the signified are connected to each other but their relationship is arbitrary.[502] Figure 3.8 presents the structure of the sign by illustrating the relationship between the signifier and the signified.

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[497] N. Lacey, *Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies*, (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 1998), 56. It has been pointed out that semiotics was separately founded by Saussure and Peirce's works. For more information, see Lacey.
[498] F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* Ed. *J Culler*, translated by *W. Baskin* (London: Fontana, 1974).
[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.

Figure 3.8 Structure of the Sign as Described by Saussure

Signifier	Signified
(Physical Form in Real World)	(Mental Concepts Called to Mind)
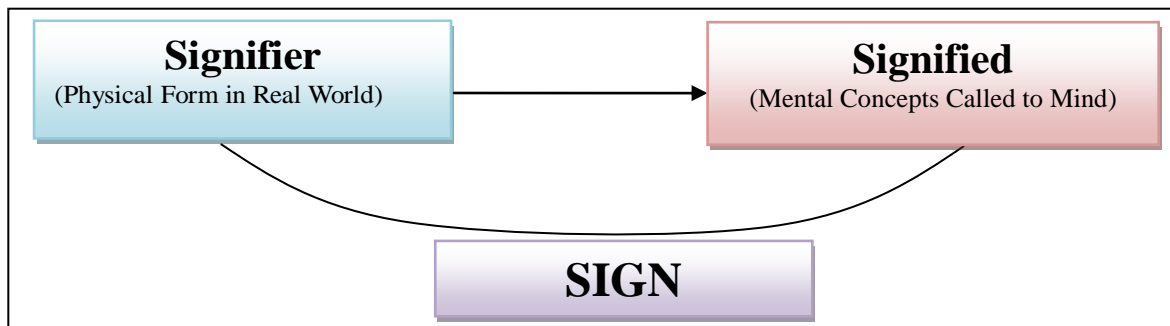
SIGN

However, Saussure's study of semiotics has received criticism for the object of study and his accounts of the characteristics of signs. Hodge and Kress claim that "mainstream semiotics" concentrates on the structures of language so it neglects other types of signs such as images.[503] Several other social semiotics scholars assert that signs are not always arbitrarily constructed; human beings (sign-makers) can intentionally create signs by blending different types of signifiers (such as texts, photographs, sounds, odours or taste) in order to create and convey other signifieds.[504] Given these illustrations, we need to consider not only linguistic signs but also blended signs and, before considering these signs, it is essential to explain how these types of signs convey different meanings. Let us take the linguistic sign "cats" as an example, this sign evokes an idea of a group of different cats in general. However, when it is blended into an image (another sign), the meaning becomes different.

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[503] R. Hodge and G. Kress, *Social Semiotics*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).
[504] M. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic,* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978); R. Hodge and G. Kress, *Social Semiotics*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); P. Thibault, *Social semiotics as praxis: Text, Social Meaning Making, and Nabokov's Ada*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen. *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design (2nd Ed.),* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006); and, G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*, (London: Arnold, 2001).

Figure 3.9 Comparison between Single and Blended Signs of "cats"[505]

Cats

(Linguistic Sign)   (A Blended Sign between Linguistic and Visual Signs)
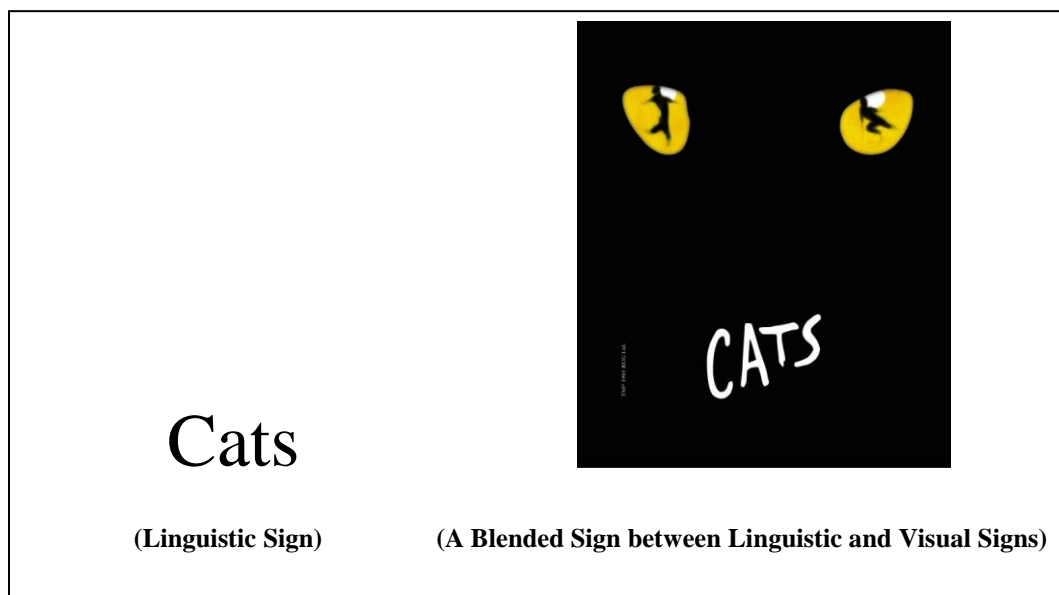
In Figure 3.9, when the word "cats" is associated with the black background and the shadow of a human in each yellow eye-shaped circle, the word "cats" no longer means a group of cats, but instead refers to a famous musical. Social semiotics focuses on the investigation of these blended signs between language and its visual associations appeared in society. As Kress and van Leeuwen argued, the sign in social semiotics does not mean a pre-existing combination of the signifier and the signified but rather "...a ready-made sign to be recognised, chosen and used as it is, in the way that signs are usually thought to be available for use in semiotics."[506] Van Dijk explains that a communicative event consists of conversational interaction between written text and associated gestures, framework typographical layout, image (visual aids) and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification.[507]

In this thesis, linguistic representations of the EU in Korean print and internet newspapers not only appear in the news articles themselves but also appear with visual aids (photographs or

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[505] The image of the poster of cats was drawn from the website of *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias*. Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, cats (musical) http://en.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enwiki/138646 (retrieved on 5 May 2010).

[506] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen., (2006) op. cit.

[507] T. van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Studies: A Sociocognitive Approach," In *Methods of Critical Analysis*, (2nd Edition), edited by R. Wodak and M. Meyer, (London: SAGE, 2009).

audio-visual recordings). Thibault points out that social semiotics offers analytical and theoretical frameworks for illumination of meaning-making in a social context.[508] Social semiotics provides a clue as to the differences between print and internet newspapers by comparing their visual aids. For print newspapers, static visual images are the only option for visual aids, but for internet newspapers, both static images and video clips are possible. To conclude this section, Figure 3.10 presents a summary of various theories within the CDA approach employed in this thesis.

Figure 3.10 Structure of CDA Approach for This Thesis
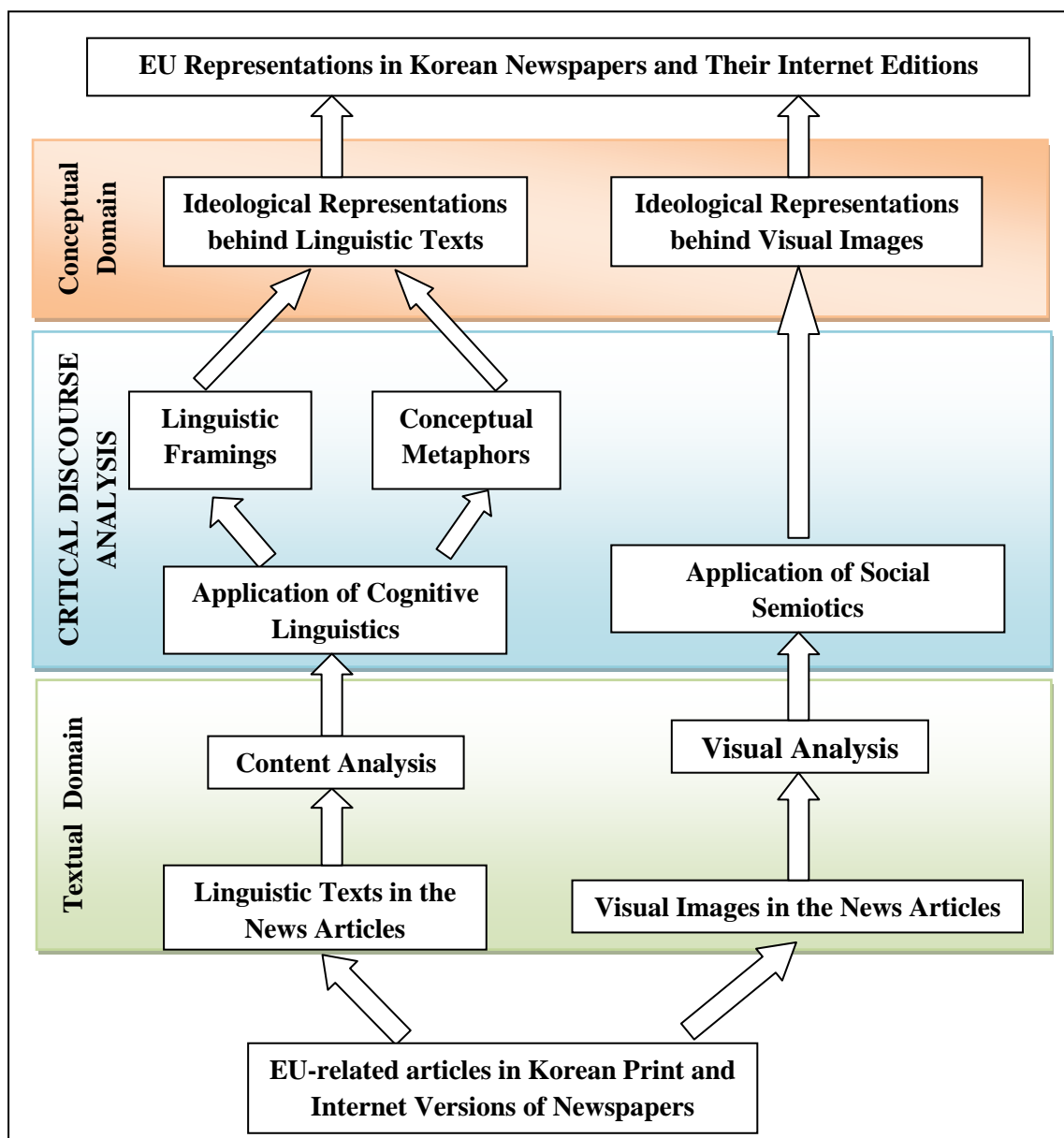
[508] P. Thibault, *Social Semiotics as Praxis: Text, Social Meaning Making, and Nabokov's Ada*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

3.2. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has covered four influential interrelated theoretical frameworks which help to conceptualise this research. The first and second frameworks demonstrated why print newspapers and their internet editions are appropriate objects for analysing Korean perceptions of the EU. Media dependency theory conceptualises the news media as an effective source of information about international counterparts for the general public due to their limited opportunity to make direct contact. Agenda-setting theory offers further explanations on the leverage of the media by outlining the cause-and-effect chain between the media and public agendas. Agenda-setting theorists suggest that the media have significant power to shape public opinion by transferring salient issues from the media agenda to the public agenda. This theory also faces criticism due to its failure to account for passive and uninterested media audiences. As a support for the claims of agenda-setting theory, the common knowledge paradigm is also employed since it does account for media influences upon public opinion not by transferring the salient issues but by establishing public perceptions (common knowledge). Insofar as the themes of these theories and the paradigm are concerned, this thesis selects print newspapers and their internet editions as an appropriate object of investigation since it plays a significant role in shaping Korean public's perceptions of the EU.

However, to demonstrate the effect of the internet media upon the public, the aforementioned theory and paradigms are insufficient as they do not account for the communication between the internet and the public. The notion of interactivity indicates that the effect of the internet can be realised by exploring interaction between individuals and media content. This notion influenced this thesis to investigate the available options for such interactions in order to

analyse the influence of EU news in the internet media on Korean public perceptions of the EU.

The third framework has illustrated the necessity of exploring the process of production of EU-related news and considers gatekeeping theory as a relevant explanation for this thesis. Gatekeeping theory is related to agenda-setting theory but its focus falls instead on who sets the media agenda. It notes that there are newsmakers who determine which news to publish in their media outlets. According to this theory, journalists and editors, the gatekeepers in Korean print media, play a pivotal role in forming EU-related news in these outlets. Thus, this thesis investigates the opinions of Korean media gatekeepers in order to clarify the mechanisms of EU-related news production in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions.

The final section of this chapter justified a set of approaches to the analysis of media contents including linguistic texts and visual images accompanying these texts. This thesis selects CDA as the most appropriate theoretical approach for studying media content. CDA is based on ideology theory, which states that the ideology behind the discourse creates power in society, and focuses on investigating the descriptions of linguistic properties of texts, production/interpretive processes of discursive practice and discursive/social practices. The notions of discourse and the ideology of CDA bear a curious likeness to the common knowledge paradigm in terms of focusing on the sources of forming people's common knowledge. In conjunction with CDA, this thesis employs two applications based on Cognitive Linguistics and social semiotics. The former application of CDA mainly investigates conceptual metaphors and framings which explain the structure of ideology. The latter application concentrates on exploring the visual aids which are presented together with

the linguistic texts. This thesis attempts to analyse linguistic texts and their associated visual images (such as photographs) in the news media (print newspapers and their internet versions).[509] The next chapter will elaborate the methods used to achieve this.

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[509] This thesis only focuses on analysing still images due to the limitations of analysing moving images. For a more detailed discussion of the limitations of visual analysis for moving images, see Chapter 4 (4.4.3).

CHAPTER IV

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This thesis aims to explore representations of the EU in South Korean print newspapers and their internet editions. The review of the relevant literature in Chapter 2 demonstrated a growing scholarly interest and a diversity of approaches in investigating EU external perceptions. On the most developed methodologies used to analyse EU media representation is found in Chaban and Holland's projects. This project titled "The EU in the eyes of Asia-Pacific" [510] produced voluminous research on the EU's external media images. [511] Their

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[510] EU External Perceptions, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/ (retrieved on 20 April 2010).The investigation on Korean perceptions of the EU within the framework of the project "The EU in the Eyes of Asia-Pacific" continues in 2011-2012.

[511] Evidence of media perceptions of the EU in the Asia-Pacific region is contained in the highly readable and densely compact study by Chaban and her research associates. J. Bain, *Europe at 6pm: Images of the EU on New Zealand Television News,* (PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, August 2007); and, K. Stats, "Reading Europe: Representations of the European Union in the Australian Media", *La Trobe Forum* 25 (Political Science Society, La Trobe University, 2005); B. Dai and S. Zhang, "EU Perceptions in China: Emerging Themes from the News Media, Public Opinion and Elite Interviews," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); K. Chan and S. Lai, "The EU in the Eyes of Hong Kong," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); T. Tanaka, E. Fukui and J. Bain. "Cast in America's Shadow: Perceptions of the EU in Japan," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); S. Park and Y. Seo, "Impaired Vision? The EU in the Eyes of Korea" In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); B. Turner and S. Ma, "Seeing the EU in Singapore: Media, Public and Elite Representations," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); A. Petchsri, T. Kirtiputra and R. Raveepaopong, "Thailand: The EU Eclipsed," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); A.Salvador, L. Advincula-Lopez and M. Enverga, "Orientalism Reversed: Images and Perceptions of the EU in the Philippines," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings,* edited by M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); Q. Pham, H. Bui and B. Tran, "Images and Perceptions of the EU in Vietnam: Media, Elite and Public Opinion Perspectives," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings***,** edited by M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); and, C. Luhulima et al., "EU Images in Indonesia," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings***,** edited by M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009), For more information, see the website of EU External Perceptions http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/pubs.shtml (retrieved on 20 April 2010). N. Chaban, "Worlds out of touch, out of reach an out of sight": Foreign News and the Formation of Public Opinion," In *Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts,* edited by J.M. Paniogua et al., (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2007), 154-73; N. Chaban and J. Bain**,** "Peripheral and Invisible?: The European Union in the New Zealand Media, 2000-2002," (Published in CERC Working Papers Series, No.2, 2004); N. Chaban, "The EU Portraits in New Zealand News Media: Media Contributions to Public Opinion Formation,"In *Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies,* vol. 1, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 179-200; M. Holland et al., eds, *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); N. Chaban and M. Holland,

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methods of media analysis are inspired by a groundbreaking UNESCO comparative research project investigating media portrayals of foreign countries in 29 selected countries.[512] Chaban and Holland's methods are also informed by studies dealing with the representations of the EU in its internal news media.[513] In an extension of the project "the EU in the Eyes of Asia Pacific", Bain applied Chaban's method of content analysis in her thesis focusing on EU imagery on New Zealand television.[514]

One of the project's case-studies is EU images and perceptions in Korea. Findings from South Korean public opinion surveys (2004-2006) were elaborated in previous chapters.[515] Within this project, EU media coverage was explored in 2003 and 2006. Following on from these studies, this thesis analyses EU media coverage in Korea in 2008 and utilises Chaban's method of media content analysis as a starting point. The thesis also extends the method to address visual elements and applies it to examine the medium of internet (internet versions of

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eds., *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific,* (New York: Routledge, 2008); N. Chaban et al., "Seeing Europe Through the Eyes of Others: How 'Local' is the EU in Asia-Pacific News?" *Language and Intercultural Communication,* vol. 6, no. 3 and 4 (2006): 188-210; N. Chaban, J. Bain and K. Stats, "'Under Construction': Images of the Enlarging EU in the Australasian News Media'," *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* (*CADAAD*), vol. 1, no. 2 (2007): 79-95; J. Bain,(2007), op. cit.; M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, eds, *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings,* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); and, N. Chaban, C. Schneider and R. Malthus**,** "Visibility, Framing and Importance: Images of the EU in Japan and South Korea," In *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.27, no. 1 (2009): 88-125

[512] A. Sreberny-Mohammadi et al., *Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries. Reports and Papers on Mass Communication,*93 (Paris: Unesco, 1985); and, N. Chaban and M. Holland, "Research Methodology," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007), 33.

[513] N. Chaban and M. Holland, (2007) op. cit.; H. Semetko and P. Valkenburg, "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News,"In *Journal of Communication,* vol. 50, no. 2 (2000): 93-109; D. Kevin, *Europe in Media: A Comparison of Reporting, Representation, and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe*, (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2003); C. de Vreese, "Europe in the News: A Cross-national Comparative Study of the News Coverage of Key EU Events." *European Union Politics* 2 (2001): 283-307; J. Peter, H. Semetko and C. de Vreese, "Politics on Television in Europe: How European is it," *EU Politics,* vol. 4, no. 3 (2003): 305-327; and R. Vliegenthart, A. Schuck, H. Boomgaarden and C. de Vreese, "News Coverage and Support for European Integration 1990-2006," In *International Journal of Public Opinion Research,* vol. 20, no. 4 (2009): 415-439.

[514] This thesis contends that Bain invented visual analysis methodology based on visual semiotic studies. For a more detailed discussion of this, see J. Bain (2007).

[515] Both Korean public opinion surveys were conducted from 2004 to 2007. The National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury, New Zealand conceived, analysed and summarised the surveys. In both surveys, the Korean general public sample involved 400 people (18 years and older). Both surveys were written in both Korean and English. From 2004 to 2005, the survey was conducted on the phone using Computer-Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) technology; from 2006 to 2007, it was conducted on-line (taking into account a high level of computer literacy in the country and with a view of budget optimization). To warrant reliable and valid sampling procedures and culturally sensitive execution, two professional social research groups were hired to implement the survey in Korea -- "Synnovate" in 2004-2005 and "TNS" in 2006-2007. Completed data files are stored in SPSS format. In both surveys, the margin of error was ±4.9%. A total of 23 questions were asked in 2004-2005 (with five open-ended questions). A total of 25 questions was asked in 2006 (six were open-ended). Two extra questions in the 2006-2007 survey asked Koreans about their perceptions of the ASEM process. All other questions were identical to the 2004-2005 survey questionnaires. The author directly contacted one of the project leaders, Associate Professor Natalia Chaban, for getting the results of both surveys. As has been noted earlier, this project continues to explore Korean public perceptions of the EU in a consistent manner (2011-2012). However, the outcomes of subsequent Korean public opinion surveys conducted in 2011-2012 are not yet available at this stage.

print dailies). Finally, the thesis explores newsmakers' perceptions of the EU adopting and modifying the questionnaire used in the 'elite' phase of the project "The EU in the Eyes of Asia Pacific".[516] The methodological innovation of this thesis is its systematic consideration of the notion of interactivity of the internet media and application of the social semiotic methods to investigate interaction between visual images and the texts they accompany to study EU images in external media.

This chapter outlines the methodological basis of this analysis. It presents the landscape of Korean print and internet newspapers and explains the sample and the process of data collection. It then offers an overview of existing approaches to the content analysis of media texts, internet versions of newspapers and visual images. Finally, it describes the analysis procedures used in this thesis.

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[516] As part of the project called "the EU through the eyes of Asia-Pacific," both groups of Korean elite opinion interviews were conducted from 2004 to 2007. As with public opinion surveys, the questionnaires of elite opinion surveys are designed and administered by National Centre for Research on Europe. According to elite opinion analysis website (http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/elite.shtml) (retrieved on 20 April 2010), the Korean elite sample involved 32 elites from four sectors (policial, business, civil society and media) in each interview period (2004-2005 and 2006-2007). The average duration of each interview was 45 minutes. Specifically for this thesis, media elite interview questionnaire consist of two parts: 7 questions about personal perceptions of the EU and 10 questions about EU news coverage. Since this thesis covers internet versions of newspapers, it added 6 questions about internet news production., Korean correspondents of this project have recently conducted additional interviews with this questionnaire independently from the project. Due to the insufficient number of interviewees available for this thesis, the author directly contacted one of Korean correspondents for obtaining correspondent interview results of media elites (two newsmakers of print newspapers).

4.2 Landscape of Korean Print and Internet Newspapers (Ownership, Circulation, Popularity, Government Regulations)

4.2.1 Print Newspapers

The chapter starts with an overview of Korean press ownership patterns in order to justify the selection of news outlets for observation. According to the Korean Press Foundation, in 2004, there were 138 daily print newspapers in Korea (58 nationwide and 80 regional newspapers).[517] The latest data on the press ownership is difficult to retrieve,[518] however the Centre for Free Enterprise (CFE) and the Korean Press Foundation have recently examined the ownership of selected nationwide and regional print newspapers. CFE's report shows that the ownership of Korean newspaper companies ranges from individuals, households, organisations, and the government, to workers and shareholders.[519] According to the Korean Press Foundation, the majority of newspaper companies including major newspapers are in fact owned by individuals or households (Table 4.1).[520] Arguably, the editorial priorities of most print newspapers in Korea will be driven by pragmatic business priorities of generating profit rather than by government regulations or guidelines.

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[517] E. Lee, "Shinmunsanŏpgwa Kyŏngyŏng: Hyŏnhwanggwa Munjejŏm, Gaesŏn, Jiwŏnbangan," In *Wigie Hangukshimmun: Hyŏnhwang, Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan,* edited by Y. Kim et al., (Seoul: Korean Press Foundation, 2005). By taking a closer look at the distribution by the types of newspapers, there are 106 general daily newspapers, 25 special newspapers such as economic (8), sports (2), children's (4) and specific area (11), and 7 newspapers in foreign languages.

[518] E. Lee, (2005) op. cit.

[519] Center for Free Enterprise, Report, Policy Monitor, *Shimmunsae Soyugujo, P'yŏnjipgwŏn dongnip gŭrigo Ŏnronine Todŏksŏng,* http://www.cfe.kr/mboard/bbsDetail.asp?cid=mn20061221201642&run=3&skey=&sword=&headertype=&pn=6&idx=525 (retrieved on 28 December 2009).

[520] Ibid.

Table 4.1 Ownerships of Selected Nationwide and Regional Print Newspapers in South Korea[521]

Range of Newspapers	Ownership	Newspapers
Nationwide (Major Three)	Family	*Chosun Ilbo, Dong A Ilbo and Joong Ang Ilbo*
Nationwide (Minor)	Family	*Hankook Ilbo and Naeil Shinmun*
	Employees	*Hankyoreh Ilbo and Kyunghyang Ilbo*
	Religious Foundation	*Kookmin Ilbo and Sekye Ilbo*
	Other Foundation	*Munhwa Ilbo*
	Government	*Seoul Ilbo*
Regional	Family	*Daejeon Ilbo, Chungcheong Today, Jeonnam Ilbo and Jeju Ilbo*
	Religious Foundation	*Gukje Shinmun and Maeil Shinmun*
	Personal	*Incheon Ilbo and Kyeongin Ilbo*
	Construction Company	*Kwangju Ilbo and Youngnam Ilbo*
	Logistic Company	*Gangwon Domin Ilbo*
	Other	*Kyeongnam Shinmun*

The circulation numbers illustrate which print newspapers are popular among Korean media audiences. Reports from the Korean Audit Bureau of Circulation (KABC), the Korean Press Foundation and Media Management and Marketing Institute provide some useful information about press circulation.[522] According to the report from Media Management and Marketing Institute, the circulation of the three major print newspapers (*Chosun, Dong A* and *Joong Ang*) was approximately 6,490,000 (in 2004), which represents 48.3% of total circulation of newspapers in Korea.[523] By way of comparison, the circulation of the seven minor newspapers was approximately 2,123,000, which represents 15.8% of the total.[524] Together,

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[521]E. Lee, *Midiŏgiŏbe Soyugujo Yŏngu: Shilt'ae mit Hyŏnhwang,* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2008).

[522] Since 1989, KABC has measured audience size and circulations of Korean news media (such as newspapers, magazines and internet media). However, it released their findings restrictedly to its own members. For that reason, if any individual researcher wishes to retrieve that information about the Korean media, this thesis suggests they approach Korean Press Foundations (KPF), which is open to the public. For more information, see E. Lee, "Shinmunsanŏpgwa Kyŏngyŏng: Hyŏnhwanggwa Munjejŏm, Gaesŏn, Jiwŏnbangan," In *Wigie Hangukshimmun: Hyŏnhwang, Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan,* edited by Y. Kim et al., (Seoul: Korean Press Foundation, 2005); and, E. Lee, *Midiul: Korean Press Foundation, 2005); annhwang,* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2008).

[523] E. Lee, (2005) op. cit.

[524] Ibid. The minor seven newspapers are *Kookmin, Seoul, Hankook, Moonhwa, Segye, Hankyoreh, Kyounghyang Ilbo.*

these ten newspapers dominate the news market comprising 64.1% of circulation of newspapers in Korea.

AC Nielsen Korea, a Korea-based media research group, investigated the subscription rates of print newspapers from 2000 to 2005 (Table 4.2).[525] They found the subscription rates for all newspapers in 2004 were 41%, [526] and the subscription rates for the three major newspapers were 31.6% average in 2004. [527] This demonstrates that the three major newspapers boast the highest subscription in the country. Arguably, these three newspapers are among the most influential sources of information for the Korean media audiences.

Table 4.2 Subscription Rates of South Korean Three Major Newspapers[528]

Subscription Rates	December 2000	May 2001	May 2004	September 2004	December 2004	January-March 2005
Chosun	15.0%	13.4%	11.3%	11.1%	11.3%	11.3%
Dong A	11.6%	10.9%	9.5%	9.4%	9.6%	9.6%
Joong Ang	14.2%	12.1%	10.7%	10.8%	11.1%	11.1%
Sum of Major Three	40.8%	36.4%	31.5%	31.3%	32.0%	32.0%

Current government regulations in Korea allow a possible government involvement in the news production process. Current government regulations on print newspapers consist of two legal acts: *Publication Law* and *Newspapers Law*.[529] The *Publication Law* was introduced at the end of 1987. [530] This law was introduced to restrict the monopoly or oligopoly within the

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[525] Pressian, Shimmun Gudongnyul Sasangchoejŏro Gŭmnak, 41% Bulgwa,
http://www.pressian.com/article/article.asp?article_num=40050121120404&Section=06 (retrieved on 31 December 2009).
[526] Ibid.
[527] Y. Kim et al., eds., (2005) op. cit.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid. The terms "Publication Law" and "Newspapers Law" were translated by the author of this thesis. Korean names of those acts are *Chŏnggan Pŏp*, *Chŏnggiganaengmuldŭngnoge Gwanhan Pŏpnyul* for "Publication Law" and *Shimmunbŏp*, *Shimmundŭnge Chayuwa Kinŭngbojange Gwanhan Pŏmnyul* for "Newspapers Law."
[530] Ibid.

media industry.[531] The law also allows for the censorship of unethical contents of the media, such as violence, sexuality and linguistic obscenity.[532] Importantly, this law has allowed numerous small media companies to enter the newspaper market.[533] Yet this law also laid the foundations for extreme competition within the Korean newspaper market.[534] The economic crisis of 1997 and negative legacies of the law triggered the reform of the Korean press. Responding to the challenges, the *Newspapers Law* was introduced in 2005 in order to overcome the shortcomings of the *Publication Law*. Building on the *Publication Law*, the *Newspapers Law* addresses the government's participation in fostering the newspaper market due to the previous failure of the market.[535] Importantly, this regulation spells out that the government is not to act as a confining organisation but as a supporter of the newspapers. Therefore, Korean major newspapers enjoy a significant degree of freedom from government regulations.

4.2.2 Internet Newspapers

From the 1960s until the end of the 1980s, the government has generously supported the major print newspapers by providing economic and political privileges to them.[536] Due to this support, these newspapers have become big enterprises and the most influential news agents in Korea.[537] However, since 2005, the number of internet newspapers has dramatically

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[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ibid.
[536] J. Chŏng, *Hangugŏnron e Yŏksa,* (Seoul: Beomusa, 1994); N. Kim et al., *Hangukŏnronsanŏbe Yŏksawa Gujo*, (Seoul: Yŏnamsa, 2000).
[537] Ibid. During the rule of the former Korean military governments, from the 1960s until the end of the 1980s, major newspaper companies were the recipients of economical and political privileges because they can directly influence upon public opinion. The government allowed a few major privileged newspaper companies to form a cartel and to pay fewer taxes in the oligopoly system. Subsequently, these newspaper companies have grown into big companies. Plus, the government offered the journalists opportunities to join political parties and conserving their rights. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Chŏng, Kim et al..

increased (Table 4.3) and this has diverted the Korean readership away from print newspapers.[538]

Table 4.3 Annual Increase in the Numbers of Registered Internet Newspapers[539]

Years	Number of Newly Registered Internet Newspapers	Accumulated Number of Registered Internet Newspapers.
Before 2005	231	231
2006	280	511
2007	329	840
2008	424	1264
2009 (until 17 March of that year)	135	1399

The rapid growth of a new medium for newspapers did not mean the "death" of print newspapers but rather a big change to their newsmaking practices.[540] The print newspapers have quickly established their own internet versions which are different from the hard copies. These papers in their both versions remain influential sources of news in Korea.

The genre of internet newspapers is comprised of two types of papers: original online newspapers whose websites are independent from print newspapers and online versions of newspapers which have websites that are subordinate to the print newspapers.[541] According to Deuze, there are three key features of internet newspapers: hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity.[542] Hypertextuality refers to an ability to link or make interconnection with

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[538]Korea Press Foundation, *2009 Hanguge Intdŏnetshimmun,* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2009).
[539] Ibid.
[540]T. Hahn, *Hangukŏnrone Gujojŏk T'ongjewa ŏnron jayu,* (Seoul: Pulbit, 2002).
[541] N. Krasnoboka, "'Real Journalism Goes Underground: The Internet Underground': The Phenomenon of Online Media in the Former Soviet Union Republics," *Gazette* 64 (2002): 479-499.
[542] M. Deuze, "Online Journalism: Modeling the First Generation of News Media on the World Wide Web," In *First Monday*, vol. 6, no. 10 (October, 2001), http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/893/802 (retrieved on 11 April 2011).

the texts.[543] The term 'hyperlink' coined by Nelson means "a delivery system for separate closed units, that is a system which allows only embedded links pointing outward."[544] Hyperlinks can appear internally (within the text of online versions of newspapers) or externally (the texts situated in elsewhere on the internet like personal blogs or portal sites).[545] This feature enables internet newspapers to disseminate news quickly to readers by using internal and external hypertexts and also to lead readers to access the archived stories.[546]

Multimediality can be described as "a result of convergence of media modalities" (textual, audio and visual components).[547] As Dimitrova and Neznanski suggested, the convergence does not only allow audiences to choose their most preferred types of media on the internet, but also gives the newsmakers more freedom to present the news in a diverse way.[548] Thus, readers of internet newspapers can read the news articles with enhanced audio-visual support such as more photographs and even supplementary video clips.

Interactivity means mutual communication between the journalists and the audiences of the online media.[549] This feature has been already elaborated in Chapter 3. This feature facilitates readers' communication with newsmakers by providing writers' email addresses for private discussion about the content of the articles and a discussion forum at the bottom of the article for open discussion.

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[543] M. Deuze (2001) op. cit.; and, J. Luik, "The Characteristics of Online Versions of National Newspapers in Indonesia and the Philippines," *Scriptura*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2008):117-123.
[544] T. Nelson, "Xanalogical Media: Needed Now More than Ever," (ACM Computing Surveys paper. 1999).
[545] M. Deuze, (2001) op. cit.
[546] D. Dimitrova and M. Neznanski, "Online Journalism and the War in Cyberspace: A Comparison between U.S. and International Newspapers,"In *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2006). http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol12/issue1/dimitrova.html (retrieved on 11 April 2011).
[547] J. Luik, (2008) op. cit.
[548] D. Dimitrova and M. Neznanski, (2006) op. cit.
[549] T. Schultz, "Interactive Options in Online Journalism: A Content Analysis of 100 U.S. Newspapers," In *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication,* vol. 5, no. 1 (1999).

Like print newspapers, the landscape of internet newspapers is diverse with differing ownership patterns and editorial practices. The impacts of these internet outlets and the government's involvements in reporting the news are clear. In 2009, there were 891 internet newspapers in Korea: 706 internet media, 15 internet versions of media companies and 170 websites of print and broadcasting organisations. The Korea Press Foundation investigated the ownerships of 569 internet newspapers (58% of participation rates).[550] It was found that the ownership pattern of internet newspapers is similar to that of print newspapers. The ownership of internet newspapers ranges from companies, partnerships, corporations, individual businessmen to voluntary corporations (Figure 4.1).[551] According to the report from the Foundation, more than half of the ownership of internet newspapers is by incorporated companies while 40% of ownership is individual.[552] Arguably, the personal or business influence on each of these newspapers is relatively strong**.**

Figure 4.1 Ownerships of Selected Internet Versions of Newspapers in South Korea[553]

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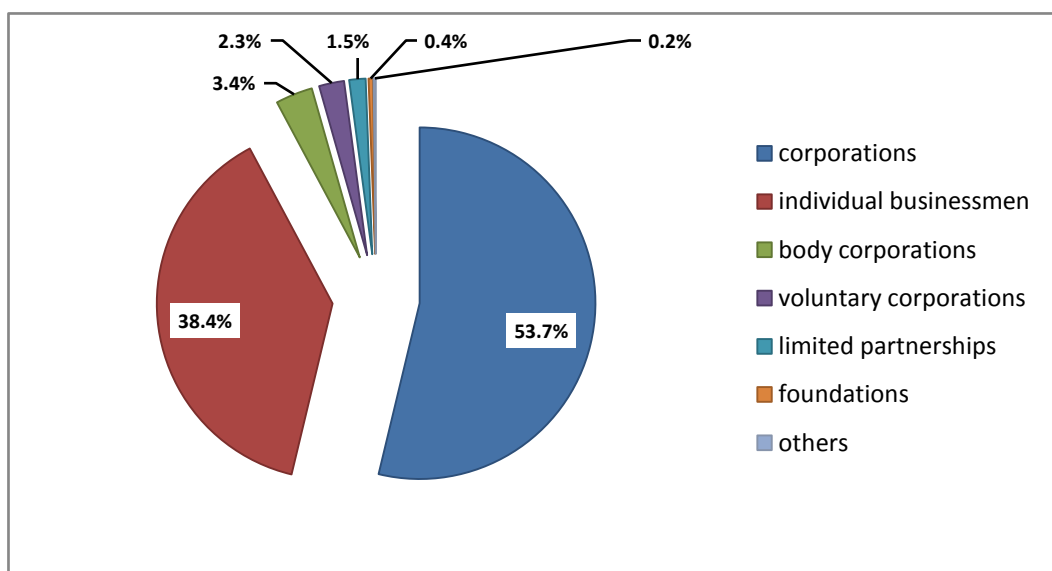
[550]Korean Press Foundation, *2009 Hanguge Int'ŏnet Shimmun,* (Seoul: Korean Press Foundationm, 2009).
[551] Ibid.
[552] Ibid.
[553] Ibid.

The number of visitors to the internet newspapers was considered an indicator of the accessibility, popularity and influence of these news media among the Korean public. Choi and Cho investigated the number of visitors of 50 internet versions of newspapers from 2005 to 2007 and their results are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Number of the Visitors to Internet Newspapers in Korea (2005-2007)[554]

	October 2005	April 2006	October 2006	April 2007	October 2007
Online Versions of Print Newspapers	9,975,888	9,281,356	9,071,954	14,572,749	16,324,592
Original Online Newspapers	7,265,522	7,795,519	7,123,888	11,656,006	15,040,529

Table 4.4 illustrates that the circulation and popularity of internet newspapers in Korea has increased to twice the base rate over the research period. Arguably, the results show that the Korean public's dependency upon internet newspapers is growing. Online versions of newspapers are a more popular type of internet newspaper than original online newspapers.

It is also useful to consider the current government regulations in relation to newsmaking on the internet. Choi and Cho claim that the existing law lays the conceptual groundings for the operation of the internet newspapers.[555] The three relevant legal acts for internet newspapers are: the *Election Law,* the *Media Arbitration Law* and the *Newspapers Law.*[556] The *Election Law*, which came into force in 1994 and was given its current name in 2005, explains the general concept of internet newspapers.[557] In this article, internet newspapers were described as a forum for political discussion among the Korean public.[558] The *Media Arbitration Law*,

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[554]M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.
[555] Ibid.
[556] All Korean law terms were translated by the author of this thesis. The Korean name for Media Arbitration Law is *Ŏnronjungjaebŏp* or *Ŏnronjungjae mit P'ihaeguje Dŭngegwanhan bŏmnyul* which was activated on 06 February 2009. The Korean name for Election Law is *Gongjiksŏngŏ bŏp*. For more information, see M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007).
[557] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.
[558] Ibid.

which came into force February 2009, also defines the concept of internet newspapers and provides for mediation between the internet newspapers and the Korean public.[559] The *Newspapers Law* clearly defines internet newspapers as news media in Korea, and endows internet newspapers with the same authority, rights and duties that traditional news media in Korea enjoy.[560] However, the Korea Press Foundation pointed out that the regulation about internet versions of newspapers was omitted from this legal act.[561] Consequently, in 2009, the Korean government amended the act to include internet versions of newspapers within the jurisdiction of the *Newspapers Law*.[562]

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Data Collection Period

As Chapter 1 showed, EU-Korea relations have been improving significantly since the end of 1990s. Surveys of public opinion in Korea in 2004 and 2006 demonstrated that the perception of the EU's importance has moved up from the sixth position in 2004 to the fourth in 2006 (Figure 4.2). Arguably, the increase in EU perceived importance could be ascribed to a combination of factors, including the EU-Korea FTA, Korea's current search for a more balanced foreign policy, and the EU's contributions to the security situation on the Korean peninsula.

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[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Ibid.

Figure 4.2 The Importance of Foreign Partners for Korea[563]
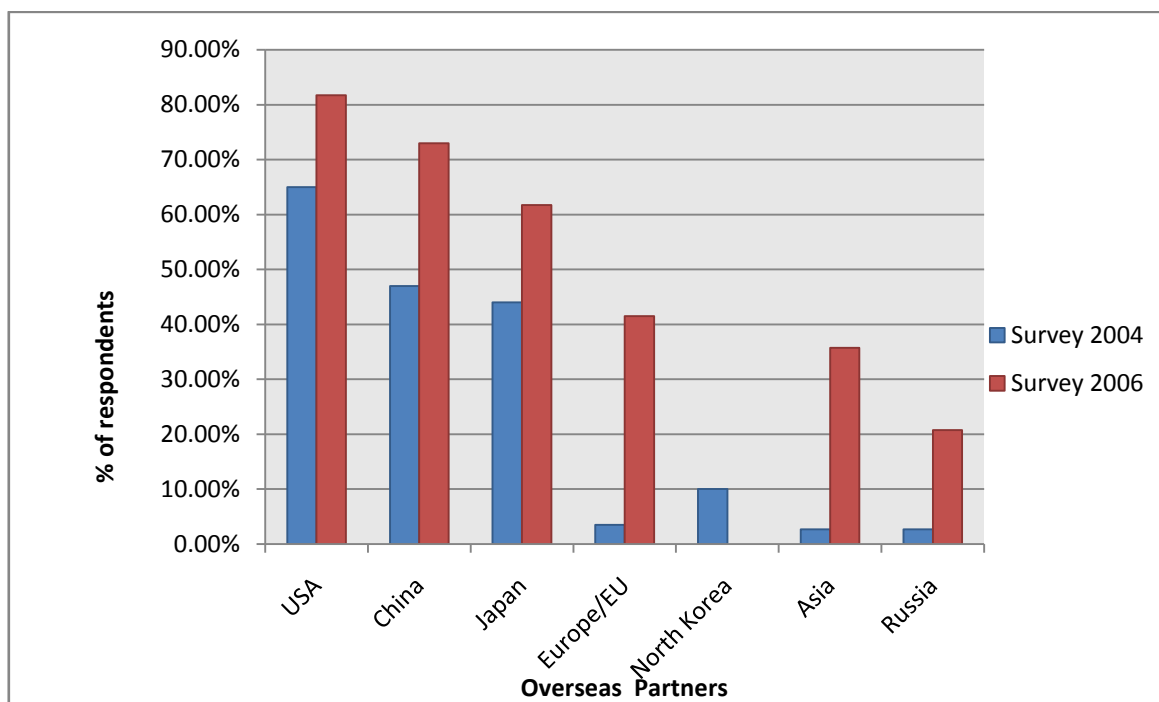
It is arguable that, in the coming years, the EU will become increasingly visible in Korean society. The media data for this thesis was collected from 1 January to 31 December 2008. The observation year of 2008 featured three major events in EU-Korea political and economic cooperation, which may have raised the profile of the EU among the Korean public and raised interest in the EU among various groups within Korean society. In terms of political cooperation, the first G20 Summit held in 2008 was a major international event which involved both the EU and Korea. At the G20 Washington Summit on 15 November 2008, 22 leaders of 20 members representing world leading economies (one from 19 countries and three from the EU) discussed the strategies of strengthening economic growth, overcoming the financial crises and avoiding similar crises in the future.[564] These issues were

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[563] EU External Perceptions, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz (retrieved on 21 August 2008). The question for the figure 4.2 was *"Which foreign countries or regions, you think, are **presently** the most important partners for Korea?"* This figure illustrates that the US was ranked first place in both years. Moreover, the public perception of the US being the most important country to Korea has increased (from 65% in 2004 to approximately 80% in 2006). China's position also has not changed -- it was second in both surveys (with 47% in 2004 and 73% in 2006). Japan was the third in both years (44% in 2004 and in approximately 60% in 2006).

[564] In 1999, the Group of Twenty (G-20) Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors was established to discuss key issues in the global economy. It is also known as a forum for systematically important industrialised and developing economies. The inaugural meeting of the G-20 took place in Berlin, on December 15-16, 1999, hosted by German and Canadian finance ministers. The members of G20 are as follows: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, the EU, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, United Kingdom and the United States. In 2008, the first meeting of the leaders of G 20 members was held in

seen as directly relevant to the interests of the general public.[565] The Summit event arguably increased Korean media attention to the G20 participants, including the EU, and highlight the topic of international cooperation.

In 2008, another international forum, ASEM 7, took place. At the meeting held in Beijing from 24 to 25 October 2008, 45 leaders from Asia and the EU discussed their cooperation in political, economic, social and cultural issues, including the global economic crisis, energy security, sustainable development and climate change.[566] Like the G20 Summit, ASEM 7 was one of the most visible news topics presenting the EU as a visible political actor. This reportage is also argued to have framed the areas of EU-Asia and EU-Korea cooperation as becoming more comprehensive.

The year 2008 also featured the 6th and 7th rounds in the EU-Korea FTA negotiations. In the 6th negotiation, both sides focused on the issues of trading agricultural products and geographic indicators (GI).[567] The main topics of the 7th negotiation were service sectors, GI, customs clearance, removing non-tariff barriers, intellectual property, government procurement and other general rules.[568] The comprehensive agenda of the both rounds of

Washington DC. Even if the aim of this meeting is to overcome the financial crisis, the articles related with G20 summits in Korean newspapers from the sample were categorised as political issues. Three EU leaders who participated in the meeting were Jose Manuel Barroso (the president of European Commission), Jan Peter Balkenende (the president of European Council) and Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero (the president of European Commission). For more information about G20, see http://www.g20.org/about_what_is_g20.aspx . (retrieved on 30 September 2011).

[565] *The Bulletin*, "Consumer Confidence Falls to 7-month Low," http://www.bendbulletin.com/article/20110629/NEWS0107/106290353/ (retrieved on 30 September 2011); *The New York Times*, "Nation's Mood at Lowest Level in Two Years, Poll Shows." http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/22/us/22poll.html?_r=2 (retrieved on 30 September 2011); *US News*, "the National Debt Crisis is an Existential threat ," http://www.usnews.com/opinion/mzuckerman/articles/2011/04/26/the-national-debt-crisis-is-an-existential-threat (retrieved on 30 September 2011); *Forbes,* "The End of the Great Recession? Hardly," http://www.forbes.com/sites/brianwingfield/2010/09/20/the-end-of-the-great-recession-hardly/?partner=contextstory (retrieved on 30 September 2011); and, *Forbes,* "Street Rallies Around Official Recession End." http://www.forbes.com/2010/09/20/briefing-markets-recession-over-stocks-rally.html?boxes=Homepagechannels (retrieved on 30 September 2011).

[566] ASEM7, Overview, http://www.asem7.cn/english/asem7.htm (retrieved on 31 July 2010); and, Asia-Europe Meeting, EUROPA, http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/asem/index_en.htm (retrieved on 20 April 2010)

[567] Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Korea-EU FTA, http://www.fta.go.kr/user/fta_korea/data_list.asp (retrieved on 11 June 2013); and, KREI, *Han-EU FTA 6Ch'a hyŏpsanggwa Hyanghujŏnlyak*, http://www.krei.re.kr/kor/info/news_eview.php?kid=18080 (retrieved on 20 April 2010)

[568] Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Han-EU FTA Che 7 Ch'a Hyŏpsanggyŏlgwa*,

negotiations illustrated multiple facets in bilateral economic cooperation between the EU and Korea.

As argued in the introduction, the goal of Korea's diplomatic relations is to establish a global trade network in order to export Korean products to the world and secure benefits for Korea's economy. EU-Korea FTA is seen as beneficial to Korea. An official from Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade stated in his interview with *Korea Herald* that "we can expect invigoration of bilateral trade relations and expansion of the amount of foreign direct investment from other third countries due to the activation of EU-Korea FTA."[569] In addition, Korean exporters of cars and electronic products get advantages and also Korean consumers are able to purchase the medical products and agricultural products such as wines and meat at cheaper prices.[570] Joon-woo Park, the former Korean ambassador to the EU, mentioned that "Korea expects the benefits from EU-Korea FTA might compensate trade loss with other international counterparts."[571] Respectively, the coverage of EU-Korea rounds of FTA negotiations was expected to elicit steady public and elite interests among the readers of Korean news.

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http://www.mofat.go.kr/webmodule/htsboard/hbd/hbdread.jsp?boardid=235&typeID=6&tableName=TYPE_DATABOARD&seqno=312594 (retrieved on 20 April 2010).

[569] *Media Daum*, *Han.EU FTA Naenyun Chyun wŏ; Baryo…Kyŏngjehyokwanŭn*,
http://media.daum.net/economic/view.html?cateid=1041&newsid=20100916190004093&p=ned (retrieved on 30 September 2011).

[570] Ibid.

[571] Chosun.com, *Han.EU FTA Ro Han-il muyŏkjŏkja Haesorŭl,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2009/07/13/2009071302359.html (retrieved on 30 September 2011).

4.3.2 Chosen Media for Analysis

As previously mentioned, this thesis examines EU images in print and internet versions of newspapers. For print newspapers, this thesis collected – surveyed EU-related news in three major print newspapers: *Chosun Ilbo*, *Dong A Ilbo* and *Joong Ang Ilbo*. These papers were chosen for three reasons. Firstly, the most recent surveys investigating Korean media audience's perceptions of the news media show that these three newspapers featured among the ten most trusted news agents and also the ten most influential news agents among all news media in Korea including print newspapers, television, radio and internet.[572]

Secondly, these newspapers have the highest market shares in Korea's newspaper industry. According to the reports of 2010 survey by Korean Press Foundation, the three major newspapers occupy 65.8% of market share of Korean newspapers (*Chosun* 30.0%, *Dong A* 15.8% and *Joong Ang* 20.0%).[573] Applying the arguments of media dependency theory covered in Chapter 3, these newspapers have higher chances to shape Korean public perceptions of the EU. However, their readership might overlap. According to Korea Press Foundation, the audiences of one of the major print newspapers typically subscribe to another

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[572] Korea Press Foundation, *2006 Ŏnronsuyongja Ŭishikjosa, (*Seoul, Korea Press Foundation, 2006); M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; Korea Press Foundation, *2008 Ŏnronsuyongja Ŭishikjosa,* (Seoul, Korea Press Foundation, 2008); and, Korea Press Foundation, *2010 Press Foundation, Ŏnronsuyongja Ŭishikjosa,* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2010). *Ŏnronsuyongja Ŭishikjosa* (translation, the investigations on media audiences' perception) are the reports of the results from the biannual surveys conducted by Korea Press Foundation regarding media audiences' perceptions of the news media. Since 1984, the Foundation has executed 15 surveys exploring how the Korean news audiences have opinions about the news media and their summarised results have been disseminated as a report format. The surveys were written in Korean language and the surveys conducted by face-to-face conversations with the respondents. The average sampling for each survey is 5,000 people (5,104 in 2008 Survey and 5,009 in 2010 Survey). The average margin of error of the surveys was ±1.4%. In 2008 and 2010 surveys, there were six areas of investigations of media audiences' perceptions of Korean media: 1. The audiences' behaviours of media usage, 2. The audiences' evaluations on newsmakers, 3. The audiences' usages of internet news, 4. The evaluations on media reports, 5.The audiences' rationale for using the news media and 6. The audiences' evaluations on their perceived journalistic behaviours behind the news media.
[573] Korea Press Foundation, (2010) op.cit.

major newspaper.[574] Unfortunately, this report and the most recent surveys do not present details of the overlapped readerships.

Finally, the three major newspapers differ in their editorial orientation. Kim asserts that identifying editorial orientations of the news media in Korea is still a challenging task.[575] Kim argues that Koreans often believe the three major newspapers show similar attitudes towards the Korean government.[576] To test this claim, Kim compared the first pages and the editorial sections of the three major Korean newspapers.[577] Both *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* were found to publish politically-themed editorials, but the two papers showed different attitudes towards the government: the former showed strong criticisms towards the government, the latter profiled supportive attitudes.[578] *Joong Ang Ilbo* was found to focus on publishing economically-themed editorials, but it also covered more diverse areas such as international, educational and entertainment issues.[579]

In exploring the questions of EU images in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions, this thesis limits its scope to consideration of Korean-language editions. English-language editions of Korean newspapers are not subscribed to by sufficient numbers of Korean readers. According to the results of the Korean Press Foundation's survey, the readership scores of "nationwide newspapers" (59.1%) were much higher than those of

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[574] Korea Press Foundation, *Shinmundokjae Shinmun Iyonghaengt'ae Chosayŏngu* http://www.kpf.or.kr/journal/biz_result_view.jsp?ctg=%BF%AC%B1%B8%BA%B8%B0%ED%BC%AD&bd_seq=6568&pg=10 (retrieved on 19 October 2011). Based on the information of the report, we can draw out three possible combinations of overlapping readerships: *Chosun* and *Joong Ang*, *Chosun* and *Dong A*, and *Dong A* and *Joong Ang*.
[575] Ibid.
[576] S. Kim, "*Chosun-Joong Ang-Dong A Ilbo e Yusasŏnggwa Ch'abyŏlsŏng: 1myŏn Gusŏnggwa Sasŏl e Inyŏmsŏngŭl Chungsimŭro,*" In *Media, Gender & Munhwa* 15 (2010): 37-78.
[577] Ibid. In this study, she has investigated the front pages of three newspapers (from May 2008 to January 2010) and their editorial pages (from January 2009 to January 2010). For the investigation of front pages, she has covered five components (number of articles, photographs, advertisements and other types of visual aids). For the investigation of political ideologies of editorial sections, she has dealt with five main criteria (national identity, conservatism/anti-conservatism, liberalism/authoritarianism, modernism/anti-modernism and cosmopolitanism/nationalism). For a comprehensive discussion of the data, see S. Kim (2010), op. cit.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Ibid.

"other types of newspapers" (1.3%).[580] Recently, in Korea, the daily circulation of newspapers written in languages other than Korean has decreased from 84,000 (2004) to 78,668 (2009).[581] Furthermore, respondents did not consider newspapers written in English language among the ten most influential and trusted media sources.[582]

For its internet newspapers analysis, this thesis focuses on the internet editions of these three prestigious print newspapers: *Chosun.com*, *DongA.com* and *JOINS.com*. The three internet versions are considered to be the 'pioneers' of internet newspapers production in Korea. Out of three internet editions, *JOINS.com*, established in March 1995, was the first internet newspaper providing news services on the internet.[583] In October 1995, *Chosun.com* was launched.[584] A year later, *DongA.com* was established.[585] The three internet versions of the papers are chosen due to their traditions, reputation and longevity in the market of internet newspapers and also their close links to the print versions which allows for comparative analysis. The brief profiles of these newspapers and their online editions are presented in Table 4.5

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[580] Korean Press Foundation, (2010) op. cit. To measure the readership scores of newspapers, the Korean Press Foundation asked the question: "which newspapers did you read over last seven days?" In this survey, Korean-language versions of three major newspapers are categorised as "nationwide newspapers" but English-language versions of these newspapers are categorised as "other types of newspapers." For more information, see Korea Press Foundation, *2010 Ŏnronsuyongja Ŭishikjosa.* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2010).

[581] Korean Association of Newspapers, *Charyoshil, T'onggye*, http://www.presskorea.or.kr/ (retrieved on 20 April 2010); and, Korean Association of Newspapers, *T'onggye, Shinmun Ŏpgye Hyŏnhwangt'onggye*, http://www.presskorea.or.kr/data/statistics01.asp (retrieved on 19 October 2011).

[582] Korean Press Foundation, (2010) op. cit. The ten most influential news media agents are as follows: Korean Broadcasting System (KBS), Moonhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) and Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS), Yonhap Television News (YTN), *Chosun Ilbo, Dong A Ilbo, Joong Ang Ilbo, Hankyoreh Shinmun, Kyounghyang Shinmun,* and *Maeil Kyoungje Shinmun*. The ten most trusted news media were the same as above.

[583] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; *JOINS.com*, www.joins.com (retrieved on 31 December 2009); and Korea Press Foundaton, *2009 hanguge int'ŏnet shinmun*, (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2009).

[584] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; Korea Press Foundation, (2009) op. cit.; and, *Chosun.com*, *About Digital Chosun Ilbo*, http://pr.chosun.com/digital-chosun/sub_company.html (retrieved on 16 December 2010).

[585] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; Korea Press Foundation, (2009) op. cit.; and, *DongA.com*, Introduction, http://www.donga.com/docs/intro/2004/aboutdonga_02.html (retrieved on 16 December 2010).

Table 4.5 Newspapers Selected for Analysis[586]

Print Newspapers	Owner	Reach	Daily Circulation in 2004
Chosun Ilbo	Chosun Ilbo Co.	National	2,320,191
Dong A Ilbo	Dong A Ilbo Co.	National	2,068,647
Joong Ang Ilbo	Joong Ang Media Network	National	2,076,958
Internet Editions of Print Newspapers	**Owner**	**Reach**	**Visitors in October 2007**
Chosun.com	Chosun Ilbo Co.	National	9,446,146
DongA.com	Dong A Ilbo Co.	National	3,504,975
JOINS.com	Joong Ang Media Network	National	9,878,879

4.3.3 Units of Analysis

The media content analysis in this thesis specifies two units of analysis: a news item and a proposition. To enter a sample, a news item should reference EU-related keywords (presented in Table 4.6), this unit of analysis is conceptualised to be useful to explore the *formal characteristics* of EU coverage.[587] This study reviews several operational definitions of news. McQueen defined news "important or interesting recent happenings" and "information about such events, as in the mass media."[588] While his definition addresses characteristics of news (*timeliness* and *human interests*), it neglects the news making process behind news item. As Chapter 3 argued, journalists, as gatekeepers, play a significant role in making decisions what information reaches their audiences. As such, this research considers definition by Patterson who states that: "News is actually a highly selective account of events" and "News is a construct: it is a version of reality shaped in significant part by journalistic norms and

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[586] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; Korean Association of Newspapers, *Charyoshil and T'onggye,* http://www.presskorea.or.kr/ (retrieved on 20 of April 2010); and, Statistics of the Korean Newspaper Industry, *Facts about Newspapers in Korea: 2007 Korean Newspapers,* (Korean Association of Newspapers, 2008).
[587] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.
[588] D. McQueen, *Television: A Media Student's Guide*, (New York: Arnold, 1998), 91.

practices."[589] Although his description points to the newsmakers' roles, it does not present detailed accounts of newsmaking process. Tuchman's definition of news seems to be more comprehensive:

> News is located, gathered and disseminated by professionals working in organisations. Thus it is inevitably a product of news workers drawing upon institutional processes and conforming to institutional practices.[590]

Given these definitions of the news, this thesis defines EU-related news items as a constructed news product comprising of verbal texts and visual images, referring to the EU and its institutions which appear in major or minor angles, located, gathered and produced by newsmakers.

This thesis also employed proposition as another unit of analysis. As a smaller unit of analysis, proposition was used to examine the *substantive characteristics* of EU news in a greater detail,[591] Krippendorff's definition of proposition is stated below:

> Propositions are elementary statements—basic sentences, complete claims, whole assertions, not yet analysed—that can be strung together with the logical connectors *and* or *or,* much as a text can be constructed through the sequencing of separate sentences. [592]

[589] T. Patterson, "Political roles of the journalist," In *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*, edited by D. Graber, D. McQuail and P. Norris, (Washington: CQ Press, 1998), 17.
[590] G. Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*, (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 4.
[591] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.
[592] K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology (2nd Ed.)*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 106-107.

The structure of propositions consists of three elements: an actor (the EU or its representative actors), an action (undertaken by those EU actors) and an object (towards whom the action of the actor was directed).[593] In the light of these descriptions, we can explore images of the EU by identifying the meaning of the elements of EU propositions within EU news. Figure 4.3 illustrates a propositional structure featuring the core elements—actor, action, objects—and the meaning derived from those elements.

Figure 4.3 Example of Propositional Structure and Meaning[594]

Propositional Structure

Korean Sentence: 미국 정부와 유럽연합(EU)은 FARC를 아예 테러조직으로 분류하고 있다.

Sentence Translated by the Author of this Thesis:

The US government and the EU classify FARC as a terrorist organisation.

Actor

Action

The US government and the EU classify FARC as a terrorist organisation.

Object

Proposition's Meaning:

Information Inputs: *The EU as a Political Actor*

Frame: *External*

(the area of international security by distinguishing the terrorists)

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[593] O. Holsti, "Content Analysis" In *Research Methods: The Handbook of Social Psychology,* edited by L. Gardner and E. Aronson, (London: Random House, 1968), 651-653.

[594] Further discussions about *information inputs* and *frame* are covered in the section of introducing content analysis of this thesis (4.5.1).

4.3.4 Keywords for Investigation

This thesis has an explicit focus on EU-Korea and analysis has focused on the representation of the EU and its institutions and excluded analysis of EU Members States representations. This decision has affected the list of the keywords (Table 4.6). The keywords to sample EU-related articles included the keywords in Korean (only full keywords) and English (both full keywords and acronyms).[595] This thesis utilised the online search engines of each print newspaper warranting the accuracy in data collection.[596]

Table 4.6 Six Keywords for Data Search and Collection

Korean Keyword (Romanised Keyword)	Full English Keyword	Acronym Keyword
유럽연합 (*Yurŏbyŏnap*)	European Union	EU
유럽집행위원회 (*Yurŏpjiphaengwiwŏnoe*), 유럽위원회(*Yurŏbwiwŏnoe*), EU 집행위원회 (*EU jiphaengwiwŏnoe*)	European Commission	EC
유럽연합이사회 (*Yurŏbyŏnabisahoe*)	European Council	N/A
유럽중앙은행 (*Yurŏbjungangŭnaeng*)	European Central Bank	ECB
유럽의회 (*Yurŏbŭihoe*)	European Parliament	EP
유럽사법재판소 (*Yurŏbsabŏpjaep'anso*)	European Court of Justice	ECJ

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[595] This analysis is limited to the consideration of full keywords in Korean language. If we consider acronyms of Korean language keywords, we will see that these acronyms do not convey the same meaning as full keywords. For example, the acronym keyword for *Yurŏp Yŏnhap* (the European Union) will be *Yu Yŏn* (the EU). Most members of the Korean audience will interpret the acronym keyword as "something flexible." Thus, these acronym keywords are not likely to be used in the texts of Korean news due to the possible confusion caused.

[596] *Chosun.com*, Power Search, http://search.chosun.com/search/main.search (retrieved on 16 December 2010); *DongA.com*, Media Search, http://search.donga.com/ (retrieved on 16 December 2010); and, *JOINS.com*, Search, http://find.joinsmsn.com/portalSearch/news_search.asp?kwd=EU (retrieved on 16 December 2010).

4.3.5 Data Samples

The data sample comprises of two parts: EU-related news from print newspapers and online versions of these newspapers. All relevant articles from the online versions of newspapers were stored electronically after membership of these websites was gained to overcome the copyright issues. Each online version of newspaper and their print outlet has its own copyrights regulations.[597] The relevant regulations suggest that the articles from internet newspapers are only to be stored as a shallow link (having designated electronic accounts to the storage of those files).[598] This study has also accessed the online archives of the print newspapers to collect the pdf files of hard copies of the relevant print newspaper articles. All scraped articles were stored in personal electronic storage. The numbers of collected articles for this thesis are presented in Table 4.7, and the numbers of collected visual images (photographs) in the data sample are presented in Table 4.8.

Table 4.7 Numbers of Articles Collected for the Data Set

Print Newspapers	Number of Articles Collected	Online Versions of Print Newspapers	Number of Articles Collected
Chosun Ilbo	436	*Chosun.com*	1,910
Dong A Ilbo	399	*DongA.com*	1,030
Joong Ang Ilbo	332	*JOINS.com*	1,856
Total	1,167	Total	4,796

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[597] Y. Kim, "*Wigie Hanguk Shimmun: Hyŏnhwang, Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan*," (Seoul, Korean Press Foundation, 2005); M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.; *Chosun.com*, Copyrights, http://newsplus.chosun.com/partner/copyright01.html (retrieved on 16 December 2010); *JOINS.com*, Copyrights, http://bbs.joinsmsn.com/app/myjoins_policy/163116?cloc=portal|home|footer (retrieved on 16 December 2010); and, *DongA.com*, Customers—copyrights, http://faq.donga.com/sub_03.html (retrieved on 16 December 2010).
[598] Y. Kim, (2005) op. cit.

Table 4.8 Numbers of Photographs Collected for the Data Set

Print Newspapers	Number of Photos Collected	Online Versions of Print Newspapers	Number of Photos Collected
Chosun Ilbo	55	*Chosun.com*	58
DongA Ilbo	46	*DongA.com*	48
Joong Ang Ilbo	39	*JOINS.com*	40
Total	140	Total	146

4.3.6 Interview Process and Interviewees' Profiles

As argued in Chapter 3, newsmakers' norms and practices play a significant role in the newsmaking process. Taking Bain and Chaban's studies of EU external perceptions as the main inspiration for this study, an investigation of Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU is important.[599] This thesis attempted to conduct interviews with the newsmakers of EU-related articles. The EU news authors (108 from *Chosun Ilbo*, 90 from *Dong A Ilbo* and 97 from *Joong Ang Ilbo*) were contacted by e-mail, yet the response rate was extremely low. Subsequent contacts by phone also did not elicit a high rate of response. One of the interviewees commented that "it will be difficult to contact the newsmakers to conduct interviews because of their busy work schedule."[600]

Due to the difficulty in accessing newsmakers, the period for interviews was prolonged spanning April to December 2010. Only five media elite interviews were secured (three by the author of this thesis through personal connection and two from a previous study named "The EU through the eyes of Asia"). In spite of the low number of the interviewees, those

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[599] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.; and, EU External Perceptions, *Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the EU in Asia Pacific Region: a comparative study*, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/comparitive/index.shtml, (retrieved on 03 December 2009).
[600] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.

who agreed to be interviewed held key positions in their media organisations. Two interviewees were 'news gatherers' (an anonymous journalist and a foreign correspondent) and three were news producers (chief editors and a high-ranked editing journalist) from *Chosun Ilbo* and *Joong Ang Ilbo*. The detailed face-to-face semi-structured interviews allowed a rich qualitative insight into the personal perception of the EU among the Korean newsmakers as well as into the foreign news making practices.

The questionnaires consisted of three parts: personal perceptions of the EU; areas of EU news coverage; and additional questions about news making on internet. In addition to these interviews, a high-ranked EU diplomat in Korea was also interviewed in order to address the final sub-question regarding the impact of EU external perceptions studies on EU public diplomacy efforts. Brief profiles of interviewees are presented in Table 4.9, but further details about the interviewees and interview questions are presented in Chapter 8.

Table 4.9 Brief Profile of Interviewees for This Thesis[601]

Interviewee	Position (2010)	Newspaper Companies/ EU Diplomatic Institution	Interviewer
Mr. Myoungbok Bae	Chief Editing-writer of International Section	*Joongang Ilbo*	The research associates of EU External Perceptions Project
Anonymous	Unknown	*Chosun Ilbo*	
Mr. Chang-gi Kim	Former Chief Editor		The author of this thesis
Mr. Kwang-il Kim	Former Chief Editor of International Section		
Mr. Byounghak Cha	Foreign Correspondent to New Zealand		
Anonymous	High-ranked Diplomat	EU Delegation in Korea	

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[601] EU External Perceptions, *The European Union in the Eyes of Asia,* http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/eyes/index.shtml (retrieved on 04 December 2010). Mr. Chang-gi Kim was the chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* in the period of the dataset (2008).

4.4 Review of Relevant Methodologies of Data Analysis

4.4.1 Methodologies of Content Analysis

According to Krippendorff, content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts…to the contexts of their use."[602] Berelson has defined content analysis as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."[603] A systematic method plays a vital role in describing and analysing "media content in a more comprehensive way." [604] Lasswell suggests that the core questions of content analysis are "who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect?"[605]

Content analysis consists of quantitative and qualitative approaches. The quantitative approach focuses on recognising and measuring the frequencies of specified characteristics or dimensions of texts, and through this, we can draw inferences from the messages and representations of such texts and their wider social significances. [606] The approaches of content analysis until 1960s were highly quantitative in nature. [607] Quantitative analysis comprises of following questions—how many news items are there?; how many words are in the news items?; in which section of the newspaper are those news items located?; are specific texts or issues repeated?[608] Quantitative analysis may be beneficial for those who would like to investigate the importance of specific issues by exploring the number of the news items or the repetition of issues in the news media. However, this type of analysis might

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[602] K. Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology (2ⁿᵈ Ed.)*, (Thousand Oaks: California: Sage, 2004), 18.
[603] B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*, (New York: Hafner, 1952), 18.
[604] A. Hansen, "Content Analysis," In *Mass Communication Research Methods,* edited by A. Hansen et al., (Hampshire and London: MacMillan Press, 1998), 91.
[605] H. Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What When and How,* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1935).
[606] B. Berelson, (1952) 95; and, O. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities,* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. 1969), 6.
[607] K. Krippendorff, (2004) 16.
[608] Ibid.

not be helpful for those who wish to conduct a more nuanced examination of media content. Thus qualitative approaches are needed to complement this approach.

The qualitative approach interprets the message of the texts through closer reading.[609] Krippendorff contends that ultimately, all reading of the texts is qualitative even when certain characteristics of texts are later connected into numbers.[610] There are three common features of qualitative approaches to content analysis: this type of analysis requires meticulous reading of the texts; the analysis entails the examination of the texts into new (analytical, deconstructive, emancipatory and critical) descriptions; and the analysis is interactive and hermeneutic because analysts interpret the message based on their own socially or culturally conditioned understandings.[611] This approach is limits the number of articles it is possible to cover as analysts have to read the texts thoroughly and closely. However, qualitative analysis allows for the exploration of the substantive characteristics of the issues covered in the text, for example in detailed descriptions of political, economic or social issues, and also allows for journalists' positive or negative interpretations of the issues as well as metaphorical expressions shaping the readers' perceptions. This section will revise several analytical approaches in qualitative analysis indentified by Hijmans and Krippendorff: discourse analysis, social constructivist analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric analysis and conversational analysis.[612] This thesis will then argue which analytic approaches are the most useful for the empirical analysis employed in this thesis.

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[609] K. Krippendorff, (2004) 16-18.
[610] Ibid.
[611] Ibid.
[612] E. Hijmans, "The Logic of Qualitative Media Content Analysis: A Typology," *Communications* 21 (1996): 93-109; and, K. Krippendorff, (2004), 16.

Discourse Analysis [613]

Discourse analysis is a frequently-used analytical technique to examine public communication. Importantly, this approach is often used to explore media representations.[614] Discourse analysis is based on the theory of ideology by Althusser and the theory of discourse by Foucault.[615] Althusser defined ideology as "tied to material practices embedded in social institutions."[616] As Foucault argued, discourses (language use in speech and writing) are "knowledge systems of the human sciences (medicine, economics, linguistics etc.) that inform social and governmental technologies which constitute power in modern society."[617] Discourse analysis stressed the role of language; Pêcheux's discourse analysis aims to examine language and social structure (power).[618] Thompson commented that language is one of symbolic forms which circulate in the society.[619] Fairclough and Wodak believed that power is a central condition in social life.[620] In Pêcheux's discourse analysis, language is a means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations in the society.[621] Fairclough argued, the ideational role of language generates representation of the world, and the interpersonal role establishes the constitution of relationships and of identities.[622]

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[613] In Chapter 3, this thesis covered CDA as an appropriate methodology of media discourse analysis based on the overview of relevant theories. Even though this review contains some repetition, discourse analysis needs to be reiterated in order to demonstrate that it is a one of the valid methodologies for content analysis. For reasons of space, this thesis merely introduces discourse analysis in general and addresses whether this approach is valid for this thesis..

[614] K. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage, 2002), 6.

[615] L. Althusser, "Ideology and ideological state apparatus," In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* (London: New Left Books, 1971); and, M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

[616] L. Althusser, (1980) op. cit.

[617] M. Foucault, (1980) op.cit.

[618] M. Pêcheux, *Language Semantics and Ideology*, (London: McMillan, 1982).

[619] J. Thompson, (1990) op. cit.

[620] N. Fairclough, and R. Wodak, "Critical Discourse Analysis," In *Discourse as Social Interaction vol. 2*. edited by Teun A. van Dijk, (London: SAGE, 1997).

[621] J. Thompson, (1990) op. cit.

[622] N. Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, (London: Arnold, 1995), 17.

The discourse analysis approach has attracted plenty of scholarly attention and informs current media studies scholarship. For example, Van Dijk's study illustrates how racism and related issues such as ethnic minorities, conflicts and the spread of stereotypes relating to these issues were described in the press.[623] Wonsek studies how the economic vision of the US government was manifested in television shows in US broadcastings.[624] Hackett and Zhao's study covers the peace movement in news editorials during the Gulf War.[625] Fairclough analysed the discourses in television documentary programmes.[626] Caldas-Couthard analysed the text of women's magazines in order to explore social values such as transgression and morality.[627] Haig dealt with the topic of youth crime in British radio news.[628] Atkin and Richardson employed discourse analysis to explore the unfair arguments in the letter to the editor section of newspapers.[629] Richardson provided a helpful guide to analyse news texts of the print media using a numerous case studies.[630] Using such previous studies as a reference, the analysis of Korean press and internet media discourses in their representation of the EU will offer useful insights into the EU's social power and structures in its interaction with the world and Korea in particular.

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[623] T.van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[624] P. Wonsek, "College Basketball on Television: A Study of Racism in the Media," In *Media, Culture and Society* 14 (1992): 449-461.

[625] .R. Hackett and Y. Zhao, "Challenging the Master Narratives: Peace Protest and Opinion/Editorial Discourse in the U. S During the Gulf War," *Discourse and Society* 5 (1994): 509-511.

[626] N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (Boston: Addison Wesley, 1995).

[627] C. Caldas-Coulthard, "Women Who Pay for Sex. And Enjoy It': Transgression versus Morality in Women's Magazines," In *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by C. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard, (London: Routledge, 1996), 250-271.

[628] E. Haig, *A Critical Discourse Analysis of News about Youth Crime in British Radio Programmes and Online Board: Introduction* http://www.lang.nagoya-u.ac.jp/proj/genbunronshu/29-2/haig.pdf (retrieved on 13 June 2013).

[629] A. Atkin and J. Richardson, "Arguing about Muslims: (Un)Reasonable argumentation in letters to the editor" In *Text and Talk*, vol. 27, no. 1 (2007): 1-25.

[630] J. Richardson, *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis,* (London: Palgrave, 2007).

Social constructivist analysts are interested in exploring how emotions are conceptualised or/and how facts are constructed.[631] Like discourse analysts, social constructivist analysts also pay attention to discourse, but the aim of their approach is to recognise how reality is made up in human interactions and in language (both in spoken and written forms), rather than illustrating representations of the news media.[632] This approach is oriented towards discovering constituents of social facts. In Breitstein and Dini's studies of 2007 banking crisis, the authors explored the interaction among the factors of this crisis such as individual mortgage borrowers, banks (local banks and another bank), related institutions, investment agencies and bond market from various types of discourses (such as media, official documents and academic literatures).[633] Other scholars attempted social constructivist approach used the data gathered through conducting face-to-face interview rather than from media discourse. Zuccaro investigated development process of sociocultural understandings of Tinian Island children by interviewing each child participant.[634] Campbell interviewed US policy makers as well as conducted surveys and observations of conferences and meetings to explain US-Mexican bilateral military relations.[635] Brenskoetter and Giegrich's study explored Germany's strategic adjustment in NATO and ESDP after the end of the Cold War by analysing official documents.[636] This approach offers an opportunity to thoroughly account for the construction of social facts. As such, this approach may be helpful for

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[631]J. Averill, "The Social Construction of Emotions with Special Reference to Love," In *The Social Construction of the Person,* edited by K. Gergen and K. Davis, (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985); L. Fleck, *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979); and, B. Latour, and S. Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[632] K. Gergen, "The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology," *American Psychologist*. vol. 40, no. 3 (1985): 266-275.

[633] L. Breitstein and P. Dini, "A Social Constructivist Analysis of the 2007 Banking Crisis: Building Trust and Transparency through Community Currencies," In *Journal of Banking Regulations* 12 (August 2011).

[634] C. Zuccaro, *A Social Constructivist Analysis o Tinian Island and Six Young Members of the Community*, (EdD Thesis, Walden University, May 2008).

[635] C. Campbell, *A Social Constructivist Analysis of Civil-Military Relations: US Mexican Bilateral Military Relations, 2000-2008*, (PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, September 2008).

[636] F. Berenskoetter and B. Giegerich, "From NATO to ESDP: A Social Constructivist Analysis of German Strategic Adjustment after the End of the Cold War," In *Security Studies*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2010): 407-452.

accounting for the social facts related to the EU in Korea, such as the EU's international relations, economic and diplomatic actions of the EU towards Korea among others.

Narrative Analysis

This approach engages a description of formal narrative structure. Its analytical focus is not on the texts themselves but on the characters of a story: difficulties, choices, conflicts, complications and developments. [637] This approach has been utilised in the analysis of literature and political communications. In literature, Propp analysed narratives of Russian fairytales and identified common themes within those tales.[638] In political communication, Hummel investigated the public managers' activity of telling and writing stories, which represent the managers' means for producing and accumulating knowledge.[639] Herzog and Clauch examined public administrators' responses to stories told by citizens.[640] Furthermore, narrative analysis was employed to explore narratives regarding human experiences. Ellis and Bochner examined narratives about abortion. [641] Bochner dealt with personal narratives which build continuous life of experiences.[642] Alvarez and Urla contend that narrative analysis can provide richer data than other analyses because it explores the characters' perspectives in the narratives of the news texts. [643] By conceptualising the EU as a character in the news stories, this approach could be applicable to this thesis. As such, this approach is potentially useful

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[637] K. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2002), 5.

[638] V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, Translated by L. Scott, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

[639] R. Hummel, "Stories Managers Tell: Why They are as Valid as Science," In *Public Administration Review*, vol. 51, no. 1 (Jan./Feb. 1991): 31-34.

[640] R. Herzog and R. Claunch, "Stories Citizens Tell and How Administrators Use Types of Knowledge," In *Public Administration Review*, vol. 57, no. 5 (Sept./Oct., 1997): 374-379.

[641] C. Ellis and A. Bochner, "Telling and Performing Personal Stories: The Constraints of Choice in Abortion," In *Investigating Subjectivity: Research on Lived Experience,* edited by C. Ellis and M. Flaherty, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1992).

[642] A. Bochner, "It's about time: Narrative and the Divided Self," In *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 3, no. 4 (December, 1997): 418-438.

[643] R. Alvarez and J. Urla, "Tell Me a Good Story: Using Narrative Analysis to Examine Information Requirements Interviews during the ERP Implementation," In *The Database for Advances in Information Systems,* vol. 33, no. 1 (2002): 38-52.

for exploring the substantive characteristics of the EU (actors, actions and objects) in the news texts in the Korean news media.

Rhetorical Analysis

Rhetorical analysis deals with the properties of texts (words and pictures) and the description of the significances of those properties. The analysts within this approach focus on exploring the manifest characteristics of texts (such as identifications of arguments, argumentation styles (tropes or styles of arguments), metaphors and speech acts).[644] This approach centres on the questions: "how the message is presented in the texts?"; "what are the intended and actual effects of the texts?"[645] This approach was employed for analysing news content, political speeches, advertising and many other forms of communication.[646] An example of this approach can be Jamieson's book named *Packaging the Presidency* which studied the presidential campaign advertisements of the successful candidates of the elections from 1952 to 1992.[647] Rhetorical analysis can be useful for identifying persuasive texts to readers. However, it may be difficult to accurately measure the intended and actual effects of the texts unless the analysts have actually conducted interviews with the authors and the readers of these texts.

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[644] K. Krippendorff, (2004) op. cit.
[645] E. Hijmans, (1996) op. cit.
[646] J. McCroskey, *An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication (6th Ed)*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1993).
[647] K. Jamieson, *Packaging the Presidency: A History And Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising (3rd Ed.)*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

Conversation analysis approach aims to examine orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of naturally occurring institutional (for example, at school, at a doctor's surgery or in a court of law) and casual conversations.[648] This approach consists of three steps: recording, analysis and description. Scholars using this approach begin by recording verbal interactions in natural settings. Then, they utilise inductive empirically-informed methods and finally, explain how ordinary speakers employ and cling to conversational skills and strategies.[649] This approach is employed in psychology, communication and sociology.[650] Sacks' founding study attempted to expound the telling of jokes in conversational interaction, and Goodwin's analysis is an extended version of Sack's study.[651] Manning and Ray explored conversational interactions between doctors and patients.[652] Nofsinger conducted an in-depth analysis of Rather's television interview of Vice President Bush, which showed the interlocutors' competition to control the flow of the dialogue.[653] The greatest merit of this study is the discussion on interpersonal conversations. However, since this research investigates discourses in print newspapers and their internet versions, this approach is not appropriate for this study except in cases where news articles contain a full transcript of the interviews.

In summary, this section has considered several qualitative analytical approaches to content analysis. They focus on various aspects of the message in the texts: social structure/power,

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[648] D. Sudnow, ed., *Studies in Social Interaction,* (New York: Free Press, 1972).

[649] A. Kottler and S. Swartz, "Conversation Anlysis: What is it, can Psychologists Use It?" In *South African Journal of Psychology*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1993): 103-110; and, K. Krippendorff, (2004) op. cit.

[650] D. Sudnow, ed., (1972) op. cit.

[651] H. Sacks, "An Analysis of the Course of a Joke's Telling in Conversation," In *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking,* edited by J. Sherzer and R. Bauman, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); C. Goodwin, *Conversational Organisation: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers,* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); and, K. Krippendorff, (2004) op. cit.

[652] P. Manning and G. Ray, "Setting the Agenda. An Analysis of Negotiation Strategies in Clinical Talk," In *Health Communication,* vol. 14, no. 4 (2002): 451-473.

[653] R. Nofsinger, "Let's Talk about the Record": Contending over Topic Redirection in the Rather/Bush Interview," In *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 22 (1988/1989): 273-392.

construction of the facts, characters in the news narration, effects of the message and conversational transcripts in the news media. There are two conclusions to this review. Firstly, each approach is potentially useful for the empirical analysis used in this thesis. Discourse and rhetorical approaches may help to reveal messages and influences of discourses about the EU. Social constructivist analysis may be used to delve into the understanding of how the facts of EU-Korea relations are constructed. Narrative analysis could also offer an insight into the analysis of propositions (actor, action and object) as well as EU officials' narratives within the news texts. Conversational analysis is applicable to analyse the recorded and transcribed verbatim interviews with Korean newsmakers. Secondly, both quantitative and qualitative content analyses are legitimate tools for this thesis to comprehensively investigate the images of the EU. The strength of quantitative analysis lies in its ability to illustrate the visibility of the EU in the news. The qualitative approach helps trace the deeper meanings of the messages about the EU in Korean print newspapers and their online editions. Importantly, the qualitative element of the content analysis in this thesis is further reinforced by the fact that the author is a native speaker competent in Korean language and culture.

4.4.2 Content Analysis for Internet Newspapers: Investigation of Interactivity

As Chapter 3 argues, interactivity is a specific feature of internet newspapers. Interactivity shows the process of exchanging the messages between writers and readers of news items and implies the internet media influences upon the readers' understanding. [654] Analysing interactivity has received so far little scholarly attention. This section will briefly review two studies on interactivity by Schultz, as well as by Zeng and Li, and suggest what elements of those investigations will be used to study EU media content in internet versions of the papers.

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[654] Q. Zeng and X. Li, "Factors Influencing Interactivity of Internet Newspapers: A Content Analysis of 106 U.S. Newspapers' Web Sites," In *Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium*, edited by X. Li, (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2006).

Exploring interactivity, Schultz examines the availability of interactivity options in internet newspapers.[655] He analysed 100 American internet newspapers to evaluate interactivity based on the following criteria: general e-mail addresses to contact newsrooms, a list of some editors'/writers' e-mail addresses, e-mail links to authors of the articles, e-mail links to politicians/officials, discussion forums, chat rooms, quick poll surveys and letters to the editor displayed online.[656] In this investigation, Schulz argued that most internet newspapers employed most of these tools but not all.[657] Significantly, in his conclusions, he urges researchers to "go beyond the questions of the mere availability of communicative tools and settings."[658]

In a more recent study, Zeng and Li took things one step further by exploring dimensions of interactivity and influencing factors of interactivity in online versions of newspapers.[659] They claim that interactivity comprises of two dimensions: interpersonal interactivity and content interactivity.[660] Interpersonal interactivity refers to the possibility of the exchange of information between the writer and the reader and even between the readers by blogging and discussion forums on the net. The key components for this interactivity are the e-mail link to the writer or the possibility to participate in a discussion forum.[661] Content interactivity can be described as accessibility of information that the readers want. According to Ha and James, the key components of content interactivity are the availability of choice (section links or

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[655] T. Schultz, "Interactive Options in Online Journalism: A Content Analysis of 100 U.S. Newspapers," In *Journal of Computer Mediated Communication,* vol. 5, no. 1 (1999).
[656] Ibid.
[657] Ibid.
[658] Ibid.
[659] Q. Zeng and X. Li, (2006) op. cit.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Ibid.

hypertexts) and unrestrained navigation (search engines) in cyberspace.[662] Zeng and Li found that the size of websites, the length of time that articles are kept current, the strength of technical staff and the newspapers' region of coverage are influencing factors of interpersonal and content interactivity.[663] At the end of their work, they call for more investigations into this topic due to the evolution of internet technology, with increasing access to broadband, changing designs of internet technology and other ongoing technological developments.[664]

The insights into interpersonal interactivity reveal that it is challenging to record every individual who may access the news item in question. Studies of content interactivity are likely to miss some journalists who might re-post the articles they read from other news agents. It is therefore useful to examine additional elements of interpersonal interactivity, such as measuring the number of visits and daily ranking of the particular news in internet versions of newspapers, and looking at content interactivity, namely exploring duplicated news articles between print newspapers and their internet versions, and across internet versions. This chapter will now reiterate the elements for measuring interactivity of the EU news.

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[662] L. Ha and E. James, "Interactivity Re-examined: A Baseline Analysis of Early Business Web Sites," In *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic media*, vol. 42, no. 4 (1998): 457-474.
[663] Q. Zeng and X. Li, (2006) op. cit.
[664] Ibid.

4.4.3 Methodologies of Visual Analysis

Visual analysis refers to "investigating the visual representation of significant social issues."[665] This analysis should employ "a systematic, observational method used for testing hypotheses about the ways in which the media represent people, events and situations."[666] The relevant literature presents a number of approaches for the study of both still and moving images. For still images, this thesis revises five representative approaches for visual analysis in the news media as specified by van Leeuwen and Jewitt: the methods of visual anthropology, visual cultural studies, visual semiotics/iconography, social semiotics and ethnomethodology. For moving images, this thesis reviews some studies exploring social actions and interactions. This section will then evaluate which method is the most appropriate for analysing visual images of EU in print and internet media.

Approach of Visual Anthropology

Visual anthropology, which is seen as a subset of cultural anthropology, is concerned with the investigation of patterns and meaning in visual records (photographs or films) of human beings and their experiences.[667] Visual anthropology uses two different types of analytical approaches: direct and indirect. Direct analysts believe the content and the character of images represent human experiences.[668] According to Collier and Collier, the process of direct analysis consists of four stages: observation, creation of inventories, the structure of the

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[665] T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, eds., *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, (London: Sage, 2002), 1.
[666] P. Bell, " Content Analysis of Visual Images," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 14.
[667] M. Collier, "Approaches to Analysis in Visual Anthropology," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 35.
[668] M. Collier, (2002), 38.

analyst's own investigation and revisiting the complete visual records.[669] At the first stage, the analysts examine a photograph as a whole by making a careful note of analysts' feelings and impressions of the photograph and all the questions which were triggered in their minds.[670] At the second stage, the analysts design inventories and categories that reflect and assist the goals of investigation.[671] At the third stage, the analysts revise the evidence with specific questions to measure, count and compare to conduct a structured analysis.[672] The analysts then create statistical graphs and tables.[673] In the final stage, the analysts return to the complete visual records and write up their conclusions on the significant meanings of visual images.[674] An example of direct analysis is Collier's analysis of cultural landscape photographs (panorama of Taos Valley, New Mexico) from 1964 to 1996 on a regular basis.[675]

Indirect analysts believe that examination of visual records provides "vehicles to knowledge and understanding via the responses they trigger in photo elicitation sessions."[676] There are three processes of indirect analysis: data collection, interviews and interpretation of the data.[677] Those who pursue indirect analysis collect a wide range of visual representations from postcards, albums, magazines, etc. They then conduct interviews with the people who are connected to those visual representations: those who appeared in them, those who own the photographs, those who made them and those who have similar personal experiences to the situations depicted in the images.[678] Finally, the scholars using this approach draw their

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[669] J. Collier Jr. and M. Collier, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).
[670] Ibid.
[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid.
[673] Ibid.
[674] Ibid.
[675] M. Collier, (2002), 42-46.
[676] Ibid.
[677] Ibid.
[678] Ibid.

conclusions by reviewing the whole process.[679] Collier suggested Levine's graduate research work conducted in San Francisco State University as an example of indirect analysis.[680] In this study, Levine aims to investigate the feelings and emotions of discriminated Jews by collecting and analysing related visual images from various sources such as media, photographs, postcards and by interviewing Jewish people who experienced this kind of discrimination.[681] This approach is potentially useful for the studies of EU representations. EU visual images in various media and sources could be studied in combination with personal accounts of experiences of and emotions towards the EU. However, for those living beyond its borders, the EU is a complex and abstract concept representing a geographically, politically and culturally remote reality. Arguably, it is may not elicit strong emotional responses from among international general public. Therefore this thesis will not apply indirect analysis in its study of EU media representations in Korea.

Visual Cultural Studies Approach

Since the end of 20th century, visualising technologies such as digitisation, satellite imaging, medical imaging and virtual reality have improved significantly. Those technologies have profoundly influenced human culture leading some scholars to conclude that everyday life has become a "visual culture." [682] As Barnard states, visual culture refers to "the values and identities that are visually communicated and constructed by a popular culture" and to the "enormous variety of two-and-three dimensional things that human beings produce and

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[679] Ibid.
[680] Ibid. Collier found this example in his personal conversation with Levine.
[681] Ibid.
[682] M. Lister and L. Wells, "Seeing Beyond Belief: Cultural Studies as an Approach to Analysing the Visual," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 61-68.

consume as part of their cultural and social lives." [683] Visual cultural studies, a scholarly reflection of these processes[684] takes into account all kinds of visual information as well as including the centrality of vision in everyday experience and the production of meaning. [685]

The analysis in this scholarly field focuses on the contexts of viewing and contexts of production. [686] The questions addressing the former are: "What is the visual representation's location in the social and physical world?" and "Why is the viewer looking at the photograph?" [687] The question addressing the latter is "How did the image (visual representation) get there?"[688] This approach is often employed to explore the influences of visual representations upon culture "everyday symbolic practices like shopping, travelling, enjoying sports and other kinds of hobbies."[689] When this approach is applied to media studies, analysts mainly focus on the visual representations of advertisements in the news media (for example, Lister and Wells's analyses of the Marlboro cigarette advertisement in 1995).[690] This approach is somewhat useful for the analysis of the EU's visual images in Korean press and its internet editions. In particular, its core questions can be used to examine how EU visual images in news interact with the readers and how these visual images are presented to the audiences. The area of interaction between the images and their viewers somewhat overlaps with the points of social semiotic analysis which will be discussed below.

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[683] M. Barnard, *Approaches to Understanding Visual Culture,* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2001).
[684] Ibid. Seven features of visual cultural studies are as follows: 1. Social life and history of visual images. 2. The cycle of production, circulation and consumption through which their meanings are accumulated and transformed. 3. An image's specific material properties (its 'artifactualness'), and the 'medium' and the technologies through which it is realised (here, as photographs). 4. While recognising the material properties of images, we see these as intertwined with the active social process of 'looking' and the historically specific forms of 'visuality' in which this takes place. 5. We understand images as representations, the outcomes of the process of attaching ideas to and giving meaning to our experience of the world. 6. Our interest in images and other visual experiences (and, indeed, lived and material cultural forms) cannot be reduced to the question of 'meaning' and the intellectual processes involved in coding and decoding. 7. Recognising that 'looking' is always embodied and undertaken by someone with an identity. In this sense, there is no neutral looking. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Lister and Wells, (2002).
[685] Ibid.
[686] Ibid.
[687] Ibid.
[688] Ibid.
[689] Ibid.
[690] M. Lister and L. Wells, "Seeing Beyond Belief: Cultural Studies as an Approach to Analysing the Visual," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 61-68.

The second area prompts exploration of the production of visual images. This thesis addresses this dimension by exploring Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU and EU newsmaking.[691]

Visual Semiotic and Iconographic Approaches

Visual semiotic and iconographic approaches have two fundamental questions in common: "What and how do the images represent?" and "What ideas and values do the people, places and things represented in the image stand for?"[692] However, the analytic scope of iconography seems to be larger than that of Barthian visual semiotics.[693] Barthian visual semiotic analysis aims to explore two layers of meaning of visual images.[694] The first layer is denotation (identifying what, or who, is being depicted).[695] The second layer is connotation (identifying what ideas and values are expressed through what is represented and through the way in which it is represented).[696] Iconography is used to investigate three layers of meaning of visual images.[697] The first layer is representational meaning and concentrates on the primary or natural subject matter to identify what is represented in the visual images on the basis of our practical experience.[698] The second layer is iconographical symbolism and looks at secondary or conventional subject matter, identifying not only a particular person, thing or place in the visual representation but also the ideas or concepts attached to it.[699] The third

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[691] In the interview questionnaire, this thesis inquires a question about visual image production process specifically about employing video supports in EU-related news of internet newspapers. The question is "currently, there is a limited use of video support in EU internet reporting. How do you see a future trend in using video in internet EU news?" For more information, see Appendix VII.
[692] T. van Leeuwen, "Semiotics and Iconography," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 93-94.
[693] Ibid.
[694] Ibid.
[695] Ibid.
[696] Ibid.
[697] T. van Leeuwen, "Semiotics and Iconography," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt,(London: Sage, 2002), 100.
[698] E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts,* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 53.
[699] Ibid.

layer is iconological symbolism (the intrinsic meaning or content) determining "those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion."[700]

One of the examples of visual semiotic approach is Bulut and Yurdaişik's study of a Turkish television commercial for Coke Light.[701] This study sought to demonstrate that visual semiotic analysis can be tested with the viewers' responses to identify the pattern of meaning construction.[702] They had showed the television advertisement of Coca-cola Light to forty-five Turkish university students (aged 18 to 20) and subsequently conducted a survey with open-ended questions about the viewers' perceptions of the advertisement.[703] Their finding shows that the perception, cognition and interpreting process of visual images are significant components in the construction of meaning.[704] One of representative examples of iconographic analysis is Panofsky's analyses of Early Dutch paintings.[705] In *Early Nederlandish Paintings*, Panofsky argues for "a very particular way of understanding pictures made in Northern Europe during the 15th century."[706] He claims that many ordinary objects in the pictures actually represent religious ideas and cause a complete "sanctification of the visible world."[707]

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[700] E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts,* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 55; E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 5-9; and, T. van Leeuwen, (2002) op. cit.

[701] T. Bulut and A. Yurdaişik, "Visual Semiotics and Interpretation in the Television Commercial," In *Applied Semiotics/Semiotique Appliquee* 16 (2005): 46-53.

[702] Ibid.

[703] Ibid.

[704] Ibid.

[705] E. Panofsky**,** *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origin and Character,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), 142-3; and, Iconographic Analysis, Writing about Art by Marjorie Munsterberg, http://www.writingaboutart.org/pages/iconographicanalysis.html, (retrieved on 1 June 2010).

[706] Iconographic Analysis, op. cit.

[707] E. Panofsky, (1953) op. cit.

The strength of visual semiotics and iconography lies in investigating the representational (denotative) and symbolic (connotative) meanings of the people, places and things (including something abstract).[708] With this in mind, these approaches are clearly well suited to this thesis as it aims to explore representations of the EU in visual images and identify the ideas and values standing for those images.

Social Semiotic Approach

To describe semiotic resources, this approach asks two questions: what can be said and done with visual representations of communication?; and how can the things people say and do with images be interpreted?[709] This is derived from Halliday's discussion of the "meta-functions" of a text which is later adopted to analyse visual images. [710] Halliday claimed that there are three different meta-functions of visual images performed simultaneously:[711] the ideational meta-function (concerning how we represent reality in linguistic expression "the matter of constructing representations"); interpersonal meta-function (concerning how the language creates interactions between communicators and addressees) and textual meta-function (concerning how the information or message in the text flows in a communicative event "the matter of representation and interaction").[712] Kress and van Leeuwen applied the concept of meta-function to explore the semiotic messages within visual images but modified Halliday's terms from ideational to representational (the depiction of the participants: people, place or things), from interpersonal to interactive (the creation of particular relations between

[708] T. van Leeuwen, "Semiotics and Iconography," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 117.
[709] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, "Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 154.
[710] M. Halliday, *Language as Social Semiotic,* (London, Edward Arnold, 1978), 140; and, C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002) op. cit.
[711] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002), 140.
[712] Ibid.

viewers and the world inside the picture) and from textual to compositional (how both visual and verbal representations represent and interact).[713] The representative examples of this approach are Kress and van Leeuwen's volume of *Reading Images* and Jewitt and Oyama's work regarding a social semiotic approach for visual communications.[714]

In contrast to visual semiotic and iconographic approaches, social semiotic analysis is useful for uncovering different meanings conveyed in the combined signs (verbal texts and visual images). The analytic strength of social semiotic approach is in consideration of interactive and compositional meta-functions of visual images. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 3, this approach is compatible with CDA since it also addresses concepts of social structures and power. However, as an analytical approach, social semiotic analysis is still in flux. Chandler comments that while much of criticism about semiotic works is addressed by the social semioticians, this approach still invites criticism.[715] For instance, Kress pointed out that "signs can be transparent or opaque—that is, they can be clearly understandable or hard to decipher, depending on the social positions of the producer and the interpreter of the sign."[716] It seems that blended signs can retain various meanings and thus those signs are still challenging to interpret precisely. Also, another criticism is that in some cases there is no difference between text and resources of the text, for example visual images and graphs. Despite these limitations, this approach is the most useful for this thesis.

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[713] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.
[714] Ibid.
[715] D. Chandler, Semiotics for Beginners, Criticisms of Semiotic Analysis, http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/S4B/sem11.html, (retrieved on 10 October 2011).
[716] G. Kress, "Against Arbitrariness: the Social Production of the Sign as a Foundational Issue in Critical Discourse Analysis," In *Discourse and Society*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1993): 169-191.

Ethnomethodological Approach

Those who pursue the ethnomethodological approach hold the view that visual phenomena influence the sequence of conversation, medical and legal encounters and even scientific knowledge.[717] This approach entails the observation of visual phenomena while employing conversational analysis. An example of this approach application is Goodwin's analysis of a conversation, in which he recorded a real-life conversation between two women and analysed the impact of visual phenomena on their speech production.[718] He found that the speaker made grammatical mistakes when the hearer was looking away and he concluded that the hearer's gaze influenced the speaker's production of an ungrammatical sentence.[719] The novelty of this approach is in investigating the influences of visual phenomena rather than visual representations. As such, this approach is seen as inappropriate for this thesis since the goal of this analysis is EU visual representations.

Approach of Video Analysis

In the past decade, social scientists have increasingly paid attention to analysing moving images.[720] Video analysis provides an avenue to "comprehensive documentation of social action and interaction"[721] and therefore is often employed to examine various professional interactions. For instance, using video analysis Heath explored interaction between medical

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[717] C. Goodwin, "Practices of Seeing Visual Analysis: An Ethnomethodological Approach," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 157.

[718] C. Goodwin, "Restarts, Pauses, and the Achievement of Mutual Gaze at Turn-beginning," In *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 50, nos. 3-4 (1980), 207-302; and, C. Goodwin, *Conversational Organisation: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers,* (New York: Academic Press, 1981).

[719] Ibid.

[720] B. Schnettler and J. Raab, "Interpretative Visual Analysis: Developments, State of the Art and Pending Problems," In *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* vol. 9, no. 3 (September 2008). http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1149/2555#g43 (retrieved on 8 October 2011). Schnettler and Raab have commented that many attempts have been made to cope with visual analysis for moving images. However, this thesis could not cover all of their studies due to the significant number of examples. For a more detailed discussion of this, see B. Schnettler and J. Raab, (2008).

[721] Ibid.

doctors and workers.[722] Knoblauch investigated visual descriptions of workplaces in relation with technical terms used by the workers.[723] Goodwin and Goodwin used video analysis to explore technicians' interactions in airport control room.[724] Heath and Luff scrutinised the interactions between the workers of underground subways.[725] Meier analysed the interactions between workers of telecommunication companies.[726]

This approach provides some insights into how to analyse video clips in internet versions of newspapers. However, Schnettler and Raab ascertained that there are six principal challenges to the visual analysis of moving images.[727] Firstly, analysts have to ensure as far as possible optimum condition of data construction, which means recording social situation as accurately as possible and as far as possible ensuring that it is not distorted by the researchers.[728] Secondly, video recordings are unable to capture reality and therefore do not contain all multisensual diachronic and synchronic elements.[729] Thirdly, video recordings are not free from the researchers' experimental setups.[730] Fourthly, analysts are somewhat allowed to edit the sequences of video recordings (such as faster cutting out of relevant sequences, annotating or comparing different diachronic sequences synchronically).[731] Fifthly, the transcription of video recordings omits other features such as visualisation and

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[722] C. Heath, *Body Movement and Speech in Medical Interaction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[723] H. Knoblauch, "Workplace Studies und Video. Zur Entwicklung der Ethnographie von Technologie und Arbeit," In *Arbeitskulturen im Umbruch. Zur Ethnographie von Arbeit und Organisation,* edited by I. Götz and A. Wittel, (Münster: Waxmann, 2000).

[724] C. Goodwin and M. Goodwin, "Seeing as situated activity: Formulating planes," In *Cognition and Communication at Work,* edited by Y. Engeström and D. Middleton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[725] C. Heath and P. Luff, "Convergent activities: Line control and passenger information on the London Underground," In *Cognition and Communication at Work,* edited by Y. Engeström and D. Middleton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[726] C. Meier, "Zur Untersuchung von Arbeits- und Interaktionsprozessen anhand von Videoaufzeichnungen." In *Arbeit*, vol.7, no. 3 (1998): 257-275.

[727] B. Schnettler and J. Raab, (2008) op. cit. Six limitations of this approach are as follow: 1. mimetic properties and constructedness, 2. complexity, 3. naturalness, 4. sequentiality, 5. transcription and analysis and 6. technological and legal problems. For detailed examinations of these areas, see B. Schnettler and J. Raab (2008).

[728] Ibid.

[729] Ibid. The examples of these elements are speech and visual conduct, gesture, mimic expressions, representations of artefacts and the structure of the environment as well as signs and symbols.

[730] E. Mittenecker, *Video in der Psychologie. Methoden und Anwendungsbeispiele in Forschung und Praxis*. (Bern: Huber, 1987); and, D. Silverman, "Instances or sequences? Improving the state of the art of qualitative research," In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol.6. no. 3 (2005), http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0503301 (retrieved on 09 October 2011),

[731] L. Mondada, "Working with video: How surgeons produce video records and their actions." In *Visual Studies*, *18*, number 1, (2003): 58-73; and, A. Peräkylä and J. Ruusuvuori, "Facial expression in an assessment. Facial expression in psychology," In *Video analysis: Methodology and Methods.Qualitative Audiovisual Data Analysis in Sociology,* edited by H. Knoblauch et al., (Frankfurt a. Main: Lang, 2006).

imagination. [732] Finally, analysts have to overcome difficulties coming from technical developments and legal restrictions, such as ethical issues. [733] Given the inherent challenges in video analysis, this thesis chooses to focus on the analysis of still images in the press and its internet versions of the newspapers. While this choice has its limitations, the study of video images is something that may be covered in future research.

In summary, this chapter reviewed the five most influential approaches of visual analysis of still images and one approach of video analysis. Out of all approaches, couple of them inform the methodology employed by this thesis. The visual cultural studies approach emphasises attention to news production and asks why Korean newsmakers utilise visual images in EU-related news items. The visual semiotic and iconographic approaches direct this analysis towards identification of the representational and symbolic meanings of people, places and things in visual images accompanying EU-related news items. The social semiotic approach calls to explore different meanings conveyed when the visual images and the verbal texts are presented together in EU-related news items. This chapter proceeds with a description of the media content analysis protocol applied in this study to investigate EU textual and visual images.

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[732] B. Schnettler and J. Raab, (2008) op. cit.
[733] Ibid.

4.5 Content Analysis for Print and Internet Newspapers

4.5.1 Content Analysis for Verbal Texts

So far, this thesis has presented the landscape of Korean print and internet newspapers, the data collection process and the overview of existing approaches of media analysis including, content, internet and visual methodologies. In its analysis of verbal representations of the EU in EU-related news items of Korean print newspapers and their internet versions, this thesis adopted Chaban's content analysis methodology which is:

> based on a two-fold approach—first, the analysis of manifested, surface, extensive characteristics of an issue coverage, or *formal characteristics*; and, second, the analysis of the latent, in-depth, intensive mechanisms of image formation, or *substantive features*. A dual aspect of news -- news as a product and news as a process – was accounted as well.[734]

The former approach includes formal characteristics of EU news such as *monthly distribution, distribution by outlet* and *sources*.[735] Importantly, this thesis includes a new element to this set of categories called *interactivity* to address internet-specific characteristics of EU representations. The latter approach deals with the substantive features of the news text, such as *focus of domesticity*, *degree of centrality, actors, most visible topics, evaluations, news values, journalistic attitudes* and *conceptual metaphors*[736] (see Table 4.10 and Appendix I).

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[734] Media Analysis, EU External Perceptions, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/media.shtml (retrieved on 15 June 2010).

[735] N. Chaban and M. Holland. "Research Methodology" In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Routledge, 2008); and, M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, eds, *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009).

[736] Ibid.

Table 4.10 Characteristics of EU News Texts[737]

Formal Characteristics	*Substantive Characteristics*

(Print Newspapers)
 Monthly Distribution (date of publication)
 Type of Media Outlet
 (type of newspapers)
 Information Sources
 (international wire, foreign correspondent, local correspondent, local sources)
 	
 (Internet Newspapers)
 Interactivity
    Interpersonal Interactivity (newsmakers' e-mail address as an available option, and popularity measuring number of visits, rankings)
    Content Interactivity (print/online versions of newspapers, across internet newspapers)
	Focus of Domesticity
	 Degree of Centrality
	 Actors
	 Most Visible Topics
	 Evaluations
	 News Values
	 Journalistic Attitudes
	 Conceptual Metaphors

Formal Characteristics

In the first – formal -- approach, this thesis has four elements to analyse. The first element (*monthly distribution*) examines the overall distribution of EU-related news items across the individual months.[738] As Bain argued, "the salience and significance of a subject to a news audience"[739] are often rendered by large volume of news. In this regard, it is important to find events and individuals which triggered more media coverage and contributed to higher numbers of EU news. This thesis explores the volume and the dynamics of EU reportage over twelve months in 2008.

The second element (*type of media outlet*) examines distribution of EU news according to the media outlet. It has been claimed that the media outlet having the biggest number of articles about a specific issue becomes a predominant source of information on that issue for the

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[737] Ibid. *Popularity* is only applied to *Chosun.com.*
[738] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.
[739] Ibid.

media audiences.[740] As such, this thesis identifies which newspapers or internet versions in this study are the leading sources of information about the EU for Korean news consumers.

The third element (*news sources*) investigates the sources of EU news. The content analysis determines whether the EU news was created by local correspondents, for instance Korean journalists working for their agencies in Korea and overseas or foreign correspondents working for international news organisations. [741] Relevant literature argues that domestic news media which relies on international newswires are open to the flows of information from international sources. [742] Anglophone countries tend to rely on international wires because of budget efficiency. However, the Korean news media market features a weaker dependency on major international wires.[743] This thesis examines not only the sources of EU-related news but also Korean newsmaking process behind EU-related news.

The last element -- *interactivity* -- embraces the notions of *interpersonal interactivity* and *content interactivity* of EU internet news. *Interpersonal interactivity* is assessed using the indicators of opportunity to be interactive, in particular, the listing of e-mail addresses by the authors of EU news and also the popularity of EU news items, including the number of visitors and daily rankings. Among three internet editions chosen for this thesis, *Chosun.com* is the only one which has information to assess the popularity of a news item. *Content interactivity* measures the duplication of the texts between print newspapers and their internet versions, as well as across the three internet versions observed in this study.

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[740] K. Ahern and D. Sosyura, "Who Writes the News? Corporate Press Releases during Merger Negotiations," http://www.fma.org/Napa/Papers/Who_Writes_the_News_Oct_2010.pdf (retrieved on 11 October 2011).
[741] J. Hamilton, *All the News that's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); and, M. Dover, "Beyond the Wire," *Listener*, 26 August 2006.
[742] D. Thussu, *International Communication: Continuity and Change,* (London: Arnold Publishers, 2000), 6.
[743] Y. Kim et al., eds., *Wigie Hangukshimmun: Hyŏnhwang, Munjejŏm, Jiwŏnbangan,* (Seoul: Korean Press Foundation, 2005); H. Lee, (2000) op. cit.; and, T. Hahn, (2002) op. cit.

Substantive Characteristics

In the second – substantive – approach to the content analysis of the texts, this thesis uses eight-element paradigm. For the first element (*focus of domesticity*), this thesis examines the context and relevance of the EU in the news texts to the location of the reportage.[744] This concept allows the analyst to identify if the reportage of the EU's actions was grounded locally, regionally (in the EU's immediate region), in the European/EU context, or in the context of a third party (neither the EU nor the locality in question).[745] In this thesis, a news story about Korea containing featuring the EU's involvement is coded as a *local news* (EU news at home).[746] A news story about Korea's immediate geo-political region -- Northeast Asia, and specifically China, Japan and North Korea -- with reference to the EU is coded as *regional news* (EU news in your region).[747] A news story about the EU acting within its borders without any involvement of Korea is coded as *EU news*.[748] A news story reporting EU interaction with a third party is coded as *a third country news*.[749] Subsequently, the four instances are grouped into two angles: *pure foreign angle* (*EU* and *third country* news) and *domestic angle* (*local* and *regional* news).[750]

The second substantive element -- *degree of centrality* -- is a concept employed to assess "the importance and intensity with which the EU was presented to the news audiences in each

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[744] N. Chaban and M. Holland, "Research Methodology," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007). Chaban noted that the approach of *the focus of domesticity* is similar to that of J.Peter, H. Semetko and C. de Vreese, "Politics on Television in Europe: How European is it," In *EU Politics*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2003): 305-327; and, C. de Vreese, *Framing Europe: Television News and European Integration*, (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2003), 81, 85-86, 92, 103-105.

[745] J. Peter, H. Semetko and C. de Vreese, "Politics on television in Europe: How European is it," In *EU Politics,* vol. 4, no. 3 (2003): 305-327; J. Peter and C. de Vreese, "In Search of Europe," In *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics,* vol. 9, no. 4 (2004); C. de Vreese, *Framing Europe: Television News and European Integration*, (Amsterdam, Askant, 2004); and, N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Findings,*. (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009). S. Peter and C. de Vreese cover the investigation of the "focus of domesticity of EU stories" in these articles.

[746] N. Chaban and M. Holland, (2007) op. cit.

[747] Ibid.

[748] Ibid.

[749] Ibid.

[750] N. Chaban et al., "The European Union in Metaphors: Images of the EU Enlargement in the Asia-Pacific News," In *The European Union and the Asia-Pacific,* edited by N. Chaban and M. Holland, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 68.

155

location." [751] There are three perspectives in measuring centrality: *major, secondary* and *minor*. This analysis identified a *main* perspective if a news story concentrates on an EU event in a major way. A *secondary* perspective describes the EU as one of several actors in the story who still enjoyed relatively substantial media attentions on par with other actors. A *minor* perspective is identified when a news text mentions the EU only in a brief fleeting manner.

The third element -- *actors* -- the analysis differentiated between the EU itself, EU officials, EU governmental bodies (such as European Commission, European Council, European Parliament, European Central Bank and European Court of Justice), EU Member States (including candidate countries) and the officials and the governmental bodies of the Member States and enlargement candidate countries.[752] Peter and de Vreese claim that investigating actors in EU news is helpful to assess a validity of the well-known criticism that the EU is a faceless entity.[753]

For the fourth element (*most visible topics*), the author recorded the topics of collected news items in the author's own words. The information inputs of those news items were then measured.[754] Information inputs refer to "a coherent organisation of representations of events and issues promoted and transmitted in the news or the aggregate meanings built by the individual perceptions."[755] Measuring information input can be helpful for restoring the

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[751] N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, eds., (2009) op. cit.
[752] J. Bain, (2007), 106. On 1 July 2013, Croatia has become 28th Member State of the EU. Despite this, this thesis put Croatia as a candidate country because the data set was established in 2008.
[753] J. Peter and C. de Vreese, "In Search of Europe," In *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2004): 3-24; and, J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.
[754] N. Chaban, and M. Holland, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific: Public Perceptions and Media Representations*, (New Zealand: NCRE, 2004).
[755] N. Chaban, "Worlds out of Touch, out of Reach an out of Sight": Foreign News and the Formation of Public Opinion," In *Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Texts*, edited by J.M. Paniogua et al., (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2007).

conceptual map of the EU.[756] Chaban and her research associates' writings presented five information inputs—*The EU as a Political Actor, The EU as an Economic Actor, The EU as a Social Actor, The EU as an Environmental actor and The EU as a Developmental Actor*.[757] Based on these inputs, the author combined these inputs into three (*The EU as a Political Actor, The EU as an Economic Actor, The EU as a Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor*) for establishing the case studies of this thesis (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The results are then used to investigate framed images of the EU from EU-related news items.[758] Using this approach, this thesis identifies specific frames for the EU representations in Korean print and internet versions of newspapers. Let us take an EU news item reporting the agricultural business in Korea as an example. The *information input* of this EU news item was coded as *the EU as an economic actor* and the *frame* of this news item was coded *agriculture*.[759] Details of *information inputs* and *frames* are presented in Table 4. 11.

Table 4.11 The Full Description of Information Inputs and Frames[760]

Information Inputs		Frames
The EU as a Political Actor		*Internal* and *external*
The EU as an Economic Actor		*state of economy, agricultural, trade, industry* and *business/finance*
The EU as a Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor	*Social Affairs*	*immigration, welfare, social legislation, diversity/multiculturalism, education/research, crime, health care, entertainment* and *sports*
	Environmental	*Internal* and *external*
	Developmental	*Aid to Korea's neighbours in Northeast Asian region, assistance to countries outside Northeast Asia,* and *helping to Korea*

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[756] V. Price, D. Tewksbury and E. Powers, "Switching Trains of Thought: The Impact of News Frames on Readers' Cognitive Responses," In *Communication Research* 5 (1997): 481-506; and, N. Chaban, (2007) op. cit.

[757] N. Chaban, and M. Holland, eds., (2004), op. cit.; P. Sutthisripok et al., "Lost in Translation? Images of the EU in Thai and English Language Newspapers in Thailand," In *Korea Review of International Studies*,vol. 9, no. 2 (2006): 19-45; N. Chaban and M. Holland, "Research Methodology," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia*, edited by M. Holland et al., (2007) op. cit.; M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings,* (2009) op. cit.; N. Chaban, C. Schneider and R. Malthus, "Visibility, Framing and Importance: Images of the EU in Japan and South Korea," In *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies,* vol. 27, no.1 (2009): 88-125; and, N. Chaban, "The EU's Imagery as Social, Developmental and Environmental Actor in Asia," In *EU External Affairs Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011):5-23. The details of these frames were borrowed from the descriptions of two volumes of the project of "the EU through the eyes of Asia." Regretfully, the descriptions of frames were dispersed throughout the three volumes. The author considers the second volume (2009) is more helpful in terms of retrieving the details of frames.

[758] C. de Vreese, *Framing Europe: Television News and European Integration*, (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2003); and, J. Peter, H. Semetko and C. de Vreese, "Politics on Television in Europe: How European is it," In *EU Politics*, vol. 4, no. 3 (2003): 305-327.

[759] This example was based on Appendix 1 (Content Analysis Framework).

[760] N. Chaban and M. Holland, "Research Methodology," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia*, edited by M. Holland et al., (2007) op. cit.; M. Holland, N. Chaban and P. Ryan, eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia Volume II: New Cases, New Findings,* (2009) op. cit.; and, N. Chaban, "Images of the EU as Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor in Asia," In *EU External Affairs Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011):5-23. The details of these frames were borrowed from the descriptions of two volumes of the project of "the EU through the eyes of Asia." Regretfully, the descriptions of frames were dispersed throughout the three volumes. The author considers the second volume (2009) to be more helpful in terms of retrieving the details of frames.

For the fifth element of *evaluations* this thesis explored explicit assessment of the EU and its actors in the samples news items. This was informed by De Vreese and Boomgaarden's study on "valence frames in news on the EU".[761] Using this approach this thesis assessed whether the overall tone in the description of the EU and its actors was *positive, negative* or *neutral*.

For the sixth element in content analysis -- *news values* -- this thesis explored why EU-related stories could be newsworthy. Shoemaker and Reese's six-member classifications of news values was used in this analysis:[762] (1) *prominence/importance* (whether the items deal with vital topics impacting people's lives);[763] (2) *human interest* (whether the news items attract human interest without effect on the readers, such as news about celebrities, political gossip and human dramas);[764] (3) *the unusual* (whether the news items stimulate the readers' curiosity while reporting unexpected and disruptive events);[765] (4) *timeliness* (whether the news items report in a timely manner current situation);[766] (5), *conflict and controversy* (whether the news item report conflict);[767] and (6) *proximity* (whether the news items report geographically and culturally proximate issues).[768]

The seventh element of this media analysis accounts for a possible *journalistic attitude* in the reporting of EU affairs. This element comprises four categories suggested by Patterson.[769] Firstly, it includes *active-neutral category* -- when the newsmakers assume the role of critics,

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[761] C. Vreese and H. Boomgaarden, "Valenced News Frames and Public Support for the EU," In *Communications* 28 (2003); and, J. Bain, (2007) op.cit.
[762] P. Shoemaker and S. Reese, *Mediating The Message*, (NY: Longman, 1996).
[763] Ibid.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Ibid.
[766] Ibid.
[767] Ibid.
[768] Ibid.
[769] T. Patterson, "Political Roles of the Journalist," In *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*, edited by D. Graber, D. McQuail and P. Norris, (Washington: CQ Press, 1998), 28-29.

adversaries and watchdogs. The second category suggested by Patterson is the *active-advocate* role -- when the newsmakers show a clear and aggressive stance which does not necessarily coincide with a position of a political party, specific ideology or social interests or pressure group. In this category, a journalist assumes a role of an ideologist, missionary and interpreter. The third role is *passive-neutral* -- when a newsmaker's role is the one of a mirror, messenger, broker, disseminator and neutral reporter. Finally, the *passive-advocate* role suggests newsmakers' functions of hack reporters, partisans and party press.

For the last element of contents analysis -- *conceptual metaphors* -- this thesis explored metaphorical expressions from the collected news texts. According to McGlone, metaphorical expressions are considered to be a subordinate concept of conceptual metaphors.[770] As mentioned in Chapter 3, numerous metaphorical expressions which exist in EU reports are useful to reveal conceptual metaphors which only exist in people's minds. As Lakoff and Johnson cited, the "essence of metaphor is seen in understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."[771] According to Charteris-Black, by featuring semantic tensions caused by the interconnection between the source domain (something touchable and controllable) and the target domain (something untouchable or out of control),[772] conceptual metaphors become a base for powerful rhetorical performance. Echoing this thought, Broström points out that the conceptual metaphors underlying news texts can help the media audience to understand abstract global phenomena in discernible human terms.[773]

[770] M. McGlone, "Conceptual Metaphors and Figurative Language Interpretation: Food for Thought?" In *Journal of Memory and Language* 35 (1996):544-565.
[771] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[772] J. Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approach to Critical Metaphor Analysis,* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
[773] S. Broström, *The Role of Metaphor in Cognitive Semantics.* (Lund: Lund University Cognitive Studies, 1994), 32.

In recent years, scholars have started studying conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions in the EU's representations in the Union's internal and external discourses. The former area is extensively researched by Musolff. In particular, he explored metaphors of *house* and *construction* in media descriptions of the 1990s European policy issues in British and German media texts.[774] He also compared the use of metaphor in reporting of the Euro in British and German financial media.[775] In another study Mussolf explored the varied use of the metaphor *heart of Europe* in English vs. German press.[776] Mussolf's research so far has explored the EU's metaphorical images only in a limited number of EU locations and in selected thematic areas. Specifically, his research has overlooked analysis of EU metaphorical representations of its social, environmental and developmental policies and actions.

Chaban has extensively studied metaphorical representations of the EU in external media. A number of her single and co-authored works studies have investigated EU metaphorical representations in Australian and New Zealand press.[777] For example, Chaban et al. examined metaphors engaged in the reportage of EU-US relations as well as European *common house* metaphor in the coverage of the 2004 EU enlargement in Australian and New Zealand media.[778] Chaban and her other colleagues also compared metaphorical descriptions of EU enlargement in the newspapers of four Asia-Pacific locations; Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Thailand.[779] Bain's thesis also investigates conceptual metaphors and their

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[774] A. Musolff, "Political Imagery of Europe: a House without Exit Doors?" In *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* vol. 21, no. 3 (2000): 216-229.

[775] A. Musolff, and J. Charteris-Black, "'Battered hero' or 'innocent victim'? A Comparative Study of Metaphors for Euro Trading," In *English for Special Purposes*, vol. 22 (2003): 153-176.

[776] A. Musolff, "The Heart of the European Body Politic: British and German Perspectives on Europe's Central Organ," *Multilingual & Multicultural Development,* vol. 25, nos. 5-6 (2004): 437-452.

[777] N. Chaban, J. Bain, and K. Stats, "Frenemies," *Critical Policy Analysis*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2007): 62-95.

[778] N. Chaban, J. Bain and K. Stats, "Constructing Images of the Enlarging EU: The European Common House Metaphor in the Australasian News Media," In *European Union Identity,* edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, NESCA Volume III, (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2007), 166-192

[779] N. Chaban et al., "The European Union in Metaphors: Images of the EU Enlargement in the Asia Pacific News," In *The European Union and the Asia–Pacific: Media, Public and Elite Perceptions of the EU,* edited by N. Chaban and M. Holland, (London and NY: Routledge, 2008), 62-103.

metaphorical expressions when studying New Zealand television images of EU enlargement in 2004.[780] Despite these studies' geographic limitations with a main focus is on Asia-Pacific, they remain the pioneering and the most comprehensive insights into the analysis of EU metaphorical images outside the Union's borders.

An examination of conceptual metaphors in Korean language is also called for because this thesis analyses news texts written in Korean language. Woo and Lee explored the difference between conceptual metaphors about happiness in English and Korean (BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND—English vs. HAPPINESS IS SEARCHING FOR A HIDDEN TREASURE—Korean).[781] Secondly, Lim explored the basic concept, styles and working principles of conceptual metaphor in Korean.[782] Finally, Lee and his co-authors compared *war* metaphors employed in Korea-related political news items in three print newspapers (*Chosun, Hankyoreh* and *Kookmin*).[783] Given the differences between conceptual metaphors in Korean and English, this thesis expects to identify Korea-specific descriptions about the EU's affairs. In addition, this thesis might be able to show how metaphorical expressions were used in economic, social, environmental and developmental news of Korean media.

In sum, this thesis adopted Chaban's content analysis methodology for exploring both the *formal* and *substantive* characteristics of EU representations in news texts of print newspapers and their internet editions. However, this thesis added the element of *interactivity* to illustrate the internet-specific features of EU images. It is hoped that this methodology will

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[780]J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.; G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, (1980) op. cit.; and, G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodies Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

[781] S. Woo, and J. Lee, "Conceptual Metaphors for Happiness in Korean and English: A Cognitive-Cultural Study," In *Journal of the Applied Linguistics Association of Korea*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2002): 1-25. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Woo and Lee.

[782] J. Lim, "Kaenyŏmjŏk Ŭnyuedaehayŏ," *Hangugŏŭimihak*, vol. 20 (2006): 29-60.

[783] B. Lee, K. Park and I. Lee, "Reikopŭwa Jonsŭne Ŭnyugaenyŏmŭl T'onghan P'ŭreim Punsŏk: 'Sahakbŏp Kaejŏng' Kwanryŏn Kaldŭngbodorŭl Chungshimŭro," In *Hangukŏnronjŏngbohakbo,* vol 39 (2007): 385-428.

yield insightful and interesting findings into EU images in Korean print and internet media. Having introduced content analysis method, we will now turn to visual analysis method of this thesis.

4.5.2 Content Analysis for Visual Aids

As covered in Chapter 2, a number of studies have explored EU images in the news media internal and external to the EU. However, relevant scholarship has paid less attention to EU-related visual images. This oversight is typical in the field of news media analysis where visual analysis remains a relatively underdeveloped area.[784] There has been some attention to EU visual images in internal media studies. For example, Aiello analysed visual representations of the EU's identity in logos and advertisement pamphlets.[785] In the field of EU external perceptions studies, Bain analysed visual representation of the EU in New Zealand television news.[786] Also, the latest (2010-12) stage of the project "The EU in the Eyes of Asia-Pacific" conducted by Chaban and Holland included an element of visual analysis of the press.[787] Recently, Bain and her co-authors have explored portrayals of the eurozone crisis by analysing visual contents (cartoons) published in the *International Finance News* – the leading Chinese business daily.[788] Also, Bain and her colleagues have examined New Zealand political cartoons published from 1970 to 1973 in order to study the representations of the UK's EEC accession.[789]

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[784] D. Deacon et al., *Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis,* (London/New York: Arnold/Oxford University Press, 1999), 185.

[785] G. Aiello, "The Appearance of Diversity: Visual Design and the Public Communication of EU Identity," In *European Union Identity*, edited by J. Bain and M. Holland, NESCA Vol. III, (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2007).

[786] J. Bain, (2007), op.cit.

[787] Media Analysis, EU External Perceptions, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/media.shtml (retrieved on 15 June 2010).

[788] J. Bain, N. Chaban, and S. Kelly, "Crumbling Giant, Rising Dragon?: Chinese News Media Cartoon Reflections on the Eurozone Debt Crisis*,"* In *Communication, Politics and Culture,* vol. 45, no. 2, (2012): 217-239.

[789] J. Bain, N. Chaban, and S. Christie, "Cutting Apron Strings? New Zealand's Reflections on the UK EEC Accession (case of New Zealand political cartoons, 1970-1973)," In *Journal of European Integration History,* vol. 18, no. 2, (2012): 245-268.

This thesis adopts and adapts Bain's visual analysis method based on visual semiotics. Bain's method focused on investigating the representations of *people, places* and *things* in visual images.[790] However, van Leeuwen critically noted that analysts practicing visual semiotics approach do not usually employ specific methods to demonstrate how the meanings of individual people, things and places in the images are combined together.[791] As such, van Leeuwen believes that content analysis of media texts might be able to address this gap; and consequently undertake two separate analyses of visual images and verbal texts in order to overcome these limitations.[792] Nevertheless, this approach still fails to show how visual images and verbal texts are connected. Van Leeuwen suggests combining, visual semiotic analysis with social semiotic analysis. This combination provides a detailed and explicit approach to analyse the meanings established by syntactic relations between people, places and things depicted in images at a representational level how these images interact with the viewers and how they are positioned and utilised by the verbal texts.[793] This thesis bridges the method of visual analysis proposed by Bain with the social semiotic approach proposed by van Leeuwen.

 The method of visual analysis employed by this thesis consists of three levels of analysis: (1) *representational*, (2) *interactive* and (3) *compositional* meta-functions.[794] *Representational meta-function* refers to an investigation of the depiction of *people, places* or *things*.[795] In

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[790] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.; and, Media Analysis, EU External Perceptions, op. cit.

[791] T. van Leeuwen, "Semiotics and Iconography," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 92.

[792] Ibid.

[793] Ibid.

[794] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, "Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002); and, G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design (2nd Ed.), (*London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

[795] T. van Leeuwen, "Semiotics and Iconography," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 92; and, C. Jewitt and R. Oyama., "Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 140.

order to explore whether there are particular patterns in the portrayals of the EU, this thesis explores which *people* visually represent the EU, how they are depicted, and what actions they are seen to be undertaking.[796] Next, the study investigates the *places* of the actors, asking whether the scene represents the EU, and what the key features within the scene are.[797] The last element is concerned with *things* of the actors, investigating if there are any symbols of the EU such as flags, maps and other objects present in the visual support, and whether there are any texts presented in the visual representations.[798] This analysis requires the researcher to both capture the visual meaning and use a structured research approach to code and categorise such information.[799] According to Moriarty, the visual semiotics approach can overcome these difficulties.[800] Specifically, it may be instrumental in revealing the structure of connotative and denotative meanings of the images, and thus to uncover the structure of meaning behind the visual images.

The second part – analysis of *interactive meta-function* -- covers an examination of the relations between the viewers and the world inside the image frame.[801] It is used to assess the possible impact of EU visual representations to the readers. There are three elements in this investigation: *contact*, *distance* and *viewpoint*. For the *contact* element, this thesis examines whether the people, from inside the visual representation, have eye contact with the viewer.[802] This is used to measure the degree of engagement between the viewer and the images.[803] If there is eye contact, visual images are argued to be demand pictures to the viewer—"the

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[796] J. Bain, (2007) op. cit.
[797] Ibid.
[798] Ibid.
[799] S. Moriarty, "Visual Semiotics and the Production of Meaning in Advertising," In *Visual Communication Division of AEJMC, Washington, DC, August 1995,* http://spot.colorado.edu/~moriarts/vissemiotics.html (retrieved on 16 October 2011).
[800] Ibid.
[801] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002) op. cit.
[802] Ibid.
[803] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.

people in the picture symbolically demand something from the viewers."[804] The second element -- *distance* -- investigates whether *people, places* or *things* in visual images are close to the viewer.[805] It is used to assess social distance and/or friendliness between the depicted *people, places* or *things* and their viewers: *close* distance refers to the idea of intimate or personal, *medium* refers to the notion of social and *wide* refers to impersonal.[806] There are six categories to measure distance, and the descriptions of these categories are presented in Appendix III. The last element -- *viewpoint* -- deals with camera angles. This is used to assess the involvement of *people, places* or *things* in the visual representations with the viewer.[807] There are two major groups of camera angles (horizontal and vertical), and their detailed explanations are in Appendix IV.

The last part -- *compositional meta-function* -- is concerned with how visual images are interacting with the verbal texts. It comprises of five elements: *information value, text-image thematic correlation, salience, modality* and *type of visual aids*. The first element -- *information value* -- deals with revealing their "given-new" and "ideal-real" structures:

> For something to be "given" means that it is presented as something the viewer or reader already knows, as a familiar and agreed departure point for the message. For something to be "new" means that it is presented as something not yet only known and not yet already agreed upon by the viewer or reader, hence as something to which the viewer or reader must pay their special attention.[808]

These structures are investigated through the placement of the visual image -- whether the visual image is placed on the left-hand or right-hand sides, in the centre or margin, or in the

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[804] Ibid.

[805] N. Lacey, *Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies*. (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 1998), 18; and, J. Carey and R. Oyama, (2002), 145. The distance of photography refers to "the size of frame" of shots which are dependent upon the distance of the objects from the camera.

[806] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama. (2002), op. cit.; and, G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.

[807] Ibid.

[808] Ibid.

upper or lower part of the picture space or page.[809] Kress and van Leeuwen argued that left-right placement creates a "given-new" structure.[810] The visual elements placed on the left-hand side are presented as "given" and those did on the right-hand side are presented as "new."[811] It is suggested that top-bottom placement creates "ideal-real" structure.[812] When something placed at the top means "ideal" and something placed at the bottom means "real." The term "ideal" entails something presented as the idealised or generalised essence of the information (ideologically the most salient part).[813] The term "real" refers to "down to earth information" such as specific information, more practically oriented information or more real information.[814]

The second element is *text-image thematic correlation* which aims to explore the boundedness provided by the contents of visual images and verbal texts.[815] According to Kress and van Leeuwen, a united sign between multiple different signs retains semantically stronger messages than separate signs.[816]This analysis of EU media images measures whether verbal texts and visual images are *thematically* matched. Specifically, it accounts for news items where the themes presented by the textual images match the themes presented by the visual images and vice versa.

The third element -- *salience* – is defined by Royce as "the ability of a viewer to make judgements about the importance of various elements in a visual in relation to the other

[809]C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002), 147-152.
[810] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.
[811] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002), 148.
[812] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.
[813] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, (2002) op. cit.
[814] Ibid.
[815] Ibid. According to Jewitt and Oyama's studies of social semiotics, the original naming of "text-image thematic correlation" is framing. However, this thesis abandoned using this original name since this thesis limits the usage of the word "framing" into textual analysis.
[816] Ibid.

elements, and is related to the viewer's ability to judge the 'visual weight' of these various elements". [817] Guided by this definition, the analysis assesses how the visual representations are made more eye-catching.[818] Relevant literature asserts that the salience of visual images is determined by their size within the area of news items.[819] Measuring the size of visual images in inches or centimetres is one research option, yet while is applicable to the analysis of hard copy newspapers, it not a valid measure in the analysis of the internet addition as the readers may adjust the sizes of images on the computer screen. As such, comparison of the size of the visual images in absolute terms between hard and internet copies is problematic. In contrast, this thesis measures what portions of the text is occupied by the visual image -- *half, third, quarter* or a *part*.

The last element -- *types of visual aids* -- investigates what type of visual images -- photograph, cartoon, graph, map, etc. – depicted the EU. This element is linked in our analysis to the notion of *modality,* which is concerned with perceived reality of photograph.[820] According to Halliday, modality refers to ontological status of the utterance as truth and reality, definite, verifiable and factual: the signs with high value modality confer the status of the utterance (or aspect of it) as perceived truth and fact; the signs with low value modality construct greater uncertainty which cast the status in doubt.[821]

There are two sub-elements for modality: *naturalistic* and *scientific modalities. Naturalistic modality* means the resemblance between "what you see of an object in a (visual) image" and "what you see of it in reality with the naked eye," which determines the modality (reality

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[817] T. Royce, *Visual-Verbal Intersemiotic Complementarity in the Economist Magazine,* (PhD thesis, University of Reading, February 1999).
[818] Ibid.
[819] Ibid.
[820] G. Kress and T. van Leeuwen, (2006) op. cit.
[821] Ibid.

value) of the visual image.[822] *Scientific modality* refers to the modality depending on deeper and hidden truth.[823] Examples of this are graphs, statistics or abstract scientific images, such as a microscopic picture of cells or germs. These images are still persuasive for the viewer in spite of the abstract nature of the images. This analysis will assess whether the visual images of the EU in Korean print and internet papers projected the certainty of the EU to the Korean readers via naturalistic and/or scientific modalities. Table 4.12 presents summary of the elements employed by this thesis to undertake the analysis of the visual images. .

Table 4.12 Visual Analysis Categories

Meta-functions	Elements Belonging to the Meta-functions
Representative Meta-function	*People* *Places* *Things*
Interactive Meta-function	*Contact* *Distance* *Viewpoint*
Compositional Meta-function	*Information Value* *Text-Image Thematic correlation* *Salience* *Types of Visual Aids* and *Modality*

This analysis of visual images is informed by the method devised by Bain. However, this thesis revises and extends Bain's visual semiotic method by considering a number of analytical categories proposed by the social semiotic approach. According to van Leeuwen, this approach is instrumental in overcoming the limitations of visual semiotic approach such as abstract nature of research outcomes and disregard towards the interaction between texts and visual images.[824] Future research could elaborate the methods of video analysis of the clips in internet editions. However, this thesis focuses on the method of visual analysis outlined above to achieve a novel and comprehensive analysis of EU images in external news media.

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[822] Ibid.
[823] Ibid.
[824] Ibid.

CHAPTER V

Case Study One: Political Representations of the EU in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

5.1 Introduction: Channels of EU-Korea Political Interactions

As covered in Chapter 1, the EU's political interests towards South Korea are demonstrated by the EU's participation in the Korean Energy Development Organisation (KEDO) and the Joint Political Declaration. After the termination of KEDO in 2006, the EU's political imprint upon the Korean peninsula has diminished. It would be a misconception, however, to argue that EU-Korea political ties have deteriorated. The Joint Political Declaration points out that there are five active channels of political cooperation between the EU and South Korea.[825]

The first channel is the EU-Korea summit. Since 2002, the EU and South Korea have held five biannual summit meetings.[826] This political dialogue covers four main areas of

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[825] EU-ROK Political Relations, The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/relations/rokrelations/political.html (retrieved on 25 October 2011). In 1997, to recognise the the EU and South Korea's increasingly convergin of interest,s, the two parties negotiated a new basic bilateral agreement to cooperate on political issues. The basic bilateral agreement currently in force between the two parties set up a formal system of regular political meetings. In 2001, 1997 Joint Political Declaration was annexed to 1996 Framework Agreement on Trade and Cooperation and it entered into force. Subsequently, the upgraded Framework Agreement was initialled on 14 October 2009 (both parties signed the agreement on 10 May 2010) and is now subject to ratification processes by both sides. If it enters into force, it will provide the basis to work together more closely on a wide range of political and economic governance issues affecting international society while providing a strong impetus for strengthening economic cooperation. For more information, see The Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/relations/rokrelations/political.html and, EEAS, South Korea, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/index_en.htm (retrieved on 25 October 2011).
[826] EU-ROK Political Relations, The Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/relations/rokrelations/political.html (retrieved on 11 June 2013).The EU-Korea Summits are based on the enforcement of EU-Korea political declaration in 1997 and Framework Agreement on Trade and Cooperation in 2001. This meeting gave the presidents of Korea and the EU (the President-in-office of the European Council and the President of European Commission) an impetus to strengthen EU-Korea political cooperations. Until present, the meetings have held in Korea, the EU and the third countries: 2002 (Copenhagen), 2004 (Hanoi), 2006 (Helsinki), 2009 (Seoul), 2010 (Brussels), 2012 (Seoul) and 2013 (Brussels). For more information, see the website of EU Delegation.

discussions to facilitate EU-Korea political cooperation: strengthening bilateral relations, regional issues, global issues and follow-up measures.[827] In their bilateral relations, the EU and South Korea share fundamental values such as commitment to democracy, human rights and the rule of the law and the market economy, as well as an interest in exploring numerous opportunities for cooperation to respond to global challenges.[828] In their discussion of regional issues, the EU and South Korea have a shared understanding of the significance of an early resolution to North Korean nuclear issue in a peaceful manner by Six Party Talks.[829] In addressing global issues, the EU and Korea participate in G20 Summits, jointly resist global trade protectionism, cooperate on reducing greenhouse gas emission, collaborate in multilateral meetings such as ASEM and UN summits, and join efforts in global peace-building and peacekeeping efforts.[830] The EU and South Korea also have regular follow-ups to the biannual summit meetings assessing the progress of EU-Korea relations and the achievement of their common goals, while factoring latest developments of regional and international communities.[831]

The second channel is annual visits of European Parliament delegation to Seoul. The delegation visits Korea twice a year mainly to meet with the Korea-EU inter-parliamentary Council of the Korean National Assembly.[832] These visits also include separate meetings with the high-ranked Korean governmental officials, such as the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Minister of Unification for the in-depth consultations on approaches to North Korea.[833] For example, the

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[827] Republic of Korea-EU Summit, Seoul 23 May 2009, Joint Press Statement, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/docs/summit_jps_2009_en.pdf (retrieved on 12 August 2011).
[828] Ibid.
[829] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit.; and, Republic of Korea-EU Summit, Seoul 23 May 2009, Joint Press Statement, op. cit.
[830] Republic of Korea-EU Summit, Seoul 23 May 2009, Joint Press Statement, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/docs/summit_jps_2009_en.pdf (retrieved on 12 August 2011).
[831] Ibid.
[832] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit.
[833] Ibid.

2011 visit of the delegation included on its agenda such issues as the North Korean nuclear situation, the current status of the Six Party Talks and food aid to North Korea.[834]

The third channel is meetings at the Foreign Minister level. These meetings usually take place on the sidelines of the annual ASEAN Regional Forum Ministerial Meetings held in each July.[835] However, recently, the meetings have become more frequent. For example, there were additional meetings on the sidelines of the G20 summit meeting in Pittsburgh and EU-Korea summit meeting in Seoul in 2009.[836] These meetings focus on promoting effective EU-Korea cooperation in international forums such as ASEAN, G20 or the UN.[837]

The fourth channel is the Enhanced Political Dialogue meeting which takes place at the level of senior officials each spring.[838] The main purpose of this meeting is to exchange perspectives on regional security issues.[839]

The last channel is *ad hoc* meetings between officials. These meetings occur on an almost monthly basis in Brussels, Seoul and third countries on the sidelines of international forums.[840] The participants of the meetings range from experts in the area of non-proliferation, to development cooperation and environment.[841] In 2009, the negotiations for the upgraded Framework Agreement have allowed for even more frequent contact between senior officials from both sides including daily interaction on political matters.[842]

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[834] *DongA.com, Yurŏbŭhoi Hanbandogwangye Daepyodan 18~21 il Banghan*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20110516/37273873/1 (retrieved on 12 August 2011).
[835] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit.
[836] Ibid.
[837] Ibid.
[838] Ibid.
[839] Ibid.
[840] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit.; and, Korea-EU Political Relations, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, http://missiontoeu.mofat.go.kr/eng/eu/missiontoeu/political/relation/index.jsp, (retrieved on 25 October 2011).
[841] Korea-EU Political Relations, op. cit.
[842] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit. This interactions are taken place in Seoul (between the Delegation of the EU Delegation to Korea and Korean government departments) and in Brussels (between the Korean Embassy to the EU and EU institutions).

To summarise, the EU and Korea have continued to maintain political cooperation on bilateral, regional and global levels. It is anticipated that further channels of EU-Korea political interaction will open as soon as the upgraded Framework Agreement enters into force.[843] Assessing the existing channels of EU-Korea political interactions, it is clear that the main focus of EU-Korea political interaction is peace-building on the Korean peninsula. The first channel (EU-Korea Summits) and the last channel (*ad hoc* meetings) partially deal with the early resolution of North Korean nuclear issues. The second channel (the annual visits of EP delegation to Seoul) and the fourth channel (the enhanced political dialogue meeting) are devoted to the regional issues of South Korea.

Arguably, the South Korean establishment and general public also perceive the EU as a political partner who contributes to the peacemaking process on the Korean peninsula. In February 2008, Korean President Lee Myung-Bak was quoted in the major newspapers as saying that the EU has had sound diplomatic relations with the North; hence, the EU could be an excellent supporter for the South on the strength of its competent negotiations with the North.[844] The remainder of this chapter will illustrate how the reality of EU-Korea political dialogues is reflected by Korean leading press and their online versions.

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[843] EU-ROK Political Relations, op. cit.; and, Korea-EU Political Relations, op. cit.
[844] *Chosun.com*, *Yi Dangseonin 'Bukaekhaegyŏl EU yŏkallon' Paegyŏnggwa Jŏnmang*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/02/2008020200388.html (retrieved on 27 February 2008); *DongA.com*, *Yi Dangseonin 'Bukaekhaegyŏl EU yŏkallon' Paegyŏnggwa Jŏnmang*, http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200802020197 (retrieved on 27 February 2008); and, *JOINS.com* , *Yi Dangseonin 'Bukaekhaegyŏl EU yŏkallon' Paegyŏnggwa Jŏnmang*, http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3031262. (retrieved on 27 February 2008).

5.2 Formal Characteristics

5.2.1 Monthly Distribution

Over the monitoring period, the twelve months of 2008, this thesis examined 364 articles from print newspapers (31.2% from the total sample) and 1,590 articles from internet newspapers (33.2% from the total sample) which belong to the information input of *the EU as a political actor*. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate the monthly distribution of news presenting the EU as a political actor. In Figure 5.1, each of the three print newspapers has a different peak month. The peak month for *Joong Ang Ilbo* was August and that for *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* was November. However, in Figure 5.2, all internet versions of newspapers chosen have the same peak months (August and November). Political events which triggered a higher number of EU political news were the Russo-Georgian War, which broke out on 7 August 2008,[845] and the G20 summit in Washington DC on 15 November 2008.[846] Both versions had the same minor peak month in February. The main EU-related political issue covered that month was the proclamation of Kosovo's independence. [847]

Both versions of the newspapers focused on describing the EU's peacekeeping activities in Europe and its political cooperation with Korea at the global forum. Given the EU's peacekeeping efforts in its own regions (specifically in relation to the situation in Kosovo and the Russo-Georgian War), both versions of newspapers yield insights into the EU's peace-promoting role in Korea and its region. Considering the scale of political cooperation between the EU and Korea, the necessity for closer cooperation between the two parties at the global forum of G20 was stressed in both versions. However, both versions scarcely reported

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[845] *Stratfor*, The Russo-Georgian War and the Balance of Power, 12 August 2008, http://www.stratfor.com/weekly/russo_georgian_war_and_balance_power (retrieved on 13 September 2010).
[846]*BBC*, World leaders grapple with crisis, 15 November 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7730763.stm (retrieved on 13 September 2010).
[847] *BBC*, Kosovo MPs proclaim independence, 17 February 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7249034.stm (retrieved on 13 September 2010).

on the bilateral EU-Korea political interactions. Importantly, both versions reported the EU's political strength in the fields of global conflicts resolution and international conference.

Figure 5.1 Monthly Distribution of EU Political News in Print Newspapers
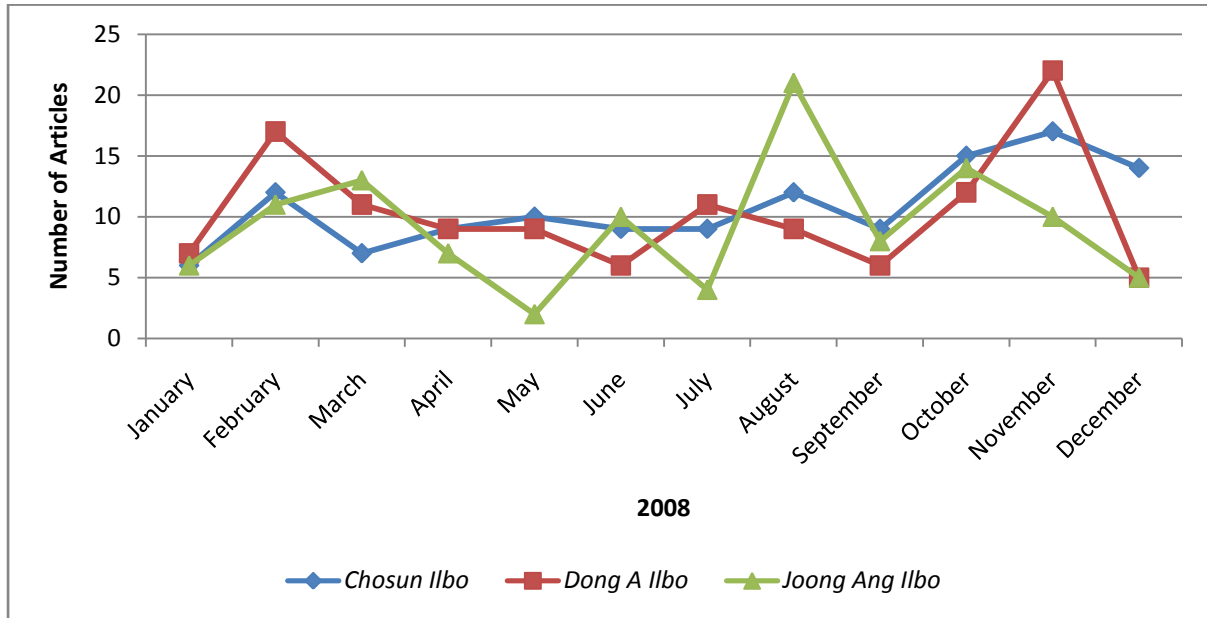
Figure 5.2 Monthly Distribution of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
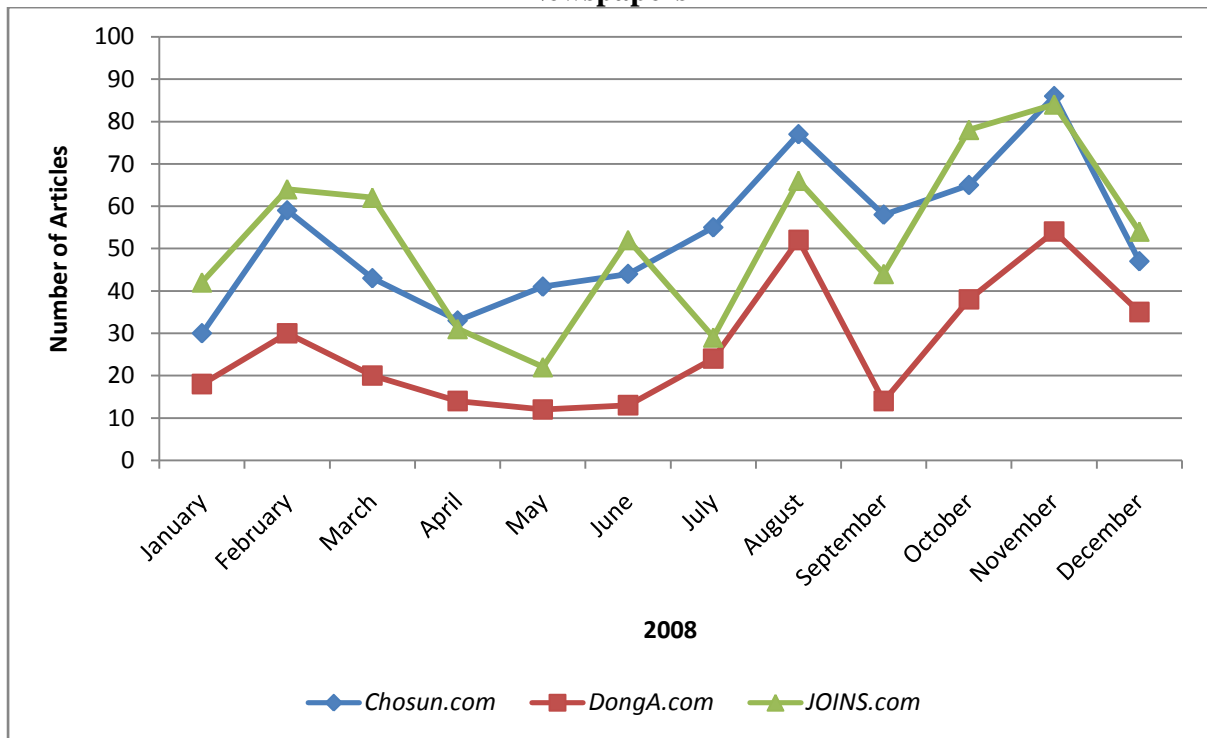
5.2.2 Type of Media Outlet

This analysis starts with the assessment of volume of EU political news. Figure 5.3 illustrates that all three newspapers have similar volumes of EU articles: *Chosun Ilbo* (129 articles), *Dong A Ilbo* (124 articles) and *Joong Ang Ilbo* (111 articles). Arguably, the three leading newspapers provide balanced information about the EU as a political actor for their readers.

Figure 5.3 Distribution of EU Political News Items in Print Newspapers
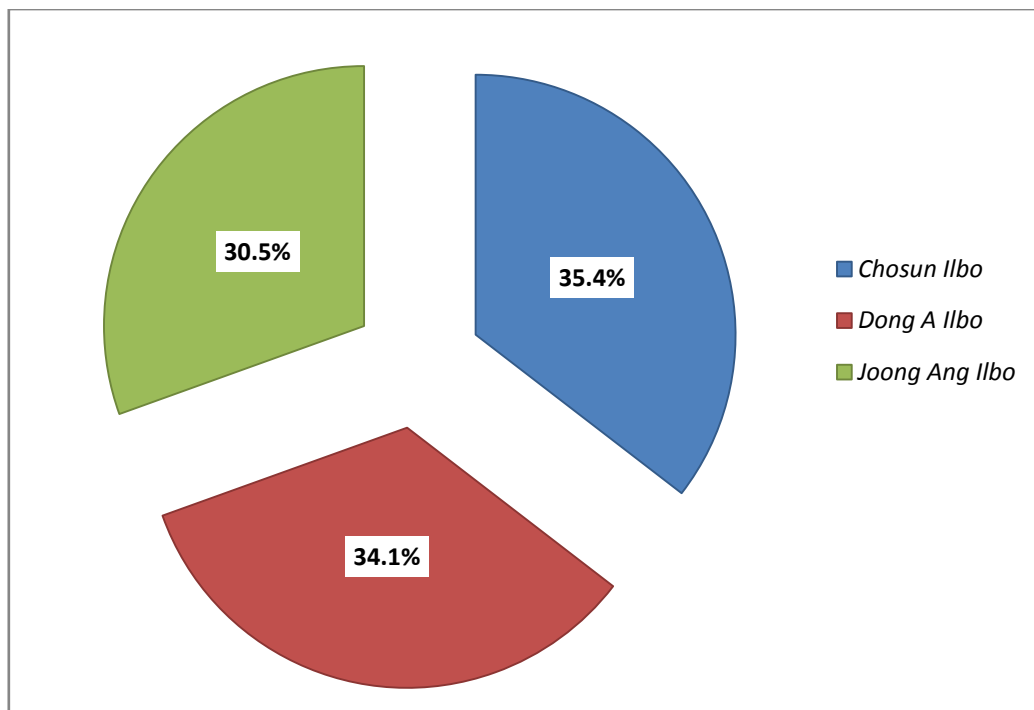
The internet versions present a different distribution of EU political news. According to Figure 5.4, the visibility of EU political news in *DongA.com* (324 articles) was significantly less than in *Chosun.com* (638 articles) and *JOINS.com* (628 articles). Arguably, *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* are prolific sources of information about EU political affairs to Korean news audiences. This finding is of interest as *DongA.com* carries the reputation of a politically-oriented news outlet.

Figure 5.4 Distribution of EU Political News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
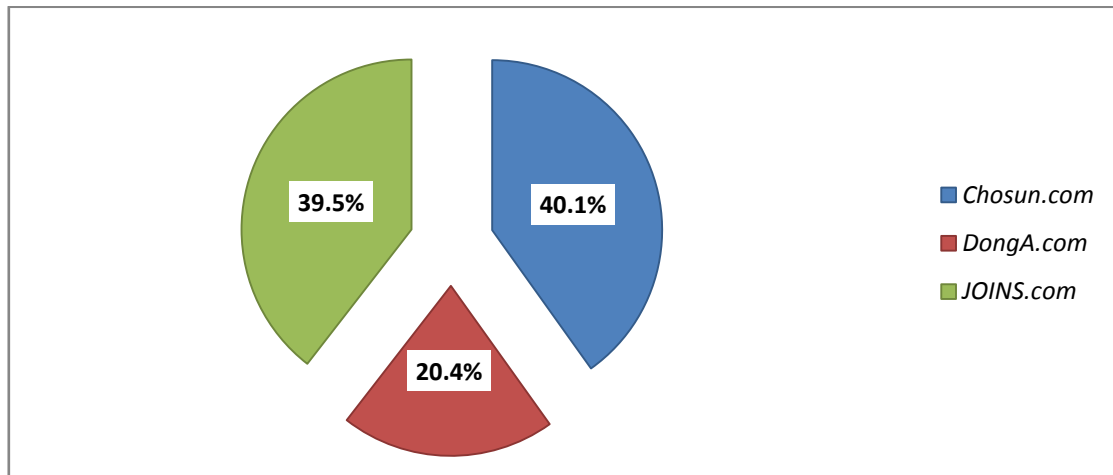
5.2.3 Information Sources

This element examines what specific information sources are used by the newsmakers of the three papers. Domestic sources include local wires and local correspondents. International sources include foreign international wires and international correspondents who work for international wires. The results are in Figures 5.5 and 5.6.

Figure 5.5 Sources of EU Political News Items in Print Newspapers
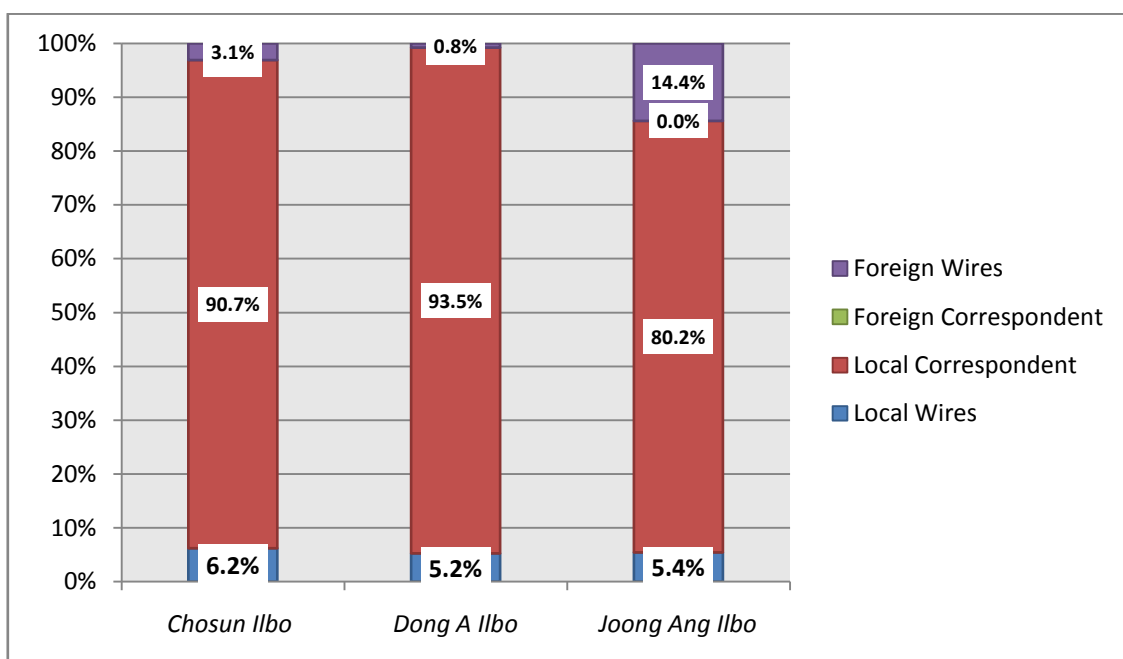
Figure 5.6 Sources of EU Political News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
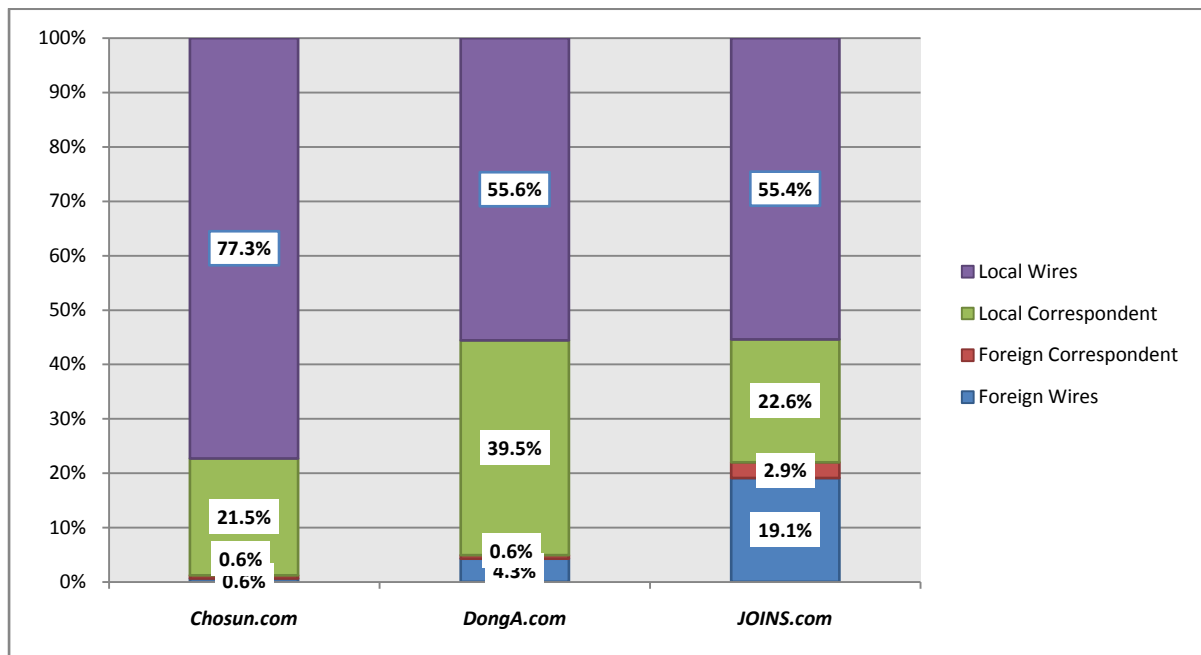
The first observation is that both versions are mainly dependent upon domestic sources when covering EU political news. Yet, the leading information sources for each version vary. Three hard-copy editions heavily relied on their local correspondents to produce EU-related political news items. Significantly, no newspaper used news items originating from international wires. However, *Joong Ang Ilbo* utilised more news items produced by foreign correspondents than the two other print newspapers.

In contrast, the leading source of three internet versions was a local news agency -- *Yonhap News*: 455 articles (71.3%) originated from this source in *Chosun.com*, 170 articles (52.5%) in *DongA.com* and 322 articles (51.3%) in *JOINS.com*.[848] As in the case of print newspapers, *JOINS.com* employed more foreign sources than other two papers.

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[848]D. Ju, "*Shimmun Chŏngchaekgwa Shimmunsanŏbe Sŏngjangsa*," In *Hangugŏnronsanŏbe Yŏksawa Gujo,* edited by N. Kim et al., (Seoul: Yeonamsa, 2000). The Chun Doo Hwan administration conducted the communication policy called Basic Press Act 1980 (*ŏnront'ongp'yehap*) which entails reducing the number of news agencies in order to control the news media. As a part of this policy, *Yonhap News* agency was established in 1981 by merging two major agencies and other minor news agencies. Since then, *Yonhap News* has solely provided domestic and international news to newspapers, television broadcasting and other media including Internet media in South Korea. The aim of *Yonhap News* is providing international news to the public based on Korea's own perceptions. For more information, see *Yonhap News*, About Us, http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/aboutus/index.html (retrieved on 14 September 2010).

Further examining the influence of the *Yonhap News* this research approached Korean news makers to clarify the role and nature of the news sources. A former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* claimed that the internet versions rely on *Yonhap News* when covering EU news because it mainly translates the articles from various international wires such as AFP and Reuters.[849] As such, this local source does incorporate an international perspective. Yet, a precise tracing of the news sources in case of *Yonhap News* is problematic and beyond the scope of this research. A study of the *Yonhap News* could be a subject for follow up research.

5.2.4 Interactivity

This element is applied to analyse the content features of the internet versions of the papers. It consists of three different measurements, namely *options* of interactivity, popularity (*interpersonal interactivity*) and the duplication of the texts (*content interactivity*).

The first measurement explores the presence of journalists' email addresses illustrating the possibility of contact between the authors and the readers of EU news items (Table 5.1). In absolute numbers, *Chosun.com* ranked first, *DongA.com* ranked second, followed by *JOINS.com*. The results show that *Chosun.com* was more likely to provide the readers with an option to discuss the content of EU political news with the news authors. *DongA.com* had a higher share of EU political news with options for interactivity.

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[849] C. Kim, chief editor of *Chosun Weekly* and *Monthly*, interviewed by telephone, 29 October 2010.

Table 5.1 Numbers and Proportions of EU Political News Items with Journalists' e-mail Address

	Number of Articles Collected	Percentage of EU Political News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers
Chosun.com	130	20.4%
DongA.com	125	38.6%
JOINS.com	109	17.4%

The popularity of articles was measured by measuring the numbers of visitors and daily rankings of EU news. *Chosun.com* was the only sources in this study which had both these elements, thus, this thesis explores popularity of the EU political news only in *the Chosum.com* internet edition (Figures 5.7 and 5.8). All together, 486 *Chosun.com* articles reporting EU political news items were available for investigating popularity.

Figure 5.7 Numbers of Visits to EU Political News Items in *Chosun.com*

Pie chart legend:
- 10,000 visits plus
- 1,000-9,999 visits
- 100-999 visits
- 1-99 visits
- N/A

Values shown: 3.8%, 9.2%, 15.2%, 47.8%, 24.0%
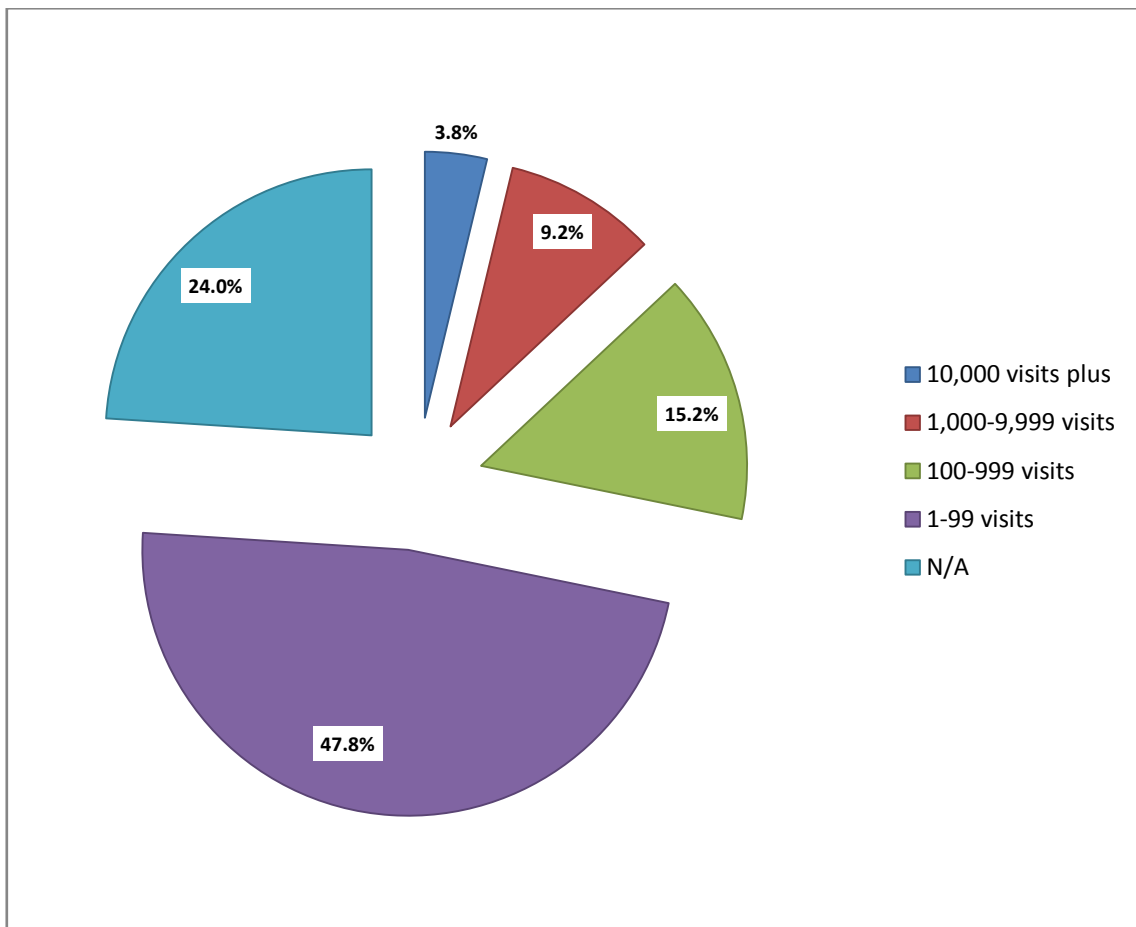
Figure 5.8 Daily Rankings of EU Political News Items in *Chosun.com*
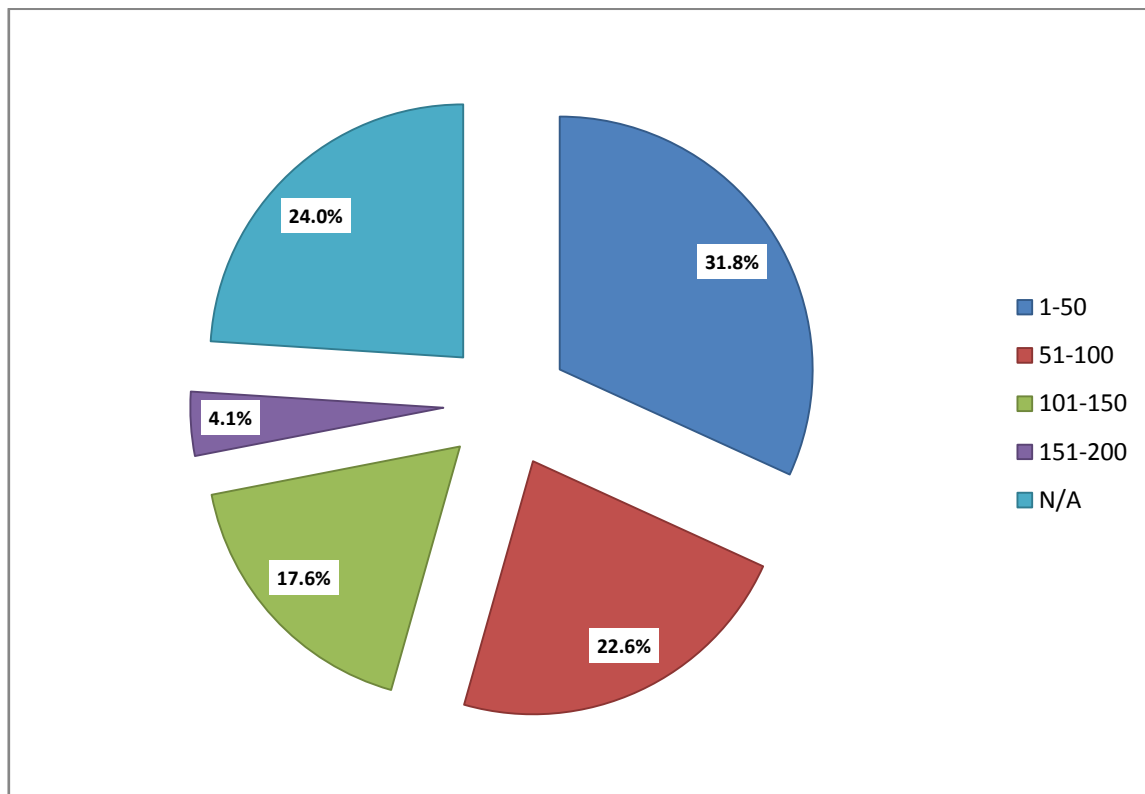
The results presented in Figure 5.7 illustrate that EU political news items did not capture readers' interests.[850] However, Figure 5.8 shows that more than half or those articles were ranked in top 100 popular articles in *Chosun.com*. Thus, all this considered, most EU political news items in *Chosun.com* are likely to be read by its audiences.

The last measurement of interactivity concentrates on exploring *content interactivity*. The first part of this measurement explores text duplications between online versions of newspapers and their print outlets. *Chosun.com* had the largest numbers of articles which were duplicated in its hard copy (*Chosun Ilbo*) (Table 5.2).

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[850] By comparison with the weekly visitors to these internet versions of newspapers and the number of visitors to EU political news, it is evident that these news articles were unpopular. Weekly visitors to *Chosun.com* numbered 3,622,516, *JOINS.com* 4,081,506, and *DongA.com* 1,123,961 in 2007. For more information, see Cho and Choi, (2007).

Table 5.2 Numbers and Percentages of Articles of Content Interaction between Print Newspapers and their Internet Versions.

	Numbers of Articles	Percentage of EU Political News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers
Chosun.com	126	7.9%
DongA.com	114	7.2%
JOINS.com	119	7.5%

The second part of the measurement was the interactivity among three internet versions of newspapers in the sample (Table 5.3). A quarter of EU political articles in the internet sample were duplicates between two internet versions and 6.2% of articles were copied from each other across three internet newspapers. This could be due to internet versions' heavy reliance on *Yonhap News* as their leading sources of news.

Table 5.3 Numbers and Percentages of Articles of Content Interaction across Internet Newspapers in the Sample.

	Numbers of Articles	Percentage of EU Political News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers
Interactive within two Internet Versions (either; *Chosun.com—DongA.com*, *Chosun.com—JOINS.com* or *DongA.com—JOINS.com*)	398	25.0%
Interactive across all three Internet versions of Newspapers (*Chosun.com—DongA.com—JOINS.com*)	99	6.2%

To summarise, the internet versions of newspapers from the sample provide the channel for interactions with the readers of these papers, and this interactions were able to be measured.

5.3 Substantive Characteristics

5.3.1 Focus of Domesticity

The category of the *focus of domesticity* is used to assess the context and relevance of EU issues within Korean domestic discourses (as presented by print newspapers and their internet versions.[851] (Figures 5.9 and 5.10)

Figure 5.9 Focus of Reporting EU Political News in Print Newspapers
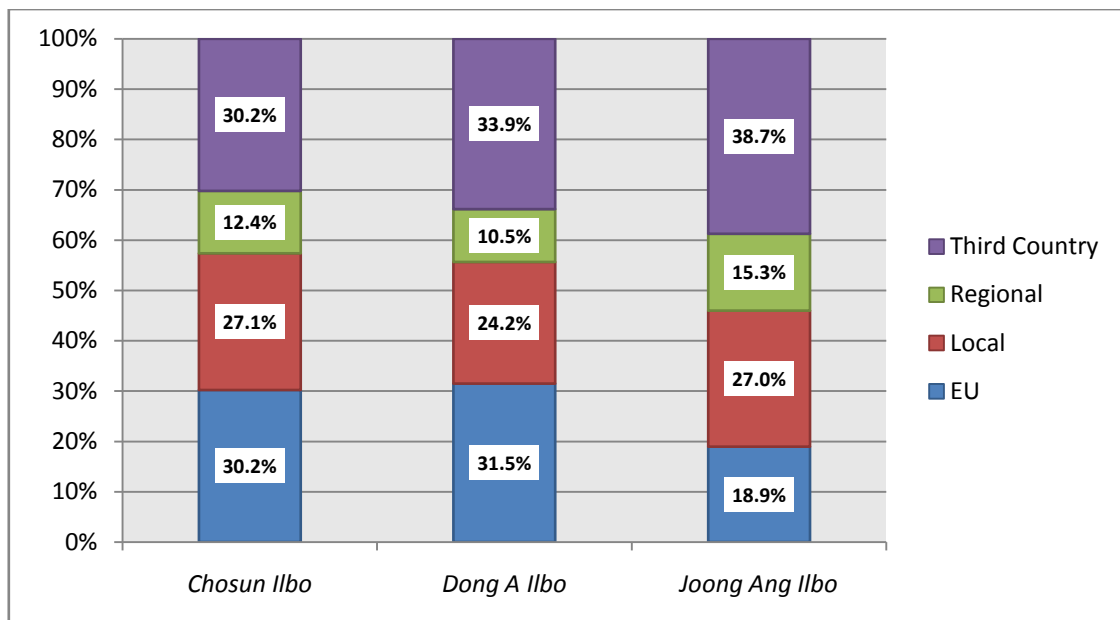
Summary of print newspapers findings in Figure 5.9 illustrate that all three newspapers from the sample had similar shares of Korean *local* and *regional* EU political news. However, the percentages of *third country* and *EU* news were different between the three papers. In contrast to the other two papers, *Joong Ang Ilbo* was more likely to report EU political events within the contexts of *third country* and less likely within the context of 'pure' *EU news*. I total, less than half of EU political news items of print newspapers were in *domestic angle*

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[851] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific Public Perceptions and media representations,* (NZ: NCRE, 2004), 76.

(*local* and *regional*). Arguably, the print newspapers tend to frame the EU's political actions as actions not directly relevant to Korea's local and/or regional happenings.

Figure 5.10 Focus of Reporting EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
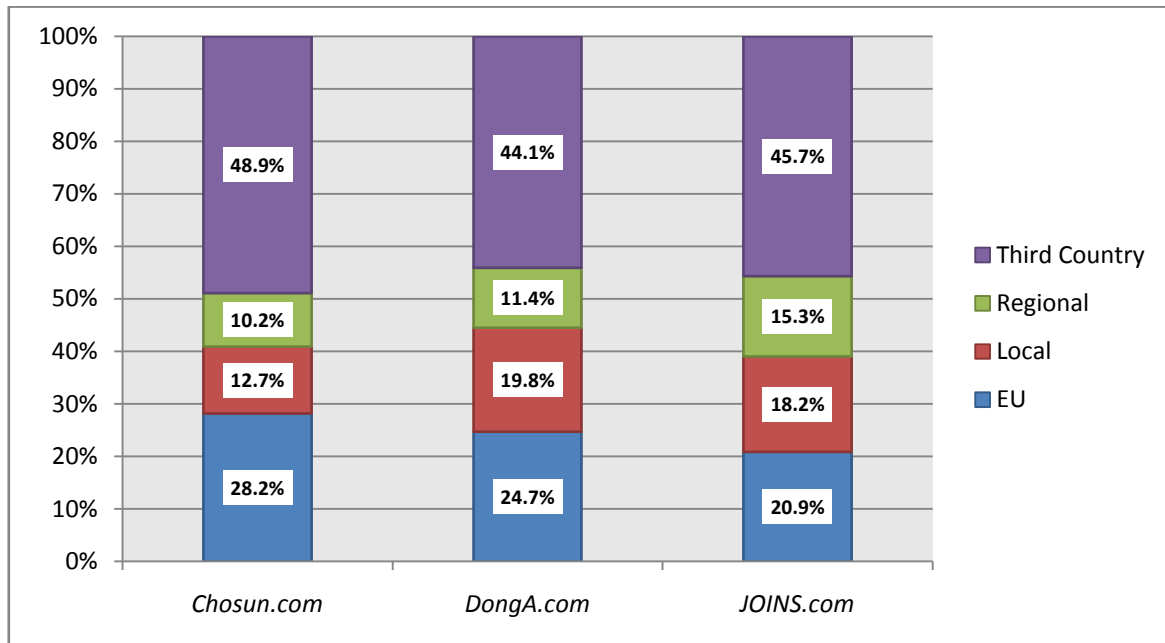
Among the internet versions, *Chosun.com* was more likely to report EU political news from a *foreign* rather than *domestic angle* (Figure 5.10). Importantly, compared with the print newspapers, the share of EU political news with *domestic angle* in reportage was even smaller than that of print newspapers. Arguably, the internet versions of the three reputable papers in Korea are even less likely to frame the EU as a locally-significant political actor.

5.3.2 Degree of Centrality

Degree of centrality covers the nature and the intensity of representation of EU political issues in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions[852] (Figures 5.11 and 5.12).

Figure 5.11 Centrality of EU Political News in Print Newspapers
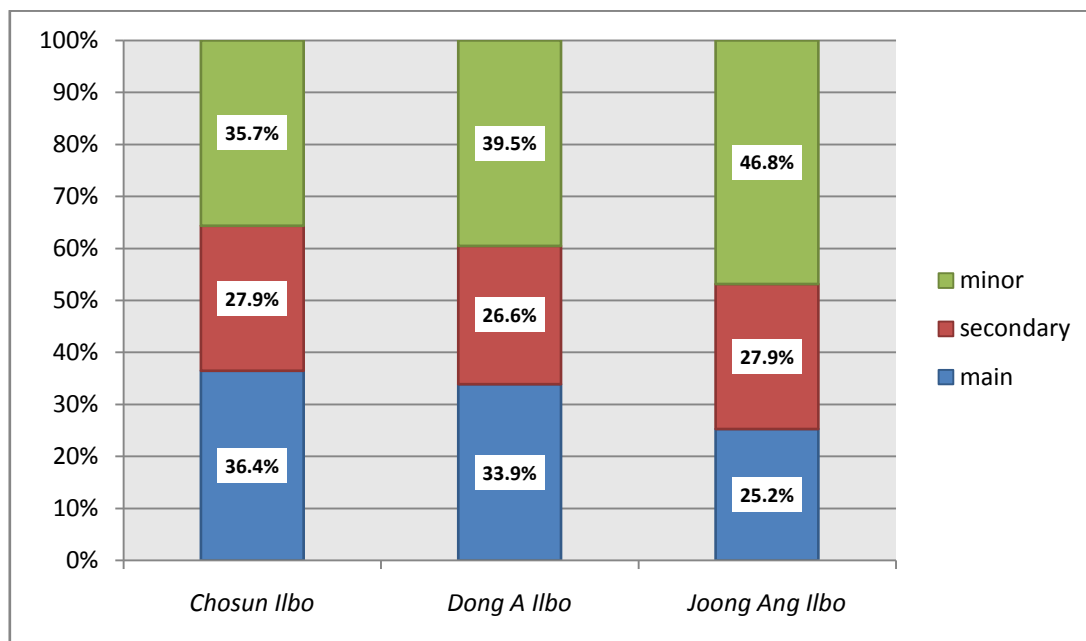
Analysing the print newspapers, this study found that while the proportion of *EU political* news which profiled the EU and its actors from with a secondary degree of was relatively similar, share of *main* and *minor* news were different. *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* had similar shares of *main* and *minor* news. However, *Joong Ang Ilbo* had more news items with *minor* perspective and fewer items with *main* perspective than the other two newspapers. Arguably, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* were more inclined to profile the EU as a major political actor than *Joong Ang Ilbo*. However, if we account for a joint *main* and *secondary* category, it is obvious that print newspapers did present the EU as a political actor with substantial degree of intensity.

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[852] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., (2004) op. cit.

In contrast to print newspapers, the three internet versions did not have major differences in the distribution of the degrees of centrality (Figure 5.12). *Chosun.com* had a slightly higher share of *main* news than the other two internet versions, and *JOINS.com* had a slightly higher share of the *minor* news than the other two internet versions, but those differences were minor. In summary, one can say that print outlets were more likely to frame the EU as a main actor of political affairs than their internet versions.

Figure 5.12 Centrality of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
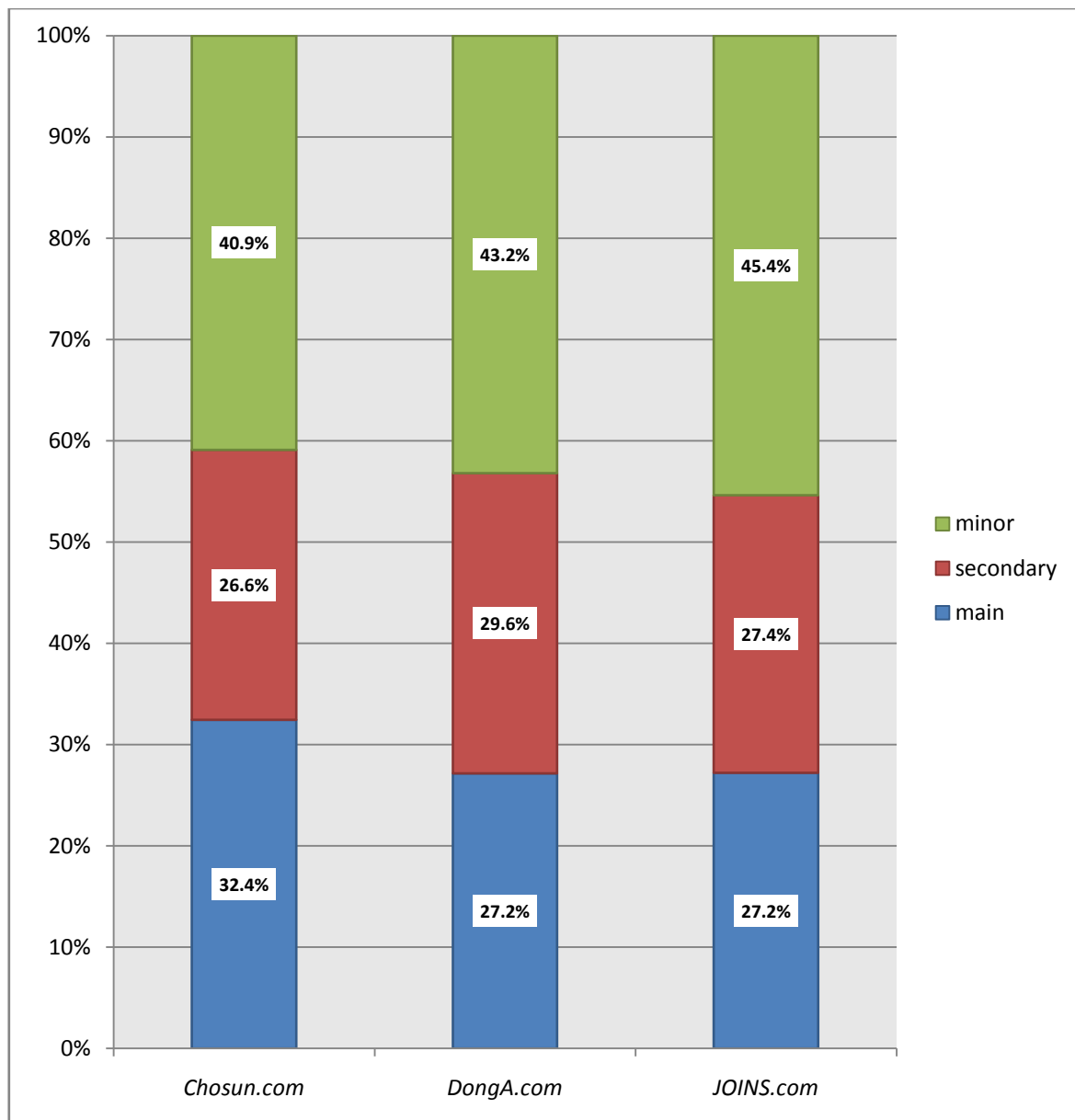
5.3.3 Actors

The category *Actors* explored who represented EU political affairs: EU officials, EU governmental bodies, its member states (including candidate countries) and the officials and the governmental bodies of the member states and/or enlargement candidate countries (Figures 5.13 and 5.14).

Figure 5.13 Most Visible Actors in EU Political News in Print Newspapers
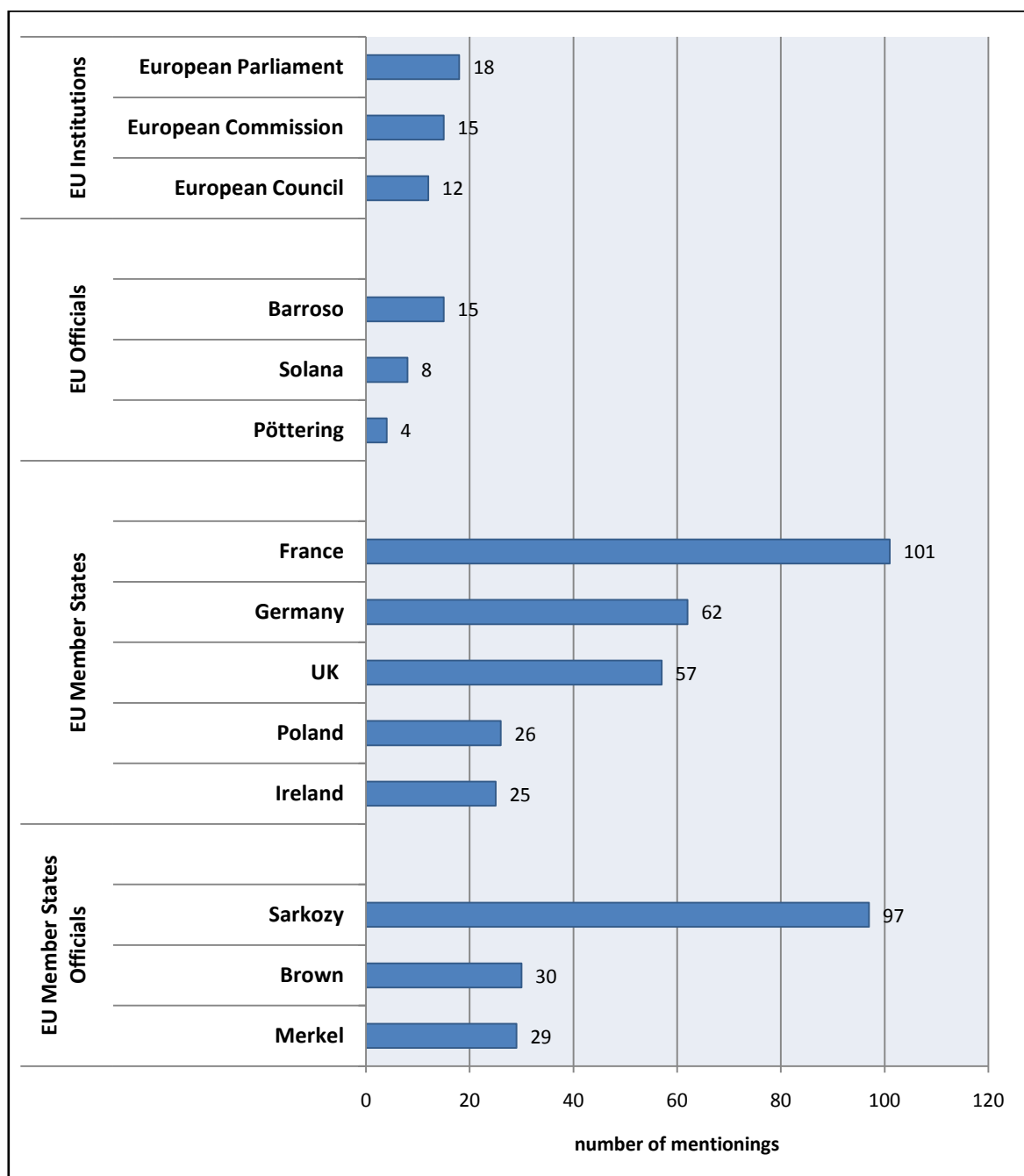
Figure 5.14 Most Visible Actors in EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers

	number of mentionings
EU Institutions	
European Parliament	76
European Commission	69
European Council	54
EU Officials	
Solana	64
Barosso	61
Pöttering	17
EU Member States	
France	358
UK	207
Germany	205
Poland	89
Italy	79
EU Member States Officials	
Sarkozy	291
Brown	89
Merkel	60
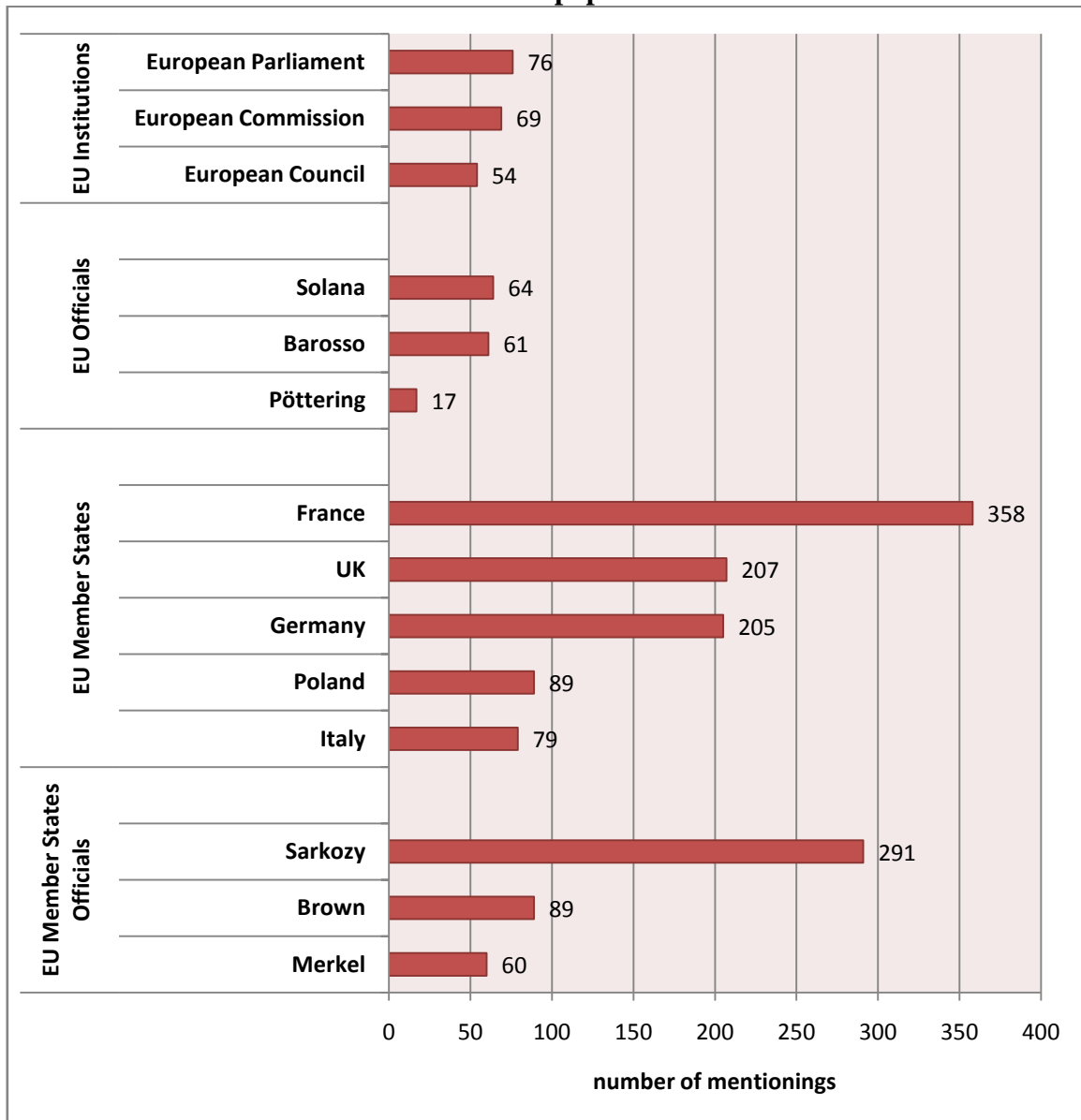
Comparing the internet versions with the print editions, the former had more numbers of mentionings of EU-related actors than the latter. Yet, the list of the most visible political actors was similar in both versions. In the category of *EU institutions*, the three most visible actors in both versions were European Parliament, European Commission and European Council. In the category of *EU officials*, the three most visible actors of both versions were Barroso (the 11th and current President of the European Commission), Solana (the Former High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy from 1999-2009) and

Pöttering (the 23rd President of the European Parliament). However, there were some differences. In the print newspapers, Barroso was the most visible, followed by Solana and Pöttering. In the internet versions, Solana was the most visible EU official, followed by, Barroso and Pöttering.

Both outlets reported the four most EU Member States as the most visible -- France, Germany, the UK and Poland. France was the most visible in both versions. Both versions also echoed each other on the most visible EU member state officials, Sarkozy (23rd President of France) led the list, and he was followed by Brown (Prime Minister of the UK from 2007 to 2010) and Merkel (Chancellor of Germany). This analysis suggests that the pre-crisis EU political affairs were seen by Korean newsmakers to be led by the 'EU's Big 3".

5.3.4 Most Visible Topics

The element of *most visible topics* allows the identification of which EU political issues were more frequently covered by the Korean print newspapers and their internet versions (Tables 5.4 and 5.5).

Table 5.4 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of Political Affairs in Print Newspapers

Frame	*Chosun Ilbo*	*Dong A Ilbo*	*Joong Ang Ilbo*
Internal	European Integration		
	Lisbon Treaty		
	EU Mini-summit		
	France		
	French Presidency 2008		
		Slovenian Presidency 2008	
	Italy		Italy
		The UK	
	Finland	Germany	Romania
	Ireland	Turkey	Spain
	Schengen Treaty	Sweden	
	Military Action	PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain) in the EU	
		Cyprus	
External	The EU's role in global politics		
	G20 Summits		
	Russo-Georgian War		
	Russia		
	Kosovo		
	Serbia		
	China		
	The US		
	Iran		
	Israel		
	Africa		
	ASEM		
	EU-Korea Relations		
	North Korea		
	Asian Leadership Conference	NATO	

Table 5.5 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of Political Affairs in Internet Versions of Newspapers

Frame	Chosun.com	DongA.com	JOINS.com
Internal	European Integration		
	Lisbon Treaty		
	France		
	French Presidency 2008		
	Slovenian Presidency 2008		
	Austria		
	Bulgaria		
	Cyprus		
	Turkey		
	The UK		
	Finland		
	EU Mini-summit		
	Germany		
	Czech		
	Belgium		Belgium
	Ireland		Ireland
	Italy		Italy
	FYROM		FYROM
	The Netherlands		The Netherlands
	Romania		Romania
	Spain		
External	ASEM		
	ASEAN		
	China		
	G20 Summits		
	Russo-Georgian War		
	Russia		
	Serbia		
	Kosovo		
	Africa		
	The US		
	EU-Korea relations		
	North Korea		
	Latin America		
	Central Asia		
	India		
	Iran		
	Israel		
	UN		
	Pakistan		
	Ukraine		
	Middle East		
		Greenland	
	Belarus		Belarus
	Myanmar		Myanmar
	Indonesia		Indonesia
			NATO

Comparing the two tables, both versions presented common sets of topics about EU-related political issues. In the *internal* frame, both versions covered the topics about EU institutional activities (such as European integration and Lisbon Treaty), its Member States (such as France, Germany and the UK) and candidate nations (such as Turkey and FYROM). In the *external* frame both versions dealt with such topics as EU-Korea political interactions, the EU's political performances on global or regional forums (such as ASEM, G20 and NATO) and in the third countries (neither Korea nor the EU).

However, there was some difference both between print newspapers and between the print and internet versions of the same newspaper. Specifically, the print newspapers *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* reported more diverse topics than *Joong Ang Ilbo. Chosun Ilbo* paid more attentions to internal political issues at EU-level like the Schengen Treaty and EU military actions. *Dong A Ilbo* was reported internal political issues about EU Member States (Sweden, Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain) or a candidate nation (Turkey). For their internet versions, *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* reported a greater range of topics than *DongA.com*. These two outlets were also reported EU political news through the prism of EU Member States.

In the *external* frame, print newspapers focused on the EU actions towards South Korea's neighbours (such as China and North Korea) and the EU's neighbouring countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Serbia (Kosovo) and countries in the Middle East and Africa. In contrast, their internet versions covered the EU's political affairs in other geo-political regions (such as Central Asia, South East Asia and Latin America). The internet versions also presented more detailed descriptions of the EU's internal and external political issues.

5.3.5 Evaluations

Summaries of the explicit evaluation of EU-related political news items in print newspapers and their internet versions are depicted in Figures 5.15 and 5.16.

Figure 5.15 Evaluations of EU Political News in Print Newspapers
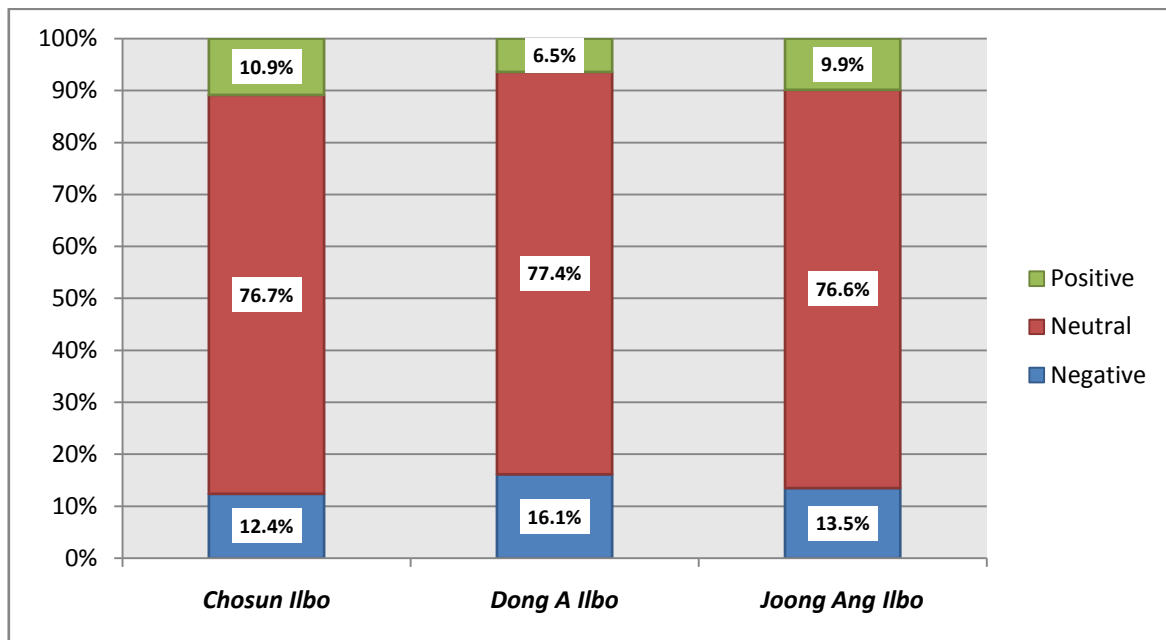
Figure 5.16 Evaluations of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
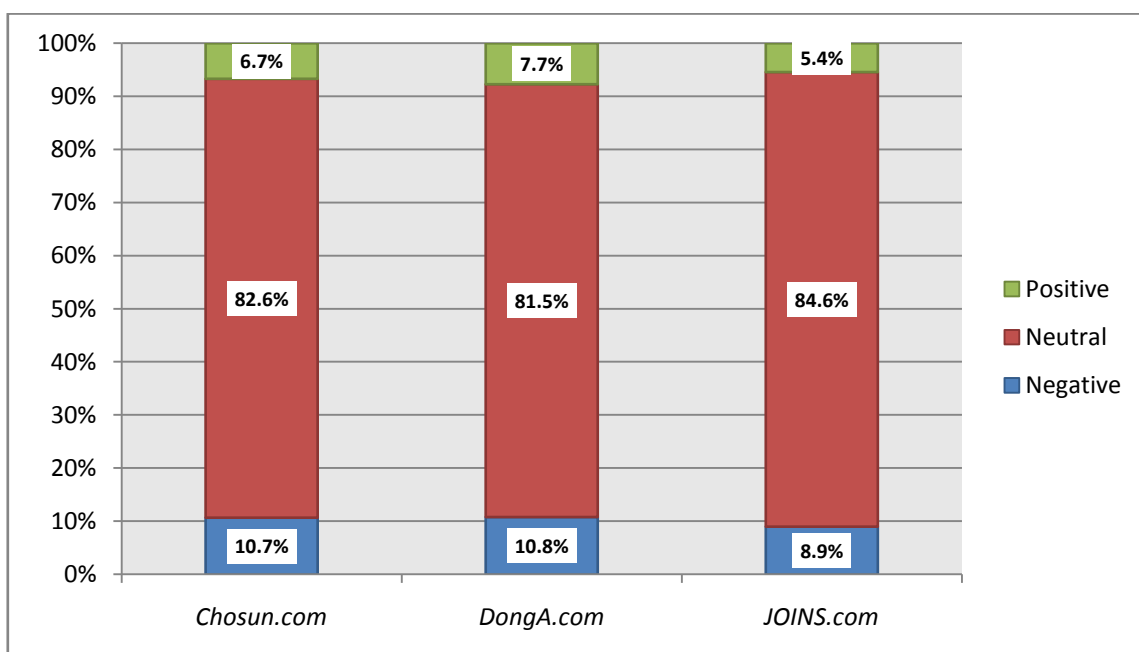
Two common features exist the evaluations patterns between print newspapers and their internet versions. Firstly, most of EU political news items in both versions presented the EU and its actors from a *neutral perspective*. Secondly, both versions had more *negative* news about the EU than *positive* news. *Dong A Ilbo* had more *negative* news and less *positive* news than other two print outlets. Notwithstanding, there were some differences between both versions. For example, the three internet versions had a higher share of *neutral* news than the print newspapers. This could be due to the internet versions' dependence on the *Yonhap News* agency – the agency may source the news from international wires that claim being objective and neutral. It also may be due to the mass production of news items for the internet versions – in this situation a nuanced reportage is impossible.

5.3.6 News Values

This element in the analysis reconstructs the *news values* behind the news items – values that reflect what journalists think audience members find interesting and important [853](Figures 5.17 and 5.18).

Figure 5.17 News Values of EU Political News in Print Newspapers

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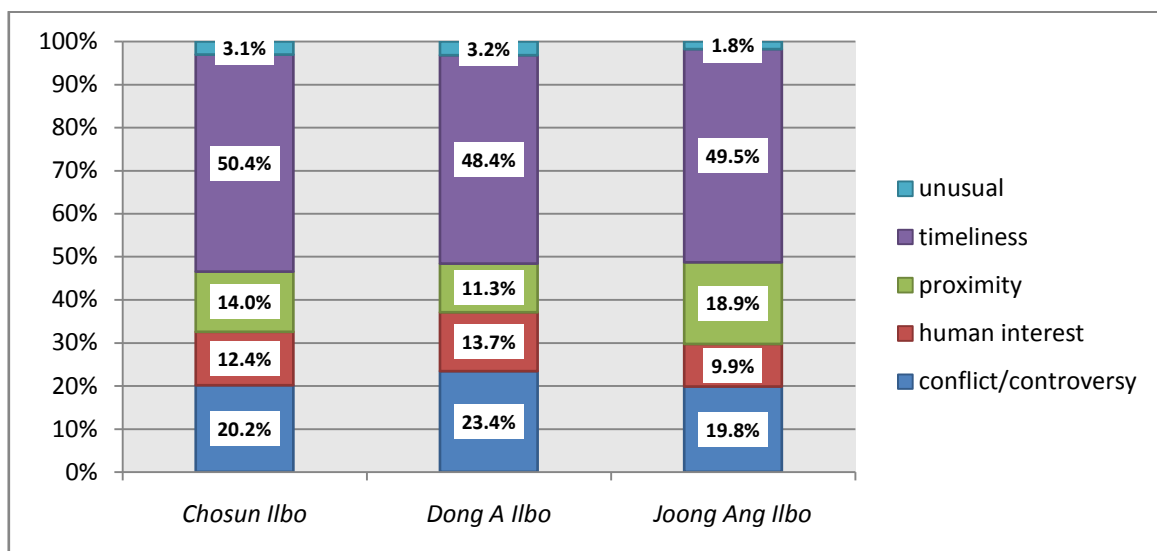
[853] P. Shoemaker and S. Reese, *Mediating The Message*, (NY: Longman, 1996).

Figure 5.18 News Values of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
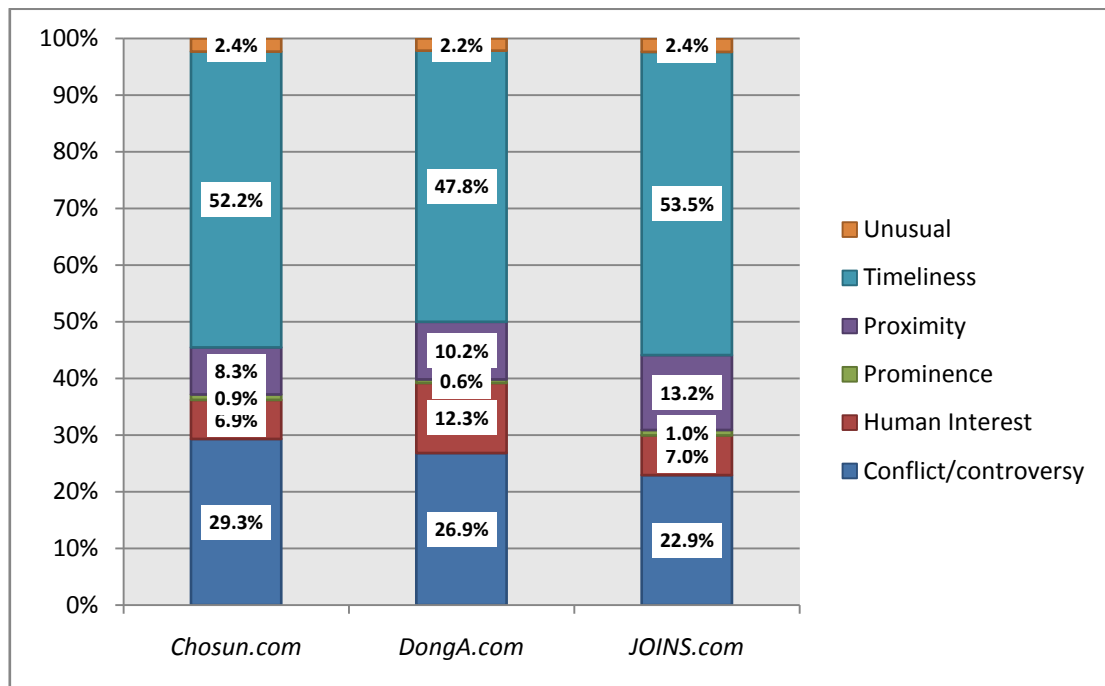
This analysis demonstrates that there a striking similarity in the news values behind EU political news across print newspapers and their internet versions. Roughly half of the news items in both versions profiled the value of *timeliness*. Approximately 25% of the news items profiled *conflict/controversy,* and around 15% of the news items had an element of *proximity*. Finally, 10% in average of the news items included the element of *human interests* and only 2-3 % of the news items had the element of *unusual.*

A closer examination reveals that *Joong Ang Ilbo* had a larger share of articles with the value of *proximity* than other two print outlets while *Dong A Ilbo* had higher proportion of the articles with the values of *human interests* and *conflict/controversy* than other two print outlets. For internet versions, *JOINS.com* had a higher share of the news items with the value of *proximity*. *DongA.com* occupied a percentage higher share of the news items with the value of *human interests* than other two internet versions. *Chosun.com* had the highest share

of articles with *conflict/controversy* among the tree internet versions. In summary, the EU political news items in both versions were underpinned by the values of *timeliness, proximity* and *conflict/controversy*.

5.3.7 Journalistic Attitudes

This section assesses the attitudes and style of EU political news items according to the four categories -- *active-neutral, active-advocate*, *passive-neutral* and *passive-advocate* (Figures 5.19 and 5.20).

Figure 5.19 Journalistic Attitudes Traced in EU Political News in Print Newspapers
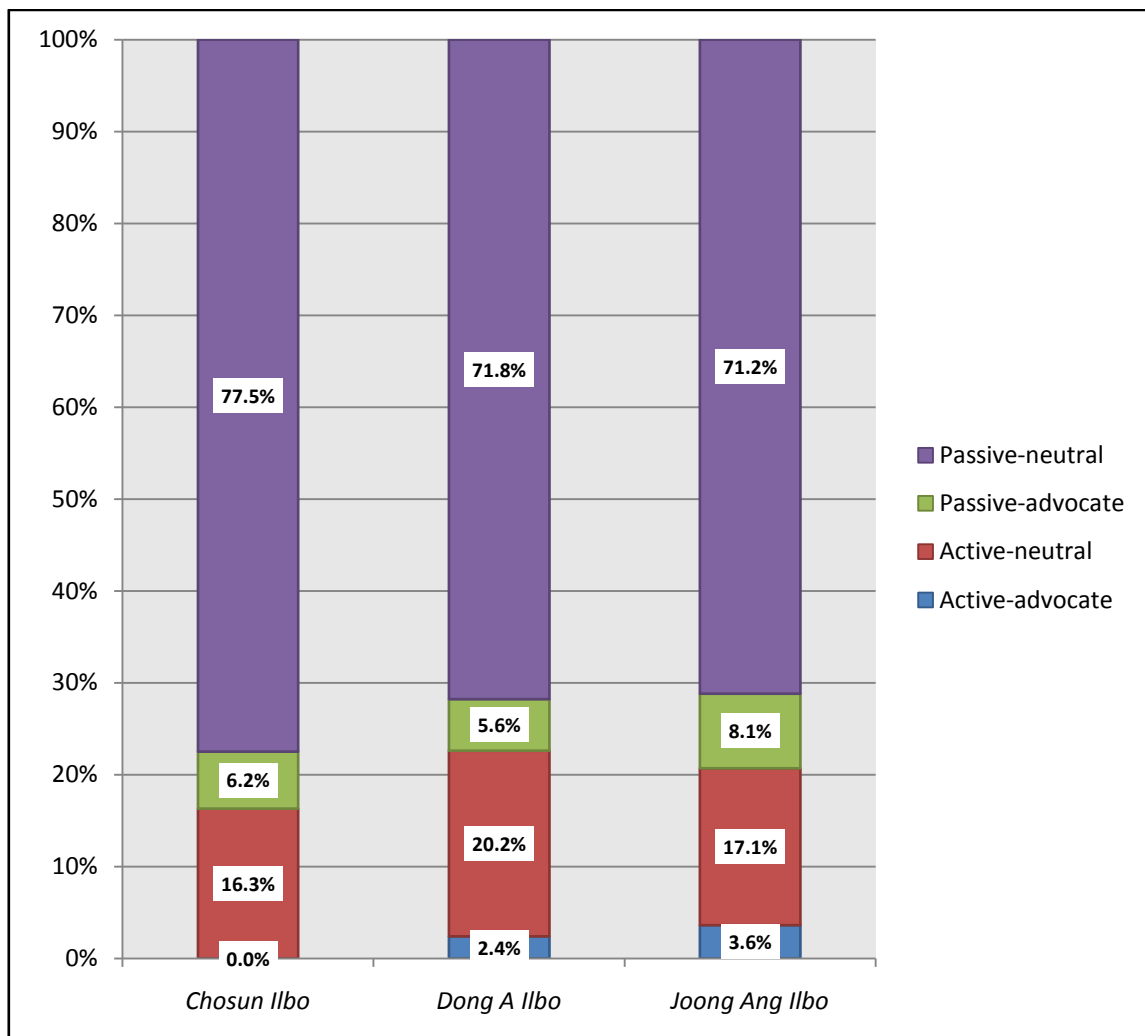
Figure 5.20 Journalistic Attitudes Traced in EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
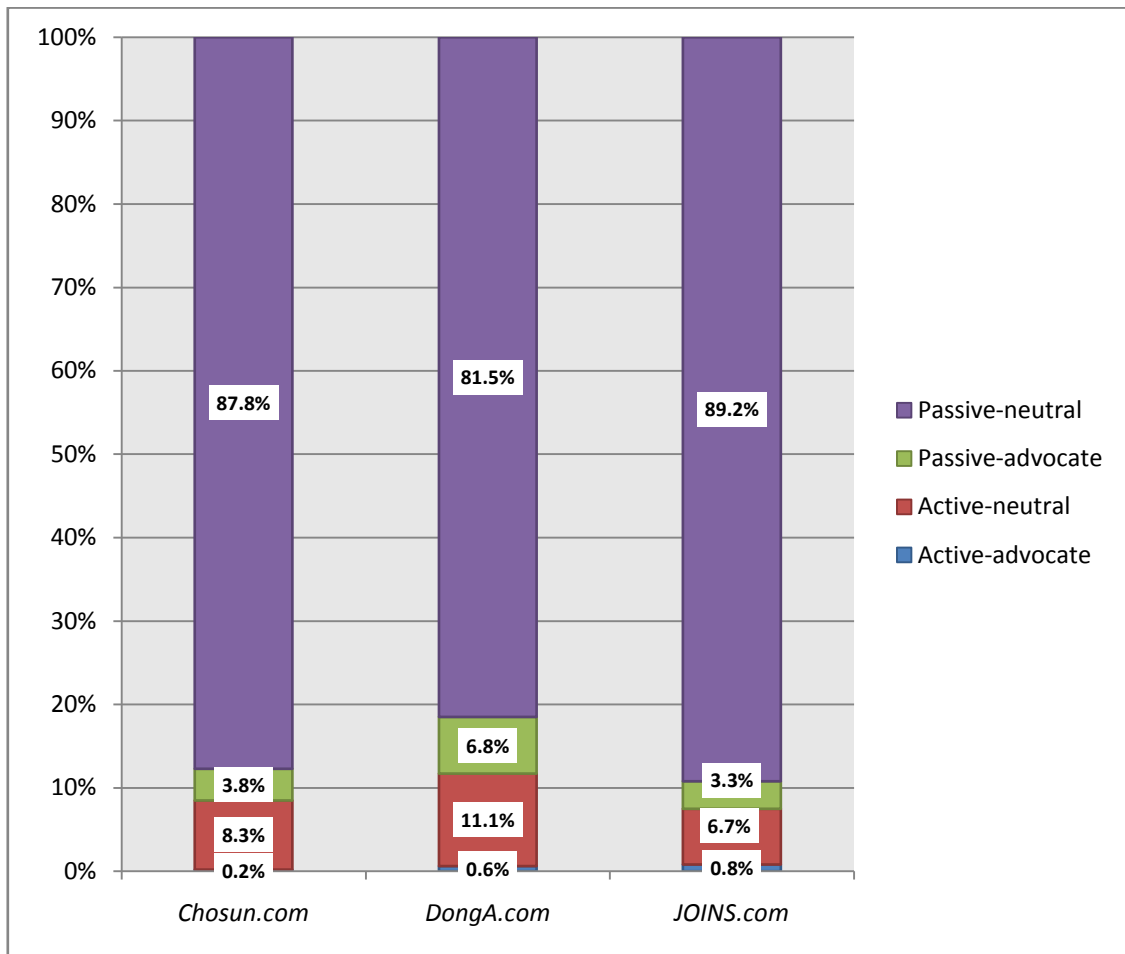
The distribution of identified *journalistic attitudes* among the three print newspapers and their internet versions were similar. *Passive-neutral* was the most noticeable *journalistic attitude* projected in EU political news items. For print newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* featured the highest share of *passive-neutral* items. For internet outlets, *JOINS.com* had the highest share of *passive-neutral* items. The second most visible attitude was *active-neutral* followed by *passive-advocate*, and almost invisible *active-advocate*. All the same, there was some difference between both versions. *Passive-neutral* attitudes were more frequent in the internet versions. To sum up, both internet and print versions focused on delivering the information about EU political affairs without taking a specific stance in interpretation.

5.3.8 Conceptual Metaphors

With the category of information input of the *EU as a political actor*, the news items in print newspapers featured 66 metaphorical expressions. The sample for internet versions revealed 249 instances. This analysis deals with metaphorical expressions according to the report's *focus domesticity*. This thesis found 239 metaphorical expressions in *foreign* angle (44 in print newspapers and 195 in internet editions) and 76 expressions in *domestic* angle (22 in print newspapers and 54 in internet versions). The distribution of these identified metaphorical expressions is in Table 5. 6.

Table 5.6 Distribution of Identified Metaphorical Expressions Describing EU Political Affairs in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

		Foreign Angle		Domestic Angle	
		Number of metaphorical expression	Percentage	Number of metaphorical expression	Percentage
Print Newspapers	*Chosun Ilbo*	18	72.0%	7	28.0%
	DongA Ilbo	15	71.4%	6	28.6%
	Joong Ang Ilbo	11	55.0%	9	45.0%
Internet Versions of Newspapers	*Chosun.com*	87	85.3%	15	14.7%
	DongA.com	40	70.2%	17	29.8%
	JOINS.com	68	75.6%	22	24.4%

Table 5.6 illustrates that metaphorical expressions in *domestic angle* were found less frequently than those in *foreign angle*. Among the print newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* produced most of the metaphorical expressions (25) vis-à-vis *Dong A Ilbo* (21) and *Joong Ang Ilbo* (20). For their internet versions, *Chosun.com* was again the most prolific (102 metaphoric expressions) comparing with 57 in *DongA.com* and 90 in *JOINS.com*.

Working with 315 examples of metaphorical expressions found in EU political news, this section identifies dominant metaphorical categorisations in the news texts of hard copy papers and their internet editions (Table 5.7). [854]

Table 5.7 Distribution of Dominant Metaphors in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers over 2008

	Print Newspapers		Internet Versions of Newspapers	
	Pure Foreign Angle	*Domestic Angle*	*Pure Foreign Angle*	*Domestic Angle*
Human Being	Partner	Supporter	Partner	Supporter
	Mediator		Mediator	Mediator
	Authority		Authority	Argument
	War/conflict			
	Movement			
Artefact/ Nature/ Substances	Final destination		Final destination	

Print newspapers: reporting EU political affairs from a foreign angle

In the news reporting EU political affairs from *a foreign angle,* metaphorical expressions were used to depict EU actions in various conflicts close and far away from its borders. By means of metaphorical expressions, the EU was most visibly compared to *authority*, *partner* and *mediator*. EU actions were conceptually compared to *war and conflict*, as well as *movement*. These metaphors are elaborated below.

Partner

The EU was depicted as Russia's *partner* in coverage of the EU's policy towards Russia. For instance, *Chosun Ilbo* described how the EU and Russia began to discuss extending their

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[854] This thesis cannot quote all metaphoric expressions. It will only provides several representative examples to explaine each conceptual cateogry

198

Partnership and Cooperation Agreement which finished in 2007.[855] In another example, Poland was the only EU Member State that rejected the EU and Russian signed *Partnership and Cooperation Agreement.*[856]

Mediator

The EU was also portrayed as a *mediator* in the conflict in the European region. *Chosun Ilbo* reported how the EU successfully negotiated with Russian President Medvedev about the EU-*mediated* peace settlement between Russia and Georgia.[857] In the presentation, Georgia and its autonomous governments were to become the parties in the Treaty and Russia; the UN and the EU were the *mediators* of this issue. [858] *Dong A Ilbo* also described the EU as *a mediator* in the conflict between Russia and Georgia. Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the EU became *mediators* for this crisis but it could not be resolved easily.[859] Georgian President Saakashvili signed the EU-*mediated* peace settlement.[860] (The EU) succeeded in *mediating* the conflict between Russia and Georgia. [861] *Joong Ang Ilbo* also depicted the EU as *a mediator* in the crisis between Russia and Georgia. The EU urged Russia to negotiate with Georgia.[862] The EU *mediated* between Georgia and Russia by meeting the presidents of the both parties separately.[863]

[855] *Chosun Ilbo*, *EU, Dae Rŏsia Chŏngch'aek nokko bunyŏl*, 29-Jul-08. The sentences in the text of news items were translated by the author of this thesis.
[856] *Chosun Ilbo*, *[Why] 'Sanyanggam Ch'annun P'ut'in… Grujiya Daŭmŭn?* 23-Aug-08.
[857] *Chosun Ilbo*, *Bul Sarkozy 'Oegyoryŏk binnatta,* 14-July-08.
[858] *Chosun Ilbo*, *P'osŏng Mojotjiman…Rŏ. Gŭrujiya 'Bunjaeng Bulssi' Yŏjŏn,* 14-July-08.
[859] *Dong A Ilbo*, *P'ut'in "jŏnjaengŭn sijakdoetta,"* 09-Aug-08.
[860] *Dong A Ilbo*, *Rŏ Gun, Grujiya Yŏngt'oro Jingyŏk…Medvedev "Gunsajakjŏn Wanryo,"* 12-Aug-08.
[861] *Dong A Ilbo*, *Medvedev "Grujiya Gongyŏkjungdan,"* 13-Aug-08.
[862] *Joong Ang Ilbo*, *Rŏsia, Grujiya Giji P'okkyŏk…Sashilsang Chŏnmyŏnjŏn,*09-Aug-08.
[863] *Joong Ang Ilbo*, *Grujiya 'Hangbok'…Rŏsianŭn Chingyŏkgyesok,* 12-Aug-08.

Authority

Print newspapers in the sample portrayed the EU as an authority over the Union's Member States. In *Chosun Ilbo,* the EU and the US *pressed* Swiss banks to reveal confidential information about their customers.[864] In *Dong A Ilbo*, the Swedish government fell into trouble because the EU *pressured* the government to stop monopolising liquor and gambling businesses.[865]

War/conflict

When describing the EU's political affairs, *Chosun Ilbo* also used metaphors related to *war*, or *conflict*. It seems that the EU always *struggles* to truly be "[u]nited in diversity."[866] Further, the EU Member States were depicted as dogs *fighting* in a puddle.[867] *Dong A Ilbo* also used *conflict* metaphors to describe the situation in the EU and its neighbour. Within the EU, Old Europe and New Europe *opposed each other* over the discussion about the *conflict* between Russia and Georgia.[868] This paper also portrays the EU as *a rival* with Russia.[869]

Movement

Print newspapers employed *movement* metaphors for depicting the political problems of the EU and its neighbouring countries. *Chosun Ilbo* states that the EU was successful in terms of economic and political unity but it *met an unexpected obstacle* called referenda.[870] *Joong Ang Ilbo* mentioned that the EU *will stop* Russia's hegemony in Europe.[871]

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[864] *Chosun Ilbo*, "*Sŭwisŭ ŭn bimilgŭmgo Yŏlŏra" EU•Mi "Gogaekjŏngbo Bimilyujibŏp P'yejirŭl" Gŏsen Apbak*, 22-May-08.
[865] *Dong A Ilbo*, *Sweden, Sul Kajino 'Jokswoe' P'ulkka*, 05-Aug-08.
[866] *Chosun Ilbo*, *EU Chidobu Gungijapgi Nasŏn Sarkozy*, 14-July-08.
[867] Ibid.
[868] *Dong A Ilbo*, '*Yet yurŏp Sae yurŏp Galasŏna*,19-Aug-08. According to the text, Old Europe refers to 15 old EU Member States and New Europe refers to 10 new EU Member States joined in 2004.
[869] *Dong A Ilbo*, *EU "Oil wise Rŏsia Gildŭrija"*, 27-May-08; and, *Donga Ilbo*, *"Mi Dokju Andwe" BRICS 4guk Mungch'ŏtda*, 28-May-08.
[870] *Chosun Ilbo*, [*Manmulsang*] *Amch'o mannan Yurŏp T'onghap*,16-Jun-08.
[871] *Joong Ang Ilbo*, [*Haewekalŏm*] yur*ŏbŭn Rŏsiae bunmyŏnghan Mesiji boyŏjoya*, 09-Sep-08.

Final Destination

The EU was also portrayed as a *final destination* for its neighbouring countries. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* stated "*...joining* the EU is a desire of Turkish people."[872] Ukraine struggled to *enter* into the EU.[873] Georgian President Saakashvili had been solely focused on *joining* to NATO and the EU.[874] *Joong Ang Ilbo* also depicted the EU as *a final destination* for Georgia.[875]

Print newspapers: reporting EU political affairs from a domestic angle

In opposition to the metaphors in the reportage of the EU from a *foreign angle*, EU news items in the *domestic angle* had a relatively small number of metaphorical expressions. The prominent metaphor of *supporter* describes the EU as a helpful political partner for Korea and its surrounding region. For example, Poland will use the EU's investment in Poland to *support* Korea.[876] The EU is ready to offer financial *support* for Chinese people in the Sichuan area.[877] The US, the EU and Japan are ready *to help* Chinese victims of the Sichuan earthquake.[878] . As in the case of a *foreign angle news*, in political news the metaphors in *domestic angle* are also likely to project positive representations of the EU.

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[872] *Chosun Ilbo, T'ŏk'i Isŭllam+Jabonjuŭi' Sŏnggong Modello,* 08-Aug-08.
[873] *Chosun Ilbo, [Why] 'Sanyanggam' Ch'atnŭn P'utin…Grujiya Daŭmŭn?* 23-Aug-08; and, *Chosun Ilbo, [Why] 'IMF Sanghwang' Shilgammotanŭn Ukraina… "Jŏngch'i ga gyŏngjerŭl mangch'ŏtda,"* 01-Nov-08.
[874] *Dong A Ilbo, P'iranmindŭl "Ch'ongsŏng dŏpin gŏrie minganin sisin naduingurŏ" nunmul,* 11-Aug-08.
[875] *Joong Ang Ilbo, [Holbruk Kalŏm] Grujiya Sat'aee Gunggŭkjŏk Haebŏpŭn,* 05-Sep-08
[876] *Chosun Ilbo,"P'olandŭdo Daeryangsalsangmugi Bangji Jŏkkŭk Ch'amyŏ,"* 07-Oct-08.
[877] *Chosun Ilbo, Samang, Maemol 4manmyŏng Nŏmŏ Sinhwat'ongshin dŭng Hyŏnji ŏnron "Gotgot Such'ŏnmyŏngssik Mutch'ŏ,* 14- May-08.
[878] *Joong Ang Ilbo, Mi, Il, EU "Dowum Yo Ch'ŏng Ttan Chŭksi Jiwŏn,"* 13-May-08.

Internet versions: reporting EU political affairs from a foreign angle

In contrast to metaphorical expressions found in the print newspapers, there were no metaphors of *movement* or *war/conflict* metaphors in the texts of internet versions. However, metaphors of *partner* and *mediator* were frequently used by the internet versions to describe the EU's peace-building efforts in European region. This was found in the print papers, but internet versions also included Africa and the Middle East. In print newspapers, metaphorical expressions portrayed the EU as a *final destination* for Ukraine and Georgia. In internet versions, metaphorical expressions depicted the EU as a *final destination* for Bosnia, Croatia, Georgia, Serbia and Ukraine. Print newspapers used the metaphor of *authority*, to describe the EU's political influences upon European countries. In contrast, the internet versions showed the EU's political influences on a wider world such as Africa (Zimbabwe), Asia (Myanmar) and Europe (Georgia) and the EU's global cooperation with the US. In summary, internet versions used a limited number of metaphorical categorisations to describe a wider geography of the EU's political actions. This was possible due to the substantially higher volume of news hosted by the internet medium.

Partner

Like print newspapers, their internet editions portrayed the EU as a *partner*. According to *Chosun.com*, the EU tried to extend *Partnership* and Cooperation Agreement between the EU and Russia.[879] This internet version depicted the EU as a strategic *partner* of Russia.[880]

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[879] *Chosun.com, EU, Dae Rŏsia Jŏngch'aengnotko 'Bunyŏl,'* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/07/29/2008072900040.html (retrieved on 16 December 2010).
[880] *Chosun.com, [Why] 'Sanyanggam' Ch'atnŭn P'ut'in…Grujiya Daŭmŭn?*
http://issue.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/25/2008082500330.html (retrieved on 13 August 2008).

President Barroso mentioned in the article of this internet version "(I) expect that the US and the EU can *cooperate* in order to pursue New Deal Policy."[881]

Mediator

The metaphor of *mediator* was also dominant across the three internet editions, especially in the coverage of the Russo-Georgian War. In *Chosun.com,* the EU *urged* Georgia *to negotiate* with Russia.[882] Russia and Georgia *were agreed to stop the conflict* based on EU-mediated peace settlement.[883] In *DongA.com* the reports mentioned, "On 9th August, the EU and the US went to Georgia to *mediate* the conflict";[884] "The EU's effort to *mediate* between Russia and Georgia is expected to be successful."[885] In contrast to the print newspapers, the internet versions also described the EU as a mediator in other regions (Africa or Middle East). For example, the EU *suggested the permanent armistice* to Israel and Hamas.[886] *DongA.com* also portrayed the EU as *a mediator* in other countries. "The political parties of the Kenyan government finally came to an agreement due to *the mediation* of the US and the EU."[887] Both Israel and Hamas will consider committing to an EU-*mediated* permanent armistice.[888]

Authority

Both versions of newspapers used *authority* metaphors to describe the EU in political affairs. In *Chosun.com*, the EU, the US and the UK *warned* Zimbabwe of economic restrictions but this warning seemed to be ineffective in modifying the behaviour of the Zimbabwe

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[881] *Chosun.com, [Mi Saech;ulbal]* ③ *Kyŏngje…'Obamanomiks' Jumok,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/11/06/2008110600119.html (retrieved on 18 November, 2008).

[882] *Chosun.com, Ch'oeak Sinarioro Bŏnjin Grujiya Sat'ae.* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/08/2008080801468.html (retrieved on 19 August 2008).

[883] *Chosun.com*, *Grujiya Sat'ae Handal...Hwayak Yŏnginŭn Sagŭrŏjyŏtjiman,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/07/2008090700252.html (retrieved on 16 November 2008).

[884] *DongA.com*, *Grujiya Jŏnjaeng, Rŏsia Ch'onggongsee Jŏljŏng Ch'idala,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080810/8614558/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[885] *DongA.com*, *Medvedev"Grujiya Gonggyŏk Jungdan,"* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080813/8616264/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[886] *Chosun.com, Israel 'Hyujŏninya, Jisangjŏninya' Gomin,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/12/31/2008123101051.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[887] *DongA.com*, *[2008 Segyebodosajinjŏn] Daesŏn Bujŏngsibi…Hondone Kenya*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20081229/8677201/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[888] *DongA.com*, *Israel'hyujŏninya, Jisangjŏninya' Gomin,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20081231/8678549/1 (retrieved the 28 October 2010).

government.[889] In another article, the EU *warned* "...if Russia continues its military actions, its relation with the Union will be affected."[890] The US and the EU *warned* about Russia's rigged election.[891] The EU *warned* that Myanmar would have to clearly explain about Aung San Suu Kyi's house arrest in order to realise its democracy.[892] *DongA.com* reported that the EU *pressed* Russia to open its energy market before its accession of WTO.[893] In addition, this internet version commented that Russia and China could *prevent* the US and the EU's leading role in the world.[894] Another example found in the same internet version, which wrote "The EU will *investigate* Russia's offence of international law continuously."[895] In *JOINS.com*, the US and the EU *imposed restrictions* on the Myanmar government to urge its democratisation.[896] In another article, the US and the EU *warned* of significant harmful impacts upon Thailand's economy and international credibility due to the occupation of the airport by massed protestors.[897]

Final Destination

In internet versions, the EU was also portrayed as *a final destination* to some neighbouring countries. All three internet versions depicted the EU as *a final destination* for Georgia.[898]

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[889] *Chosun.com*, *Jimbabwe Sat'ae, Ch'ulguga Anboinda*,http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/23/2008062300280.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

[890] *Chosun.com*, *EU gingŭp Oemujanggwanhoeŭi Sojip…Grujiya Nonŭi*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/10/2008081000041.html(retrieved on 15 October 2010).

[891] *Chosun.com*, *Rŏ, Gongsandang, Ch;ongsŏn Muhyo Sosong Jegi*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/28/2008052801208.html(retrieved on 16 November 2008).

[892] *Chosun.com*, *Miyanma Gunjŏnge Such'i Yŏsa Yŏngŭmyŏnjange Binan Swaedo*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/28/2008052800655.html (retrieved on 16 November 2008).

[893] *DongA.com*, *EU "Oil Wise Rŏsia Gildŭrija" EU*," http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080527/8582721/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[894] *DongA.com*, *Mi Dokju Andoe" BRICS 4gugi mungch'otda* "http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080528/8583276/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[895] *DongA.com*, *Bul Woegyojanggwan, "Rŏsia, Gukjebŏp Wiban,"* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080827/8623394/1(retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[896] *JOINS.com*, *Miyanma Gas Such'ul Gŭpjŭng…Gyŏngjejejae Musaek*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?ctg=13&Total_ID=3104872 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[897] *JOINS.com*, *[Saengsaeng World] Gŭkdoe Chŏngjŏngburan, T'aeguk Hyŏnjisanghwang Choi Hyŏnggyu Joong Ang Ilbo T'ŭkp'awŏne Dŭtnŭnda*, http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3405062 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[898] *Chosun.com*, *Grujiyajŏnŭro CIS bunyŏlhana*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/14/2008081401261.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010); *DongA.com*, *3man5000 Byŏngnyŏgŭro Rŏsiae Matsŏn Sakashubili nŭn nugu*, http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200808090164 (retrieved on 09 August, 2008); and, *JOINS.com,[Holbruk Kalŏm] Grujiya Sat'aee Gunggŭkjŏk Haebŏpŭn*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3287060&cloc=olink|article|default (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

However, *Chosun.com* and *DongA.com* described the EU as the *destination* for Serbia.[899] *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* depicted the EU as *a final destination* for Croatia. [900] Furthermore, *Chosun.com* described that Ukraine wants to arrive towards the EU as *a final destination*.[901] It mentioned that Bosnia took a step towards reaching the *destination* of becoming EU Member State.[902]

Internet versions: reporting EU political affairs from a domestic angle

In comparison to the metaphors in a *foreign angle* of internet versions, EU political news items in a *domestic angle* featured a smaller number of conceptual metaphors. However, compared with metaphors found in the print newspapers in the same angle, this thesis found more diverse metaphors in the internet versions. For example, the internet versions employed the metaphors of *mediator* and *argument* to illustrate the EU's ability and will to conduct peacekeeping activities in the articles about negotiations between North and South Koreas and those between Tibet and China.

Supporter

Similar to the print newspapers, the newsmakers of internet editions also used the metaphor *supporter* in order to describe the EU's political action in Korea's region. *Chosun.com* described the EU as *a supporter* for liberation of Tibet.[903] This version also portrayed that the

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[899] *Chosun.com*, *"Anae Ppyamjomttaerimyŏn Ŏttae"…Serŭbia Mach'ojuŭi Manyŏn*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/08/07/2008080701257.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010); and, *Donga.com* "*Anae Ppyamjomttaerimyŏn Ŏttae"…Serŭbia Mach'ojuŭi Manyŏn*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080807/8613481/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[900] *Chosun.com*, *K'ŭroat'ia, 'Map'iawae Jŏnjaeng Shijak*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/10/30/2008103000560.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).;and, *JOINS.com, K'ŭroat'ia, 'Map'iawae Jŏnjaeng Shijak*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3358786&cloc=rss|news|society (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

[901] *Chosun.com*, *Ukŭraina Ch'ongri "Naega Rŏsia wa Hanp'aerago?"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/08/2008090801443.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

[902] *Chosun.com, Bosŭnia Chŏnbŏm Karajich'i Ch'ep'o Segye Banŭng,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/07/22/2008072200473.html (retrieved on 22 July 2008).

[903] *Chosun.com, Samang, Maemol 4 Manmyŏng Nŏmŏ,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/14/2008051400105.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

EU *supported* a security of Middle East.[904] *DongA.com* also depicted the EU as *a supporter* of Tibet.[905]

Mediator

Chosun.com and *DongA.com* used the metaphor of *mediator* in the *domestic angle* in order to describe the EU as *a mediator* for the peaceful negotiation between the two Koreas. "The EU will be expected a good *mediator* in six-party talks;"[906] or "The Korean government expects the EU's proactive *mediation* in six-party talks." [907]

Argument

In the domestic angle, the EU was sometimes described as a rival to China, sometimes as a critic of China's arms exports to Africa and its infringement of human rights. For example, *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* stated that the EU *strongly objects* to the Chinese government's injustice execution of [the Chinese scientist] Wo Weihan.[908] From, *DongA.com*, "...the EU *criticises* the Chinese government's supports to an "oppressive" African government in terms of selling arms."[909]

To sum up, in the *foreign angle*, both versions activated metaphorical categorisations to describe the EU's peacekeeping efforts. Yet, in contrast to the print newspapers, the internet versions used the metaphorical expressions to portray the EU as a protecting authority and

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[904] *Chosun.com*, *Chungdong P'yonghwa 4jahoedam Gajajigu Munje Nonŭi*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/24/2008062401254.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[905] *DongA.com, Chungguk Gangjin Imojŏmo*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080516/8578912/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[906]*Chosun.com*, *Yi Dangsŏnin 'Bukaekhaegyŏl EU Yŏkallon' Baegyŏnggwa Chŏnmang*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/02/2008020200388.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[907] *DongA.com "Bukaekhaegyŏl EU Yŏkal Gidae" Yi Dangsŏnin, Bul Josŭpaeng Chŏn Ch'ongni Manna*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080213/8543533/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[908] *Chosun.com, Chunggugin Gwahakja Sŏp'ai Hyŏmŭi Ch'ŏhyŏnge Binan, Swoedo*http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/11/29/2008112900189.html (retrieved on 29 November 2008); and, *JOINS.com, Chunggukin Gwahakja Sŭp'ai Hyŏmŭi Ch'ŏhyŏnge Binan Swoedo,* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3397890 (retrieved on 29 November 2008).
[909] *DongA.com,Yurŏbŭihoe 'Chung Binan Kyŏrŭian,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080425/8571335/1(retrieved on 25 April 2008).

power for justice in global politics. In the *domestic angle*, both versions used metaphors to depict the EU as a *supporter* of its cooperation with Korea and its region. In contrast to the print newspapers, the internet versions employed metaphors to describe the EU as a *mediator* and a protector of justice in Korea's region. Arguably, the dominant metaphorical categorisations of EU political actions found in the print and internet editions presented the images of the EU as a supportive peace-building power who avoid using military force.

5.4 Visual Representations

5.4.1 Representational Meta-function

So far, this chapter has investigated representations of the EU as a political actor in the verbal element of the EU-related news items of print newspapers and their internet versions. However, the EU's images are also shaped by visual means. The sample of EU political news items from the three print newspapers accounted for 85 visual images and the three internet versions had 85 visual images. Among print newspapers from the sample, *Chosun Ilbo* had the largest number of visual images (34). *Dong A Ilbo* had 26 images and *Joong Ang Ilbo* had 25. For the internet versions, *Chosun.com* again had the largest number of visual images (32). *JOINS.com* (27) had more visual images than *DongA.com* (26).

The first part of the visual analysis looks into the *representational meta-function* and assessed what *people*, *places* and *things* are depicted to represent the EU's political affairs (Figures 5.21 and 5.22).

Figure 5.21 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Print Newspapers

People
- a group of people: 40
- a male person: 33
- Soldiers: 3
- male and female together: 4
- a female person: 3
- not appeared: 2
- 0

Places
- urban street: 25
- interview room: 10
- conference room: 6
- battlefield: 3
- parliament: 2
- no background: 39
- 0

Things
- EU or MS flags: 5
- twelve yellow stars on eiffel tower: 1
- A round rock with twelve stars: 1
- not appeared: 78

number of items

Figure 5.22 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers

People
- a male person: 36
- a group of people: 33
- male and female together: 4
- a female person: 3
- soldiers: 3
- not appeared: 6
- 0

Places
- urban street: 22
- interview room: 7
- conference room: 4
- battlefield: 2
- no background: 50
- 0

Things
- EU or MS flags: 7
- banner: 4
- not appeared: 74

number of items

208

There were some common features between the visual means in the print newspapers and their internet versions. In the element of *people*, *a group of people* and *a male person* were the two most visible representatives of the EU. *Urban streets*, *interview rooms*, *conference* or *press room* and *battlefield* were the four most visible scenes for the EU political actions in both print newspapers and their internet versions in the element of *places* of this meta-function. The *things* element in this meta-function shows that *flags* of the EU and its Member States were the main objects linked the EU in the print and internet versions

A closer examination highlighted some differences between the print newspapers and their internet versions. In the element of *people*, both versions had different most visible participants. For the print newspapers, *a group of people* was the most visible in visual images. In a picture portraying *a group of people*, the participants typically included a mix of the leaders of different non-EU countries (such as China and the US) and some leaders of EU Member States. These visual images may convey the message that the EU cooperated with other global counterparts in the political field. In contrast, in the internet versions, *a male person* was the most noticeable representative of the EU. This arguably depicts the EU as a strong masculine international counterpart. The most visible EU politician was the former French President Nicolas Sarkozy: he appeared 19 times in the print newspapers and 18 times in their internet versions (Figures 5.13 and 5.14 also reported that President Sarkozy was the most visible EU Member State official in linguistic texts of EU-related political news). A more detailed analysis of these images follows below.

In the element of *places*, the print newspapers had one additional location: *parliament*. This setting arguably sends a message about the EU as a democratic political actor. In the element of *things*, the print newspapers profiled a more diverse set of object depicted (e.g. Member

State flags, twelve yellow stars on Eiffel Tower and the twelve stars on a rock). In contrast, their internet versions had a more limited set of images in this category (e.g. Member State flags and banners).

5.4.2 Interactive Meta-function

Jewitt and Oyama contend that "images can create particular relations between viewers and the world inside the picture frame."[910] If we take this into account, the visual images of the EU in the print newspapers and their internet versions will lead to interaction with the news audiences. The second part of visual analysis, *interactive meta-functions*, concentrates on illustrating the implied interaction between the visual images of the EU in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions and the audiences (Figures 5.23 and 5.24).

Figure 5.23 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Print Newspapers

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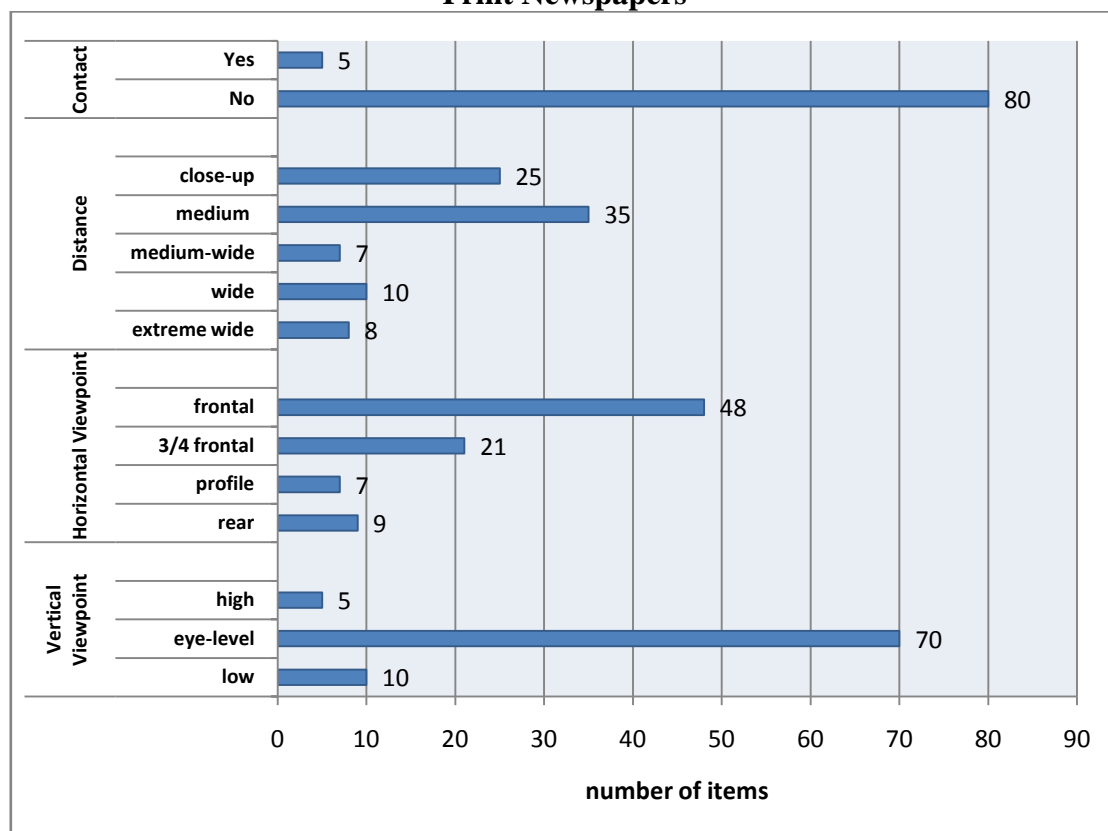
[910] C. Jewitt and R. Oyama, "Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach," In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, edited by T. van Leeuwen and Carrey Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2002), 145.

Figure 5.24 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
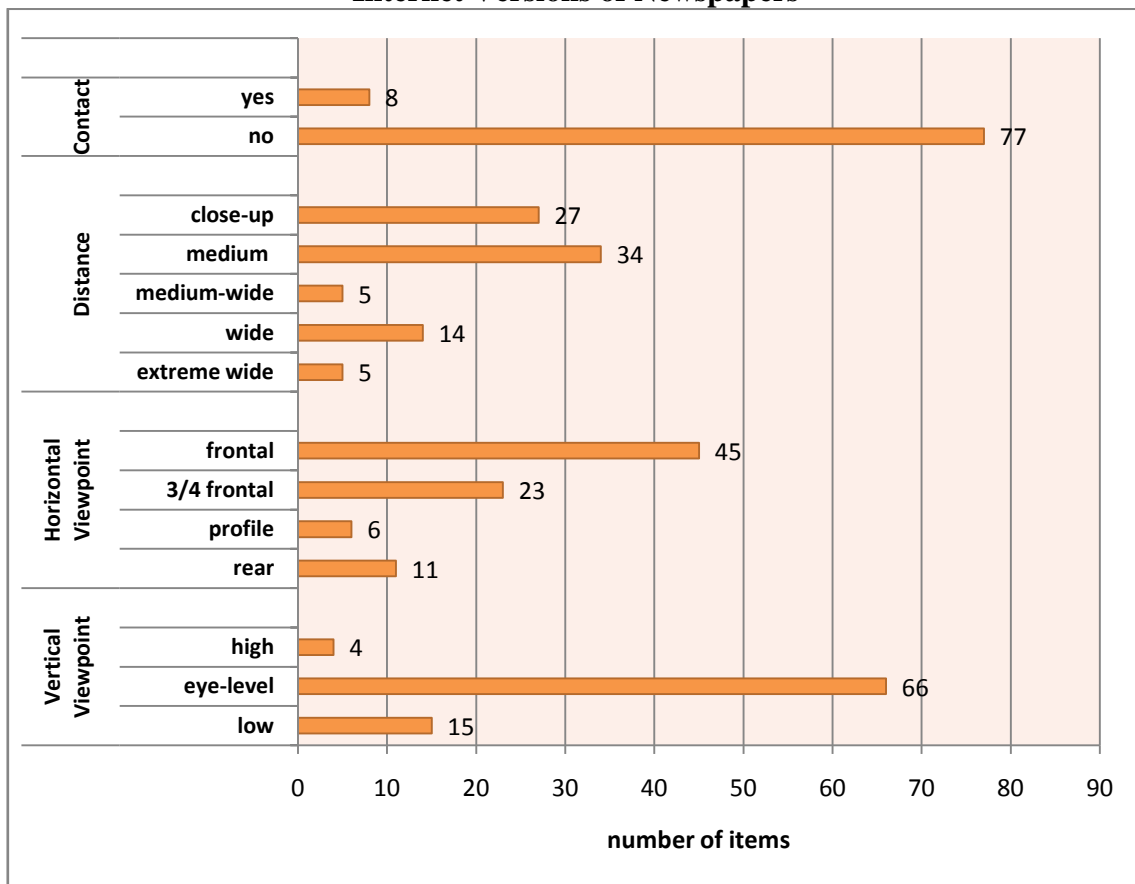
The comparison of print newspapers and their internet versions reveals striking similarities. The element of *contact* assesses the people who made eye contact with the viewers from inside the picture frame. These kinds of visual images are called demand pictures. However, approximately 80% of the visual images of *the EU as political actor* in print newspapers and their internet versions did not feature direct eye contact with the viewers. The prevalence of non-demanding pictures in the news items may render a message that the EU as a political actor is not demanding anything from the Korean partners.

Analysis of the *distance* element revealed that roughly 60% of EU visual images in political news in both versions were *close-up* and *medium* shots. As mentioned above, these angles

represent a closer social distance with the viewers. As such, these dominant settings may send a message to the readers that for Korea the EU is a friendly international political counterpart.

The last element, *viewpoint*, assesses how the images of the EU draw the attention of the audiences. In *horizontal viewpoint*, Van Leeuwen and Jewitt's work on visual analysis points out that the visual images with a *frontal* angle are the most effective at attracting the viewers' attention.[911] In *vertical viewpoint*, it has been asserted that *high* angle can make the depicted person look childlike, and *low* angle can make the portrayed person look bigger and stronger.[912] Most visual images of the EU in print newspapers and their internet versions were taken with *frontal* (*3/4 frontal*) and *eye-level* angles. Examination of the *horizontal viewpoint* shows that the visual images of the EU as a political actor drew the viewers' attentions to some degree. As discussed earlier, most images accompanying EU political news were not-demanding pictures. Yet, if the photos were taken from a *frontal* angle, this perspective may reinforce insufficient demanding functions of these images. Assessment of the *vertical viewpoint* showed that the visual images rendered an impression of friendliness on behalf of the depicted EU actor. Nevertheless, both versions had more images taken from a *low* rather than a *high* angle. As such, images in the both versions were more likely to make the EU look bigger and stronger. In summary, analysis of the EU's visual images from an *interactive meta-function* perspective revealed that the EU was portrayed as a high-profile and friendly political actor in the sample studied.

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[911]T.van Leeuwen and C. Jewitt, eds., *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, (London: Sage, 2002).
[912] Element of Cinematography, the Advanced Computing Center for Arts and Design, Ohio State University, http://accad.osu.edu/~midori/Materials/camera.html (retrieved on 25 June 2010).

5.4.3 Compositional Meta-function

The last part of visual analysis, *compositional meta-function*, investigates how visual images were presented interacting with the verbal texts of EU-related political news items (Figures 5.25 and 5.26).

Figure 5.25 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Print Newspapers
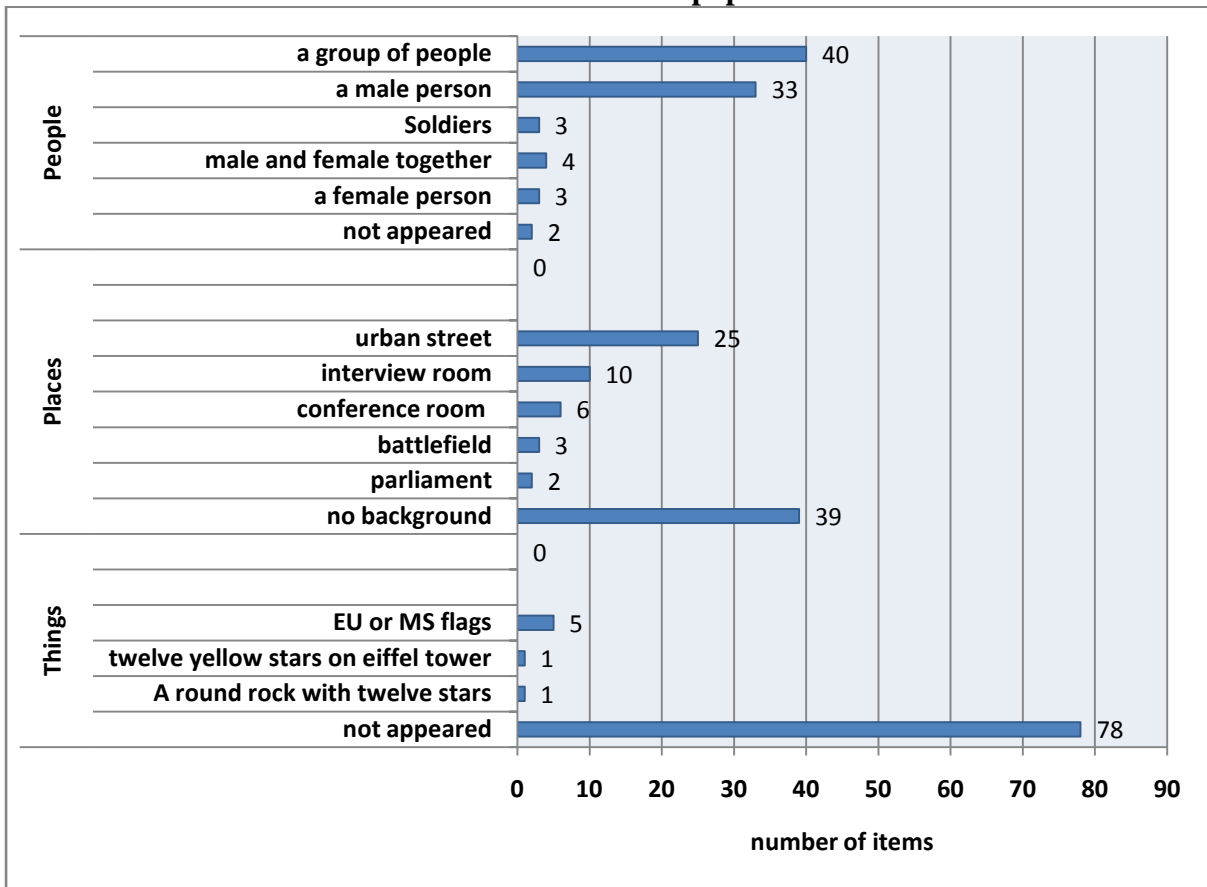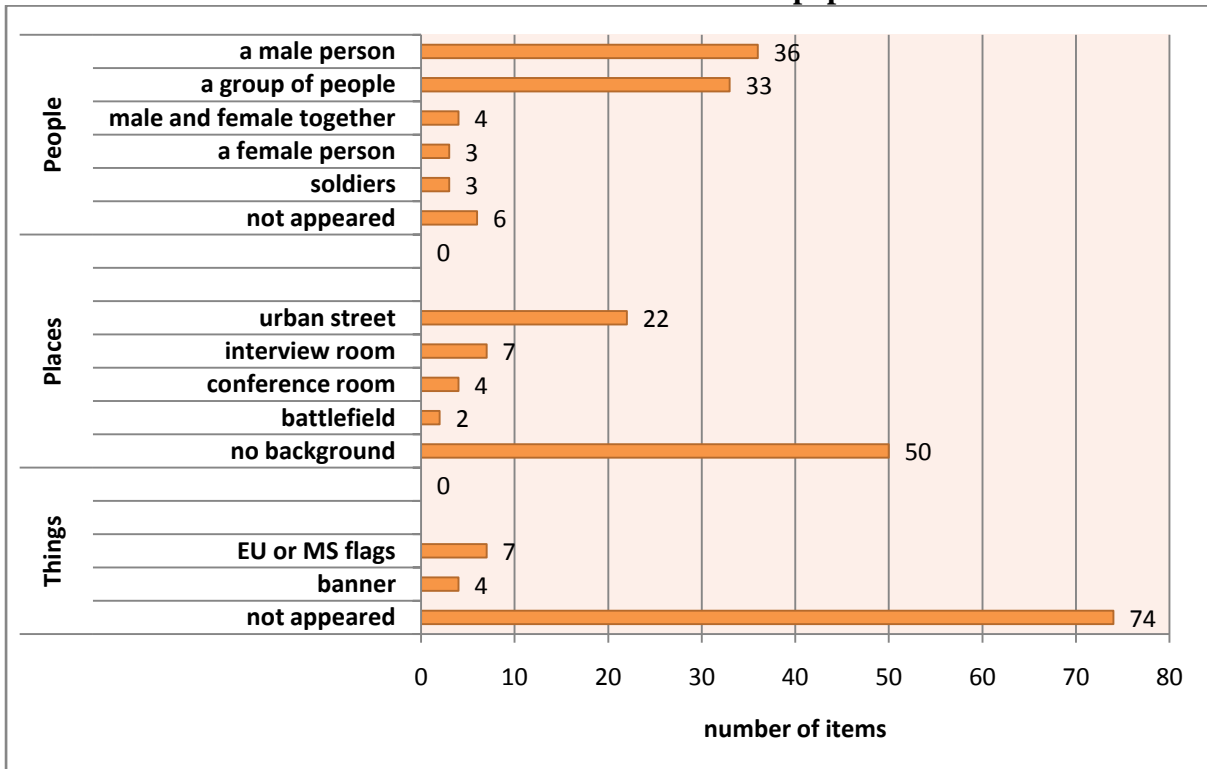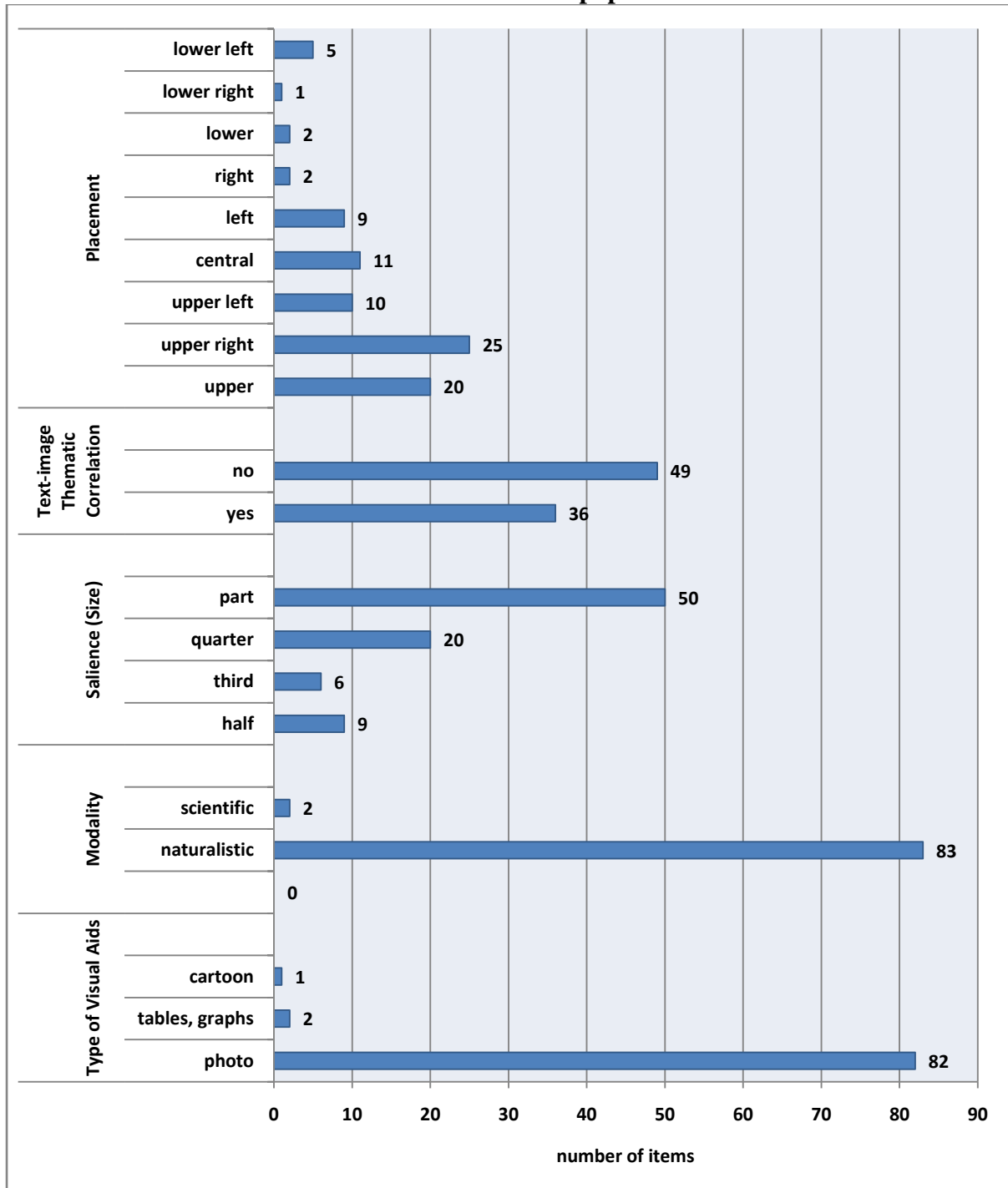
Figure 5.26 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Political News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
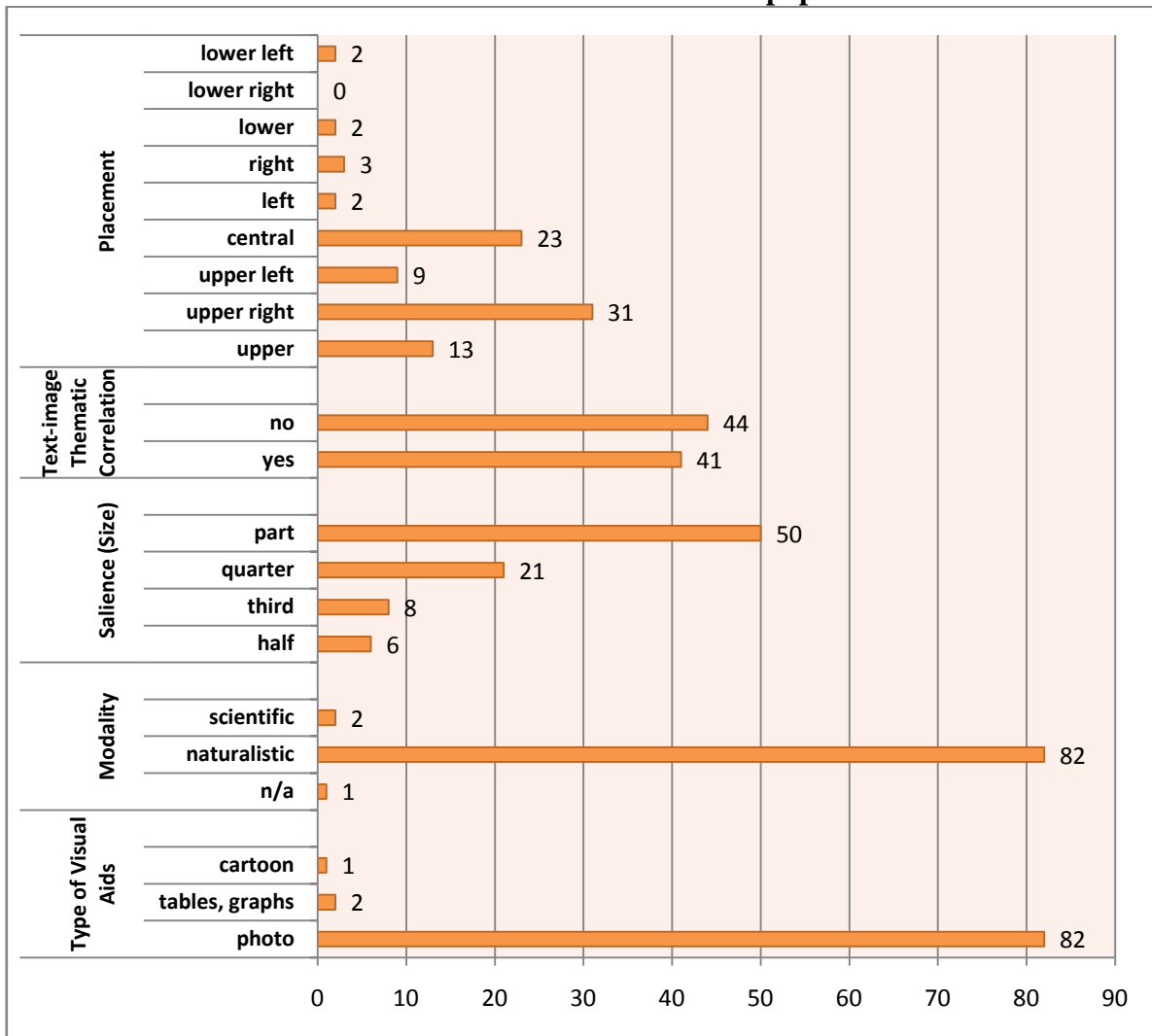
There is a striking similarity between both versions. The *placement* element illustrates the information value of the visual images by revealing the "given-new" and "real-ideal" structures of these images. Looking at the "given-new" structure, the number of visual images of the EU and its actors placed in the *left*-hand position was outnumbered by those placed in the *right*-hand position in print newspapers and their internet versions. This may mean that the visual images of EU political news items present EU political issues as new information rather than common sense. Looking at the "ideal-real" structure, about 70% of

the visual images of the both versions were placed in the *upper* position. This might imply that EU-related political issues are presented as unknown issues.

The element of *text-image thematic correlation* assesses the thematic match between verbal and visual images. A match would mean a less confusing and more articulate media message about the EU's political activities. For the print newspapers, 43.7% of visual images had a thematic match with the verbal texts they accompanied. For internet versions, 48.3% of visual images matched thematically the verbal texts. This finding suggests that the combined intertextual message on the EU's political activities may be confusing for readers.

As described in the preceding Methodology chapter, this thesis assesses the element of *salience by* measuring whether the visual images occupied half, third, quarter or part areas of the whole area of the specific article. The results show that more than half of the visual images -- 55.2% in the print newspapers and 59.8% in the internet versions -- occupied smaller than a *quarter* of the whole area of the articles. This suggests that in general the visual means did not render the idea of the EU as a salient political actor.

Finally, this chapter explored which *types of visual aids* were used in the both versions and what *modality* surfaced accordingly. Figures 5.25 and 5.26 illustrate that both versions used photographs to represent EU political affairs. Both versions also employed *tables* and *graphs* as well as *cartoons* as other types of visual aids. Yet, those were less frequent. As mentioned above, the internet versions used *video* as a visual aid accompanying EU political news. Video content is not analysed in this thesis. Most visual images of the EU as a political actor in the both versions had a *naturalistic* modality. This modality was rendered by the photographs of people both EU citizens and politicians.

5.5 Conclusion

In the last fifty years of EU-Korea political relations the two parties have continued to cooperate through several channels in supporting peace-building on the Korean peninsula and in overcoming the global crises they both faced. The nature of EU-Korea political interactions means that the EU might be represented by the national reputable press and their internet editions in Korea both as a peacekeeper and as Korea's internationally recognised political interlocutor.

Analysis of the *formal characteristics* showed that *Chosun Ilbo* and its internet edition *Chosun.com* were the leaders in the coverage of EU political affairs. In all newspapers and their internet versions, the 'peak' months of EU political news coverage in the both versions reported the EU's negotiations for ceasing conflicts among its neighbouring nations (such as Kosovo and Georgia). Reputable Korean news sources emphasised the EU's mediating roles in these conflict situations. Both versions of the three leading papers relied heavily on domestic news sources. The print newspapers use their own locally-based journalists and foreign correspondents based in Europe. In contrast, the internet versions of the three papers relied almost exclusively on one news agent: *Yonhap News*. As discussed above, *Yonhap News* practices translating the news from international wires, which means that international sources do feed into Korean news on the EU. Future research could assess the sources of news for *Yonhap News*. This is not addressed by this investigation. Unique to the internet editions, the analysis of *interactivity* showed that *Chosun.com* and *DongA.com* had more options to facilitate their readers' exchange of ideas with contributing journalists. The *number of visits* and *daily rankings* served as useful indicators that EU political news elicited good reception from Korean audiences. The indicator of *content interactivity* revealed that

most Korea newsmakers tend to publish their articles on the EU's political affairs simultaneously in the print newspapers and in their internet versions.

The analysis of EU images in the area of political affairs according to the *substantive characteristics* concludes with eight major findings. First, element of *focus of domesticity* showed that both versions did not portray the EU's political actions being considerably involved with Korea's discourses. The internet editions frequently reported the EU's political actions with the *third country* focus. This suggests that the EU was repeatedly presented as a distant political partner of Korea. Second, the analysis of the intensity of EU representation – the *degree of centrality* – revealed that the EU was seen predominantly as a minor political actor in both the international and domestic settings. This was true for both versions. Among the three outlets, *Joong Ang Ilbo* and its internet edition reported the EU's political affairs from the most pronounced *minor* angle and less visible *main* angle. Third, both versions presented a similar set of *visible EU actors* in the political domain. France and its leaders were the most reported in the EU's political context. Fourth, the internet versions covered more diverse topics about EU political issues than their print outlets. This was predictable finding taking in to account the information processing capacity of the internet medium. Fifth, the majority of EU political news items in the both versions presented the Union from a neutral perspective. The internet versions tend to profile the EU from a more neutral position than their print counterparts. Sixth, the most significant *news values* for both versions were *timeliness*, *conflict/controversy* and *proximity* in reporting EU political news. From this perspective, the EU's peacekeeping actions were the most attractive news for the both versions. Seventh, the dominant *journalistic attitude* shown in EU political news items of both versions was *passive-neutral* which correlates with the EU's dominant neutral assessment identified above. Eighth, in both versions, metaphorical imagery of the EU's

political performance was employed the most when the EU's peacekeeping actions were reported. Again, the internet versions presented a greater number and a more diverse range of metaphors than their print versions due to the larger volume of news in the internet medium.

Finally, the *analysis* of the visual images in both versions revealed another set of parallels. First, photographs of the French President Sarkozy and the flags of the EU and its Member States dominated the visual images of EU political news in the both versions. Second, the shots of the most representative participants in the visual images were taken from a *medium* distance and on *eye-level* angle. This presented the EU as a friendly political actor who possesses authority. Yet, considering the *placement, text-image thematic correlation* and *salience* of *compositional meta-function*, the EU's appearances in visual images of political news did not facilitate a visible and clear profile.

In summary, the verbal texts framed the EU mainly as a political actor in the field of peacekeeping as well as Korea's collaborator at the global forums. *Formal* and *substantive characteristics* of the content analysis revealed that EU media frames echo the main issues in EU-Korea political relations. However, the visual images of the EU, although demanding, did not present the EU as a political actor in a clear and visible manner. Moreover, intertextual relations demonstrated a thematic mismatch. The presence of incongruent textual and visual images may cause readers difficulties understanding the EU as a complex and important political actor in the world and in the region. The pending ratification of the updated and upgraded Framework Agreement is expected to advance EU-Korea political relations. Future research could trace whether changes in the political dialogue between the EU and Korea affect the EU's political framing in the leading print newspapers and their internet editions.

CHAPTER VI

Case Study Two: Economic Representations of the EU in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

6.1 Introduction: Economic Interaction between Korea and the EU in terms of Trade and FDI to Korea

Relevant literature highlights two intertwined issues as dominant in EU-Korea economic interactions: the Foreign Direct Investment (hereafter FDI) and trade (ranging from trade conflict to the Free Trade Agreement; hereafter FTA). In 2010, after signing the EU-Korea FTA at EU-Korea Summit, both parties declared the upgrade of EU-Korea relations into a strategic partnership.[913] This chapter examines the EU as Korea's significant global economic counterpart due to the Union's hefty investment in the Korean economy and the close trade connections between the two parties.

Until the 1980s, trade relations between the two parties were limited. This was mainly due to the fact that the Korean market was not seen as lucrative for the European Community (EC). EU-Korea economic interactions began in the 1960s when Korea and the EC began trade cooperation to encourage economic prosperity. In 1962, the EC began FDI to Korea, and in 1968, Korea managed to invest offshore, thanks to its rapid, export-led economic growth.[914] In the 1970s, the European Community began to have difficulties with its trade with Korea

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[913] EUROPA, European Union External Actions, South Korea, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/index_en.htm (retrieved on 9 February 2011).

[914] J. Turner and Y. Kim, eds, *Globalisation and Korean Foreign Investment,* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 83-105; J. Kim and D. Rhe, "Trends and Determinants of South Korean Outward Foreign Direct Investment," In *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies,* vol 27, no. 1 (2009): 126-154.

because of the trade imbalance.[915] During that time, Korea represented only 0.5% of the European Community's total trade amount, whereas the EC represented 9% of Korea's total trade amount.[916] The trade deficit between the European Community and Korea was recorded at $68 million in 1973 and grew to $1.5 billion by 1980.[917] Seen from this perspective, the European Community is a highly profitable market for Korea.

The situation changed in the 1980s. Since then, Korea has become one of the Newly Industrialised Economies (NIE) due to its dynamic economic growth under the leadership of Park Chung Hee.[918] As trade amounts between the two parties increased during this period, the trade relations between them became closer, and the European Community began to consider Korea more seriously as a trading partner. In the mid-1980s, the European Community's exports to Korea rose on average 21.7% per annum (1985-1988), and Korea's exports to the EC rose on average 26.7% per annum (1985-1988).[919] During this period, Korean products rapidly entered the European market. The main products were textiles, footwear, consumer electronics, electrical machinery, office machinery and cars.[920] However, this period also featured a number of trade conflicts between the EU and Korea. Examples of these are anti-dumping duties (ADD) and Korea's infringement of intellectual property rights (IPR) of European products.[921] Furthermore, the European Community initiated defensive

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[915]B. Bridges, *Korea and the West,* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1986), 77.

[916]Ibid.

[917]Ibid.

[918]B. Bridges, (1986) op. cit. From 1986 to 1988, the reform triggered a growth rate of 12%. For more information, see S. Masahide, Z. Ahmad and B. Bridges, *Pacific Asia in the 1990s*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 66; and, B. Bridges, (1999), 49.

[919]C. Dent, *The European Union and East Asia: An Economic Relationship,* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 200.

[920]C. Dent, (1999), 197; B. Bridges, *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific.* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1999), 52; and, B. Bridges, "The European Union and the Korean Conundrum," In *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, edited by R. Balme and B. Bridges, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008), 214-215. In 1980s, the producers in the EC were suffered from the influx of cheaper products from NIEs so they lodged complaint to the EC. For example, Italian footwear producers asked for the EC's restriction of the amount of footwear imports from Korea. In addition, German car producers claimed the imbalanced quantities in the car trade between the EC and Korea--while Korea exported 160,000 cars to Europe, the EC exported only 7,000 cars to Korea.For a comprehensive discussion of this issue, see Bridges (2008).

[921] C. Dent (1999) op. cit. From the 1980s to 1990s, the EC performed 18 anti-dumping investigations involving Korean exporters. In terms of the IPR issue, the Korean government only guaranteed the IPR of US companies. Consequently, the EC complained to the Korean government about neglecting IPR of European companies. In September 1991, it ended up with the Korean government's ratification securing the IPR of EC companies. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Dent (1999).

policies to restrict the influx of Asian products into the European market.[922] Korea also defended its domestic market by placing 'high domestic tax' and 'import tariff taxes' on imported alcoholic products.[923] Alongside these defensive policies, the two sides also restricted and reduced the amounts of FDI.[924] Later, the European Community brought this trade conflict to the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) panel to argue against Japan and Korea.[925] After five years of dispute, the European Community succeeded in obtaining an initial agreement from the Korean government to remove the trade restriction of Korean "liquor tax laws."[926] Throughout the trade conflicts with the European Community in the 1980s and 1990s, Koreans are likely to have viewed the European Community as significant but closed to the Korean market.

In 1992, the EU began to revisit its policy towards Korea. The Union changed its approach to Korea and began to support it in opening its market. For instance, the EU supported Korea's application to join the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).[927] Since Korea's economic crisis in 1997, the restrictions between Korea and the EU have been resolved, which has led to even closer economic relations between the two parties with the outcome for Korea of receiving more financial support from the EU. After the crisis, the Korean government established a forum for Korean politicians, officials and the public to overcome the difficulties from "the former dirigisme."[928] The Korean government finally liberated domestic markets and reduced barriers to investment in Korea from foreign companies.[929] The EU regarded the Korean government's decisions as a chance to enter

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[922]H. Kim, ed., *European Integration and the Asia-Pacific Region,* (Korea: KIEP, 2003), 147.
[923]C. Dent, (1999) op. cit; B. Bridges, *Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific,* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 1999), 60. Domestic tariffs for imported liquor were as follows: 200% for whisky, 150 % for brandy and 100% for beer. Furthermore, the Korean government put approximately 200% of import tariff tax on European liquor products.For a fuller discussion of these issues, see Dent (1999), 198-199.
[924]J. Turner and Y. Kim, eds., *Globalisation and Korean Foreign Investment*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 83-105; R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., *Europe-Asia Relations: Building Multilateralisms*, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2008), 220.
[925]Ibid.
[926]C. Dent, (1999), 199.
[927]R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008), 216, 219.
[928]Ibid.
[929]Ibid.

Korea's domestic market and enthusiastically supported Korea in revitalising its economy.[930] The four largest EU Member States (the UK, France, Germany and Italy) provided more economic support than Korea's existing main trade partners, the US and Japan.[931] The EU supplied $5.9 billion to assist Korea through the economic crisis, which is greater than the amount received from the US government over the same period.[932]

Today the EU has become one of Korea's vital export markets comparable to the US and China.[933] According to *Fact File 2012* published by the EU delegation to Korea, the EU has been the largest investor in Korea since 2005.[934] Throughout the Korean economic crisis, Korea believed the Union would be an important and active trade partner, essential for its survival. According to the European Commission, the EU has now become Korea's third largest export partner, and Korea has become the EU's tenth largest.[935] Hence, since the mid-1990s, Korea has seen the EU as a significant economic counterpart, who supported Korea in overcoming significant economic difficulties.

After Korea overcame its financial crisis, both parties perceived the need for an FTA. This led to very close trade relations between them. In 2006, Korea designated the EU as "priority FTA partner" in the Global Europe Trade Policy Strategy.[936] According to the European Commission website, the EU also considered an FTA with Korea important because it would lead to opportunities for the highest possible degree of trade liberalisation.[937] In May 2007, the EU and South Korea started the negotiations for an FTA. After eight rounds of negotiation,

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[930]Ibid.
[931]R. Balme and B. Bridges, eds., (2008) 220.
[932]European Commission Communication, *European Policy Towards the Republic of Korea,* (issued 09 December 1998).
[933]R. Balme and B. Bridges, (2008) op. cit.
[934]Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, *Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,* http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_korea/documents/news/factfile2012.pdf (retrieved on 11 June 2013). According to *Fact File 2012,* throughout the whole period of FDI to Korea (1962 until 2012), the EU has been the number one investor to Korea. For more information, see *Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,* (Delegation of the European Commission to the Republic of Korea, 2012).
[935]*Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,* (2012) op. cit.
[936]Ibid.
[937]Ibid.

the two sides signed the FTA on October 2010, and the EU-Korea FTA was activated on 1 July 2011.[938] Arguably, Korea now sees the EU as a significant and trustworthy economic partner.

This brief overview of EU-Korea economic interactions presents the EU as a vital and reliable economic partner to Korea. Closer trade relations and large volume of investment between the two parties arguably seal this impression. This chapter examines whether the reality of ongoing EU-Korea economic interactions and the Union's capability in the areas of trade and investment were reflected in the media frames of the EU created and disseminated by the leading Korean print newspapers and their internet versions.

6.2 Formal Characteristics

6.2.1 Monthly Distribution

The information input *the EU as an Economic Actor* was found in 555 articles in the print newspapers (47.6% of the total sample) and 2,346 articles from internet versions of the newspapers (48.9% of the total sample). With the exception of *Joong Ang Ilbo,* October was a 'peak' month for EU economic news for the both versions (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The global financial crisis occurred in that month and it led both versions to produce a significant volume of relevant EU news items.[939] In particular, Korean newsmakers were anxious that if

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[938]Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, http://www.mofat.go.kr/english/econtrade/fta/Concluded/EU/index.jsp (retrieved on 27 July 2010); and, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Free Trade Agreement Press Release, http://www.fta.go.kr/user/intro/Press_view.asp (retrieved on 05 October 2010).

[939] The financial crisis of October 2008 had a severe impact upon the European economy. Likewise, Iceland faced a national crisis. The banks in Europe attempted to guarantee the amounts of savings. For an informative assessment of the problem, see *BBC*, Stocks slide despite reassurances. (retrieved on 06 October 2010); *The Guardian*, "Reykjavik battles to save economy". http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/oct/07/iceland.globaleconomy. (retrieved on 06 October 2010); *The Financial Times*, "Savings guarantee to rise to £50,000".http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/25915358-9137-11dd-b5cd-0000779fd18c.html. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The New York Times*, "Netherlands Takes Over Some Fortis Operations". http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/04/business/worldbusiness/04fortis.html. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The Times*, "Terror as Iceland faces economic collapse". http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/industry_sectors/banking_and_finance/article4894904.ece. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The Financial Times,* "BNP to take control of Fortis". http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/1523014a-9323-11dd-98b5-0000779fd18c.html. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The New York Times,* "Financial Crises Spread in Europe". http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/06/business/06markets.html. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The Financial times*, "Germany guarantees

the EU were to be affected by the crisis this would compromise its ability to invest in Korea.[940] Figure 6.1 shows that *Joong Ang Ilbo* does not deal with the economic crisis in October in contrast with other two print newspapers from the sample.

Figure 6.1 Monthly Distribution of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
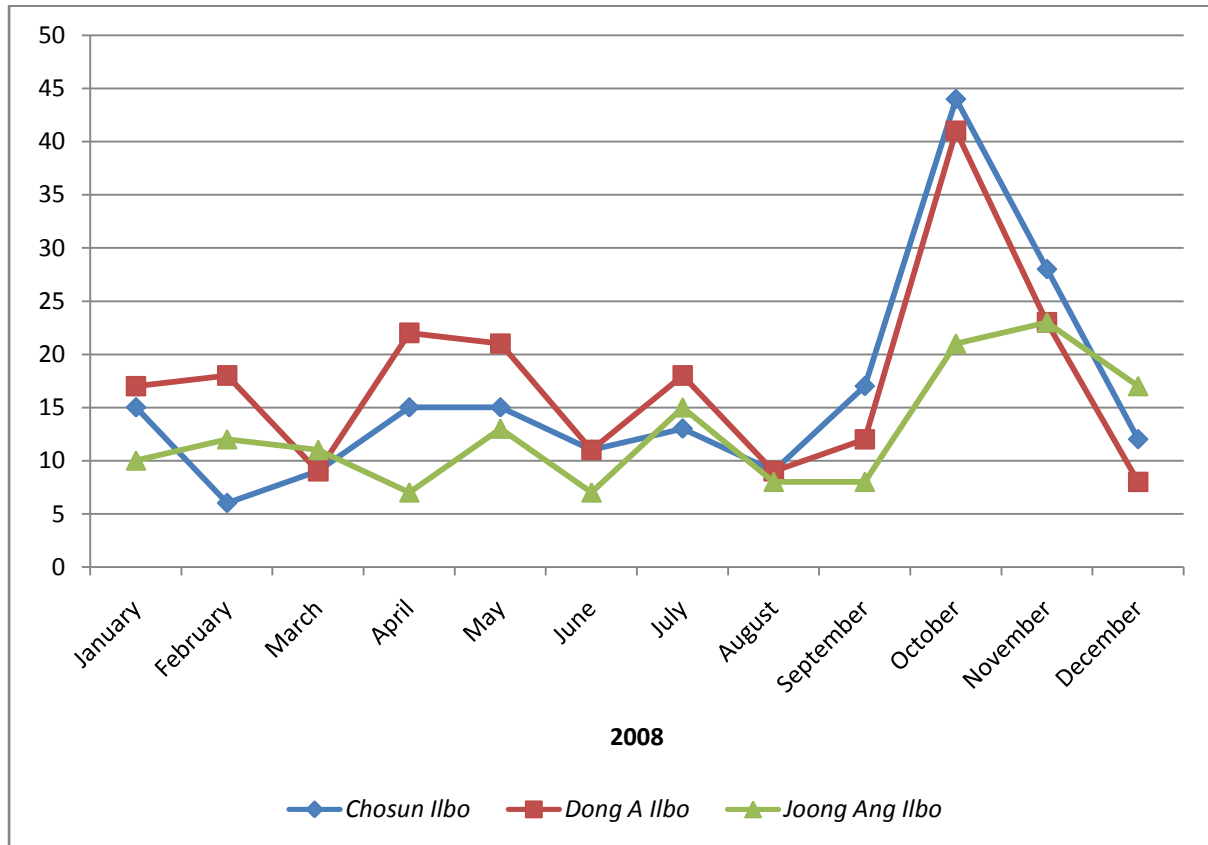
savings" http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/d895ef54-92ef-11dd-98b5-0000779fd18c.html. (retrieved on 06 October 2010); *The Times*,"German savings pledge raises stakes for Gordon Brown". http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/economics/article4888248.ece. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *Deutsche Welle*, http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,3694172,00.html [German Government Under Pressure to Deliver on Crisis Promise] (English) (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *Deutsche Welle*, Berlin has Given a Blanket Guarantee for all Private Bank Savings. http://www.dwworld.de/popups/popup_single_mediaplayer/0,,3692883_type_video_struct_1432,00.html?mytitle=Berlin%2Bhas%2BGiven%2Ba%2BBlanket%2BGuarantee%2Bfor%2Ball%2BPrivate%2BBank%2BSavings (English) (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The Financial Times,* "Berlin shrugs off attacks on savings pledge". *The Financial Times*, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/389588ae-93ce-11dd-9a63-0000779fd18c.html. (retrieved on 08 October 2010); *The Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/06/business/06bank.html?ref=todayspaper+(2008-10-03). "European bank rescue plan in tatters amid savings stampede". http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/industry_sectors/banking_and_finance/article4870873.ece (retrieved on 08 October 2010).
[940]The majority of articles published in October were devoted to report the possible negative impact of economic crisis upon Europe. For an account of internet versions of newspapers' coverage of this issue, see *Chosun.com, IMF Ch'ongjae "Yurŏp, Gŭmyung Wigie Gongdong Daech'ŏhaeya."* http://m.chosun.com/article.html?contid=2008100400673 (retrieved on 04 October 2008); *Chosun.com, Gogae Dŭnŭn G7 Haech'aeron,* http://m.chosun.com/article.html?contid=2008100701683 (retrieved on 04 October 2008); *DongA.com, [Sasŏl] Segye Shinyongwigi, Gangnyŏkan Gukjegongjoro Dolp'ahaeya,* http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?rellink=1&code=b__&n=200810060100 (retrieved on 06 October 2008); *DongA.com, Midŏtdŏn Shimnijŏk Majinosŏn Majŏ…Jŏmjŏm K'ŏjinŭn Gongp'o,* http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200810070098 (retrieved on 07 October 2008); *JOINS.com,Gujegŭmyung ŭn Ingonghohŭpgi…FRB, Gŭmniinha K'adŭ Manjijak,* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3321724 (retrieved on 04 October 2008); and, *JOINS.com,Pak Pyŏngwŏn Susŏk "Gungnae Gŭmyung Shijang Jikjŏp Ch'unggyŏk Chehanjŏk,"* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3328138, (retrieved on 08 October 2008).

Figure 6.2 Monthly Distribution of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
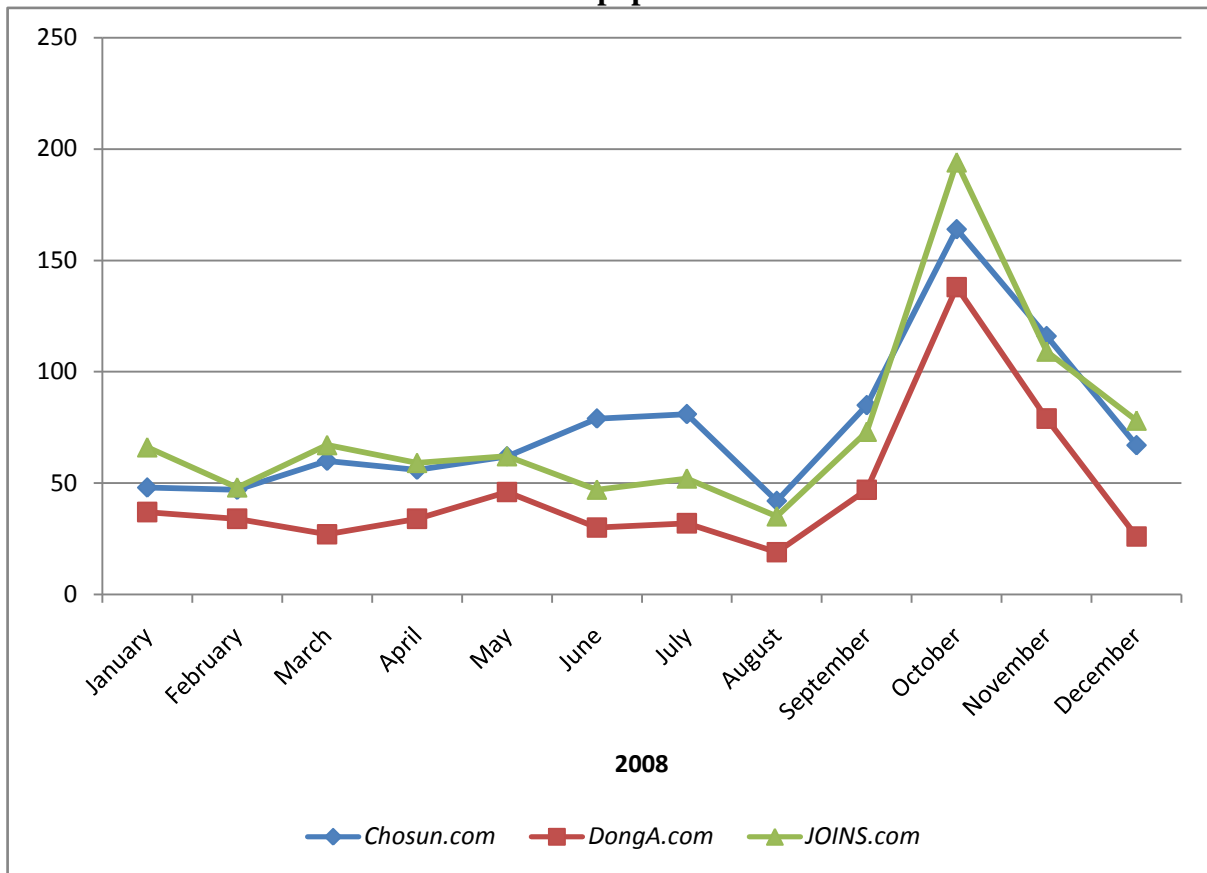
6.2.2 Type of Media Outlet

The analysis of the distribution of EU economic news items among the three major print newspapers and their internet versions show that *Dong A Ilbo* was the most prolific in reporting the EU (209 articles), followed by *Chosun Ilbo* (194 articles) and *Joong Ang Ilbo* (152 articles) (Figure 6.3).This contrasts with the EU political news reportage where *Chosun Ilbo* was a leader in coverage. Among the internet versions, *Chosun.com* was the richest source of EU economic news items (907 articles). *JOINS.com* was the second (890 articles) followed by *DongA.com* (549 articles) (Figure 6.4). *Chosun.com* was also the leader in EU political coverage.

Figure 6.3 Distribution of EU Economic News Items in Print Newspapers
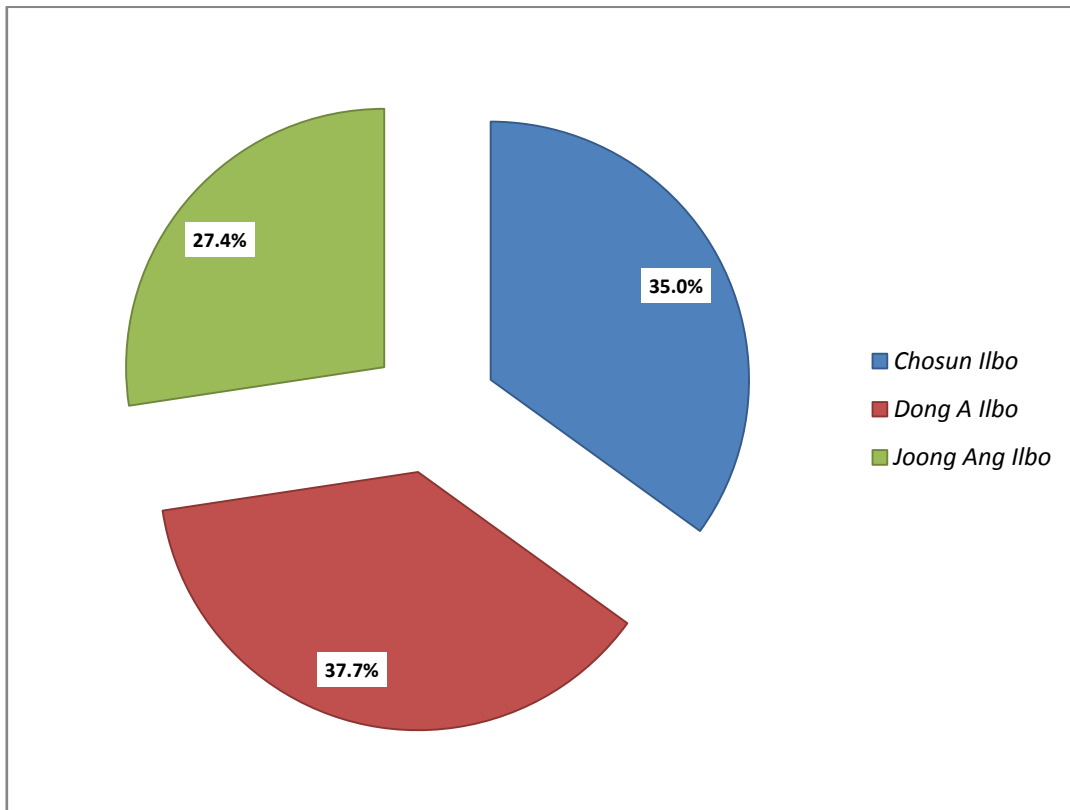
Figure 6.4 Distribution of EU Economic News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
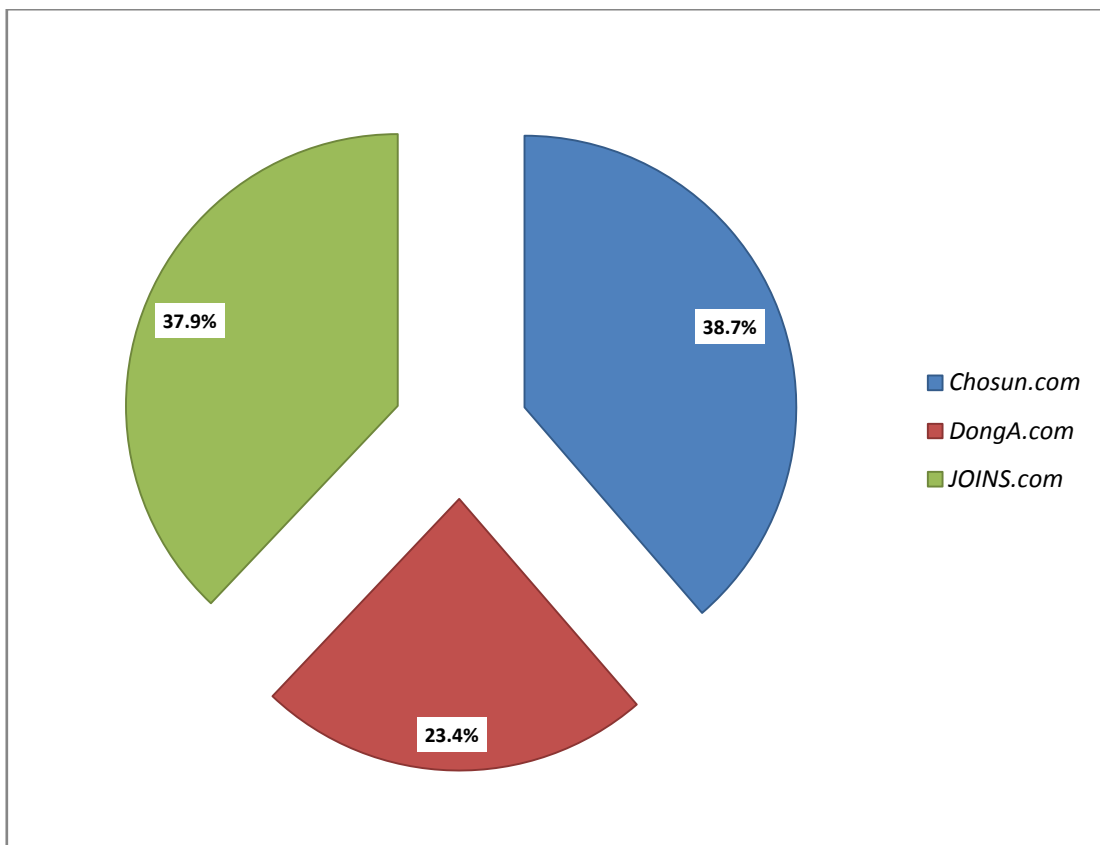
6.2.3 Information Sources

The analysis of the news sources feeding EU economic news show that Korean print newspapers and their internet versions were also likely to rely on local news agencies (Figures 6.5 and 6.6).

Figure 6.5 Sources of EU Economic News Items in Print Newspapers
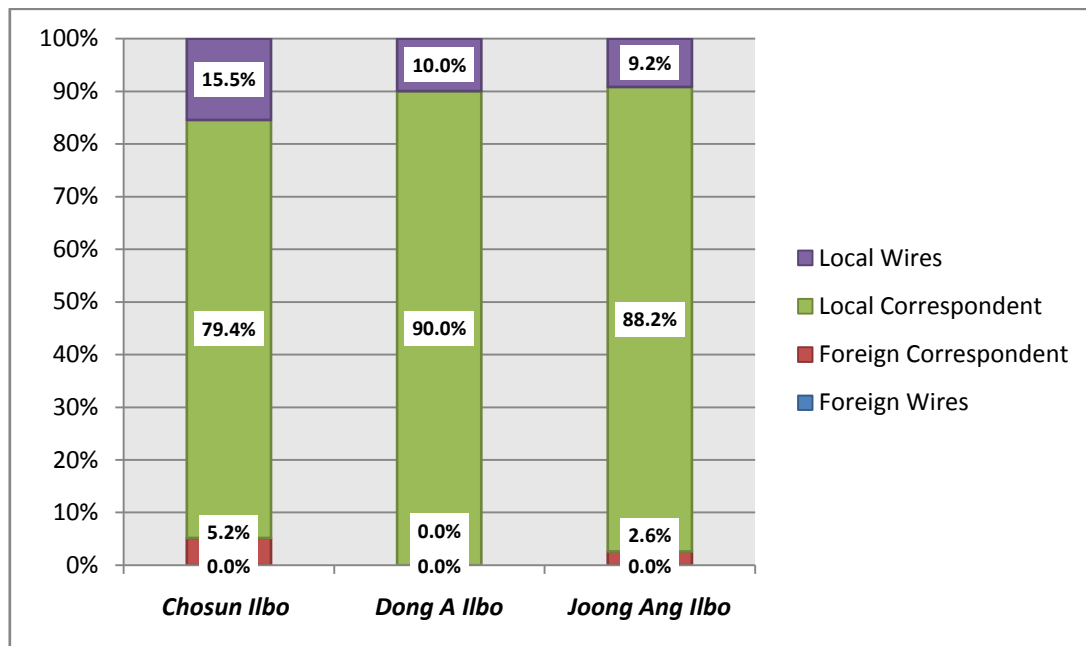
Figure 6.6 Sources of EU Economic News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
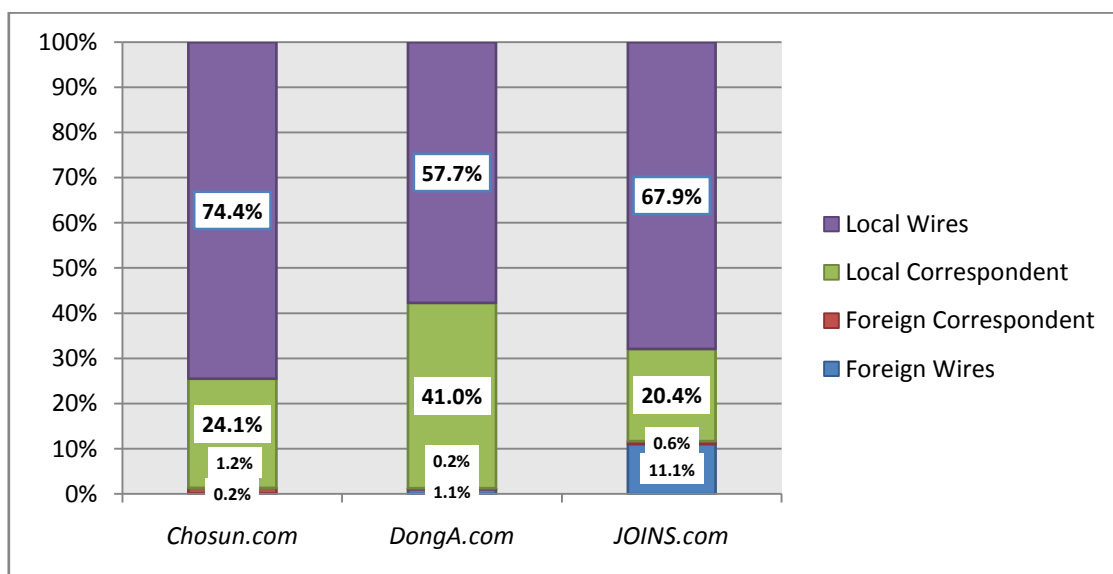
The three print newspapers produce their articles on EU-related economic issues by employing their own local journalists and foreign correspondents stationed in Europe. In contrast, the internet versions of the newspapers relies heavily on one particular domestic news agent *Yonhap News* (57.6% of the *Chosun.com* economic sample came from this source, 53.7% of the *DongA.com* sample and 63.9% of the *JOINS.com* sample). As noted in the previous case study (Chapter 5), *Yonhap News* is again a major source of information of EU-related news articles in the Korean internet versions of the newspapers. As discussed above, international sources are known to feed into the news production by the *Yonhap News,* but they are difficult to trace. Also of note, in contrast to the case-study on EU political news, *Joong Ang Ilbo* and *JOINS.com* were less likely to depend on foreign sources in reporting EU-related economic news.

6.2.4 Interactivity

Turning to the internet editions, this analysis assesses interactivity using the presence of the author's email address as an indicator of the options of *interpersonal interactivity.* *DongA.com* presented most of those options (in 212 items), followed by *Chosun.com* was and *JOINS.com* (Table 6.1). In contrast to the EU political reportage, *DongA.com*, not *Chosun.com,* was more likely to provide options of *interpersonal interactivity* to the audiences on the EU's economic news.

Table 6.1 Numbers and Proportions of EU Economic News Items with Journalists' e-mail Address

	Number of Articles Collected	Percentage of EU Economic News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers
Chosun.com	181	20.0%
DongA.com	212	39.0%
JOINS.com	156	19.0%

For the second measurement of interactivity, this thesis explored the popularity indicators such as number of visitors and daily rankings of EU economic news items (Figures 6.7 and 6.8). As discussed above, these indicators could be traced only in *Chosun.com*. A further limitation was that it was impossible to investigate the daily rankings for 414 out of 907 *Chosun.com* articles (45.6%) as this information was missing from the paper's website.

Figure 6.7 Numbers of Visits to EU economic News in *Chosun.com*
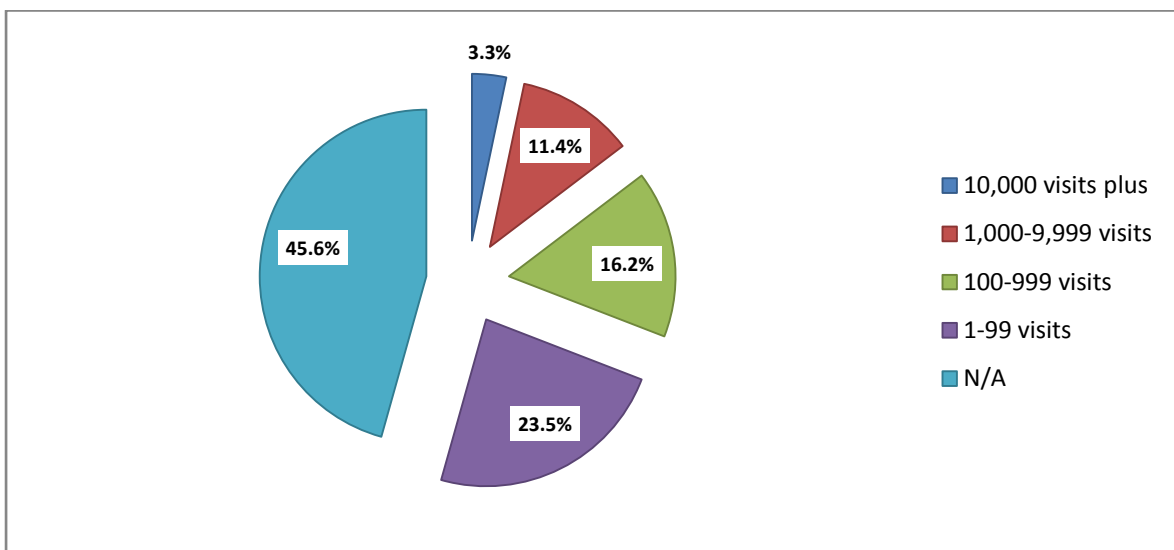
Figure 6.8 Daily Rankings of EU Economic News Items in *Chosun.com*
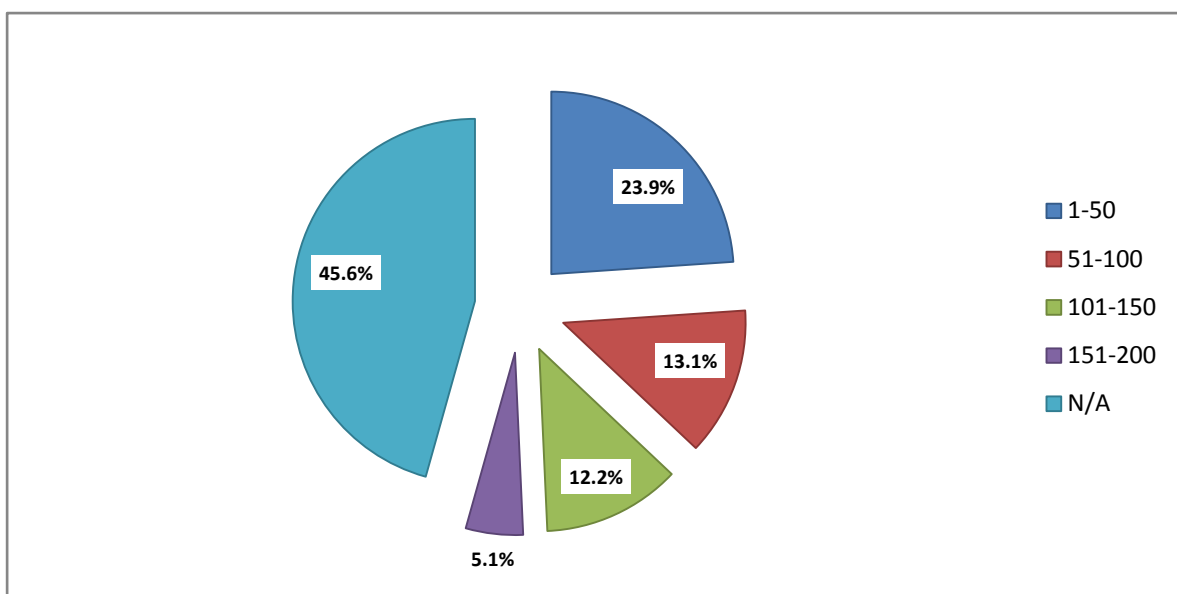
Taking into account the limitations of analysis in this category, it appears that EU economic news does not reach the readers effectively: only 14.7 % of the news items (133 articles) were visited by more than 1,000 readers and less than half of EU economic articles (37%) were ranked in the top 100 articles of daily rankings of *Chosun.com*. While the latter indicator could be affected by a restricted character of the data, the former indicator does point to a limited popularity of the EU economic news, even if compared with the EU political news discussed in Chapter 5.

The last measurement of interactivity -- *content interactivity* --   revealed that the numbers of EU economic articles published in both versions were higher than those of EU political ones (Table 6.2). The table shows that *DongA.com* had the largest number of articles with *content interactivity* with its hard copy *Dong A Ilbo*. It seems *DongA.com* was more efficient in utilising both versions to deliver the same EU-related economic news articles to the audiences than the other two outlets.

Table 6.2 Numbers and Percentages of Articles of Content Interaction between Print Newspapers and Internet Versions

	Numbers of Articles	Percentage of EU Economic News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers
Chosun.com	189	8.1%
DongA.com	192	8.2%
JOINS.com	146	6.2%

Table 6.3 below presents the *content interactivity* of EU economic news across three internet versions of newspapers in the sample. The results suggest that in two internet versions of the sample 22.0% of EU economic news articles were copied and 9.8% of them were copied among all three internet versions. Compared with the results of previous case study, these

results of the current case-study are analogous (Table 6.3). Once again, this analysis argues that contents interactions among the internet versions of the papers are caused by their heavy reliance on the *Yonhap News*.

Table 6.3 Numbers and Percentages of Articles of Content Interaction across Internet Versions of Newspapers in the Sample

	Numbers of Articles	**Percentage of EU Economic News Items in the Sample of Internet Versions of Newspapers**
Interactive within two Internet Versions (either; *Chosun.com—DongA.com*, *Chosun.com—JOINS.com* or *DongA.com—JOINS.com*)	516	22.0%
Interactive across all three Internet versions of Newspapers (*Chosun.com—DongA.com—JOINS.com*)	231	9.8%

Examination of the interactivity features of the EU economic news in internet editions of the reputable press show that the internet versions provide the option of discussion between the readers and the newsmakers about the content of EU economic news. Yet, despite its impressive volume, EU economic news items did not profile high popularity among the readers. Finally, *content interactivity* rates of EU economic news were slightly higher than EU political news but only marginally.

6.3 Substantive Characteristics

6.3.1 Focus of Domesticity

The focus of domesticity patterns revealed a higher share of EU economic news reporting the EU involved with Korea than in the case with EU political news (Figure 6.9). The print newspapers placed a greater emphasis on the EU's economic engagement with Korea than their internet version −and their share of the domesticated EU economic news was higher than on the internet editions. Compared with the results of the previous case study (Figure 6.10), the percentages of internet EU economic news items with *domestic* angle (*local* and *regional*) were higher than those of EU political news items. Arguably, this particular focus of visibility frames the EU as Korea's locally-significant economic actor.

Figure 6.9 Focus of Reporting EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
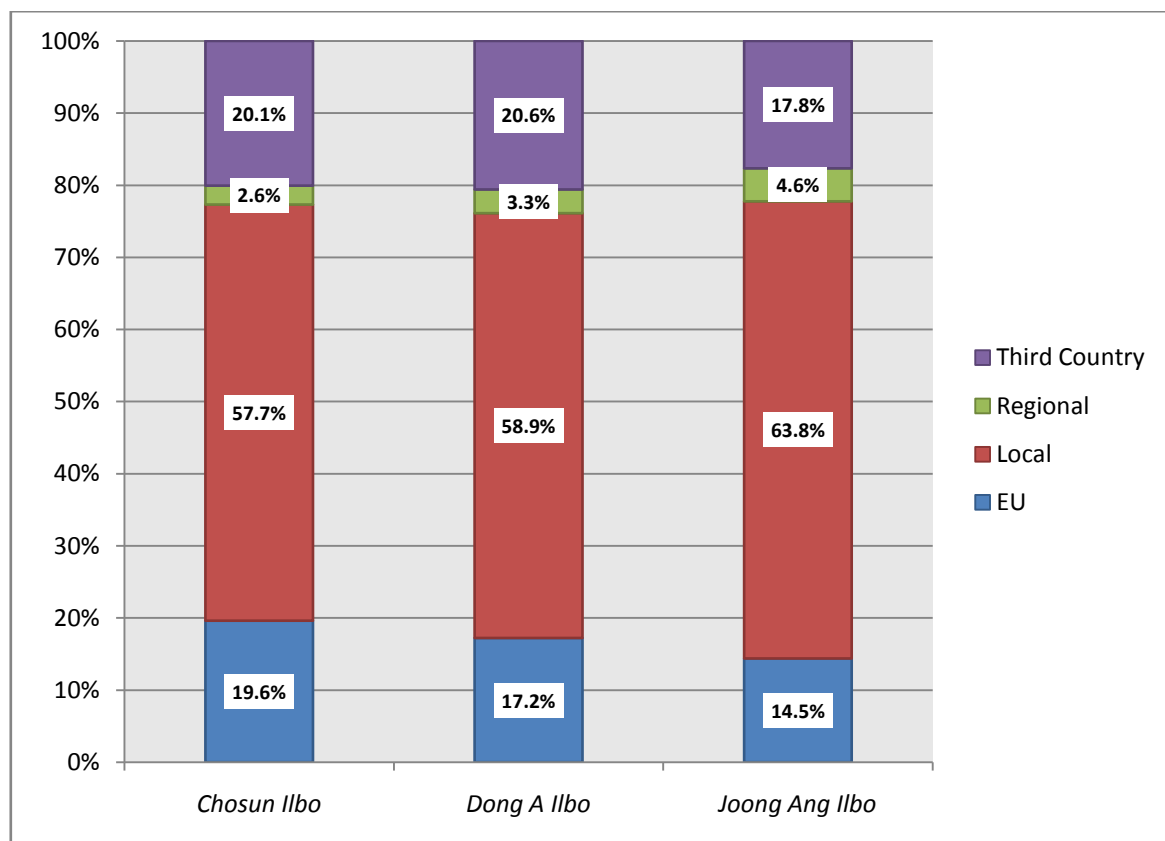
Figure 6.10 Focus of Reporting EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
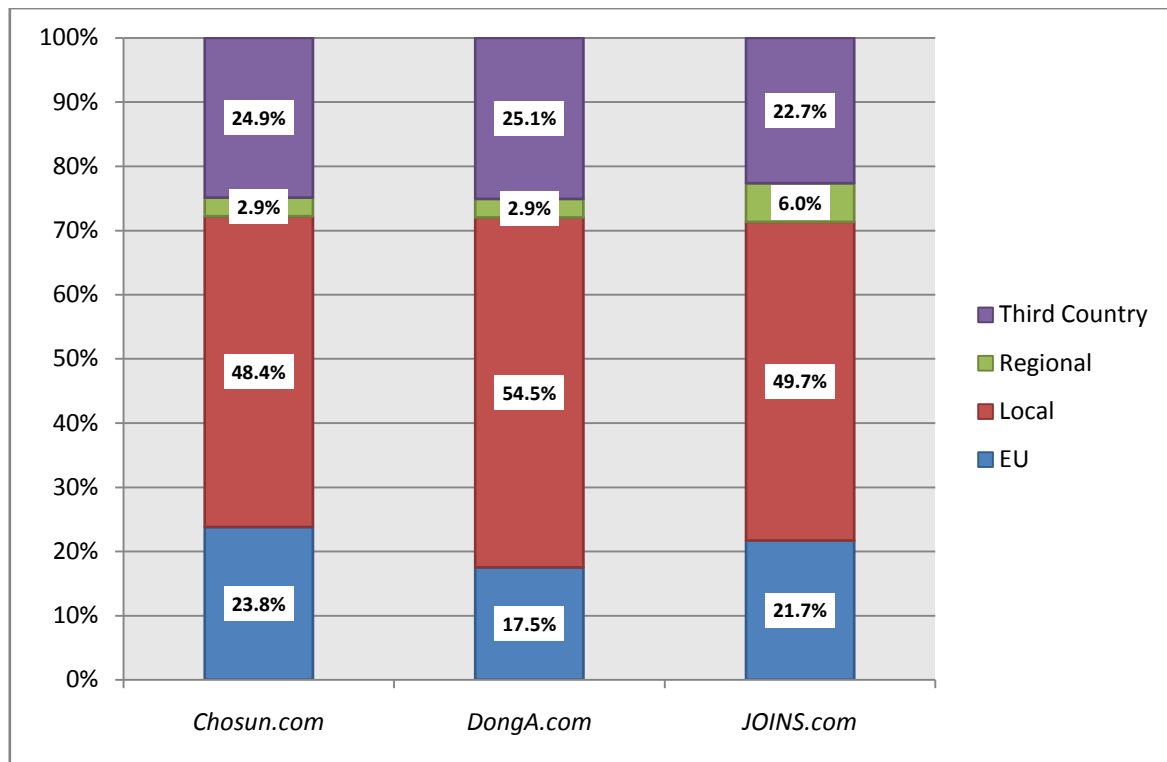
6.3.2 Degree of Centrality

The *degree of centrality* indicates the intensity of the EU's representation. Both print and internet versions cast the EU as an economic actor in a minor role in more than half of the EU economic news in the sample (Figures 6.11 and 6.12). In comparison with the previous case study, EU economic news had a lower share of news with a main degree of centrality. At the same time, the share of *minor* news was higher than the one in the political news. As such, despite an impressive volume of EU economic news items, the EU enjoyed only limited visibility in the news texts in the print newspapers and their internet versions.

Figure 6.11 Centrality of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
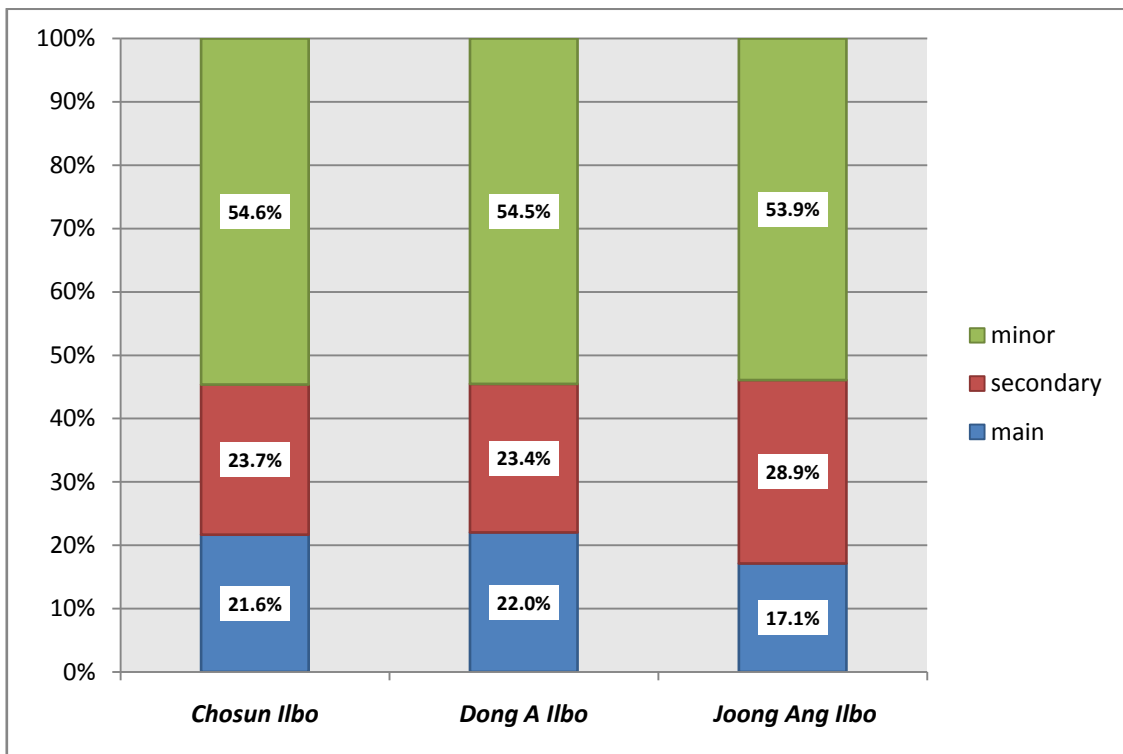
Figure 6.12 Centrality of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
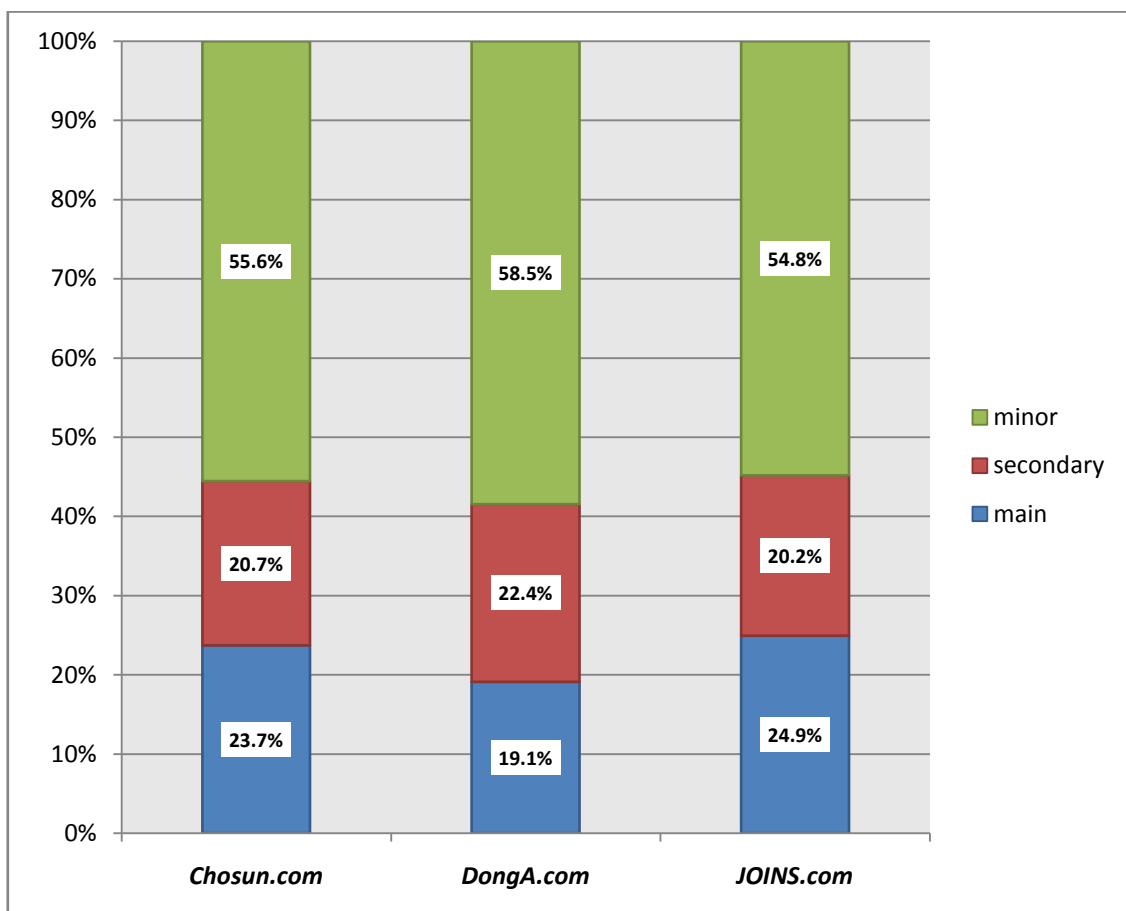
6.3.3 Actors

The most visible *actors* in the news on the EU's economic affairs are presented in Figures 6.13 and 6.14.

Figure 6.13 Most Visible Actors in EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
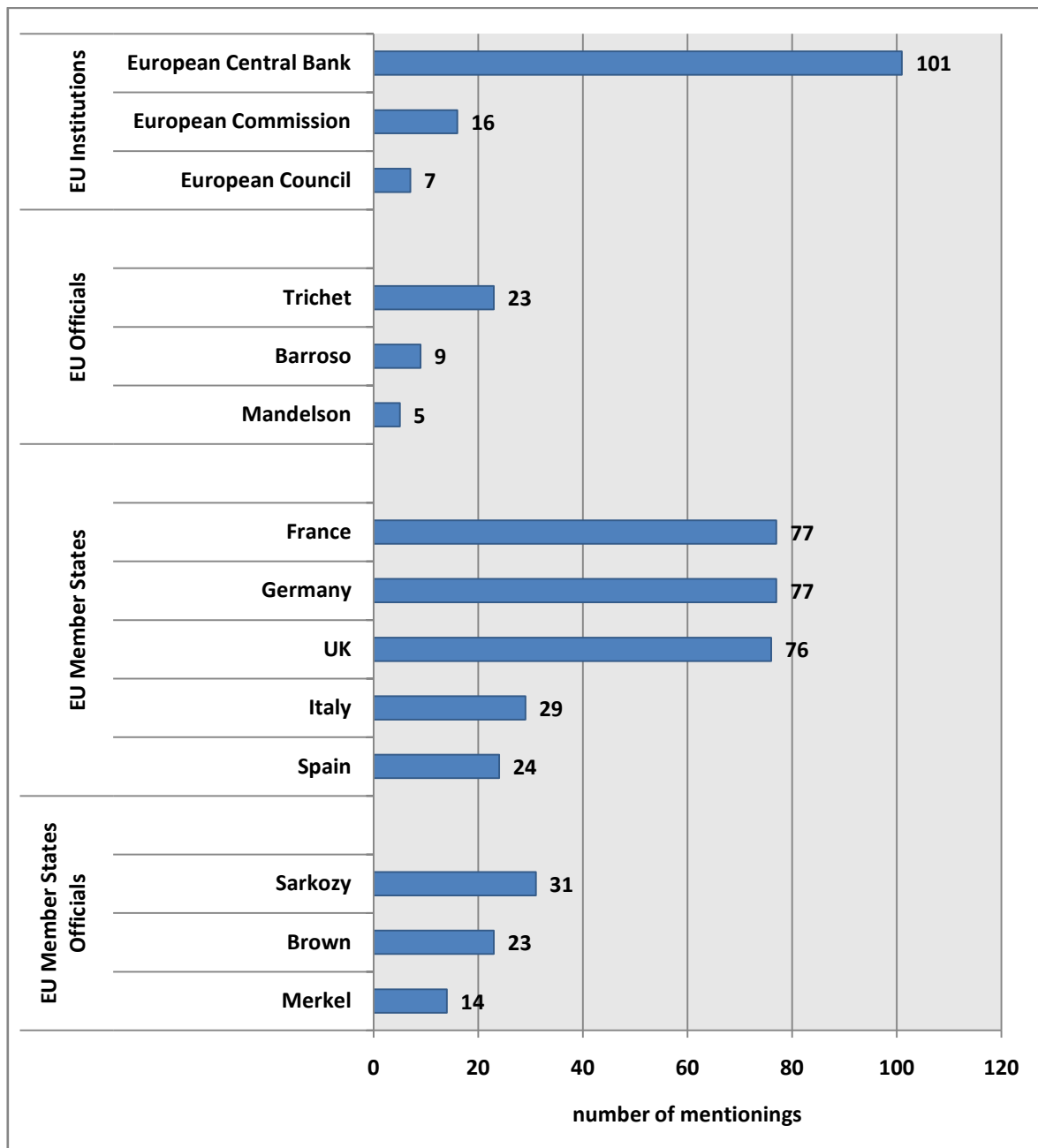
Figure 6.14 Most Visible Actors in EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
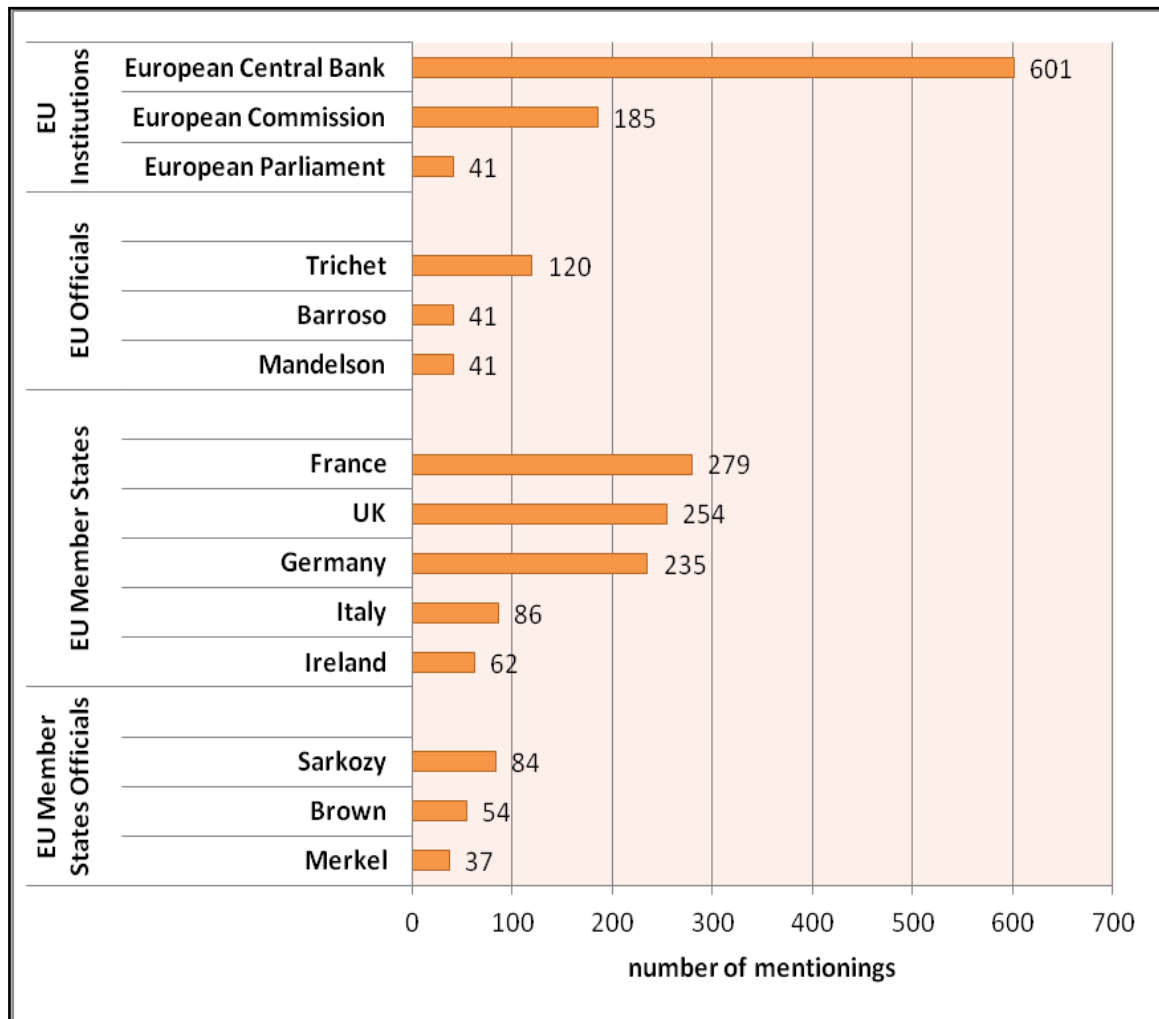
Both versions emphasised a similar set of EU actors in the economic field. In the category *EU institutions*, the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Commission were the most visible in both editions. Yet for the internet versions of newspapers the third most visible institution for the print newspapers was European Council and the European Parliament. The overall visibility of the ECB was hardly a surprise; its dealings with the Euro and the monetary actions and policies within the Eurozone were reported in greater detail.[941]

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[941]European Central Bank, ECB: Tasks, http://www.ecb.int/ecb/orga/tasks/html/index.en.html (retrieved on 11 June 2013). Eurozone (also known as Euro Area or European Monetary Union—EMU) is a group of 17 EU Member States which was established in 1999. The current Member States of Eurozone are Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain. For an account of the Eurozone, see ECB website http://www.ecb.int/euro/intro/html/map.en.html (retrieved on 11 June 2013).

Within the category *EU officials*, Jean-Claude Trichet (the 2nd president of the ECB from 2003 to 2011) was the most visible EU actor in both print and internet versions of newspapers. He was followed by Barroso (11th and Current President of European Commission) and Mandelson (European Commissioner for Trade from 2004 to 2008). [942] The heightened visibility of the ECB and its leader pointed that Korean print newspapers and their internet versions focus on the EU's financial functions when they report the EU's economic affairs.

Among the *EU Member States*, the four most visible were the four biggest economies within the EU's border, namely the 'EU Big Four' France, Germany, the UK and Italy.[943] Linked to the visibility of the states, the most prominent *EU Member States officials* were the former French President Sarkozy, followed by the UK's Brown and Germany's Merkel. Overall visibility of France, the UK and Germany as leading economic actors of the EU makes Member States the symbols of the EU's economic power.

6.3.4 Most Visible Topics

The information input *the EU as an economic actor* included several frames: *agriculture*, *business/finance*, *industry*, *state of economy* and *trade*. Here are the lists of the *most visible topics* of EU economic news in print newspapers and their internet versions. (Tables 6.4 and 6.5)

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[942] Mandelson was the EU commissioner for trade from 2004 to 2008. He resigned during his period because of the appointment of the Secretary of State for Business. For his detailed profile, see *BBC* http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/7650195.stm (retrieved on 27 February 2011).
[943] The term EU Big Four, which refers to the Union's four biggest economic markets, was employed in the European media. The representative action of EU Big Four was talks on the financial crisis in October 2008. For the further account, see EUobserver http://euobserver.com/9/26857(retrieved on 27 February 2011).

Table 6.4 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of Economic Affairs in Print Newspapers

Frames	Chosun Ilbo	Dong A Ilbo	Joong Ang Ilbo
Agriculture	Farm Subsidies		
Business/Finance	EUCCK		
	Merger		
	Financial Crisis		
	Euros (Exchange Rates with Korean Won)		
	Currency Swaps		
	Interest Rates		
	Relief Loan		
	Liquidity Fund		
	Business in Korea		Anti-competition
	Investment to Korea		Market Support
	World Economy Forum	Stock Market	World Economy Forum
	Tax		Tax
	Subprime Mortgage		
Industry	Bio-Fuels		
	Cars		
	Prices of the Manufactured Products		
	Energy Supply		
	Oil	CE Mark	Railways
State of Economy	Decline		
	Growth		
	Stagnation		
	Deflation		
Trade	DDA		
	EU-Korea Trade		
	FTA		

Table 6.5 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of Economic Affairs in Internet Versions of Newspapers

Frames	Chosun.com	DongA.com	JOINS.com
Agriculture	Farm Subsidies		
	Beef	Fruit/Vegetable	
Business/Finance	Anti-Competition		Anti-Competition
	Bank		
	Business Competition		
	Business in Korea		
	Currency Swaps		
	World Economy Forum		
		Deposit Guarantee	
	Euro		
	EUCCK		
	Financial Crisis		
	Exchange Rates		
	Interests Rates		
	Financial Market		Financial Market
	Liquidity Fund		
	Relief Loan		
	Merger		
	Stock Market		
	Investment to Korea		Investment to Korea
	Tax		Tax
Industry	Aero-industry		
	Food		
	Cars		
	Bio-fuel		
	Carbon Trade		
	Prices of the Manufactured Products		
	Steel	Toy	
	Wine		Wine
	Shipbuilding		Railway
	Oil		
	IT		
State of Economy	Growth		
	Decline		
	Stagnation		
	Inflation		
	Recovery		
Trade	FTA		
	EU-China Trade		
	EU-Korea Trade		
	DDA		
	WTO		

There was major overlap between the *most visible topics* of EU economic news in the three print newspapers and their internet versions. Both versions mainly focused on reporting numerous and diverse issues of the EU's *business/finance* and *industry*. In contrast, both versions reported only a limited number of issues in the frames of *state of economy, trade* and *agriculture*.

In the *business/finance* frame, the print newspapers and their internet versions covered the EU's financial issues (rather than business ones) in great detail. In contrast, the internet versions dealt with many additional topics in this frame, such as *banking, deposit guarantee* and *financial market*. Arguably, the internet medium's capacity to present more information resulted in an additional emphasis on the EU's financial and investment capacity.

In the frame of *industry*, both versions covered such topics as manufacturing of *bio-fuels*, *cars, oil, railways, and the prices of manufactured products.* The internet versions of newspapers once again reported more topics, among those *aero-industry*, *food*, *steel*, *shipbuilding* and *IT*.

In the frame of the *state of economy*, both print newspapers and their internet versions reported the EU economy in contradictory terms of *growth* and *decline*, *stagnation* and *inflation*. In contrast, the internet versions additionally assessed the EU's economic status to experience the *recovery* stage.

In the *trade* frame, print newspapers and their internet versions c had the three major topics in common: the *EU-Korea FTA*, the final negotiation of the *Doha Development Agenda* (*DDA*)

held in July 2008 and *EU-Korea trade*.[944] The internet versions additionally covered the issues about the EU's trade with other international counterparts such as *EU-China Trade* and *WTO*. Among these three major topics, the most frequently discussed one was the *EU-Korea FTA* (84 articles of print newspapers and 337 articles in internet versions of newspapers), which was under negotiation during the research period. Arguably, the images of the EU as a significant trade partner for Korea were visible in both versions.

In the *agricultural* frame, print newspapers and their internet editions reported the EU's *farm subsidies*. The internet versions were also interested in reporting the EU's agricultural products such as *meat, fruits* and *vegetables*.

To sum up, the framing of EU economic affairs was dominated by *business/finance* and *industry* topics. A more comprehensive description of EU-related economic issues was found in the internet versions rather than in the print outlets.

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[944] DDA was initiated by the Declaration of the Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar and it provided the mandate for negotiations on a range of subjects and other work. For further details, see the official website of WTO, Doha Round http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/dda_e.htm (retrieved on 11 October 2010).

6.3.5 Evaluations

The distribution of *evaluation* of the EU and its actors in economic news is presented in Figure 6.15 and 6.16.

Figure 6.15 Evaluations of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
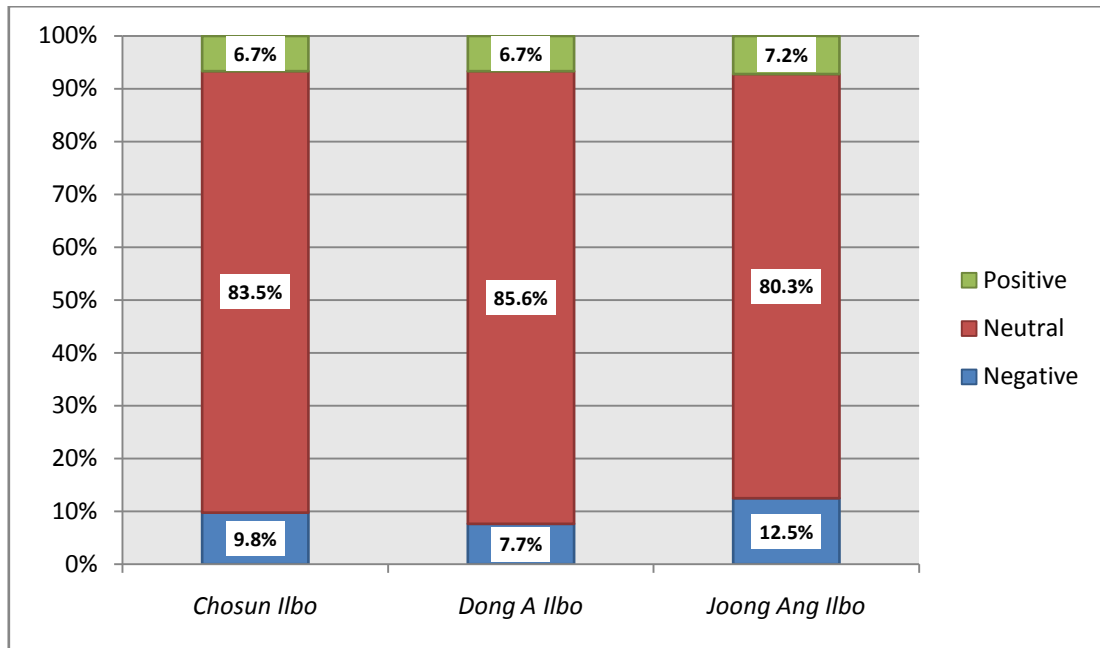
Figure 6.16 Evaluations of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
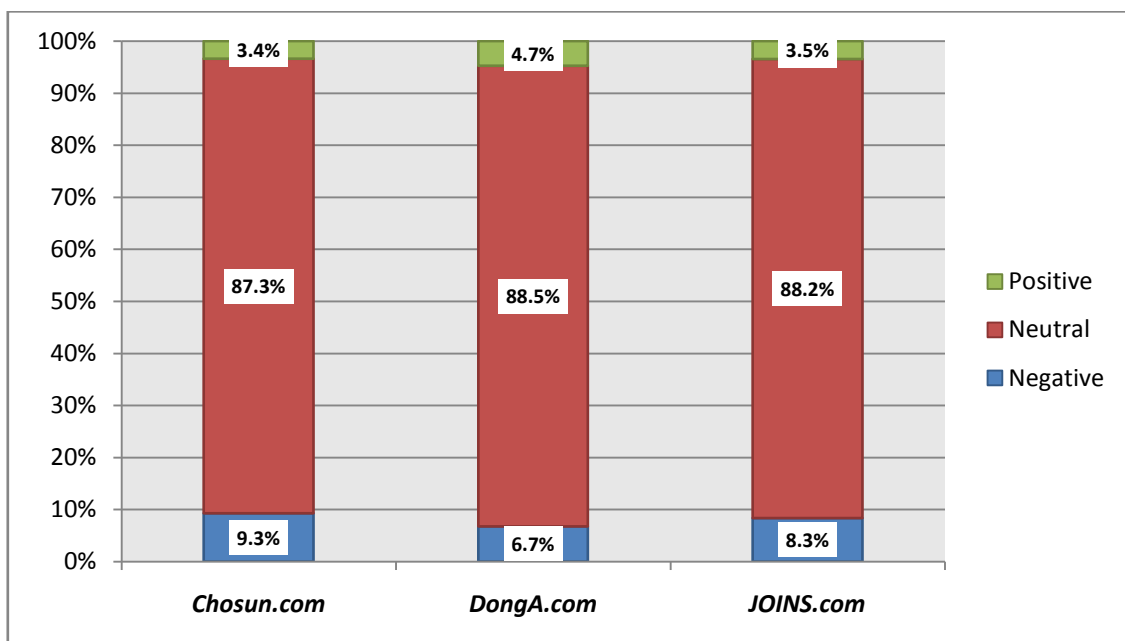
EU economic news items in print newspapers and their internet editions were markedly *neutral*. Figure 6.15 points out that *Dong A Ibo*, a leader in EU economic news coverage, had more *neutral* news than the other two newspapers and Figure 6.16 shows that *DongA.com* had the highest percentage of *neutral* news among the three internet versions. Yet, both versions had higher percentages of *negatively-coloured* EU news than *positively-coloured* news. *Joong Ang Ibo* had the highest share of *negative* news among the three print newspapers. *Chosun.com* had the higher percentages of *negative* news among the three internet versions. In general, the *evaluations* patterns discovered in the print newspapers do not differ from the internet versions in a major way.

Comparing the results of this case study with the previous one (Chapter 5), it is obvious that the internet versions in the EU economic news case had a much higher share of *neutral* news than their print outlets than in the case of EU political news. This pattern could be linked to the nature of news sources (i.e. A heavy dependence on *Yonhap News*), yet more research into nature of the sources from this news agency is needed in the future.

6.3.6 News Values

Figures 6.17 and 6.18 illustrate the distribution of the *news values* which are argued to stand behind EU economic news in the print and internet editions.

Figure 6.17 News Values of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
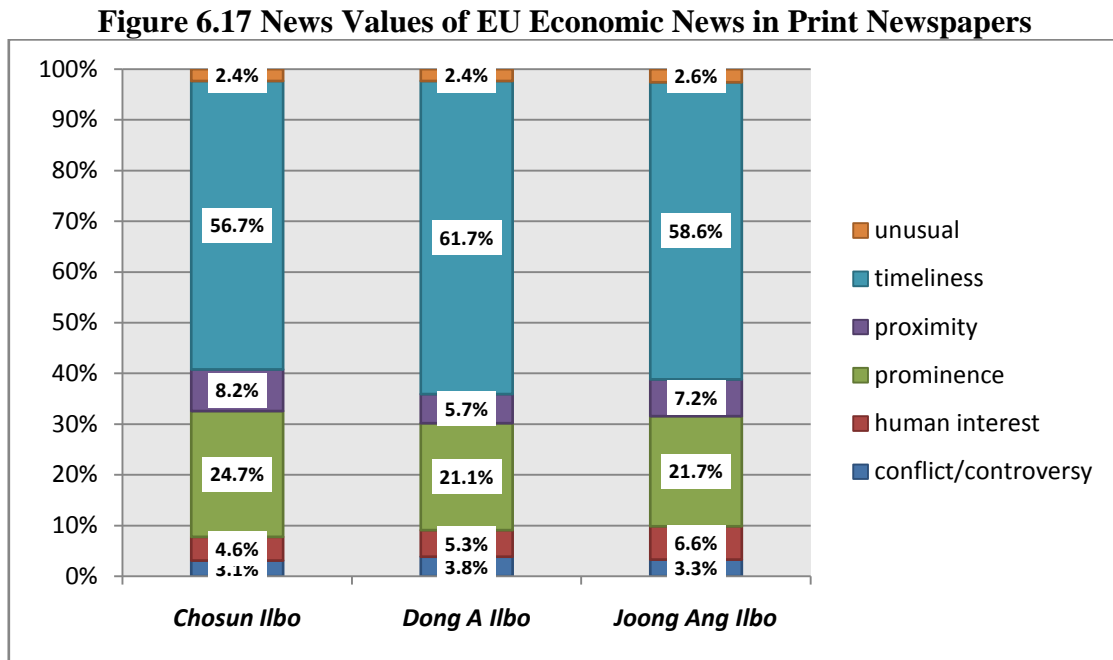
Figure 6.18 News Values of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
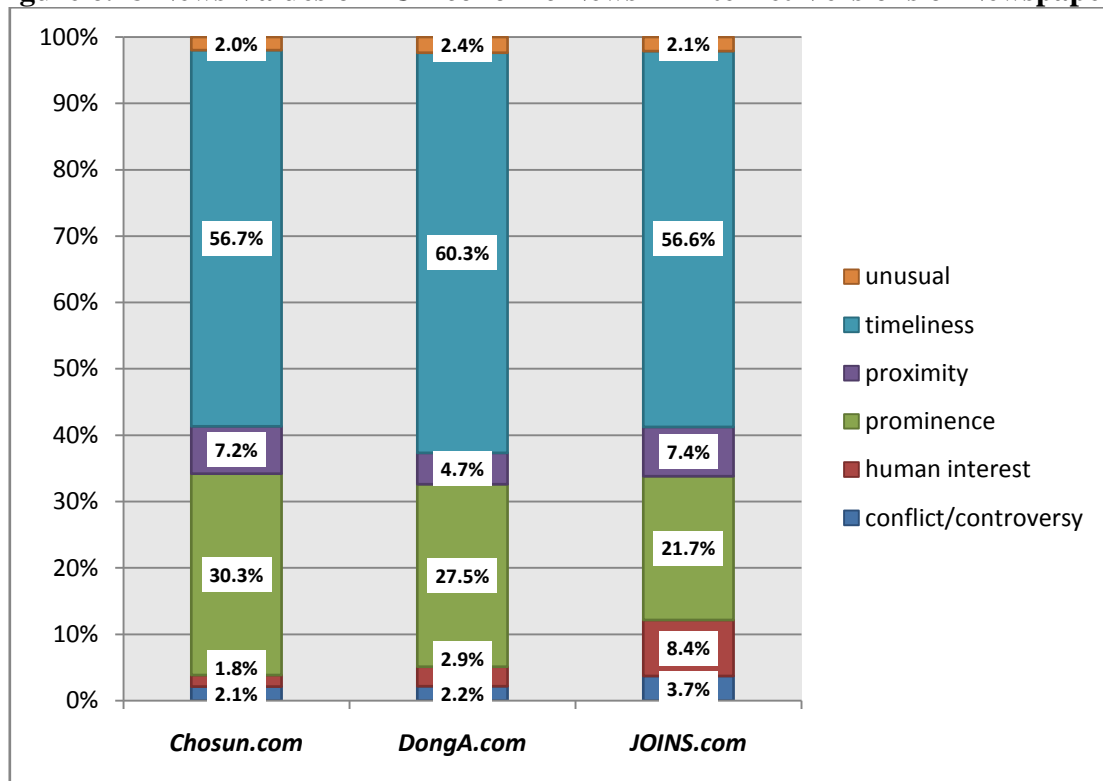
Among these six *news values*, *timeliness* was the main value which led the reportage of EU economic news in both versions. The second main value of both versions of newspapers was *prominence.* Both versions profiled the highest share (approximately 80% of EU economic news items) of the news items with these two predominant values. *Proximity* was in third place, *human interest* in fourth and *conflict/controversy* was fifth. *Unusual* (events) was the minor *news value* of EU economic news items. The two predominant *news values* suggest that newsworthy EU-related economic news addresses the most up-to-date and significant issues to the Korean economy, such as Euro-Korea Won exchange rates, ECB's interests rates and the EU's FDI to Korea.

As in the case of EU political news, *timeliness* was identified as a leading news value. In contrast to political news on the EU, the visibility of economic news which portrayed the *conflict* was low. Instead, both versions focused on news addressing *prominence* (in terms of business or investments) when covering EU economic affairs. As such, the most recent EU's economic issues in the business and investment sectors were seen by Korean newsmakers as newsworthy.

6.3.7 Journalistic Attitudes

Figures 6.19 and 6.20 illustrate the distribution of *journalistic attitudes* in the new stories on EU economic affairs.

Figure 6.19 Journalistic Attitudes Traded in EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
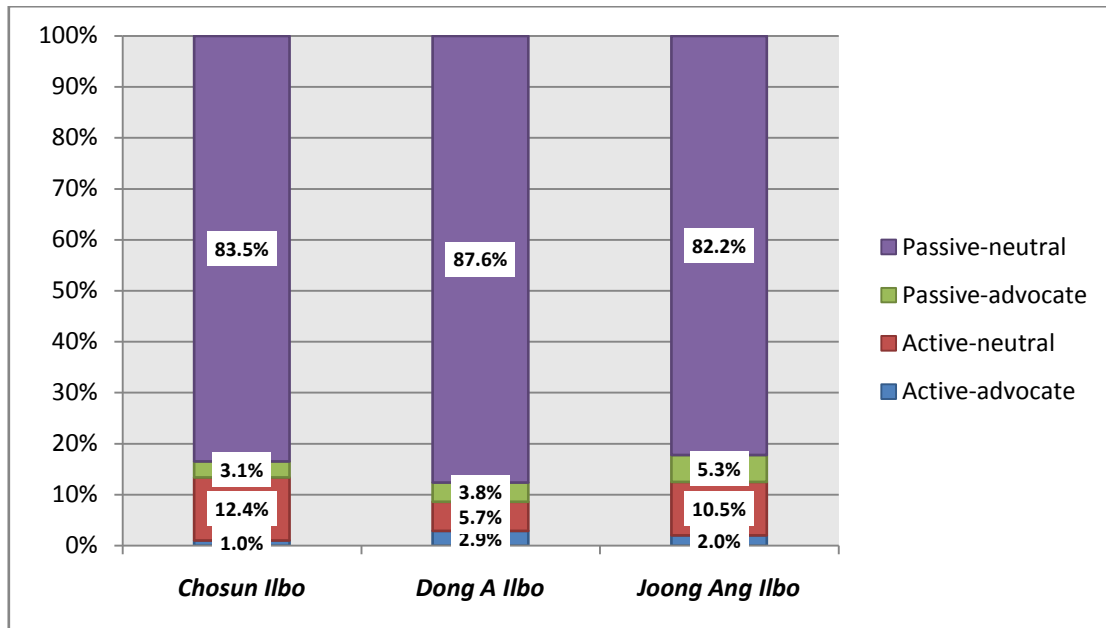
Figure 6.20 Journalistic Attitudes Traced in EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
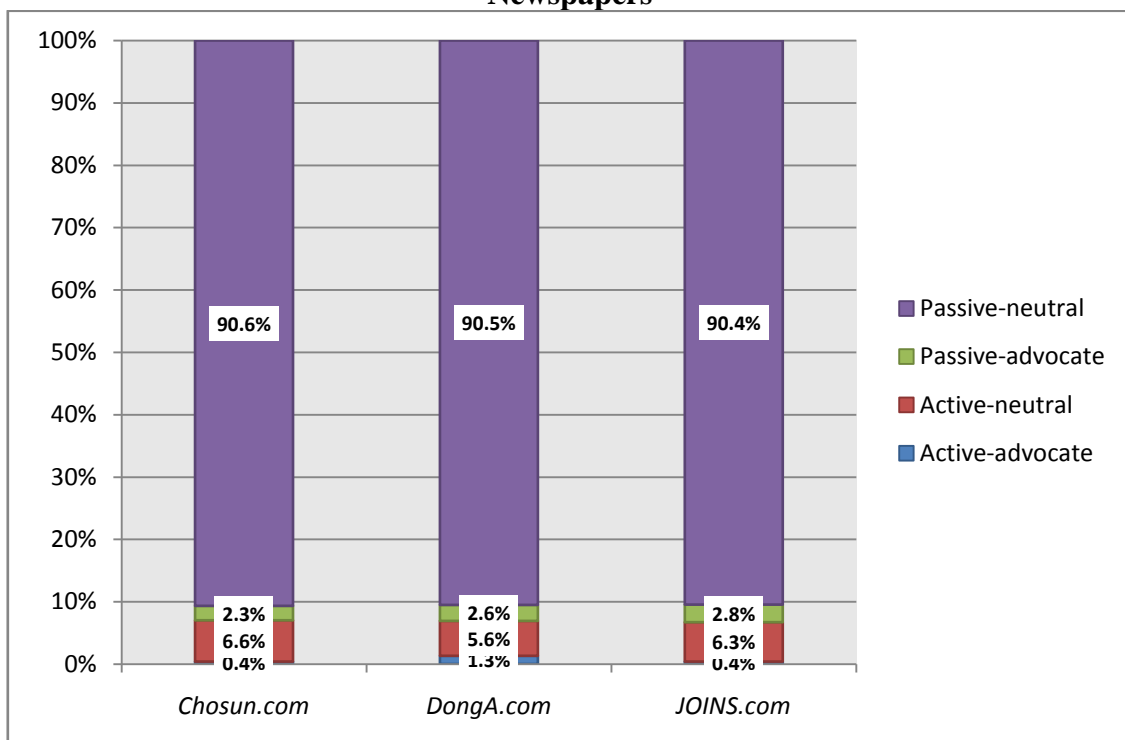
The distribution of the projected *journalistic attitudes* in the print and internet editions was similar. *Passive-neutral* was identified as the major attitude in the both versions. For the print newspapers, *Dong A Ilbo* had the highest share of *passive-neutral* news. For internet versions, *Chosun.com* featured the highest percentage of *passive-neutral* news. *Active-neutral* and *passive-advocate* attitudes followed. *Active-advocate* was the least visible attitude identified. EU economic news in the internet versions profiled a *passive-neutral* attitude more frequently than news in the print outlets.

Comparing EU economic news with EU political news, the former items had a slightly higher share of *passive-neutral* attitudes. Notwithstanding this small difference, the distribution of the projected *journalistic attitudes* of EU political and economic news followed the same pattern.

6.3.8 Conceptual Metaphors

Content analysis demonstrated that both print newspapers and their internet versions often reported the EU's economic actions in the context of EU-Korea economic interactions and EU economic performance in the areas of investment and finance.

The sampled economic news featured 58 metaphorical expressions in the print newspapers and 189 in the internet versions of newspapers. The number of metaphorical expression was less than expected, especially in comparison with the number of metaphorical expressions in the previous case study, it has been pointed out that conceptual metaphors are used for to help the audiences to understand abstract concepts in discernible human terms.[945] Viewed in this

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[945] S. Broström, *The Role of Metaphor in Cognitive Semantics,* (Lund: Lund University Cognitive Studies, 1994), 32.

light, a smaller number of metaphorical expressions in EU economic news may mean that economic matters are somewhat more familiar to the readers.

Table 6.6 Distribution of Identified Metaphorical Expressions Describing EU Economic Performances in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

		Foreign Angle		Domestic Angle	
		Number of metaphorical expression	Percentage	Number of metaphorical expression	Percentage
Print Newspapers	*Chosun Ilbo*	5	41.7%	7	58.3%
	Dong A Ilbo	13	44.8%	16	55.2%
	Joong Ang Ilbo	11	64.7%	6	32.3%
Internet Versions of Newspapers	*Chosun.com*	35	53.8%	30	46.2%
	DongA.com	26	51%	25	49%
	JOINS.com	40	54.8%	33	45.2%

In contrast to the results of the previous case study, the share of the metaphorical expressions in both *foreign* and *domestic* angles of reportage was similar (Table 6.6). *Dong A Ilbo* had the largest number of metaphorical expressions (30) (*Joong Ang Ilbo* had 18 and *Chosun Ilbo* had 13). For the internet versions, *JOINS.com* was the most prolific in the production of metaphorical expressions in EU economic news (73 instances) vs. *Chosun.com* (65) and *DongA.com* (51). Table 6.7 presents the summary of the dominant metaphorical categorisations found in the collected news articles.

Table 6.7 Distribution of Dominant Metaphors about the EU in Economic News of Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers over 2008

	Print Newspapers		Internet Versions of Newspapers	
	Foreign Angle	*Domestic Angle*	*Foreign Angle*	*Domestic Angle*
Human Being	Argument		Argument	Argument
	Athlete		Bossy Authority	
	Emotions	Emotion	Emotions	Emotions
			Competition	Competition
			War/fight/conflict	War/fight/conflict
	Police		Police	Police
				Relations
Artefact/ Nature/ Substance		Market		Market

Print newspapers: reporting EU economic affairs from a foreign angle

The metaphors from EU economic news reporting the Union from a *foreign angle* frequently depicted the EU as an *authority* facing global-scale problems, for example in reports of the global financial downturn, Microsoft's monopoly or an unfair business merger. However, in contrast to the previous case study which also prominently featured the metaphorical categorisation of the EU as an *authority*, the metaphors describing EU economic issues carried strong negative connotations. The metaphors of *emotion* personified the EU as a person having troubles while undergoing one stressful situation after another. The metaphor *athlete* was used to describe the EU was as a player who has run out of energy in his game. The metaphor *argument* presented the EU having difficulties in negotiation with the G7 countries such as the US, Japan, Australia, Brazil, India and China in WTO.

Argument

Korean papers reported the EU as involved in economic and trade conflicts with other economic counterparts. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* stated that "nowadays, the EU more *critically argues* about American capitalism."[946] *Dong A Ilbo* reported that "the EU took *a firm attitude in the trade dispute* with the US."[947] *Joong Ang Ilbo* claimed that "the US, the EU, Japan, Australia, Brazil, India and China *could not reach any agreement* in WTO."[948]

Athlete

In the economic frame, print newspapers portrayed the EU as an *athlete/sportsman*. For example, *Joong Ang Ilbo* depicted the EU in financial market as *a batter* who will lead the

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[946] *Chosun Ilbo,Wŏlga Ch'ajŭn Sarŭk'oji, Mi Kkujitdda,* 24-Sep-08.
[947] *Dong A Ilbo, Big 3 "Jiwŏn Ŏpssŭmyŏn 1nyŏnnae 300manmyŏng Shiljik" Ŭpso? Ŭrŭmjang?* 20-Nov-08.
[948] *Joong Ang Ilbo, "DDA Hyŏpssang Gyŏlryŏl" WTO Ch'ongjang Balkyŏ,* 30-Jul-08.

baseball play.[949] Yet, sometimes this athlete was seen to performing well: *Joong Ang Ilbo* described the EU as currently "out of (his/her) energy for *playing the game*" when the Union is in the global stock market. [950] Nevertheless, the EU image of authority was still present: *Dong A Ilbo* depicted the EU as *umpire* in the sports game in the event of global mortgage crisis.[951]

Emotions

The newsmakers of Korean print newspapers frequently personified the EU and ascribed *emotion*s to it. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* depicted the EU as *anxious* about the collapse of European car industry.[952] *Joong Ang Ilbo* described the EU as *suspicious* about Microsoft's behaviours.[953] *Dong A Ilbo* mentioned that the EU is currently *nervous* about unstable economic situations in Poland and its neighbouring Member States.[954]

Police

In print newspapers, the EU was sometimes depicted as a *police officer* who supervises and patrols internal and external economic affairs. *Chosun Ilbo* reported that the EU is *pursuing investigation* about former Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi's support money for Al Italia.[955] *Dong A Ilbo* also described the EU as *police* who investigated the accident of food price.[956] The EU was also reported to be *continuing investigation* about any law violations in a merger between Porsche and Volkswagen.[957] From 2008, the EU has *conducted intensive control* on fishing regulations.[958]

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[949] *Joong Ang Ilbo,Global Ch'ojŏgŭmni Shidae Yŏllinda,* 31-Oct-08.
[950] *Dong A Ilbo, [digidam] MSe millin Nebigeit'ŏ, Sonie Milin MS*, 26-Feb-08.
[951] *Joong Ang Ilbo,Migukbal Gŭmyung wigi Yurŭpkkaji Dŏpch'ida*, 01-Oct-08.
[952] *Chosun Ilbo, Yurŏp, Chung Jadongch'a Ŏpch'edo "Dowadala,"* 20-Nov-08; and, *Dong A Ilbo, Sŏngŏe Milin Han-Mi FTA…Naedal Imshigukoega Bunsuryŏng*, 20-Jan-08.
[953] *Joong Ang Ilbo, MS "Windo Gisuljŏngbo Gongae Halgot,"* 23-Feb-08.
[954] *Dong A Ilbo, [Pyŏnhyŏk 20 nyŏn Dongyurŏpŭl Gada] <1> Nojoundong Barwŏnji P'olandŭ*, 14-Jan-08.
[955] *Chosun Ilbo, 'Kyohwange Nalgae' Ŏpssŏjilla,* 29-Apr-08.
[956] *Dong A Ilbo, Gumjurime Gongp'o…Gongmulgap p'okdŭnge Jiguch'oni Hŭndŭllinda,* 30-Apr-2008;
[957] *Dong A Ilbo, 'Mŏngnŭnya Mŏkinŭnya' Porŭshe-P'olkŭsŭbagen Pŏpjŏng Gongbang 2 Raundŭ*, 17-Jun-08.
[958] *Dong A Ilbo, Ch'obap Yŏlp'unge Chijunghae Ch'amch'i Ssi Marŭnda,* 29-Jul-08.

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Print newspapers: reporting EU economic affairs from a domestic angle

Echoing the previous case study, the number of the metaphors in the EU reportage from a *domestic angle* was smaller than in the reportage from a *foreign angle*. In contrast to the EU political news case, metaphors describing EU economic affairs from a *domestic angle* cast the EU into a negative light. For instance, metaphors of *emotions* were used to describe the EU as a reluctant partner in cooperation with Korea. Or the metaphor of the *market* presented the EU as a troublesome place to export Korean products.

Emotions

There were fewer metaphors in the category *emotion*s in a *domestic angle* than in a *foreign angle*. *Dong A Ilbo* depicted the EU showing *half-heartedness* to Korea during FTA negotiation.[959] *Joong Ang Ilbo* mentioned *expectations* and *doubts* on the EU cooperating with South Korea in the development of commercial complex in North Korea.[960] The EU was also characterised as *anxious* about its business in Korea.[961]

Market

In Korean papers, the EU was described as a lucrative but competitive *market* to Korea. For example, from *Chosun Ilbo,* the EU was described as *a market* full of opportunity for Korea to sell its product.[962] From *Dong A Ilbo,* "Korean products in the *market* named "the EU" losing the values of Korean products." [963] Finally, *Joong Ang Ilbo* stated that *"in the EU market,* Korean products are losing the competition with the Chinese ones.*"*[964]

[959] *Dong A Ilbo,Songŏe Millin Han-Mi FTA…Naedal Imsigukhoega Bunsuryŏng,* 20-Jan-08.
[960] *Joong Ang Ilbo, [Siron] Buk'an Jawŏn Gongdongŭro Gaebaraja,* 07-Jul-08.
[961] *Joong Ang Ilbo, Jŏhoesanŭn Ddo Saram Ppomne Iljari Ch'angch'uren □□□□ga Hyoja,* 12-Feb-08.
[962] *Chosun Ilbo, "Han-EU FTA Yŏnnae T'agyŏl Habŭi" Yi Hyemin Susŏk daep'yo Balkyŏ,* 16-May-2008; and, *Chosun Ilbo, [Siron] Kyŏngyuch'aga Daean,* 14-May-08.
[963] *Dong A Ilbo,Hanguk 25→17gae, Chunggugŭn 323→442gae,* 04-Apr-08
[964] *Joong Ang Ilbo,Hangukjep'um, Sŏyurŏpsŏdo Chungguge Millinda,* 25-Mar-08.

Internet versions: reporting EU economic affairs from a foreign angle

The internet versions featured a high number of metaphors carrying negative connotations. . Images of *bossy authority, competition* and *war/fight/conflict* surfacing through the metaphorical expressions emphasised negative authority and power of the EU in economic affairs. This negative characterisation of the EU is markedly different from metaphorical images found in a *foreign* angle of EU political news in the internet versions.

Argument

The internet versions used metaphors of *argument* extensively in order to describe the EU's economic affairs. *Chosun.com* wrote: "The EU *contended* that the application of Geographic Indication (GI) should be extended from wine and distilled spirits to cheese and other products."[965] *DongA.com* used this metaphor in order to describe the EU's trade *dispute* with the US. "The EU will not stay quiet about or remain as a spectator to the US's unjust support of its car industry."[966] Another example from *JOINS.com* said that the EU strongly *criticises* American capitalism.[967]

Bossy Authority

The EU was also depicted as a *boss* who approves, rejects or controls economic issues. For example, *JOINS.com* reported that "the EU is expected to *tighten the regulations* on *restricting* Intel's monopoly." [968] *Chosun.com* depicted that the EU *imposed* an enormous

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[965] *Chosun.com*, *[DDA Gangnyo Hoei] Chamjŏng T'ahyŏbangwa Namŭn Jaengjŏm* ,http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/07/27/2008072700106.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[966] *DongA.com, EU "Mi Ch'a Jiwŏnddaen Gongjŏnggyŏngjaeng Jŏhae"…'Muyŏkjŏnjaengbulsa' ŭiji,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20081120/8660227/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[967] *JOINS.com, "Kajino Jabonjui!" Chŏnsegye Miguk Sŏngt'o,* http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3320280&cloc=rss|most_view|global (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[968] *JOINS.com, Mi Intele Tokjŏmgŭmjibŏp wiban yŏbu Gongsikjosa Ch'aksu,* http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?ctg=13&Total_ID=3174022 (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

amount of *a hefty tariff* to Asahi glass and other four car glass producers.[969] *Chosun.com* depicted "the EU *imposed* enormous amount of *tariffs* to Asahi glass and other four car glass producers.[970]

Emotions

The metaphorical image of *emotions* evoked negative images. *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* showed the EU's *nervousness* in its financial issues.[971] *Chosun.com* described the EU's expressed *anxiety* in its car trade.[972] The EU was also *suspicious* about its financial situation in stock market.[973]

Competition

The internet versions also portrayed the EU as a rival to other major global players. For example, *Chosun.com* stated that "China and the EU are in *competition* to establish FTA relations with other countries";[974] or that "Recently, Indonesia and Malaysia suddenly appeared in the market of bio-diesel fuel and are *competing* with the EU."[975] *JOINS.com* even described the EU to be losing ground against other nations. For example, "in the *competition* of financial markets, the EU and the US are expected to fall behind other developing nations in 2016."[976]

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[969] *Chosun.com*, *EU, Jadongch'a Yuriŏpgyee 14ŏkyuro Bŏlgŭm 'Sasang Choego,'* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/11/12/2008111201619.html (retrieved on 12 November 2008).

[970] *Chosun.com*, *EU, Jadongch'a Yuriŏpgyee 14ŏkyuro Bŏlgŭm 'Sasang Choego,'* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/11/12/2008111201619.html (retrieved on 12 November 2008).

[971] *JOINS.com*, *Yurohwa Ch'ulbŏm Gyŏljŏng 10 Junyŏn Mannŭn EU* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3129346 (retrieved 30 April 2008) and, *Chosun.com, [T'ŭkp'awŏn Kalŏm] Bosŭ Jari Nŏmbonŭn Nŏmbŏ 2,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/28/2008092801077.html (retrieved on 29 September 2008).

[972] *Chosun.com*, *Yurŏp. Chung Jadongch'a Ŏpch'edo "Dowadalla,"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/11/20/2008112000062.html (retrieved on 20 November 2008).

[973] *Chosun.com*, *Gŭmniinhae Jŭngsisangsŭng, Janggihojaeron 'Gŭlsse,'* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/10/09/2008100900724.html (retrieved 10 October 2008).

[974] *Chosun.com*, *Mi Sangmu "Hanmi FTA Kyŏnggi Buyange K'ŭn Hyet'aek…Bandŭshi T'onggwa Shikyŏya,"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/07/25/2008072500132.html (retrieved on 25 July 2008).

[975] *Chosun.com*, *[Opinion] Badae 'Baio Yŏnryo' itda,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/22/2008022201364.html (retrieved on 2.com3 February 2008).

[976] *JOINS.com, [Global Insight] Gukbu Fund, 2016nyŏn Mi-EU Kyŏngje Modu Ch'uwŏl,* http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3128427 (retrieved on 15 October 2010).

War/fight/conflict

The metaphors of *war/fight/conflict* were used to describe the EU's economic performance. For example, *DongA.com* cited that "if the EU asks us (the Irish government)…the *war* might break out."[977] It also stated that "it seems like the *conflict* among (EU) nations will be severe."[978]

Police

The internet versions often described the EU's economic restrictions towards other countries or international companies in terms of police restriction towards citizens. For example, The EU was portrayed as *maritime police* in the issue of fishing industry of the Mediterranean.[979] *JOINS.com* commented that "the German government will ask the EU for more *strict control* about tax resorts."[980]

Internet versions: reporting EU economic affairs from a domestic angle

EU economy reportage from a *domestic angle* also contained plenty of metaphorical expressions that described the EU in a negative light. A larger spectrum of metaphorical categorisations with various negative images of the EU was identified in the internet versions. For instance, the metaphors of *argument, competition, war/fight/conflict* and *police* were employed for describing the business conflicts between the EU and Korea and its regional counterparts (Table 6.7).

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[977] *DongA.com,['Kiŏpyŏng Gukgaesŏ Baeunda] <3> Sŏngjang Dongnyŏk K'iwugi Hanmaŭm,* http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200802230075 (retrieved on 24 February 2008).

[978] *DongA.com, IMF Ch'ongjae "Yurŏp Gŭmyungwigie Gongjo Haeya,"* http://economy.donga.com/total/3/01/20081004/21247099/1 (Retrieved on 05 October 2008).

[979] *DongA.com, Ch'obabyŏlp'unge Chijunghae Ch'amch'i Ssi Marŭnda,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080729/8608791/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[980] *JOINS.com, Dogil, EUe Josep'inanguk Gyujeganghwa Yoguhaldŭt,* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3060758 (retrieved on 03 March 2008).

Argument

In the internet versions of newspapers, EU economic affairs were described in terms of an argument between the EU and Korea and its neighbouring countries. For example, in *Chosun.com*, "the EU *asserted* to restrict importing Chinese milk or milk-related products."[981] Another news article in this internet version cited that "the EU objects to the *lawsuit* of the US and Japan *against* WTO."[982] *DongA.com* mentioned that "the EU *warned* China to intensify its regulations concerning selling fraudulent Olympic products."[983] In the same internet version, "Japan and the EU *urged* the WTO to stop the restriction of food export of some countries."[984] *JOINS.com* reported that "the EU *criticised* Yongin (a major city situated in Gyeonggi Province, South Korea) due to the Korean government's unfair requests to demolish the factory of Berna-biotech."[985]

Emotions

The metaphors of *emotions* were also used to describe EU economic performances. *Chosun.com* reported that the EU showed *expectation* and *doubts* in the middle of economic crisis.[986] *DongA.com* mentioned the EU as showing *half-heartedness* in the middle of FTA negotiation.[987] *JOINS.com* reported that the EU was *anxious* about China's comments about world financial system.[988]

[981] *Chosun.com*, *Hongkongsŏ 5Bŏnjjae Melamin P'ihaeja Balsaeng*,
http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/25/2008092501370.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[982] *Chosun.com, Mi,Il, EU Chŏnjajep'um Gwansebugwa WTOe Cheso*,
http://businessnews.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/29/2008052900144.html (retrieved on 30 May 2008).
[983] *DongA.com,[Beijing 2008] Beijing Olimp'ik Kinyŏmp'umi Jjakt'ungi 60%?* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080725/8607617/1 (retrieved on 25 July 2008).
[984] *DongA.com Il-EU "WTO, Shingnyang Such'ul T'ongje magaya,"* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080425/8571334/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[985] *JOINS.com, "Berna Gongjang Ch'ŏlgŏ' Oegukŏpch'e- Chijach'e P'aengp'aenghan Chinshilgeim,"* http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?ctg=11&total_id=3097393 (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[986] *Chosun.com, Daebukt'uja Oegugŏpch'edo '3t'ongmunje' ga Gŏllimdol*,
http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/04/09/2008040900713.html (retrieved on 10 April 2008); and, *Chosun.com, [Weekly Chosun] Gŭmyungdaeranesŏ Oegukjŏngsangdŭre Wigi Daech'obŏp*,
http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/10/31/2008103100987.html (retrieved on 02 November 2008).
[987] *DongA.com, Sŏngŏe Millin Hanmi FTA… Naedal Imsigukoega Bunsuryŏng,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080122/8536149/1 ,
(retrieved on 22 January 2008).
[988] *JOINS.com, Chung Gukjegŭmyung Ch'egye Gaehyŏk Ipjang Mie Tongjo*,
http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?ctg=11&Total_ID=3373572 (retrieved on 20 November 2008).

Competition

The internet versions of newspapers used the metaphor of *competition* to describe the EU's performances in trade and business areas. In *Chosun.com*, Korea was said to be in a leading position in the *competition* with the companies from China, Vietnam, Japan and the EU.[989] In *DongA.com*, "...if the US delays to activate US-Korea FTA, the EU and Canada [the countries currently under negotiation of FTA] will take a leading position in the *competition* for the FTA.[990]

War/fight/conflict

In a *domestic* angle, the internet newspapers also employed the metaphor of *war/fight/conflict* to depict the EU's trade interactions with Korea and its regional neighbours. For example, *Chosun.com* stated that "the EU is having *conflict* with China."[991] In *JOINS.com,* the EU is *struggling* with Korea about using "made in EU" in their FTA negotiations.[992]

Police

Police metaphors in the *domestic angle* of EU economic news in the internet versions were used to depict the EU's image in its accusations of monopoly against a Japanese company and a merger of Korean companies. For example, in *Chosun.com*, the US *investigated* with the EU to find out JAL's price-fixing.[993] In *JOINS.com*, the EU *investigated* the issue of STX's merger with Aker Yards. [994]

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[989] *Chosun.com, Nambuk Gaesŏnggongdan Gaebalsi Ch'osimŭro Doragaya*, http://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/21/2008052101492.html (retrieved on23 May 2008).
[990] *DongA.com, Hanmi FTA Miŭihoe Yŏnnae Ch'ŏri 'Ganŭng-Chint'ong' Yangnon,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080214/8544082/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[991] *Chosun.com, Hatisyuro bon 2008 Chungguk Gyŏngje Kisangdo*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/01/02/2008010251100.html (retrieved on 03 January 2008).
[992] *JOINS.com, Dogildo P'olandŭdo* 'made in EU'? http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3026956 (retrieved on 30 January 2008).
[993] *Chosun.com, Mi, Damhaphyŏbŭi Ilbonhanggonge 1 Ch'ŏn 100ŏgwŏn Pŏlgŭm Bugwa*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/04/17/2008041700892.html (retrieved on 15 October 2010).
[994] *JOINS.com, [Cover Story] STX Chosŏn, Segyejŏk Kŭrujŭ Ŏpch'e Yakŏyajŭ Kyŏngyŏnggwŏn Insu Ggaji*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3293111 (retrieved on 15 October 2010). STX Offshore and Shipbuilding is a Korean shipbuilding company which is the world's biggest shipbuilding company. For more information, see the website of STX offshore and Shipbuilding. http://www.stxeurope.com/aboutus/

Relationships

In the *domestic angle*, the internet versions used the metaphor of *relationships* in order to explain EU-Korea trade relations. In *Chosun.com* and *DongA.com*, the EU was described as having *trusted* relationships with Korea in terms of trade.[995] In addition, other articles in these internet versions depicted the EU is having *close* relationship with Korea.[996]

Market

As with EU articles in the *domestic angle* in print newspapers, *market* metaphors were used in the news articles in internet newspapers. In *Chosun.com*, the EU was depicted as a lucrative car *market* for Korea.[997] In *DongA.com*, the EU was described as *a big market* for Japan and Korea.[998] *JOINS.com* cited that "Korea is losing its position in *the market* of the EU."[999]

To sum up, a number of metaphorical expressions was used to describe the EU as an economic *authority* able to dictate its own rules to the others. In contrast to the coverage of the EU as a political actor, there were no metaphorical expressions describing the EU as a *mediator* in the global economy. Observation of the EU economic coverage from *a foreign angle* shows that the Korean print newspapers and their internet versions described the EU as a troubled but powerful counterpart who can only compete with the US in global trade. Metaphorical expressions found in EU reportage from a *domestic angle*, portrayed the EU as

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[995] *Chosun.com, Kukoe Hanmi FTA Ppali T'onggwasik'yŏya,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/28/2008022800533.html (retrieved on 01 March 2008); and, *DongA.com, [Siron/Yubyŏnggyu] Gaggawŏjin EUwa Tŏ Gutge Aksurŭl,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080205/8541487/1 (retrieved on 05 February 2008).

[996] *Chosun.com, Yi Daet'ongnyung "Segyegyŏngje Oilshok'ŭhu Ch'oedaewigi,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/16/2008061600270.html (retrieved on 17 June 2008); *Chosun.com, Yi Daet'ongnyung "Chŏnsegyejŏk 'Winan' Dangmyŏnhaetda,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/16/2008061601248.html (retrieved on 17 June 2008); and, *DongA.com, Yi Daet'ongnyŏng "Segyegyŏngje Oilshok'ŭhu Ch'oedae Wigi,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080616/8590680/1 (retrieved on 16 June 2008).

[997] *Chosun.com, [Siron] Kyŏngyuch'aga Daeanida,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/13/2008051301685.html (retrieved on 13 May 2008).

[998] *DongA.com, Il Nongsanmul Bitjang Mŏnjŏ P'unŭnge Hyŏpsang Gwangŏn,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080422/8569945/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[999] *JOINS.com, Hanguk Chep'um, Sŏyurŏpsŏdo Chunggŭge Millinda,* http://article.joins.com/article/article.asp?total_id=3085873 (retrieved on 25 March 2008).

having troubles with Korea and its regional counterparts in the area of business. However, both versions portrayed that the EU as keeping a sound relationship with Korea in terms of trade cooperations. Finally, the metaphorical expressions in EU-related economic news were employed more frequently to describe EU's trade affairs with Korea and other international counterparts than to show the investment relations between the EU and Korea.

6.4 Visual Representations

6.4.1 Representational Meta-function

There were less visual images of the EU as an economic actor in the both versions compared to the coverage of EU political actions. The three print newspapers featured 35 visual images, and the internet editions had 47. Among the print newspapers, *Dong A Ilbo* had more visual images (14) than *Chosun Ilbo* (11) and *Joong Ang Ilbo* (10). Among their internet versions, *Chosun.com* had the largest number of visual images (17), compared with 16 in *DongA.com* and 14 in *JOINS.com*. *Representational meta-function* was used to assess what *people, places* and *things* visually are used to represent the EU's economic affairs (Figures 6.21 and 6.22).

Figure 6.21 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers

People		number of items
a male person		15
a group of people		9
male and female together		6
not appeared		5

Places		
interview room		6
conference room		5
urban street		3
shopping centre		3
no background		18

Things		
EU or MS flags		6
mark of Euro sign		2
not appeared		27
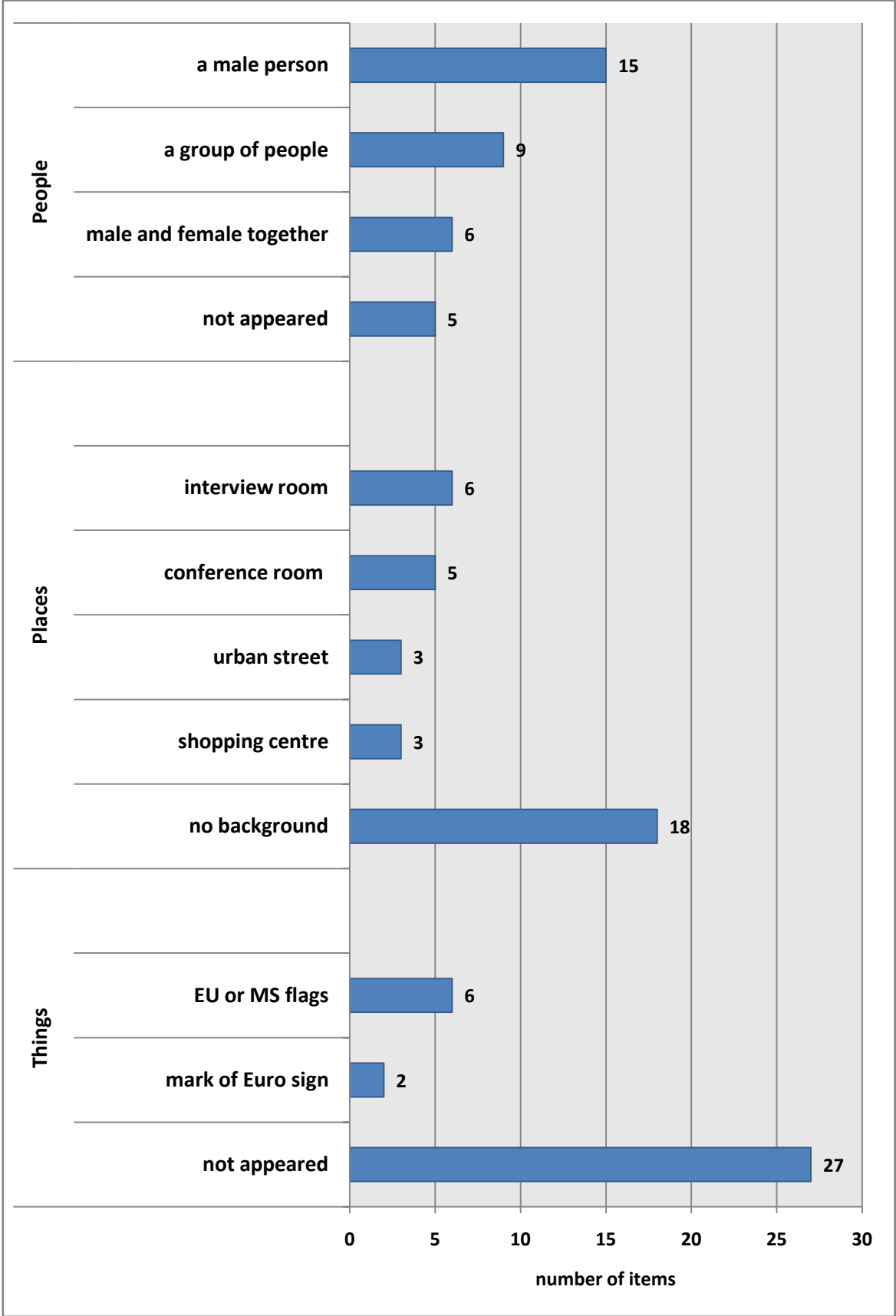
Figure 6.22 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
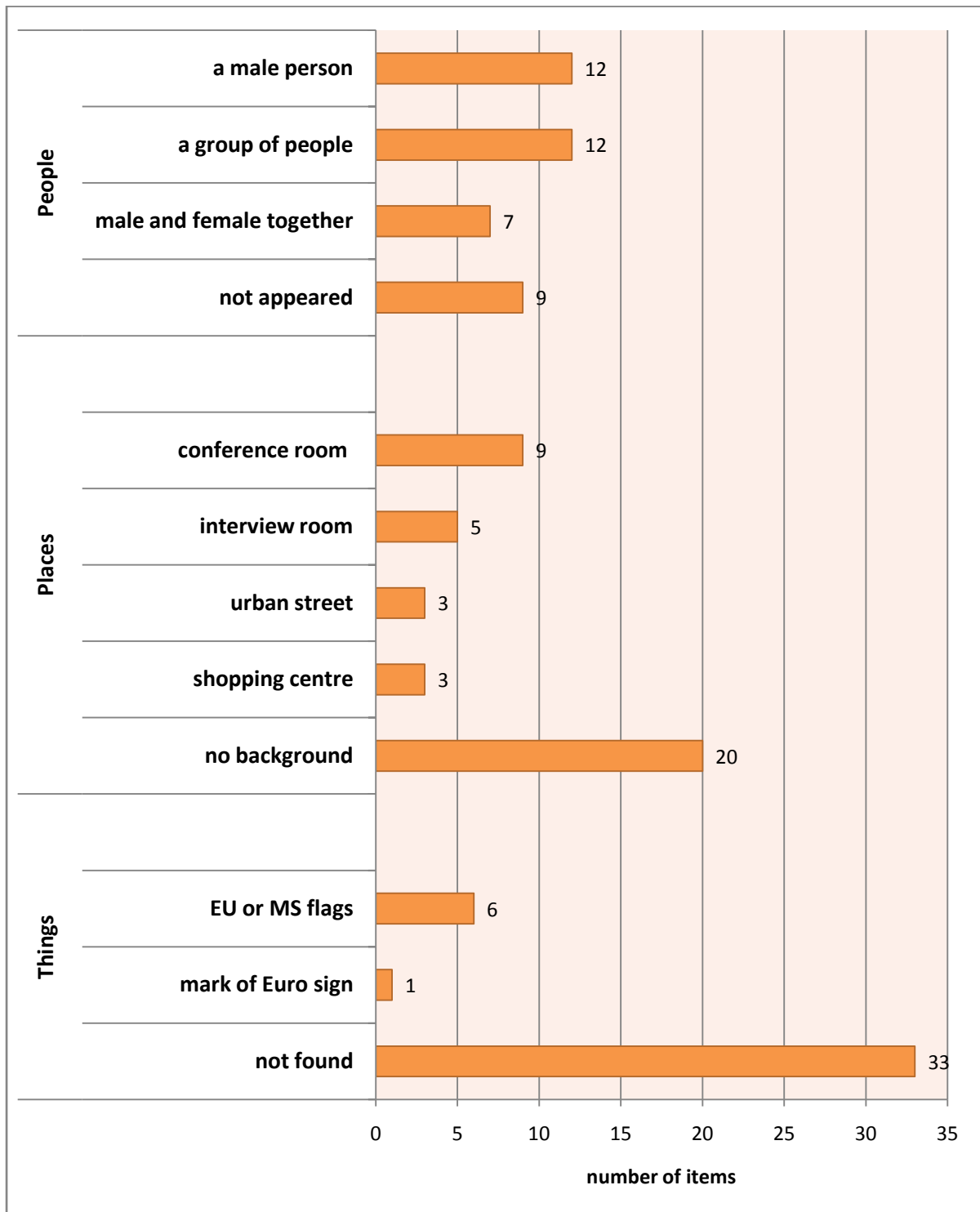
The print and internet versions shared a number of common patterns. In both versions the most visible *people* in the reports on EU economic affairs were *male persons* and *groups of people*. This was similar to the EU political reportage discussed in the previous chapter

Meanings attached to the notion of masculinity, for example virility, could be then ascribed to the EU. in the images of *groups of people* of EU political news, visual images of *groups* emphasised images of EU Member States' representatives interacting with each other (internal dimension) rather than the EU interacting or cooperating with non-EU nations (external dimension). This was different from the visual images in EU political news which emphasised the latter dimension. The most visible person was Mr. Jean-Marie Hurtiger, a former president of European Chamber of Commerce in Korea (EUCCK) from 2008 to 2011 who appeared four times in each version. The most visible group was the one of the 'EU Big 4' leaders with Mr. Jean-Claude Trichet (the 2nd president of ECB from 2003 to 2011) appearing five times in each version. The fact that the 'EU Big 4' and Mr. Trichet were the most visible actors in the verbal texts of EU economic news demonstrates that in this case visual images reinforce the verbal ones.

Considering *places* for both versions, an *interview room* and a *conference room* was the most common setting for the EU in the economic frame. The visibility of these places could emphasise the status of the EU as an approachable and interacting economic counterpart. The visible places were *streets* and *shopping centre* depicting the EU as a place readers could relate to.

To sum up, the visual images of the EU in terms of *actors* and *places* were found to portray the EU in terms of its economic authority. This visual message parallels EU images surfacing through metaphorical verbal categorisations. Arguably, this combination of visual and verbal images solidifies the EU's image of an influential economic actor in global and Korean economies.

Finally, the flags of the EU and/or its Member States were the most visible *things* in visual images accompanying EU economic news. Predictably, the *Euro sign* (€) appeared as yet another visible symbol for the EU's economic affairs. With Euro being one of the three most visible spontaneous images of the EU among the Korean public,[1000] it is safe to assume that among the Korean readers the Euro sign in visual images is a well recognised symbol of the EU's economic actions.

6.4.2 Interactive Meta-function

Interactive meta-function measured how the visual images of the EU in economic news interacted with the viewers of the articles. Once again, this study identified many parallels between the visual images in the print and internet editions (Figures 6.23 and 6.24).

Figure 6.23 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
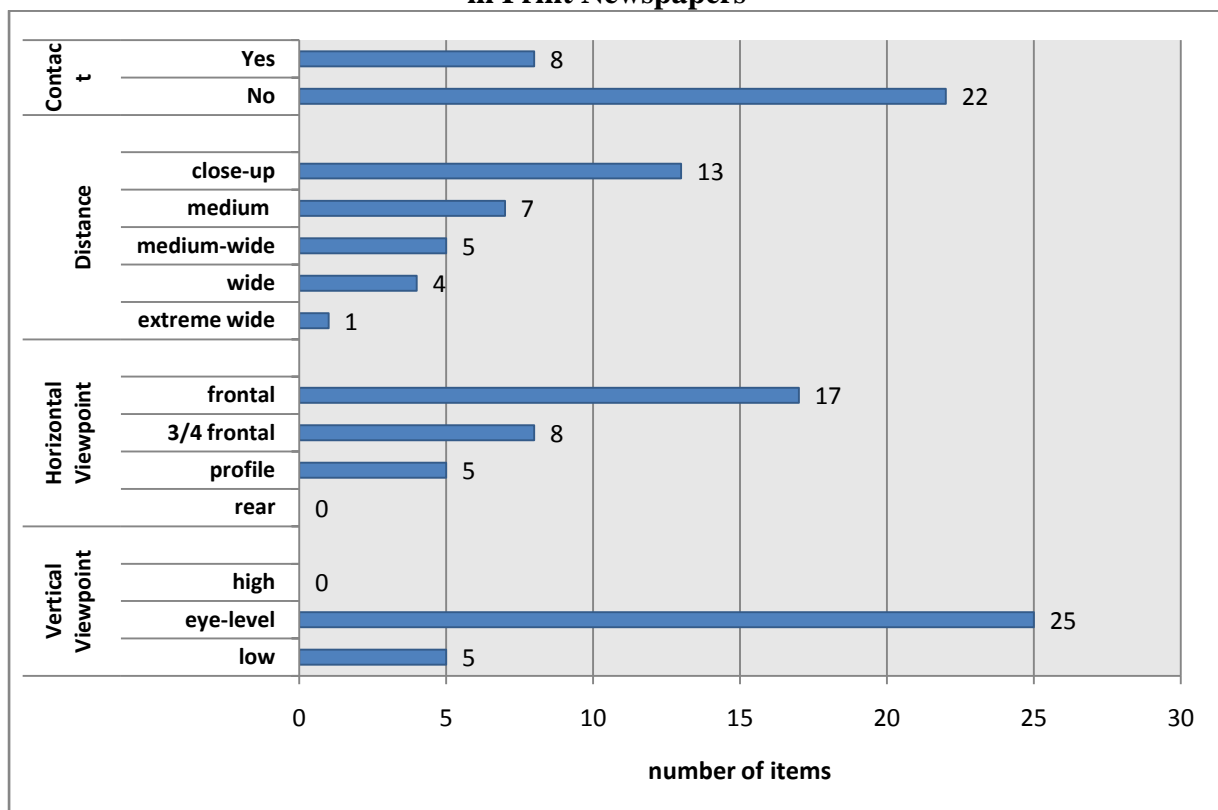
[1000] EU External Perceptions, *National Centre for Research on Europe,* http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/ (retrieved on 12 March 2008). The results were drawn from public opinion surveys in South Korea (2004-2006) conducted by the National Centre for Research on Europe.

Figure 6.24 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
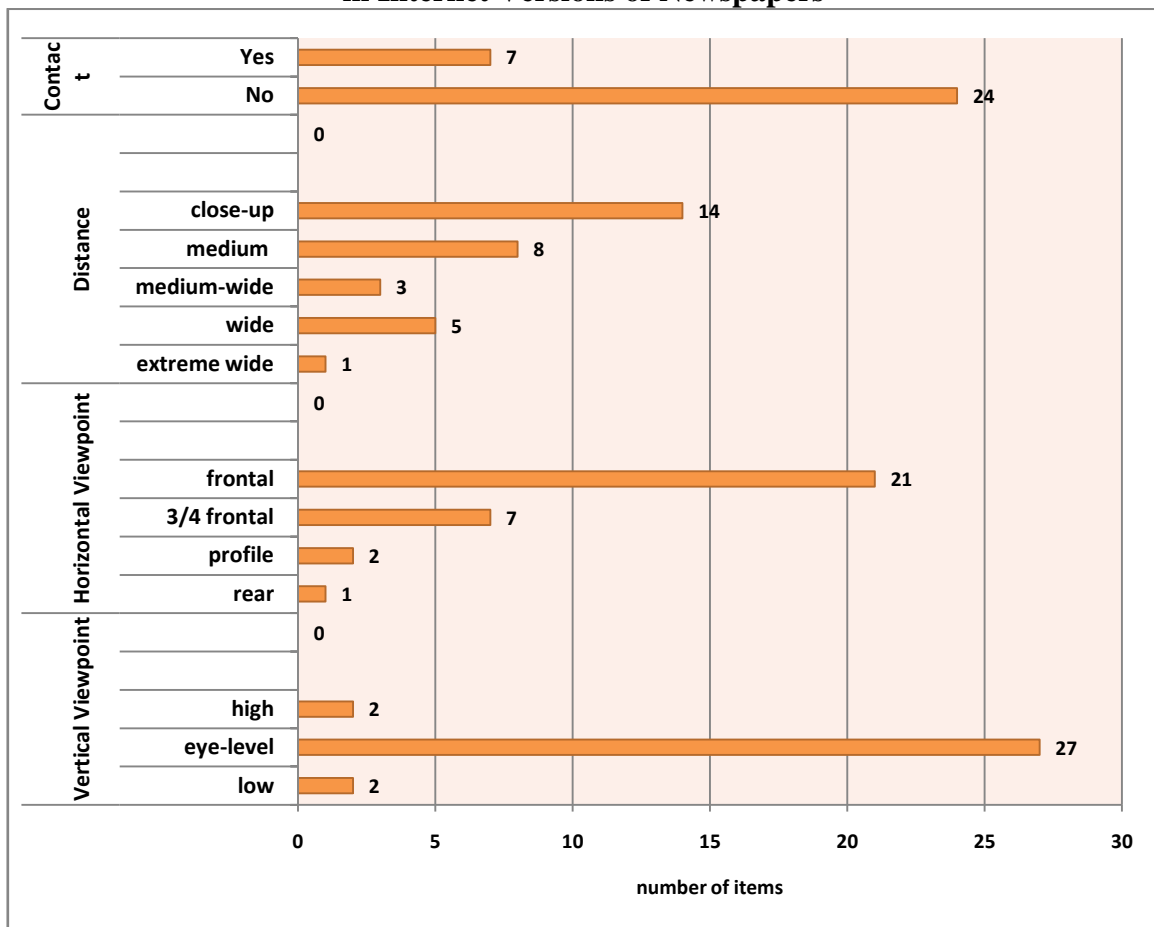
Assessing the element of *contact*, actors who appeared in the visual images in the print newspapers and internet versions usually were found to not make direct eye contact with the readers of the articles. The results show that the Korean print and internet versions of newspapers do not produce 'demanding' images of the EU as an economic actor.

Examination of the element of *distance* revealed that most visual images in both editions were taken with a *close-up* shot showing the actors' faces and shoulders. As mentioned in Chapter 4, close-up shots may convey an intimacy or friendliness on the part of the actors that appear in the visual images.

The analysis of a *viewpoint* demonstrated that within the *horizontal viewpoint* category, most visual images in both editions were shot from a *frontal* angle, Most of the *vertical viewpoints*

were taken at *eye-level*, which points out that the EU may be viewed as an equal entity. These viewpoints may render a meaning of the EU and its actors as being chosen to the readers. In summary, the analysis of the *interactive meta-function* of EU visual images reveals that the EU was represented as a friendly and close economic counterpart to Korea.

6.4.3 Compositional Meta-function

The *compositional meta-function* evaluates how EU visual images were composed and presented for the readers (Figures 6.25 and 6.26).

Figure 6.25 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Print Newspapers
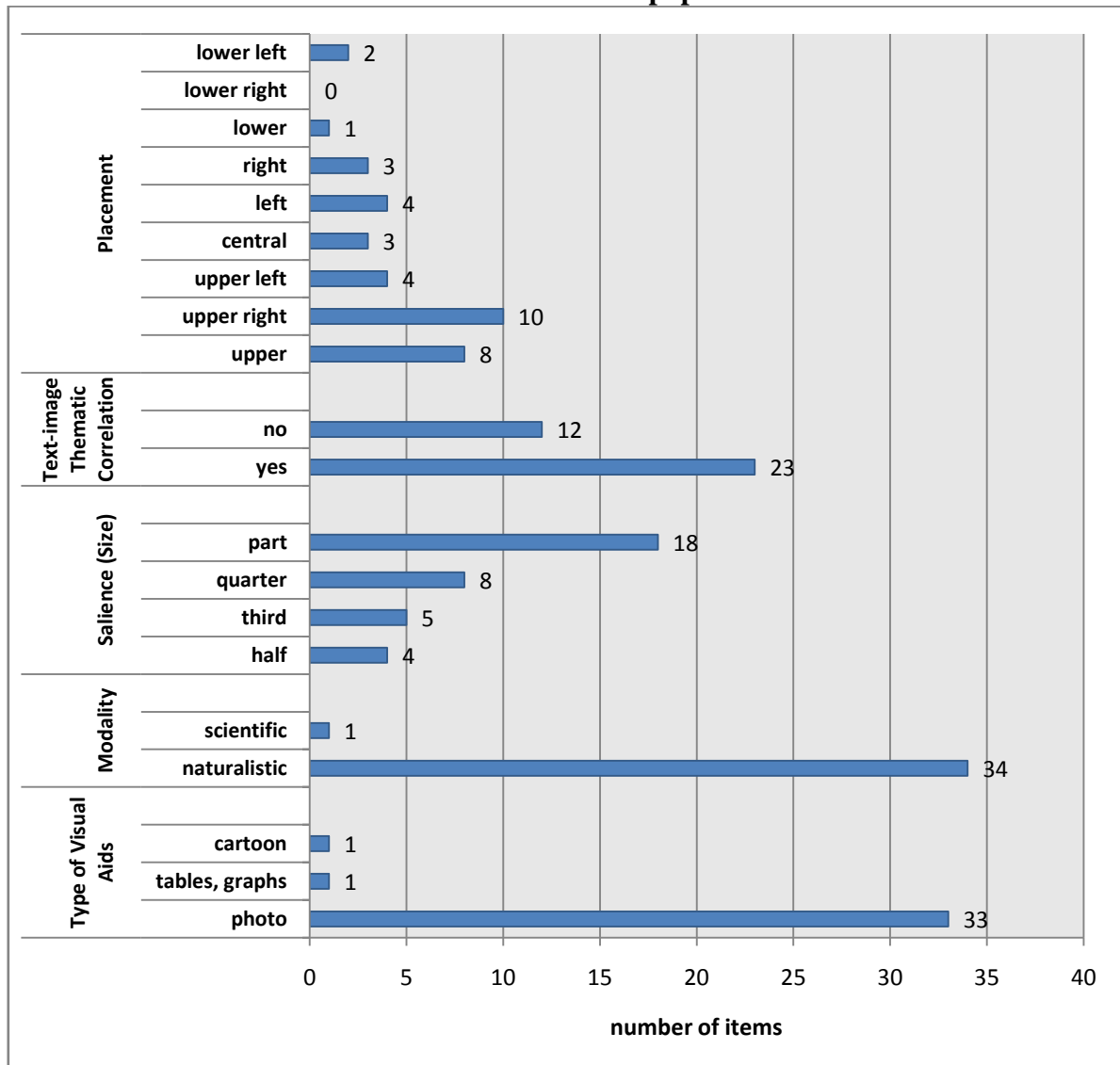
Figure 6.26 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU Economic News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
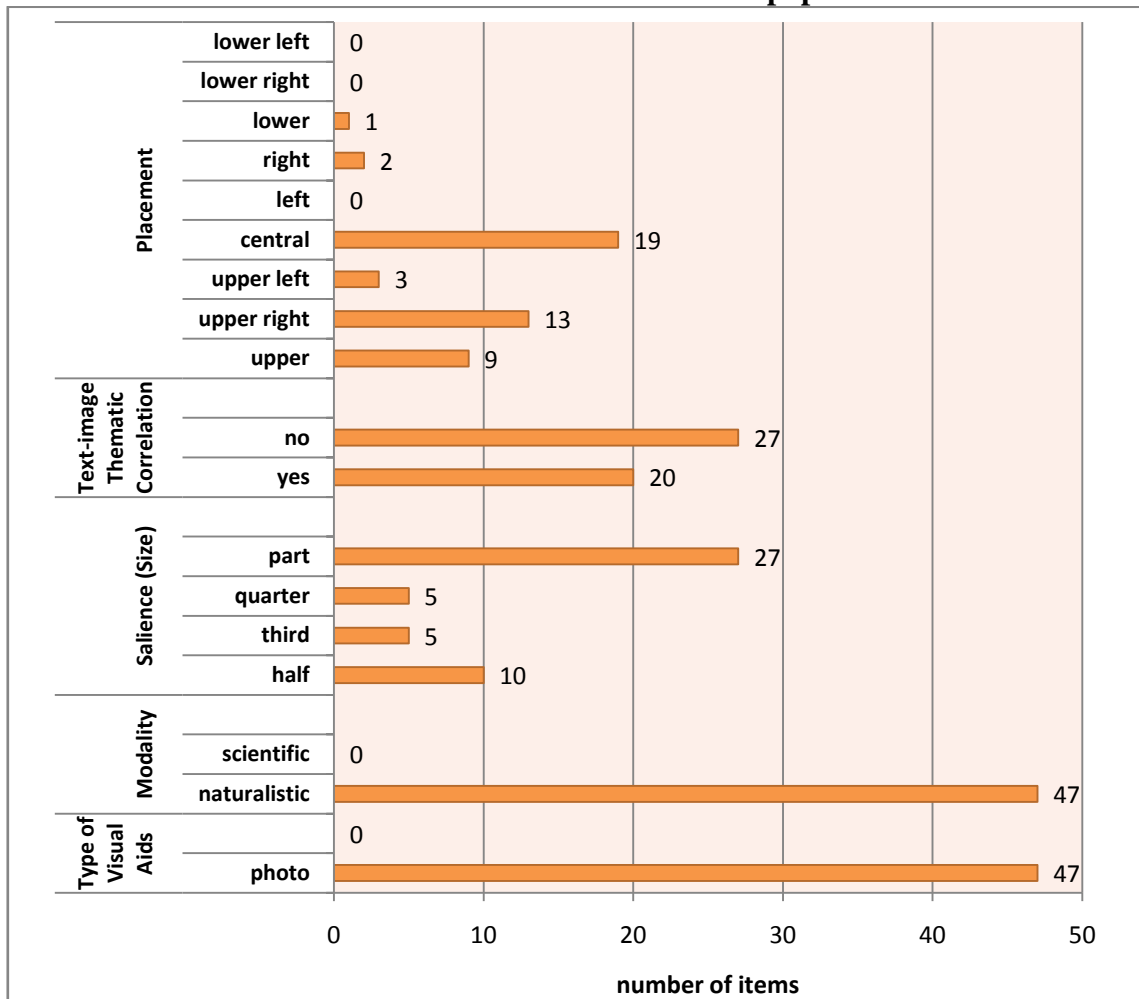
While there are some striking similarities in the composition of the visual images in the print and internet editions, there are marked contrasts in the categories of *text-image thematic correlation* and *salience*. Assessing the element of horizontal *placement*, most visual images in the frame were placed on the *right*-hand side of the articles of the both versions. Considered "given-new structure," it means that the information in these articles was conceptualised as *new* to readers. As discussed above, *timeliness* was identified as a leading *news value* behind EU economic news. As such, the horizontal *placement* of visual images confirms an impression that these news items report the latest news.

Vertical placement, excluding *central* position, set the relevant images on the *upper* side of the articles. Employing the notion of "ideal/real structure," this analysis argues that this placement may render a meaning of EU economic affairs as being 'more detached' from reality for the readers. However, according to Harrison's work about the interpretation of social semiotics, *top* placement also refers to "a pictorial element of an image."[1001] Thus, the predominant vertical *placement* of visual images may mean that the images were employed as a pictorial supplement to EU images in the text of news.

Evaluation of the *text-image thematic correlation* demonstrated that there is a significant disparity between the print newspapers and their internet versions. The print newspaper featured a thematic match between the visual and the verbal images in 66.7% of the economic sample. For the internet versions, as in the case with EU political news, a greater number of visual images were not thematically matched with the verbal texts of EU economic news (57.4%). Arguably, the intertextual relation in the print versions presents a more coherent image of the EU as an economic actor.

The element of *salience* assessed the size of visual images of the EU in relation to the size of the text. For both print newspapers and their internet versions, the majority of the visual images occupied a *quarter* area of the news text dimension (75% of collected images from the print newspapers and 68.1 % of collected images from the internet versions). However, the internet editions were more prone to present EU visual images in bigger frames, namely when the photos occupied *half* of the articles' area. This was different from the previous case study. Arguably, larger size images may convey the message of the EU as a more salient economic actor than a political actor.

[1001] C. Harrison, "Visual Social Semiotics: Understanding How Still Images Make Meaning," *Technical Communication* ,vol. 50, no. 1 (2003): 46.

Finally, analysis of the *types of visual aids* used shows that the majority of visual images in the both versions were *photographs* (94.5% for the print newspapers and 85.1% for the internet versions). The print newspapers also used *cartoons, tables and graphs* as visual aids but to lesser degree (5.6%). Internet versions used *videos* (14.9 %) Videos were not analysed in this research. The majority of visual images of the EU in the economic frame in both versions profiled *naturalistic modality*. *Scientific modality* was observed when the print newspapers used graphs and tables. A prevalence of *naturalistic* modality in the economic frame images was similar to what was found in the case study of EU political news.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter investigated whether and how the representations of the EU in Korean reputable press and their internet editions reflect the actual state of affairs in the EU-Korea economic relations. This chapter demonstrated that the EU is an important economic counterpart for Korea in terms of investment and trade. It was therefore expected that the EU would be framed by the leading Korean news media as an influential economic counterpart to Korea and a major economic actor globally.

Systematic consideration of the *formal characteristics* of the EU economic news revealed that the internet versions published more EU economic news than their print editions. The most voluminous coverage occurred when both versions reported on the EU's economic status in the context of the global financial crisis in October 2008. Interestingly, the leaders of EU economic coverage were different for the print and internet editions. In contrast to the EU political news, *Dong A Ilbo* led in EU reportage among the three print papers. Yet for the internet versions, *Chosun.com* had the largest number of EU economic news items. In parallel

to the previous case study, both versions relied heavily on using *local news agencies* and *local correspondents* to report EU-related economic issues. Again Korean leading print newspapers employed local staff (domestic journalists and their own foreign correspondents) to produce EU economic news. In contrast, their internet versions relied mainly on the local news agency *Yonhap News* for reporting the EU. Among the three internet versions, *DongA.com* had the most options for interactivity by providing the journalists' email address in its news articles. Yet, despite its large volume EU economic news was found to be less popular than EU political news. Only 31% of EU economic articles were read by more than 100 readers and 37% of these articles were ranked in Daily Top 100 News in *Chosun.com*. Finally, as in the case of EU political news, some EU economic news items were replicated either between the print and internet versions or across the internet versions: about 8% of EU economic news items in the print papers were reproduced in their internet editions, and about 32% of EU economic news items in internet versions were duplicated in at least two internet versions. Duplication may mean that this piece of news has a higher chance of reaching readers get their news from various sources.

Systematic consideration of the *substantive characteristics* of the news content yielded a number of observations. The category of the *focus of domesticity* was showed that the print newspapers had a higher share of EU economic news with a local focus that their internet editions. Arguably, this could be explained by the nature of the news sources. While Korean local journalists authored articles in the print versions introducing those local perspectives, the three internet editions extensively used *Yonhap News* agency which often translated EU news from international wires. Importantly, the EU was depicted with a *minor* degree of intensity in the majority of news articles (60%) in the both versions. Predictably, the EU economic news presented a markedly different set of most visible actors than those that

appeared in the EU political news. The ECB and its former president, Mr. Trichet were the most visible institutional actors. The most visible EU Member State actors were 'EU Big 4' countries as well as political leaders of France, Germany and the UK.

The EU's economic performance in the troubled global economy captured the attention of Korean newsmakers. The *most visible topics* in EU economic coverage in the both versions dealt with the EU's financial issues such as *interest rates, stock market* and *investment to Korea*. Consistent with the coverage of the EU political news, the EU economic news from the internet versions featured more diverse topics than EU news in the print outlets. This is obviously due to a higher volume of news processed by the internet medium. As in the case of EU political news, predominant *evaluations* of EU economic actions were *neutral*, and this was true for both versions. Yet, the internet versions had a higher share of *neutral* news than their print outlets. This pattern in evaluation could be ascribed to the difference in the news sources; print editions used local correspondents to source EU economic news. Nevertheless, in totality, *passive-neutral* was the most typical *journalistic attitude* traced in EU economic news which correlated with the prevailing neutral evaluation identified in the coverage.

Finally, the internet versions, featuring a larger volume of news, had a more diverse spectrum of the metaphorical categorisation of the EU as an economic actor than their print outlets. Metaphorical images of the EU frequently presented the Union in a negative light, especially when the reports dealt with the EU's trade conflicts with various international counterparts. Importantly though, the metaphorical categorisations were also used to depict the EU as an authoritative economic actor who can compete with the US and China, and is also able to help Korea's economy. In sum, the substantive elements of the content analysis of the texts

were helpful in discovering the image of the EU as a capable actor in the areas of finance and investment, as well as a competent and influential trader.

In comparison to the EU political news, there were less visual images of the EU as an economic actor (only 36 in print newspapers and 47 in internet versions). The majority of EU economic news items were reported without any visual support. This deficit of visual images may mean that EU economic news may attract less readers' attention as visual imagery is known for raising the overall visibility of the news. Assessment of the visual images revealed that the former president of EUCCK Mr. Hurtiger was among the most recognizable faces of the EU economic affairs. This finding is of interest as this EU actor had a firm link to Korea. Assessing the elements of distance and camera angle, this analysis found that most frequent shots were from a *close-up* distance and *eye-level* angle. These findings lead to the conclusions that the EU was presented as a close and friendly economic actor. Similar to the previous case study, most visual images in the EU economic frame were placed on the *top* and at the *right* hand positions. This positioning may convey both the currency and novelty of the EU economic news items in both versions.

Comparing the findings between the two cases, the print and internet editions were found to produce a larger number of articles reporting the EU economic affairs than the articles on EU political actions. Yet, the EU economic news employed less metaphorical and visual images of the EU. Many EU economic news reports were factual and neutral in tone attempting to offer practical non-biased commentary on EU-Korea economic interactions, such as conducting business in Korea, investing in Korea, understanding the activities of the EUCCK and subtleties of the EU-Korea FTA, as well as following the exchange rates between the currencies of the EU and Korea.

This chapter opened with the question whether the reality of EU-Korea economic interactions and the Union's economic power were recognised and reflected by the leading Korean press and their internet editions. The results of media analysis demonstrate that the Korean reputable news outlets emphasised in their reporting the EU's financial capacities and ability to invest, as well as the EU's trade disputes with various international counterparts. In contrast, the theme of EU-Korea trade cooperation was less visible. With the ratification of the EU-Korea FTA, future research could examine if the theme of EU-Korea trade cooperation will get a more prominent position in the EU economic coverage in Korea.

CHAPTER VII

Case Study Three: Social, Environmental and Developmental Representation of the EU in Korean Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

7.1 Introduction: Social, Environmental and Developmental Contexts of the Dialogue between the EU and Korea

The two previous chapters explored images of the EU as a political and economic actor in the three major Korean newspapers and their internet versions. This chapter will follow the same structure to examine images of the EU as a social, environmental and developmental (hereafter SED) actor.

The question of EU images in its SED affairs is worthy of attention for two reasons. Firstly, the scope of EU-Korea cooperation has recently become more comprehensive. EU-Korea relations have progressively developed from trade-based interactions to a broader cooperation based on the 2001 Framework Agreement for Trade and Cooperation. [1002] The 2001 Framework Agreement spelled out the agenda for cooperation which included the fields of science and technology, environmental matters, energy, culture, information, communications and development assistance. [1003] On 10 May 2010, the EU and Korea signed a new Framework Agreement which underpins the development of current EU-Korea

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[1002] European Commission, External Action: Republic of Korea, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/index_en.htm (retrieved on 21 October 2010).
[1003] European Union, "Framework Agreement for Trade and Cooperation between the European Community and its Member States, on the one hand, and the Republic of Korea, on the other hand," In *Official Journal of the European Communities* 90 (2001), 46-58; European Commission, Republic of Korea-EU Summit, Seoul, 23 May 2009, JOINT PRESS STATEMENT, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/docs/summit_jps_2009_en.pdf (retrieved on 21 October 2010); and, European Council, (2010) op. cit.

relations. [1004] On 6 October 2010, the EU-Korea summit emphasised that both parties will continue strengthening their partnership in tackling global challenges such as climate changes and development. [1005]

The details of cooperation in the SED areas between the two parties were presented in Titles V and VI of the updated Framework Agreement.[1006] Details of EU-Korea cooperation in the area of social affairs can be found in Articles 21 (health), 28 (cooperation in culture, information, communication, audio-visual and the media) and 29 (education). In Article 21, both parties agreed to mutual cooperation in terms of exchanging information about the surveillance of infectious diseases, health strategies, public health plans and pharmaceutical safety and approval.[1007] In Article 28, both parties agreed to work towards understanding each other's cultures; to promote cultural and media exchanges; and to participate in relevant international forums such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the ASEM.[1008] In Article 29, both parties agreed to support jointly appropriate cooperative activities in the fields of education, training and youth development with particular emphasis on higher education.[1009] One example of cooperation in higher education is the EU's support of EU research centres in Korean universities.[1010]

For EU-Korea environmental cooperation, the details are cited in Articles 23 and 24. According to Article 23, "...the Parties agree on the need to conserve, and manage in a

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[1004] European Council, *EU-Republic of Korea Summit (Brussels, 6 October 2010)*. Brussels: Press of European Council; and, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Republic of Korea, EU-ROK Summit Joint Press Statement,(Brussels, October 6, 2010), http://www.mofat.go.kr/english/press/MinistryNews/20101007/1_13155.jsp (retrieved on 21 October 2010).
[1005] Ibid.
[1006] EUROPA, Framework Agreement between The European Union and Its Members States, on the One Part, and the Republic of Korea, on the Other Part, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/docs/framework_agreement_final_en.pdf (retrieved on 9 February 2011)
[1007] Ibid.
[1008] Ibid.
[1009] Ibid.
[1010] EUROPA, European Union External Actions, South Korea, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/index_en.htm (retrieved on 11 June 2013). According to EUROPA, the EU has,four EU centres in universities in Korea. The names of these EU centres are as follows: Yonsei-SERI EU Centre (Seoul), HUFS-HRI EU Centre (Seoul), PNU EU Centre (Pusan) and YU EU Centre (Daegu). For more information, see http://www.eeas.europa.eu/eu-centres/eu-centres_en.pdf

sustainable manner, natural resources and biological diversity as a basis for the development of current and future generations."[1011] In Article 24, the EU and Korea agreed to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions and to discuss related issues in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).[1012] A further example of cooperation within the UNFCCC is the EU and Korea's participation in the Kyoto protocol.[1013]

Details of developmental cooperation between the EU and Korea in which the two parties agreed to exchange information on their development assistance policies towards third countries were outlined in Article 27.[1014] In light of the extensive details of EU-Korea cooperation in SED areas, it is anticipated that Korean print newspapers and their internet versions will reflect a diversity of EU images in these areas.

Secondly, to date, there has been a deficit of research of EU external media representations in the SED areas. Chaban offered a comprehensive media analysis of the EU's SED images in Asian news media when she analysed three newspapers and one television news channel. In her two studies, she conceptualises her inquiry into the EU's SED images within a 'soft power' theory.[1015] Nye describes the 'soft power' as something "that rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others… [It] is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments."[1016] Chaban's study explored three facets of the Asian media perceptions of the EU's 'soft power' profile—*the EU as a vociferous social affairs*

[1011] Ibid.
[1012] Ibid.
[1013] On 11 December 1997, the protocol was first adopted in Kyoto, Japan. Then on 16 February 2005, it entered into force. As of July 2010, 191 nations have signed and ratified the protocol. For more detail, see Kyoto Protocol, Status of ratification http://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/status_of_ratification/application/pdf/kp_ratification.pdf (retrieved on 10 February 2011)
[1014] Ibid.
[1015] N.Chaban, "Soft Power and a Human Face: Images of the EU as a Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor in the Asian Media and Public Discourses," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia: New Cases, New Finding,* edited by N. Chaban, M. Holland and P. Ryan, (Singapore: World Scientific, 2009); and, N. Chaban, "Images of the EU as Social, Environmental and Developmental Actor in Asia," In *EU External Affairs Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2011):5-23.
[1016] J. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 256.

advocate, *an environmental champion* and *a leading global developmental actor*.[1017] EU images from Korean news media (coverage in 2006 and in 2010) were examined in her two studies together with EU images from other Asian locations. Comprehensive analysis of the extensive media dataset using formal and substantive characteristics and comparative approach across many countries and across time is the main strength of her research into EU images in SED affairs. Yet, these studies did not cover the analysis of visual images and focused only on the press and television news, overlooking the internet medium. On this basis, this chapter proceeds with a formal and substantive analysis of the EU's SED verbal and visual images in the Korean print newspapers and their internet versions.

7.2 Formal Characteristics

7.2.1 Monthly Distribution

Compared with the two previous case studies (Chapters 5 and 6), the number of articles regarding EU-related SED issues was relatively small. Table 7.1 presents the summary of numbers of collected articles and Table 7.2 shows the monthly average number of news articles of each issue.

Table 7.1 Numbers of Collected EU-related SED News Articles over 2008[1018]

Information Input		Print Newspapers	Internet Versions
The EU as a Social Affairs, Environmental and Developmental Actor	*Social Affairs*	166 (14.2%)	667 (13.9%)
	Environmental	74 (6.3%)	157 (3.3%)
	Developmental	8 (0.7%)	36 (0.8%)
SED Total		248 articles (21.3%)	860 articles (17.9%)

[1017] N. Chaban, (2009) op. cit; and, N. Chaban, (2011) op. cit.
[1018] Percentages in Table 7.1 are calculated from the total number of EU-related articles in the data sample.

Table 7.2 Monthly Averages of News Items in Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

		Social Affairs	*Environmental*	*Developmental*
Print Newspapers	*Chosun Ilbo*	5.9	3.3	0.3
	DongA Ilbo	4.3	1	0.3
	Joong Ang Ilbo	3.6	1.9	0.2
Internet Versions	*Chosun.com*	24.1	6.5	1.0
	DongA.com	11.3	1.4	0.3
	JOINS.com	20.3	6.2	1.8

Table 7.1 illustrates that both versions of newspapers had larger number of news items reporting EU-related social affairs than those about EU-related environmental or developmental issues. Among the three areas, both versions had few developmental news items. Chaban's study of the EU SED news coverage found out that the EU's relevant actions had "particular pattern of visibility" in Asian media, namely a limited coverage overall with very low coverage in environmental areas and extremely low in developmental areas.[1019] A similar pattern was identified in this study.

Table 7.2 demonstrates the contrasts in a monthly average of per print and internet outlet. For social affairs news, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com* produced the highest volume of the EU social affairs news per month. *Dong A Ilbo* and *JOINS.com* followed in the list of print and internet versions respectively. *Joong Ang Ilbo* and *DongA.com* produced the lowest monthly average in the respective categories. For environmental news, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com* once again had the largest coverage. *Joong Ang Ilbo* and *JOINS.com* were second and *Dong A Ilbo* and *DongA.com* featured the least of this news. For developmental news, *Chosun Ilbo*, *Dong A Ilbo* and *JOINS.com* were the leading print outlets and internet version respectively, while *Joong Ang Ilbo* and *DongA.com* featured the least developmental news among the

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[1019] N. Chaban, (2009) op. cit.

print newspaper and internet version respectively. In summary, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com* led the coverage of the EU's SED news.

Figure 7.1 Monthly Distribution of EU News of SED Issues in Print Newspapers
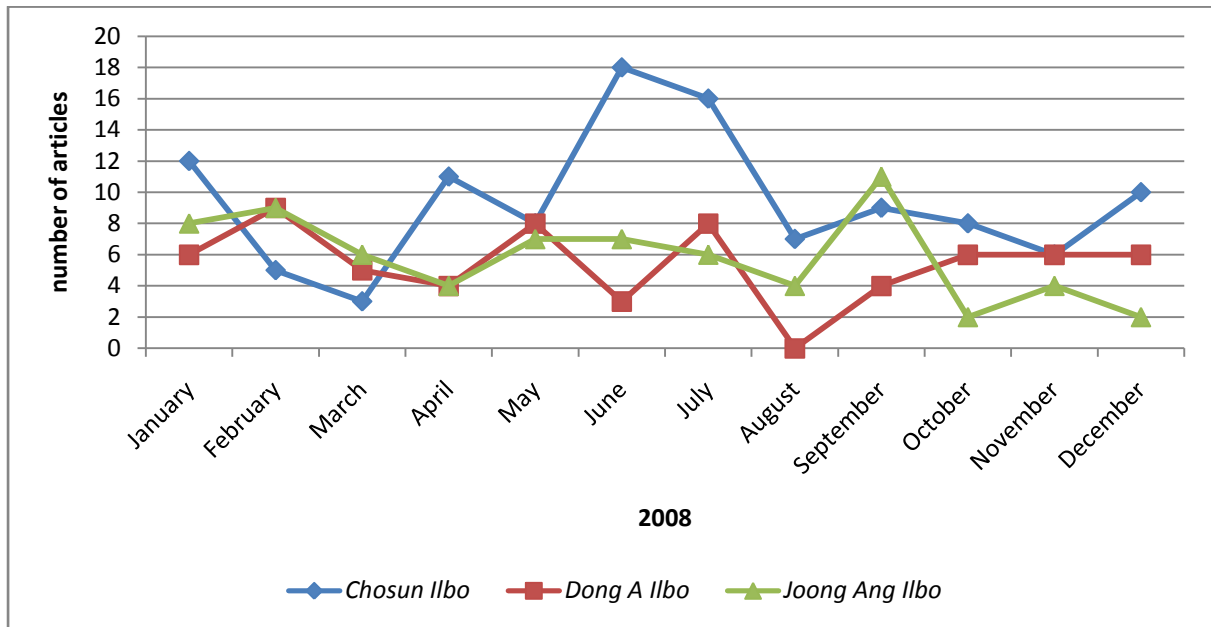
Figure 7.2 Monthly Distribution of EU News of SED Issues in Internet Versions of Newspapers
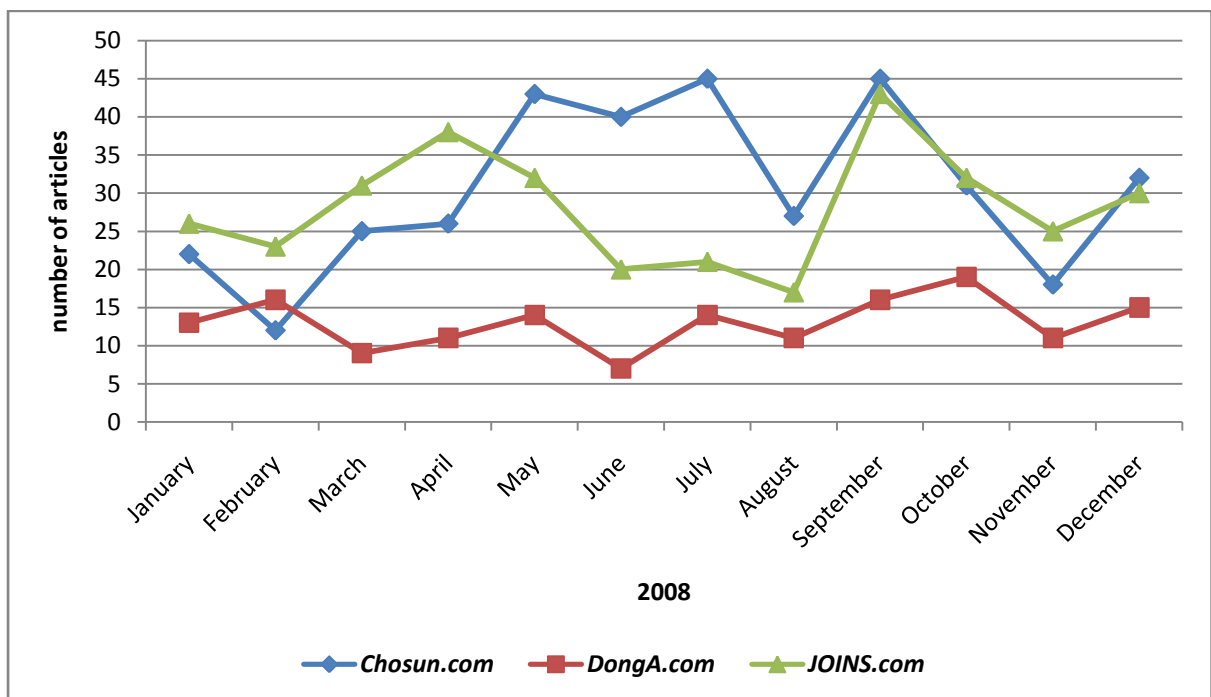
According to Figure 7.1, the 'peak' months of EU SED news for each print newspaper were different. June was the peak month for *Chosun Ilbo*, February for *Dong A Ilbo* and September for *Joong Ang Ilbo*. Carbon trade was the most prominent issue covered by *Chosun Ilbo* in June.[1020] The issues regarding education or scientific research in February led *Dong A Ilbo* to cover more EU SED news.[1021] The 2008 Chinese milk powder scandal that happened in September was extensively reported by *Joong Ang Ilbo*.[1022] The 'peak' periods indicate that the EU's social affair actions in the field of education, scientific research and food safety regulations as well as and the EU's environmental performance on the carbon trade market, not the EU's activities in the developmental field attracted the attention of the print newspapers' newsmakers. In contrast to the print newspapers, their internet versions had an identical 'peak' month in September (Figure 7.2).[1023] The 2008 Chinese milk powder scandal in September triggered the highest number of the EU SED news items.[1024] Coverage of this affair presented the EU as an authority on global standards of food safety to internet news readers.

[1020] *Chosun Ilbo,T'ansobaech'ulgwŏn Ch'ŏt Gŏrae Namdongbaljŏn, t dang 15 Yuroe Maemul Ollyŏ*, 05-Jun-08; *Chosun Ilbo, [Hwangyŏng MBA Jisang Gangŭi]* (4) *Kihubyŏnhwa Daech'aek, Yijen Sajangnimi Nasŏlddae Yi Byŏnguk Hwangyŏngbu Ch'agwane 'Kihubyŏnhwawa Hwangyŏng,"* 07-Jun-08; *Chosun Ilbo, [Kim Hyŏnjin Gyosue Kihu Pyŏnhwa Akademi] (4) "Onshilgas Baech'ul Hwak Jurija"Mi Ŭihoe 'Kihuanbobŏban' Nonran,* 07-Jun-08; *Chosun Ilbo, [Green Management] Hanhwagroup Onshilgas Gamch'ugŭro Kiŏp, Hwangyŏng Dul da Sallinda*, 24-Jun-08; *Chosun Ilbo, Onshilgas (CO2) Baech'ul chŏgŭn Ch'a, Kagyŏk Ssajinda Hwangyŏngbu Segŭmgammyŏn Ch'ujin…Baech'ullyang Kijundo Doipk'iro*, 27-Jun-08; and, *Chosun Ilbo, [CO2ga Baggungŏtdŭl] Shillae Tŏumyŏn Ch'angmun Yŏlligo…Haibŭridŭ Ch'aro Baggumyŏn Hyŏngŭm Jugo Hwasŏkyŏnryo Anssŭnŭn 'T'anso Jero' Chut'aek P'ŭrangsŭ, CO2 Baech'ulch'aryang Ch'agap bissa,* 30-Jun-08.

[1021] Due to the excessive number of examples, this thesis quoted only afewof them. *Dong A Ilbo,[Segyenŭn Jigŭm Kyoyuk Hyŏngmyŏng Jung] <5> Sŭweden Balingsnesŭ Ch'odŭnghakkyo*, 11-Feb-08; *DongA Ilbo, [Kŭmyungt'ŭkjip] Kirŏgi Appadŭl Igŏn Mollatjyo?*, 20-Feb-08; *DongA Ilbo, [Saiŏnsŭ Brip'ing] 'S&T Hyŏkshindonghyang.Bunsŏk 2007 Balgan Woe*, 15-Feb-08; and, *DongA Ilbo, Bukgŭkae Sŏme 'Noae Bangju' Ddŭiwŏtda*, 26-Feb-08.

[1022] *Joong Ang Ilbo, Shikŭiyakch'ŏng, Chungguk Bunyu P'adong Porŭm Chinasŏya Gwannyŏn Shikp'um "Suip Gŭmji,"* 27-Sep-08; *Joong Ang Ilbo, [Pak T'aegyunshikp'umŭiyakjŏnmungijae Food& Med], Chunggukbal Melamin Gongp'oe Daech'ŏhanŭn 5gaji Pangbŏp*, 29-Sep-08; *Joong Ang Ilbo, Chungguksan Kŏmsaeman Yŏlhŭl Isang Gŏlrildŭt,* 29-Sep-08; and, *Joong Ang Ilbo, Suip Shikp'um Apmyŏn Wŏnsanji OEM P'yoshi,*29-Sep-08.

[1023] In fact, September was not the peak month for *DongA.com*. However, in terms of the number of articles, the difference between September and the peak month (August) was not significant.

[1024] The 2008 Chinese Milk Scandal was a food safety incident in China (events associated with the Chinese dairy products contamination by melamine). For an account of this issue, see *Chosun.com, Chunguksan Saryoedo Melamin Ch'ŏmga' ŭihok'*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/22/2008092200328.html (retrieved on 22 September 2008); *Chosun.com, Chung Melamin Bunyu T'onŏle Kkŭtchi Anboinda*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/24/2008092400641.html (retrieved on 25 September 2008); *Chosun.com, 'Melamin P'amun' Daeŭng, Mi-Yurŏpboda Bballatjiman…* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/28/2008092800041.html (retrieved on 28 September 2008); and, *Chosun.com, Soegogie Nollan Hannara, 'Melamin Daech'aek' Kŏsen Chilt'a…"Hanshimada. P'inggyedaejimalla,"* *Chipjungch'ugung*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/29/2008092900643.html (retrieved on 29 September 2008).

7.2.2 Type of Media Outlet

The distribution of the SED frames according to the type of the media outlet is presented in Table 7.3 and Figures 7.3 and 7.4.

Table 7.3 Distribution of the Numbers of EU-related SED News Items in Print Newspapers and Internet Versions

		The Volumes of SED News Items		
		Social Affairs	*Environment*	*Development*
Print Newspapers	*Chosun Ilbo*	71	39	3
	DongA Ilbo	51	12	3
	Joong Ang Ilbo	44	23	2
Internet Versions	*Chosun.com*	289	66	11
	DongA.com	135	27	4
	JOINS.com	243	74	21

Figure 7.3 Percentage Distributions of EU-related SED News Items in Print Newspapers

279
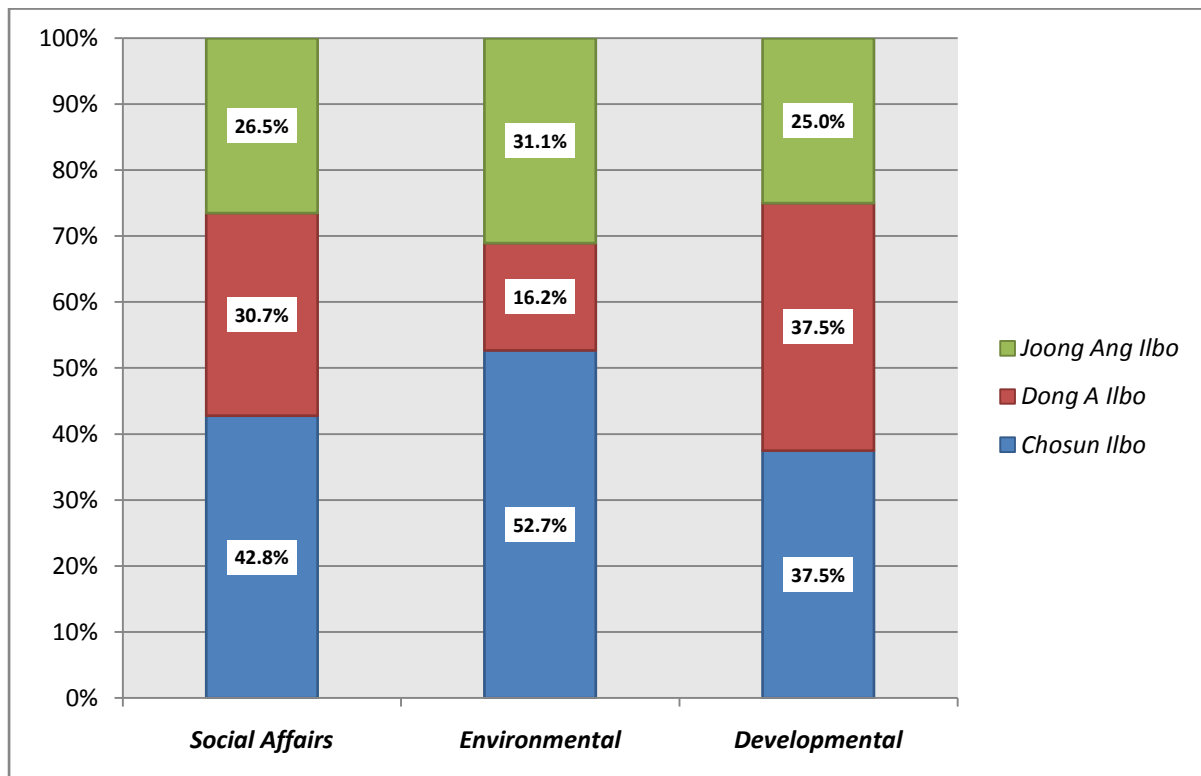
Figure 7.4 Percentage Distributions of EU-related SED News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
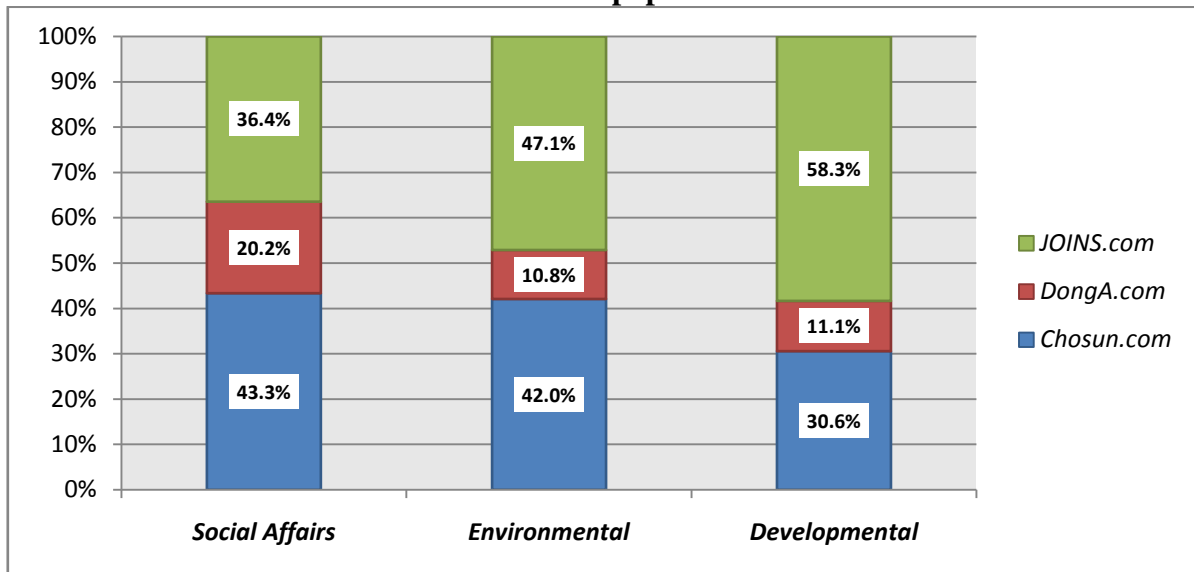
Bringing together the results of the three case studies, *Chosun Ilbo* was the leader of the EU political and SED coverage among the print newspapers. *Dong A Ilbo* led in the print papers coverage of EU economic news. Among the three internet versions, *Chosun.com* had the largest volume of EU political, economic and social affairs news items. However, *JOINS.com* featured the largest number of EU environmental and developmental news items. Arguably, the EU's 'soft power' is more likely to be communicated by *Chosun Ilbo* and its internet edition *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com*.

7.2.3 Information Sources

Distribution of the sources of news of the SED reportage is presented in Figures 7.5 and 7.6.

Figure 7.5 Sources of EU SED News Items in Print Newspapers
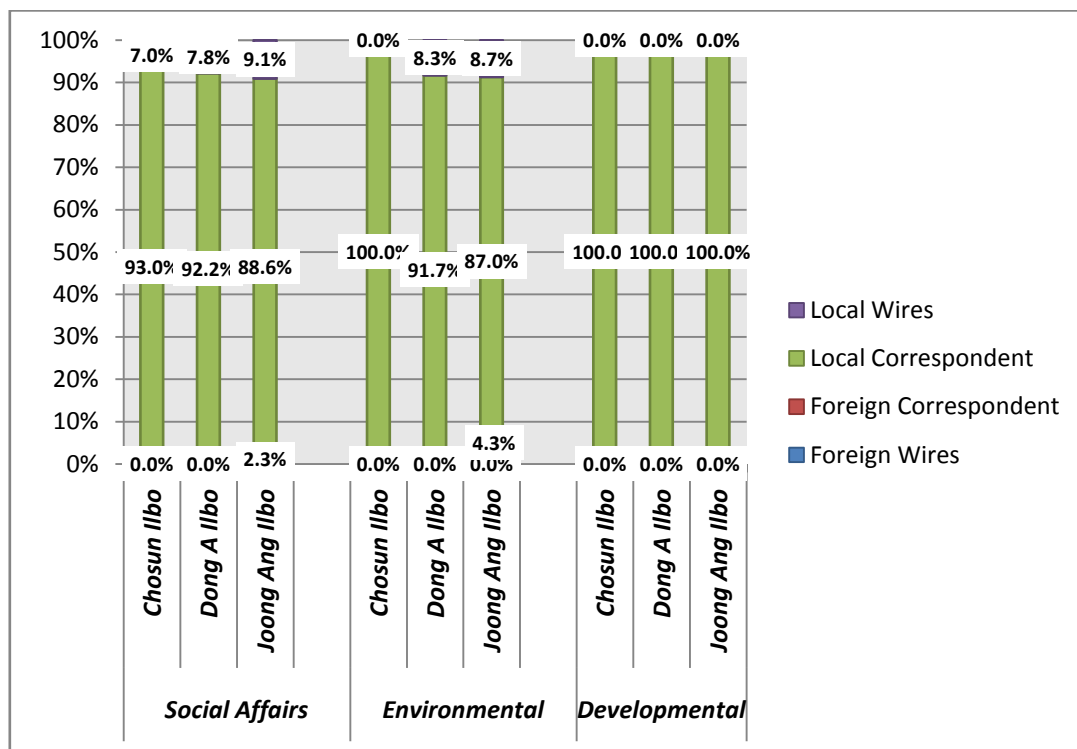
Figure 7.6 Sources of EU SED News Items in Internet Versions of Newspapers
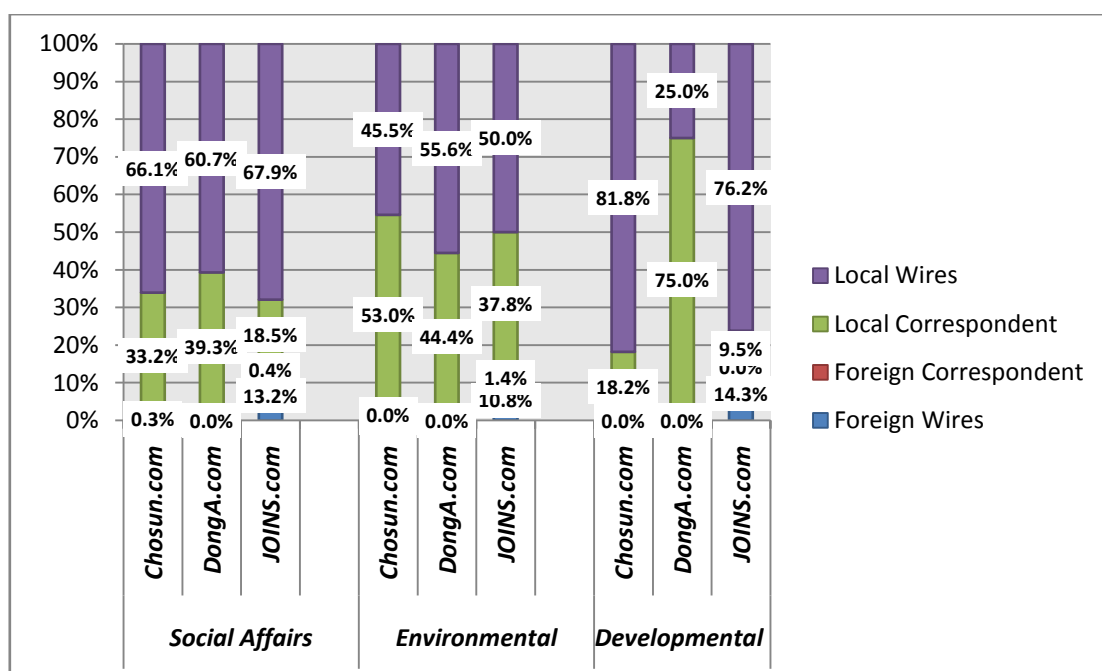
Local correspondents were the main source of EU SED news in the print newspapers. The internet versions relied heavily on the local news agency *Yonhap News* (60.2% of EU social affairs news came from this agency, 40% of environmental news and 64% of developmental news). [1025] This pattern of news sources was observed in the two previous case studies. Significantly, the three case studies highlighted that the *Yonhap News* agency was the most important source of EU news items for the internet versions, but not for journalists writing in the print versions. Importantly, as discussed above, *Yonhap News* is known among Korean news professionals to be using foreign sources for its news, yet the exact type of the agency's sources is difficult to identify.

7.2.4 Interactivity

For the first measurement of interactivity element of the EU SED news, this chapter assessed the presence of newsmakers' e-mail addresses in the EU SED news articles (Table 7.4). In comparison with the previous case studies, the number of interactive EU SED articles was much lower than those of EU political and economic news. As with the case of EU political news, *Chosun.com* provided the most options to exchange ideas between readers and writers. *DongA.com* offered more options of interactivity in the case of EU economic news.

Table 7.4 Numbers and Proportions of EU SED News Items with Journalists' e-mail Address

	Social Affairs		*Environmental*		*Developmental*	
	Number of Articles with a journalist's email	Percentage of EU Internet Social Affair News Items with a journalist's email	Number of Articles with a journalist's email	Percentage of EU Internet Environmental News Items with a journalist's email	Number of Articles with a journalist's email	Percentage of EU Internet Developmental News Items with a journalist's email
Chosun.com	78	11.7%	32	20.4%	2	5.6%
DongA.com	48	7.2%	9	5.7%	3	8.3%
JOINS.com	47	7.0%	21	13.4%	2	5.6%

[1025] The percentages of *Yonhap News* articles were calculated from the total number of SED news items in all three internet versions from the sample.

To measure interactivity, this chapter explored the actual numbers of visits and daily rankings of EU SED news items in *Chosun.com* (Figures 7.7 and 7.8).

Figure 7.7 Numbers of Visits to EU SED News Items in *Chosun.com*
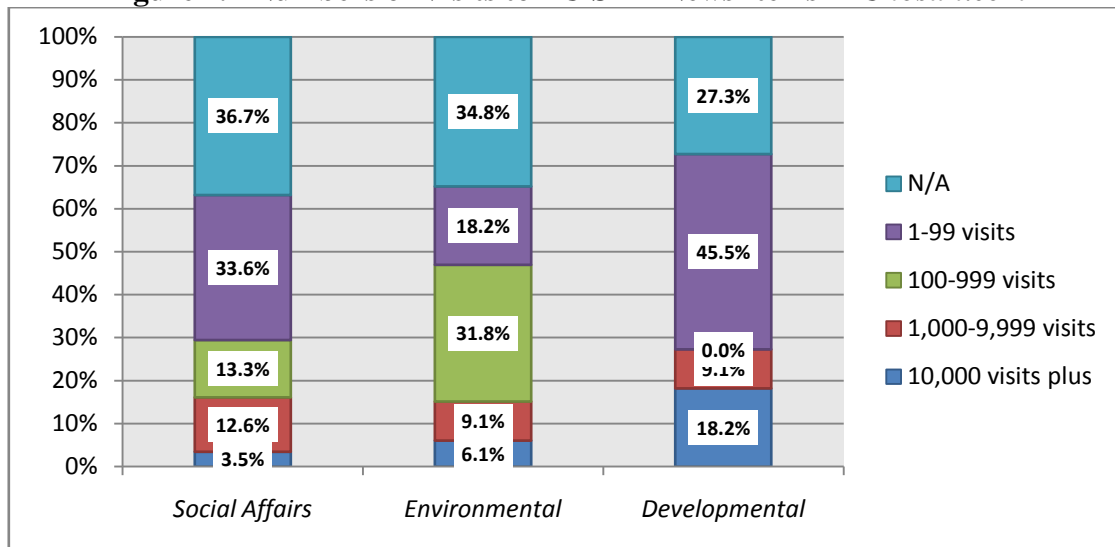
Figure 7.8 Daily Rankings of EU SED News Items in *Chosun.com*
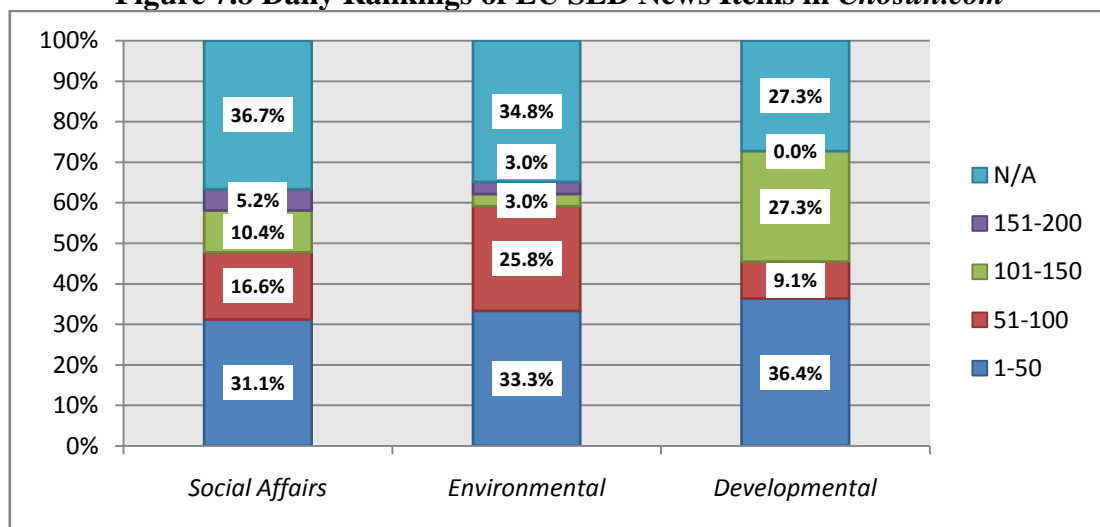
Figures 7.7 and 7.8 illustrate that more than 60% of EU SED articles were read by at least one reader and were ranked in top 200 daily popular news items. Figure 7.7 shows that 63.3% of EU social affairs news, 65.2% of EU environmental news and 72.7% of EU developmental news in *Chosun.com* had more than one visitor. Figure 7.8 indicates that 47.7% of EU social affairs news, 49.1% of EU environmental news and 45.5% EU developmental news items were recorded as the top 100 daily news articles of *Chosun.com*. Compared with the previous

case studies, EU SED news items were more successful in attracting readers' interest than EU economic news, but less popular than EU political news.

This chapter also measured the volume and share of duplicated EU SED news articles between internet versions and their print outlets (Table 7.5). *Chosun.com* was found to have a higher share of duplicated content between the two versions. This is similar to the duplication patterns of EU political news, but differs from those patterns of EU economic news.

Table 7.5 Numbers and Proportions of Articles of Content Interaction between Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

	Social Affairs		Environment		Development	
	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Social Affair News Items	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Environmental News Items	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Developmental News Items
Chosun.com	61	9.1%	30	19.1%	4	11.1%
DongA.com	52	7.8%	10	6.4%	4	11.1%
JOINS.com	45	6.7%	16	10.2%	3	8.3%

Table 7.6 shows the results of *content interactivity* of the EU SED news across the three internet versions in the sample. *Content interactivity* rates of EU social affairs news were found to be similar to those of EU political and economic news. However, the level of content interactivity for EU environmental and developmental news was lower than for other EU news. The duplication of EU political, economic and SED news items in more than two internet versions may mean this news has higher accessibility as readers may access more than one media outlet.

Table 7.6 Numbers and Percentages of Articles of Content Interaction across Internet Newspapers in the Sample.

	Social Affairs		*Environmental*		*Developmental*	
	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Social Affair News Items	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Environmental News Items	Number of Articles	Percentage of EU Internet Developmental News Items
Interactive within two Internet Versions (either; *Chosun.com— DongA.com, Chosun.com— JOINS.com* **or** *DongA.com— JOINS.com*)	172	25.8%	12	7.6%	6	16.7%
Interactive across all three Internet versions of Newspapers *Chosun.com— DongA.com— JOINS.com*)	102	15.3%	6	3.8%	2	5.6%

Comparing the interactivity indicators for the EU SED news with the results of the two previous case studies, this analysis established that the options for interpersonal interactivity of EU SED news were less than those for EU political and economic news. There were a low number of articles containing a journalist's email addresses. Yet, the EU SED news was as popular among the readers as EU political news. Finally, with the exception of EU social affairs news items, EU environmental and developmental news had lower *content interactivity* rates than EU political and economic news.

To conclude, the analysis of formal characteristics of the EU SED news items revealed that this type of news was peripheral in the news coverage of both versions. Future EU-Korea relations spell greater attention to the SED areas and a commitment on both sides to cooperate in these areas. Future coverage may demonstrate greater visibility of these topics and an on-going analysis would be helpful to identify the dynamic of the EU's SED images.

7.3 Substantive Characteristics

7.3.1 Focus of Domesticity

Focus of domesticity was assessed for the SED news all together due to the limited numbers within each topic. The results for print newspapers are shown in Figure 7.9 and those for their internet versions are in Figure 7.10.

Figure 7.9 Focus of Reporting EU SED News in Print Newspapers
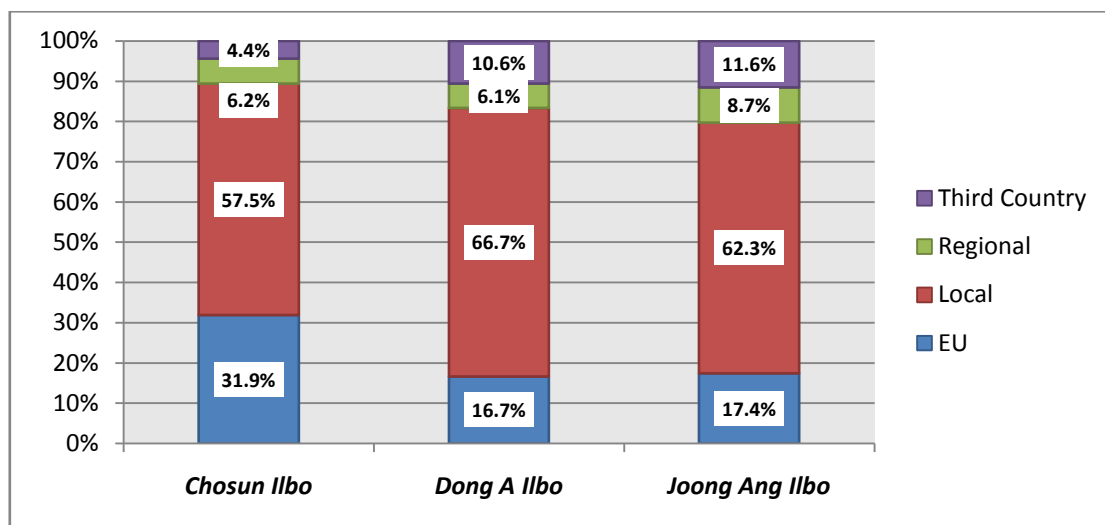
Figure 7.10 Focus of Reporting EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
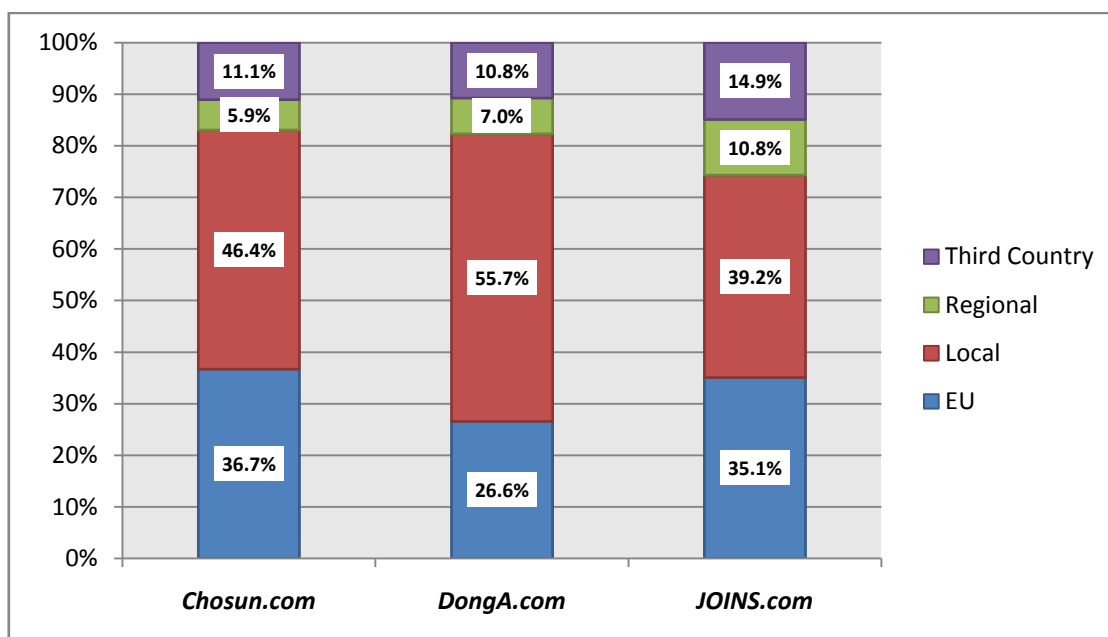
Assessing EU SED coverage in the print versions, *Dong A Ilbo* and *Joong Ang Ilbo* had similar distribution of the foci of domesticity. In contrast, EU SED news in *Chosun Ilbo* had a higher share of *pure EU* news and lower share of *local* news. For internet versions, the results were different for each outlet (Figure 7.10). *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* had a similar share of *pure EU* news but similarities stopped here. The share of EU SED *regional* and *third country* in *Chosun.com* news was lower than that in other two internet outlets. On the other hand, *DongA.com* had the largest share of EU SED *local* news but the lowest of *pure EU* news among the three versions.

Given these results, both versions were found to produce more EU SED news items with a *domestic angle* than those with *a foreign angle*. Yet, a closer examination shows that print newspapers had a higher share of locally-grounded EU SED news than their internet versions. Comparing these results with the two previous case studies, EU SED news in the internet versions reported EU SED affairs with a local focus more frequently than EU political news. Notably, the share of EU SED news with a *domestic angle* in internet versions is comparable with to that of EU economic news. As such, both print and internet versions framed most of the EU's actions in the SED areas as having a direct link to Korea's local issues.

7.3.2 Degree of Centrality

Assessment of the degree of centrality of the EU SED news in the print newspapers demonstrates that more news framed the EU SED affairs with a *minor* intensity than with *secondary* or *main* (Figure 7.11). This level of intensity in EU reportage is similar to the EU representations in the two previous case studies. *Chosun Ilbo* had the largest share of the news that profiled the EU from a *main* focus among the three print outlets. *Dong A Ilbo* had the highest share of coverage representing the EU's SED matters from a *secondary*

perspective; and *Joong Ang Ilbo* had the highest share of news representing the EU as a *minor* actor in the SED affairs.

Figure 7.11 Centrality of EU SED News in Print Newspapers
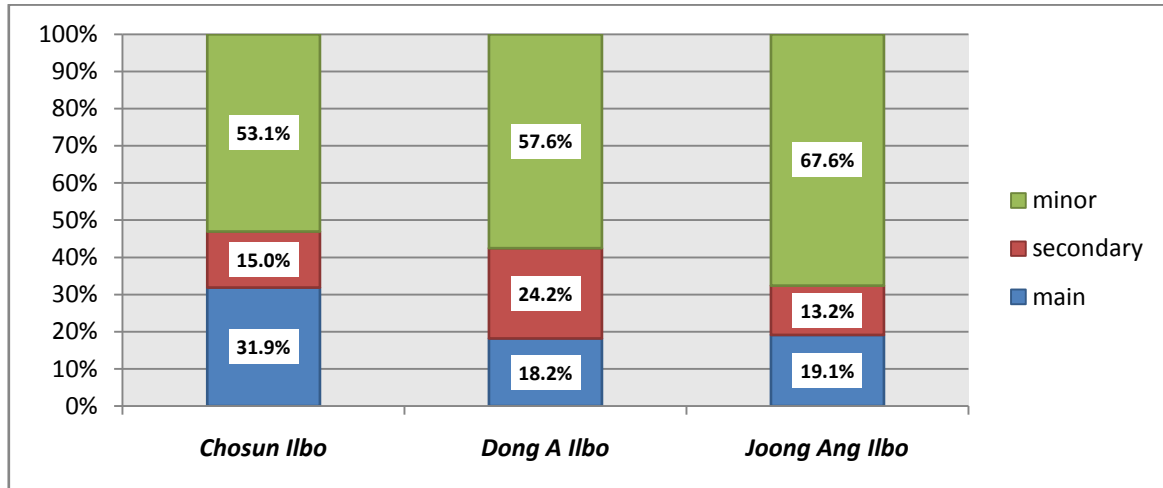
As in the case of the EU SED news in the print newspapers, the internet versions also had more EU SED news items with a *minor* focus than those with *secondary* or *main* foci (Figure 7.12). This parallels the results of the previous case studies. However, when compared with the print versions, the internet versions had a higher share of the EU SED news with a *main* focus and a lesser share of the EU SED news with a *minor* focus than the print outlets. Also of note, the share of *the EU* SED issues with a *main* degree of centrality was higher than in the case of EU political and economic news. Among the three internet versions, *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* featured a higher share of news that reported EU SED affairs from a *main* perspective than *DongA.com*. The EU SED news with a *secondary* perspective was more prominent in *DongA.com*. The outlet's share of EU news with this degree of centrality was higher than in the other two internet versions. Finally, *JOINS.com* had a larger share of EU SED news than the other two internet versions but with a minor intensity. In summary, the EU SED's actions were likely to be reported by the internet versions in a marginal way.

Figure 7.12 Centrality of EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
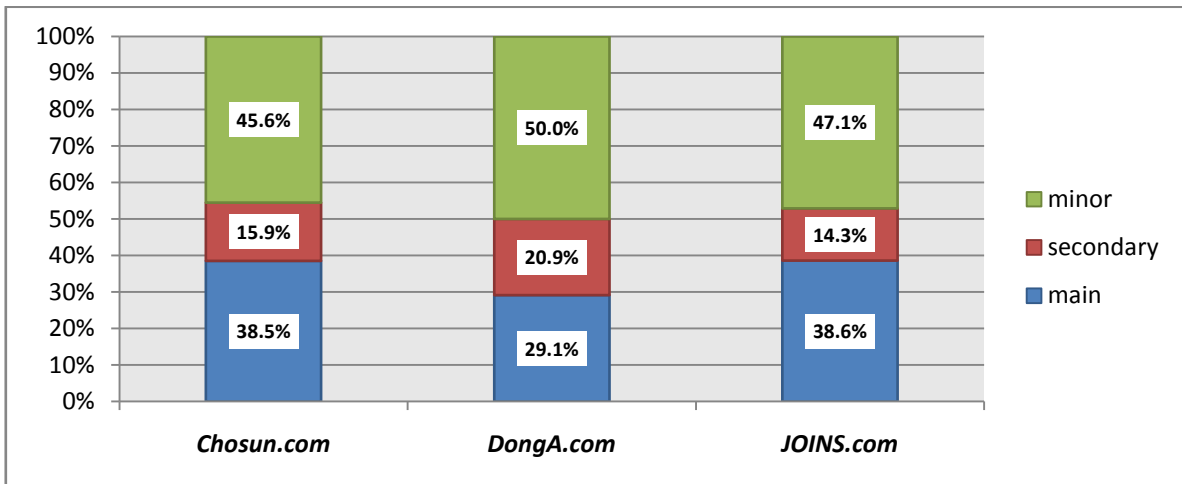
7.3.3 Actors

This section evaluates the visibility of various EU actors in the coverage of the SED (Figures 7.13 and 7.14).

Figure 7.13 Most Visible Actors in EU SED News in Print Newspapers
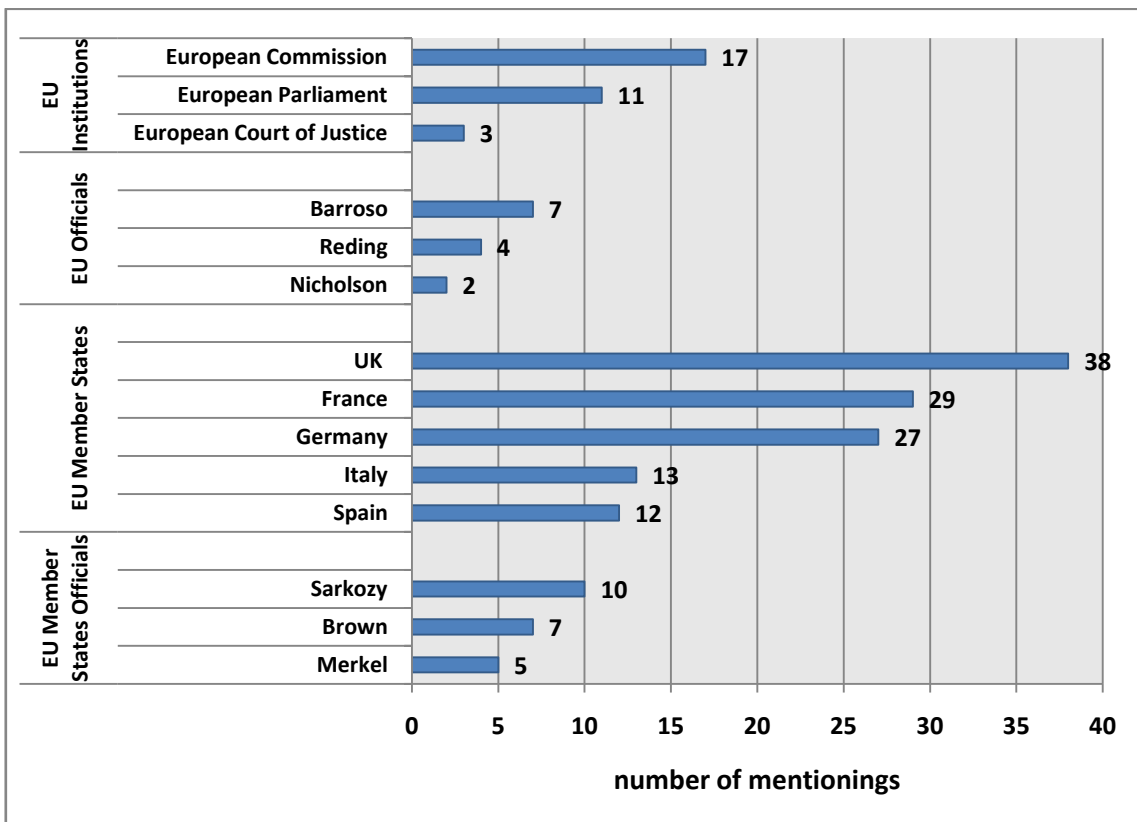
Figure 7.14 Most Visible Actors in EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
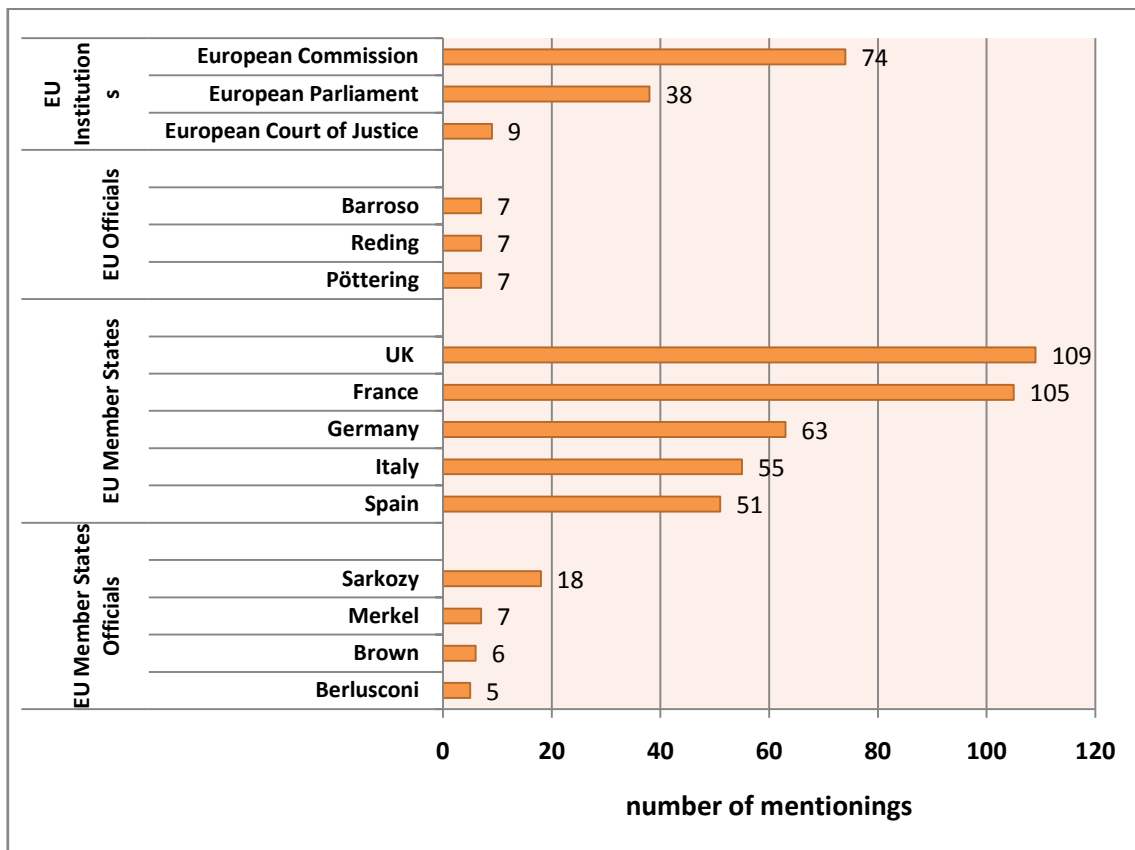
The print papers and their internet versions echoed each other in terms of the *most visible actors* of EU SED news items. In the category *EU institutions*, the European Commission was the most visible institution representing the EU's SED activities in the news coverage by the both versions. European Parliament was the second most visible and the European Court of Justice followed.

In the category *EU officials*, in both print and internet versions, Barroso (11th and Current President of European Commission) and Viviane Reding (European Commissioner for Information Society and Media, from 2004 to 2009) were the two most prominent politicians representing the EU SED activities. However, the third most visible EU officials differed between the versions. In the print newspapers, it was Emma Nicholson (Member of the

European Parliament from 1999 to 2009) who appeared most frequently. In the internet versions, it was Hans-Gert Pöttering (23rd President of the European Parliament 2007-2009).

In the category *EU Member States*, both versions profiled the 'EU Big Four' (France, Germany, the UK and Italy) and Spain were the most visible EU Member States in the context of the EU's SED affairs.

Finally, in the last category of *EU Member State officials*, both versions emphasised the leaders of France, the UK and Germany in their reportage of the EU SED's affairs. The internet versions reported Silvio Berlusconi (former Prime Minister of Italy from May 2008 to November 2011) as the fourth most visible EU Member State official in the EU SED news.

Comparing the findings across the three cases, the EU SED actors in terms of *EU institutions* and *EU officials* were different from the actors identified in EU political and economic news. However, all three cases reported the 'EU Big Four' and their political leaders as the most visible *EU Member State actors.*

7.3.4 Most Visible Topics

The summary of the *most visible topics* in the EU SED reportage is in Tables 7.7 and 7.8. The three print newspapers were observed to have almost identical topics in the coverage of the EU SED issues. This was true for the topics across the internet versions. Predictably, the internet versions featured a greater diversity of the SED topics than their print outlets.

Table 7.7 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of the SED Affairs in the Print Newspapers

SED	Frames	*Chosun Ilbo*	*Dong A Ilbo*	*Joong Ang Ilbo*
Social Affairs	*Immigration*	entrance to the EU		
	Welfare	living welfare		
	Social Legislation	ethical issues		
	Diversity/Multiculturalism	demographic development		
		cultural diversity		
	Education/Research	education system		
		research, science and technology		
	Crime	terrorism/international crime		
	Health Care	food safety		
	Entertainment	Music		
		fine arts		
	Sports	soccer players		
Environment	*Internal*	CO2 emission		
		20-20-20		
		greenhouse gas		
	External	CO2 emission		
		carbon trade		
		greenhouse gas		
		ETS--emission trade scheme		
		REACH— Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals		
		Kyoto Protocol		
		climate change		
Development	*Aid to neighbours in Northeast Asia*	aid to North Korea		
	Assistance to countries outside Northeast Asia	aid to Myanmar		

Table 7.8 Most Visible Topics Representing the EU in the Field of the SED Affairs in the Internet Versions of Newspapers

SED	Frames	*Chosun.com*	*DongA.com*	*JOINS.com*
Social Affairs	*Immigration*	entrance to the EU		
	Welfare	living welfare		
	Social Legislation	ethical issues		
		traffic law		
	Diversity/Multiculturalism	demographic development		
		gender issues (sexual orientation)		
		Multilingualism		
		religions (Muslims)		
	Education/Research	education system		
		research, science and technology		
	Crime	terrorism/international crime		
	Health Care	food safety		
	Entertainment	literatures		
		fine arts		
	Sports	soccer players		
		Beijing olympic games		
Environment	*Internal*	CO2 emission		
		20-20-20		
		energy policy		
		environment policy		
		greenhouse gas		
	External	carbon trade		
		ETS--emission trade scheme		
		greenhouse gas		
		REACH--Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals		
		Kyoto Protocol		
		climate change		
		World Wildlife Fund (animal conservation)		
		UNFCC: United Nations Framework Convention on climate change		
		CO2 Emission		
		incandescent light bulb ban (energy conservation)		
Development	*Aid to neighbours in Northeast Asia*	aid to North Korea		
	Assistance to countries outside Northeast Asia	aid to Myanmar		
		aid to Africa		

In the section of *social affairs*, print newspapers featured 12 topics and their internet versions had 16 topics. Both versions covered 10 topics in common (such as *entrance to the EU, living welfares, ethical issues, demographic development, education system, research, science and technology, terrorism/international crime, food safety, fine arts* and *soccer players*). Print newspapers reported extensively such topics as *music* in *entertainment* frame and *cultural diversity* in *diversity/multiculturalism* frame. The internet versions focused their attention on topics such as traffic law in *social legislation* frame, *gender (sexual orientation), multilingualism* and *religions (Muslims)* in the *diversity/multiculturalism* frame, *literature* in the *entertainment* frame and the *EU* in the *Beijing Olympics* in *sports* frame.

In the category *environment*, the print newspapers covered EU SED affairs in 10 topics, and the internet versions had 15 topics. There were 8 common topics covered by both versions (such as *CO2 Emission, 20-20-20, greenhouse gas, carbon trade, ETS—emission trade scheme, REACH—Registration, Evaluation, Authorisation and Restriction of Chemicals, Kyoto Protocol* and *climate change*). The internet versions emphasised the reporting of EU *energy* and *environmental policies* in *internal* frame. In the *external* frame, the internet versions paid attention to the topics of EU activities in the *World Wildlife Fund (animal conservation)*, *UNFCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change)* and *incandescent light bulb ban (energy conservation)*.

Finally, the print newspapers featured only two topics in the coverage of the EU's *developmental* news, while the internet versions covered three. There were two common topics presented by both versions (*aid to North Korea* and *aid to Myanmar*). The internet versions were particularly interested in covering the developmental *aid to Africa*.

7.3.5 Evaluations

The summary of the assessment of the EU SED images evaluations assigned by the print newspapers and their internet versions in Figures 7.15 and 7.16.

Figure 7.15 Evaluations of the EU SED News in the Print Newspapers
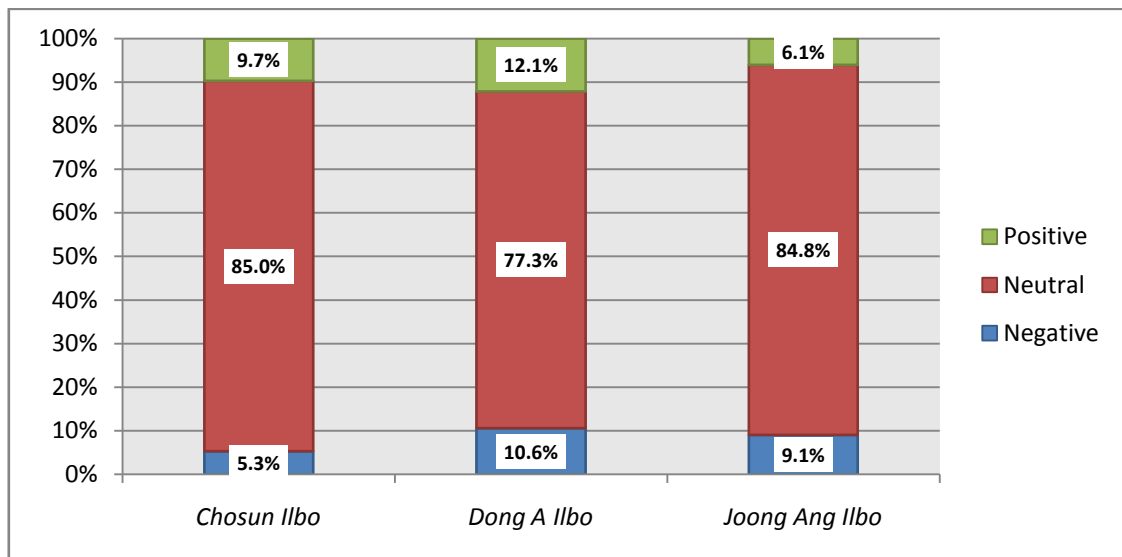
Figure 7.16 Evaluations of the EU SED News in the Internet Versions of Newspapers
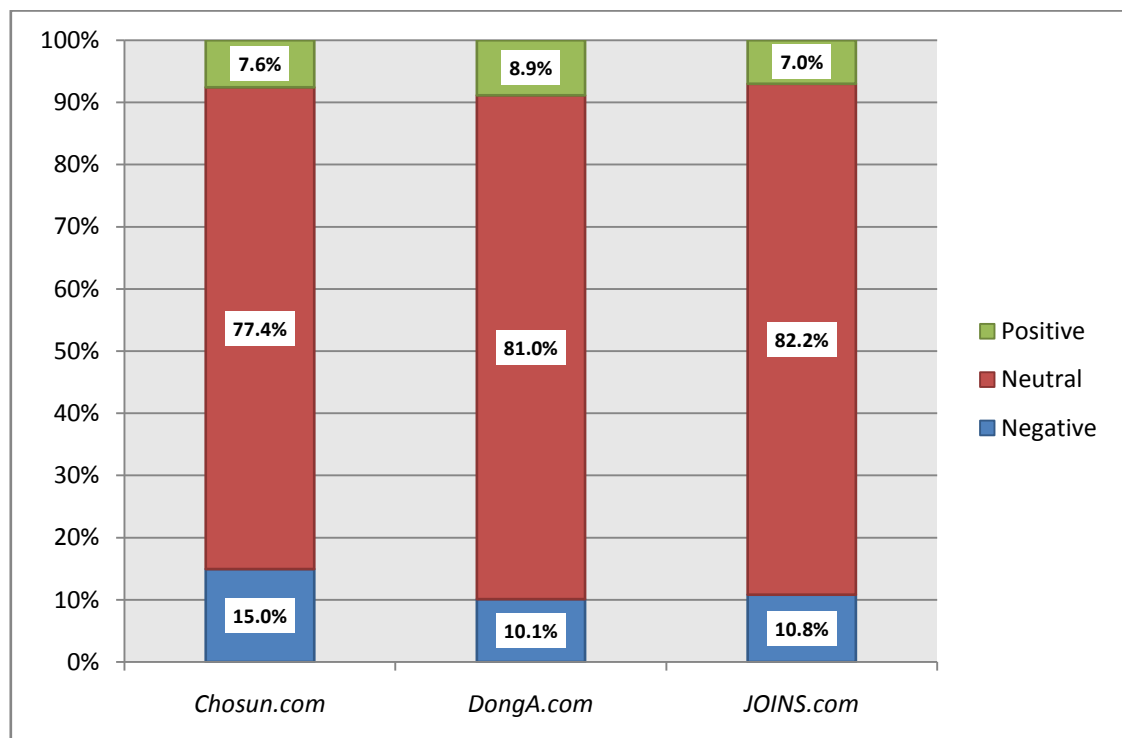
Consistent with the results of the previous case studies, the representations of EU SED issues in both versions were predominantly *neutral*, yet the internet versions contained more *negative* reports presenting the EU SED issues than *positive* ones. In contrast to the previous case studies and also to EU SED news in the internet versions, print outlets featured a larger share of *positive* assessments compared with *negative* ones. In addition, there is another difference between evaluations of the EU SED news and those of the previous cases. Figures 7.15 and 7.16 illustrate that the representations of EU SED issues in the print newspapers were inclined to be more *neutral* than those in the internet versions.

At first glance, the e*valuations* of EU SED news in three print newspapers are remarkably similar (Figure 7.15). However, a closer examination reveals a difference among these outlets. Specifically, EU SED news in *Dong A Ilbo* had a lower percentage of *neutral* news and greater percentages of *positive* and *negative* news than the two other newspapers.

Overall, the patterns of the *evaluation* distribution of EU SED news in the internet versions are similar. A more nuanced analysis highlights some differences across the internet versions (Figure 7.16). In particular, *Chosun.com* had the lowest share of *neutral* news and the highest share of *negative* news out of the three internet versions.

7.3.6 News Values

The category of *news value* was used in this analysis to deduce the elements of newsworthiness in the EU SED news (Figures 7.17 and 7.18).

Figure 7.17 News Values of EU SED News in Print Newspapers
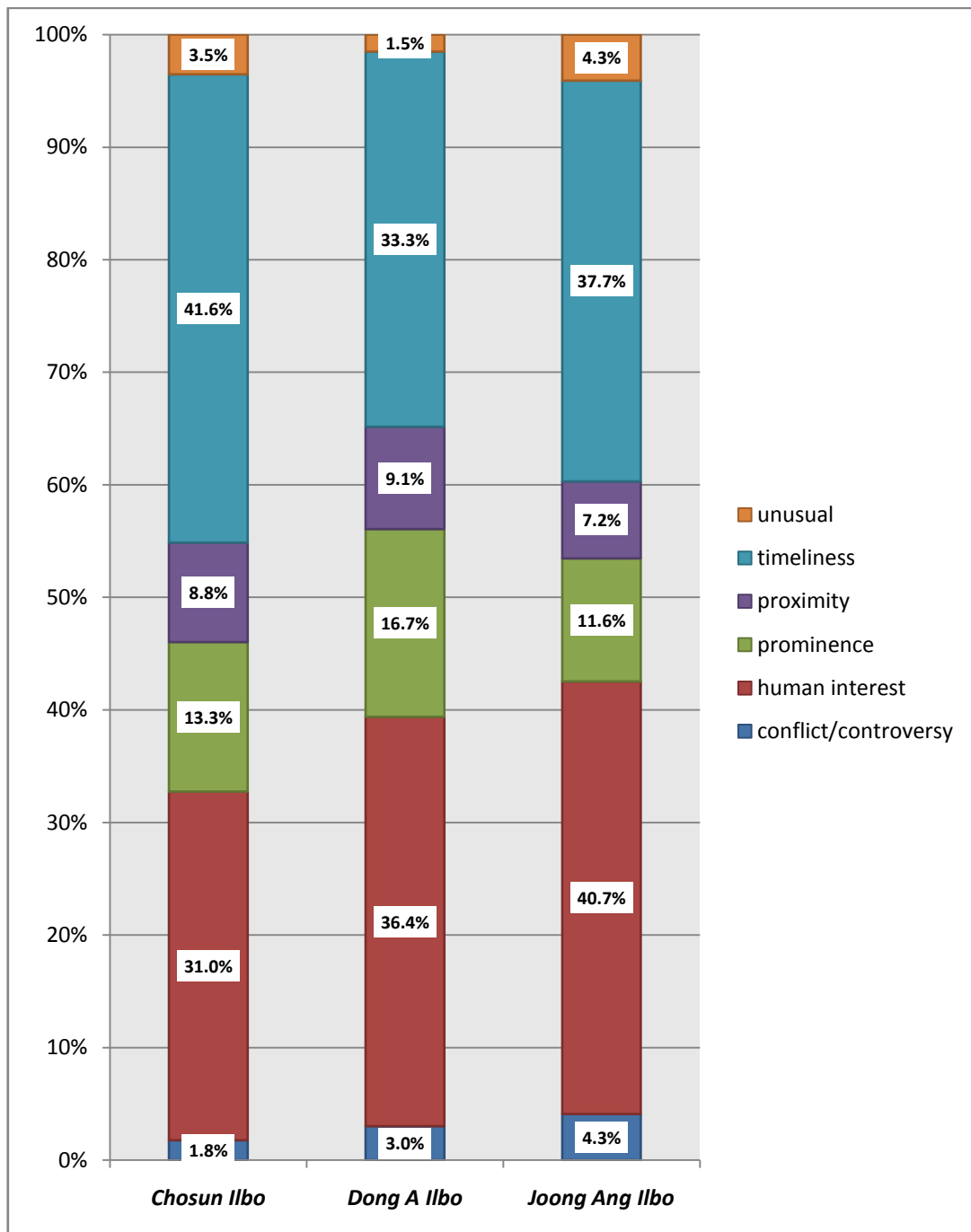
Figure 7.18 News Values of EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
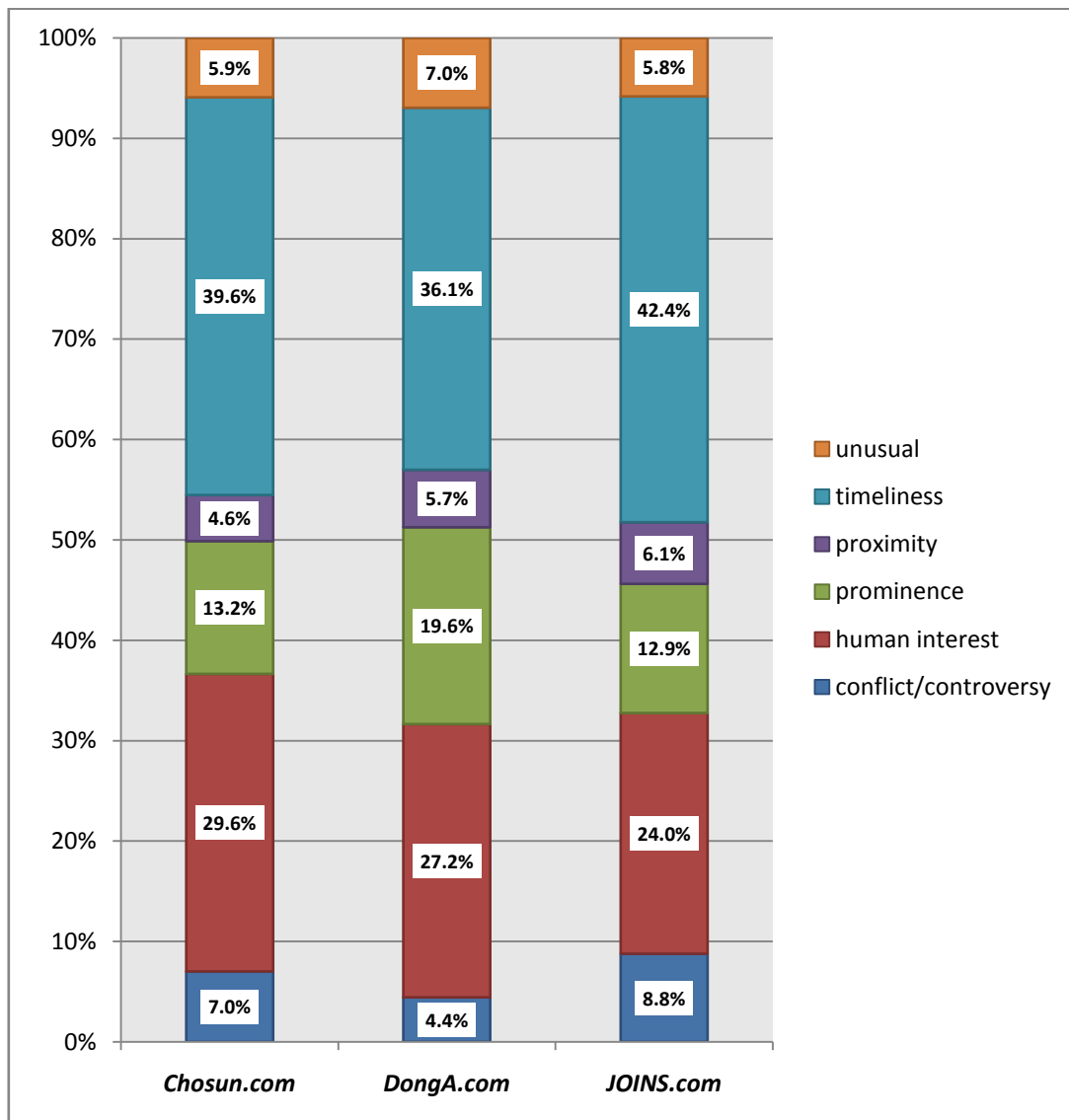
The news values identified behind the EU SED news were similar across the print newspapers and their internet versions. Coverage of the EU SED news in both versions was dominated by *timeliness, human interests* and *prominence* (accounted for more than 80% of EU SED coverage). Among the three values, *timeliness* occupied the largest share. The values of *human interests* and *prominence* followed. However, there is also a striking difference between both versions. Figure 7.17 points out that the leading *news value* behind the EU SED news was different in each print paper. While for *Chosun Ilbo*'s it was *timeliness*, for *Dong A Ilbo* and *Joong Ang Ilbo* it was *human interest*. Figure 7.18 illustrates that for the

three internet versions *timeliness* followed by *human interest* were the two leading values. In summary, the values of *timeliness* and *human interest* are demonstrated to trigger interest among the newsmakers and readers of the both versions to such news topics as *arts, sports, health care, environmental conservation* and *aid to North Korea.*

By comparison with the previous case studies, *timeliness* was the leading *news value* for both versions when reporting EU political, economic and SED news. However, *crisis/controversy* and *proximity* were predominant values for reporting EU political news in both versions, and those values did not dominate the EU's economic and SED reportage.

7.3.7 Journalistic Attitudes

This section assesses *journalistic attitudes* deducted from the coverage EU SED news in the both versions (Figures 7.19 and 7.20).

Figure 7.19 Journalistic Attitudes Traced in the EU SED News in the Print Newspapers
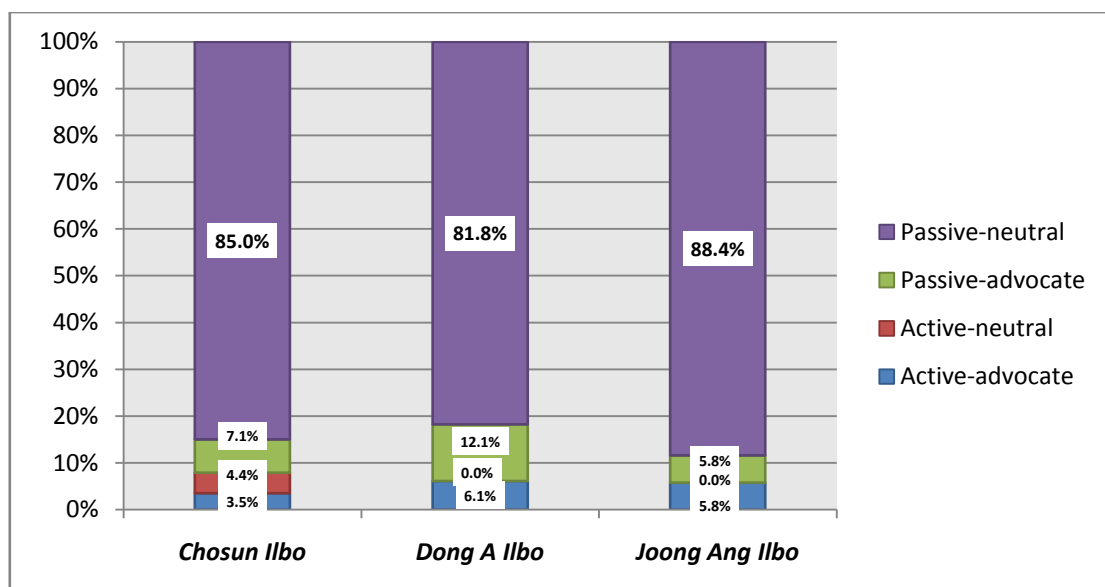
Figure 7.20 Journalistic Attitudes Traced in the EU SED News in the Internet Versions of Newspapers
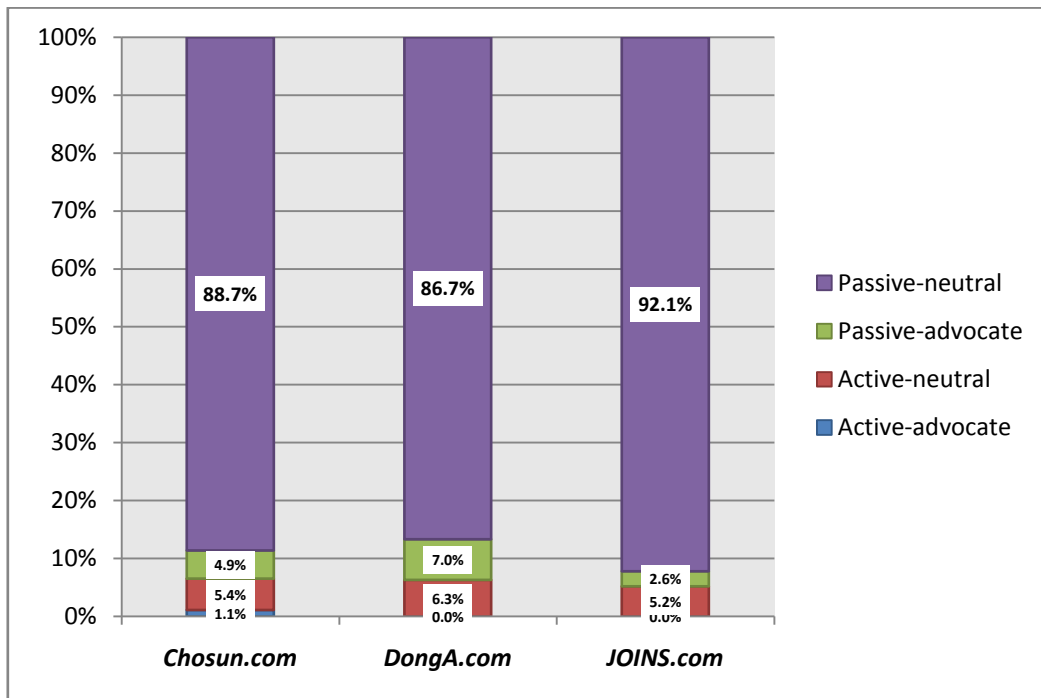
Passive-neutral was identified as the predominant attitude surfacing in the EU SED news coverage in the both versions. Print newspapers were more inclined to show this attitude than their internet outlets. Among the print newspapers, *Joong Ang Ilbo* featured the highest share of *passive-neutral* attitude; *JOINS.com* had the highest proportion out of the internet versions.

The other three attitudes (*passive-advocate, active-neutral* and *active-advocate*) were traced in less than 20% of the EU SED coverage. A comparison between outlets reveals that the *active-neutral* was the minor attitude of print newspapers. News coverage of *Dong A Ilbo* and *Joong Ang Ilbo* was not found to have a single news item with this attitude. The *active-advocate* attitude was located in the EU SED coverage in the internet versions only in the *Chosun.com*. None of EU SED news items in *DongA.com* and *JOINS.com* showed was identified as having this attitude.

As in the cases of EU political and economic news, the *passive-neutral* attitude was the dominant in EU SED news coverage. The EU SED news was identified to carry a higher share of this attitude than EU political news, yet it was lower than EU economic news.

7.3.8 Conceptual Metaphors

As discussed above, the EU SED coverage was limited. Consequently, the pool of identified metaphors in the both versions was low on numbers too – 89 in the internet versions and 26 in the print newspapers. The distribution of the metaphorical expressions identified amongst the news outlets is in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Distribution of Identified Metaphorical Expressions Describing EU SED Performances in the Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers

		Foreign Angle		Domestic Angle	
		Number of metaphorical expressions	**Percentage**	**Number of metaphorical expressions**	**Percentage**
Print Newspapers	*Chosun Ilbo*	4	26.7%	11	73.3%
	Dong A Ilbo	0	0 %	5	100%
	Joong Ang Ilbo	3	50.0%	3	50.0%
Internet Versions	*Chosun.com*	19	45.2%	23	54.8%
	DongA.com	4	25%	12	75%
	JOINS.com	21	67.7%	10	32.3%

In opposition to the previous case studies, the metaphorical expressions from *a foreign angle* EU SED news were outnumbered by those from a *domestic angle*. However, as in the case of EU political news, *Chosun Ilbo* (15) and its internet version (41) had the greatest number of metaphorical expressions in their EU SED news items. For the print newspapers, *Joong Ang Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* had a similar number of metaphorical expression – six and five respectively. For the internet versions, the number of metaphorical expressions in the EU SED news in *JOINS.com* (31) was larger than that found in *DongA.com* (16).

The distribution of dominant conceptual metaphors in both versions is illustrated in Table 7.10. For the print newspapers, the range of conceptual metaphors from a *domestic angle* was broader than those from a *foreign angle*. For the internet versions, the conceptual metaphors from a *domestic angle* were identical to those from a *foreign angle*. The conceptual metaphors employed in the coverage of the EU SED news items are very different from those found in the previous case studies.

Table 7.10 Distribution of Metaphorical Themes about the EU in SED News of Print Newspapers and Their Internet Versions during 2008

	Print Newspapers		Internet Versions of Newspapers	
	Foreign Angle	*Domestic Angle*	*Foreign Angle*	*Domestic Angle*
Human Being	War	Authority	Authority	Authority
		Argument	Argument	Argument
		A Supporter	A Supporter	A Supporter
		Competition	Competition	Competition
Artefact/ Nature/ Substance	Building/Construction			

Print newspapers: reporting EU SED affairs from a foreign angle

In contrast to the previous case studies, there were only a small number of metaphorical expressions in the SED articles reporting the EU from a *foreign angle*. As with EU economic news, the EU-related SED news appearing in the print newspapers projected mostly negative images of the EU. For example, in the metaphors of *building/construction*, the EU was described as an ill-constructed building. One example of the metaphor of *building* was found from *Joong Ang Ilbo*. It conceptualised the EU as a *tower of Babel* when discussing the issue of linguistic diversity of the EU. [1026] In the *metaphors* of *war*, the print newspapers depicted

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[1026] *Joong Ang Ilbo, 23gae Mogugŏ Modu Gongsigŏ Injŏng…EU t'ongbŏnyŏkbi Yŏn 1 Cho 7 Ch'ŏnŏgwŏn,*14-Apr-08.

the EU as facing the conflict among EU Member States (Germany and Italy) and with other international counterparts (the US and China). For example, *Chosun Ilbo* described that the EU is facing *a battle* with corrupted Bulgarian government and Bulgarian Mafia.[1027] *Joong Ang Ilbo* portrayed that the EU is facing *warfare* in the space technology debate between China and the US.[1028]

Print newspapers: reporting EU SED affairs from a domestic angle

Similar to the metaphorical expressions in EU political news items in the print newspapers, the metaphors found in the SED print news reporting the EU from a *domestic angle* projected positive images of the EU. Specifically, the print newspapers emphasised the image of the EU as a power in its SED affairs. For example, metaphors of *authority* and *arguments* depicted the EU as a leader of global food safety and international environmental issues. The metaphors *supporter* showed the images of the EU as a capable actor in international developmental affairs. The metaphors of *competition* illustrated that the EU is has both capacity and authority in the field of science and technology.

Authority

In the field of social affairs, a *Chosun Ilbo* article used a metaphor depicting the EU as a *wise man* in the food safety.[1029] It was also presented as *a certification authority* in food quality.[1030] In the environmental field, the EU *makes a strong demand for* the decrease of "CO2 emission."[1031] In *Dong A Ilbo*, the EU was viewed as an *assessor* who evaluates

[1027] *Chosun Ilbo, Bup'aero Momsal Alnŭn Bugaria*, 02-Aug-08.
[1028] *Joong Ang Ilbo, NASA, Chungguge "Wujugaebalhamgge" Lobŭkol, NASA*, 12-Sep-08.
[1029] *Chosun Ilbo, "Tŭngppyŏ Wihŏmbuwinŭn Hanguge Andŭrŏonda" ●"Gungnaeyong.such'ulyong Darŭda" nŭn Chujange Chŏngbu Dwinŭtge Haemyŏng,* 16-May-08.
[1030] *Chosun Ilbo, Oganik? Nach'urŏl? Ŏttŏnp'yosiga Chinjja Yuginong iji? Dayanghan Injŭngmak'ŭ Shikbyŏlbŏp*,14-May-08.
[1031] *Chosun Ilbo, 'P'ostŭ Kyot'oŭjŏngsŏ Ch'eje' Kihubyŏnhwahyŏbyage Daebihara Hanguktto Ijen Yewoeŏptta…'CO2 Jurigi' Segyenŭn Sumgappŭda*, 05-Apr-08; and, *Chosun Ilbo, [CO2ga Bakkungŏtdŭl] Shillae Tŏumyŏn Ch'angmunyŏlligo…Haibtidŭ Ch'arobakkumyŏn…Hyŏngŭmjugo Hwasŏgyŏnryo Anssŭnŭn 'T'anso Jero' Jut'aek P'ŭrangsŭ, CO2 Paech'ulch'aryang Ch'aryang Ch'agap*

environmental issues.[1032] In *Joong Ang Ilbo*, the EU was seen as a *governor* who controls global environmental regulations.[1033]

Argument

The metaphor of *argument* was employed in the print newspapers to describe the EU's environmental performance. For example, in *Chosun Ilbo*, the EU was reported as *arguing* on the issues of "the development of bio-fuel."[1034] In the context of climate change, the EU was observed to be *arguing* with the Netherlands regarding the standard of CO2 labelling.[1035] *Dong A Ilbo* depicted the EU as having *an argument* over the issue of "global warming."[1036] In *Joong Ang Ilbo*, the EU continues to *argue with* other global counterparts in the issue of "greenhouse gas emission."[1037]

A supporter

This metaphor was used frequently in the reportage of the EU's developmental affairs. For example, *Chosun Ilbo* portrayed the EU as a *supporter* of democracy and economic development of Myanmar.[1038] *Joong Ang Ilbo* depicted the EU as a *supporter* of North Korea.[1039]

*bissa,*30-Jun-08.
[1032] *Dong A Ilbo, Hanguk, Onshilgas Ŭimugamch'uk Daesangsŏ Jewoedwoeldŭt,*09-Sep-08.
[1033] *Joong Ang Ilbo, Onŭl Gaemakanŭn Jeneba Mot'ŏsho…'Dijel' Ssŭnŭn Chŏngich'a Haibŭridŭ Daebyŏnshin*, 04-Mar-08; and, *Chosun Ilbo, [Kijasuch'ŏp] 'Saengsaengnaegi' Yŏnbi Gaesŏnan,*' 28-Apr-08.
[1034] *Chosun Ilbo, G8 Chŏngsanghoeŭi, "Segyegyŏngjejungdaehan Shiryŏn Chingmyŏn,"* 09-Jul-08; and, *Chosun Ilbo, Yŏkgongbannŭn Baio Yŏnryo,*09-Jul-08.
[1035] *Chosun Ilbo, [Hwangyŏng MBA Chisanggangi] (4) Kihubyŏnhwadaech'aek, ijen Sanjangnimi Nasŏlttae, Yibyŏnguk Hwangyŏngbu Ch'agwane 'Kihubyŏnhwawa Hwangyŏnggyŏngyŏng,* 07-Jun-08.
[1036] *Dong A Ilbo, [Sasŏl] 'Onnanhwa Modŭ'ro Baggwŏya Hal Sahoe Kyŏngje Sisŭt'em,* 09-Apr-08.
[1037] *Joong Ang Ilbo, "2050nyŏn Kkaji Onshilgas 80% Gamch'uk Chŏt'anso Hyŏngmyŏng…Ilbon Wisang Nop'ilgŏt,"* 11-Jun-08.
[1038] *Chosun Ilbo, Chungguk-Miyanma kyoyŏkaek 60%chŭngga Gukjesahoe nunch'ong*, 04-Nov-08.
[1039] *Joong Ang Ilbo, "Bukan Ŏini Chikjŏp Mot Dowa Ant'akkapda,"* 15-May-08.

Competition

In global environmental issues, the EU was presented as a *competitor* with other global counterparts.[1040] *Dong A Ilbo* depicted the EU as *a competitor* of Korea in the fields of science and technology.[1041] In the same print outlet, the EU was described as an active *competitor* in GPS development.[1042]

Internet versions: reporting EU SED affairs from a foreign angle

In contrast to the metaphors found in EU SED print articles from a *foreign angle*, internet versions featured a plethora of metaphors which portrayed the EU in a positive light. In addition, internet versions featured more diverse types of metaphors than their print outlets. Similar to the previous case studies, the internet versions also emphasised images of the EU in terms of authority and power in its SED affairs. For instance, in *authority* and *argument* metaphors, the EU was depicted as an authority of controlling crimes taking place within its borders. In contrast to the print newspapers, the metaphor of *supporter* was employed to portray the EU as a supporter in the environmental field. In metaphors of *competition*, EU Member States were depicted as competing with each other for the highest birth rate.

Authority

The metaphors of *authority* were used by *JOINS.com* to depict the EU's social affairs. For example, the EU was portrayed as a *jury* in the issue of Gypsy migrants in Europe.[1043]

[1040] *Chosun Ilbo, [Hwangyŏng MBA Chisang Gangŭi] (2) Bukkŭkgomege Dakch'in Wigi, Got Inganege Onda Kyot'o ŭijŏngsŏ Ihu Co2 Paech'ullyang Churinŭnde Ch'ongnyŏk*, 24-May-08.

[1041] *Dong A Ilbo, PPD? MSG? Hwahakch'ŏmgamul Ijen Kŭman*, 21-Apr-08; *DongA Ilbo, Sŏnjinguk 'Gowihŏm Gosuik' Yŏngut'uja K'ŭge Nŭllyŏ*, 04-Jan-08; and, *DongA Ilbo, [Sasŏl] 5Nyŏngan Balmukkin IPTV, Kyuje Haeage Ponbogida,*, 20-May-08.

[1042] *Dong A Ilbo, "Chŏngbojukwŏn Seuja" GPS Gaebal Kyŏngjaeng*, 05-Jan-08.

[1043] *JOINS.com, "T'ŏk'i Chŏngbu Ch'aekja 'Chipsi' Ingwŏnch'imhae"…Chaep'an Hoebu*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3303717 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

Argument

Chosun.com used this metaphor to depict the issues of the EU's social affairs. For example, the EU is having *arguments* with its Member States as to the issue of work permits to soccer players from non-EU nations.[1044] The EU is reported *arguing* with the Member States about crime situation in Europe.[1045] In contrast, *JOINS.com* utilised this metaphor to describe the EU's environmental affairs. For instance, it mentioned that the EU is *arguing* with the US over the issue of "climate change."[1046] The EU is also *arguing* with the Mafia about illegal landfills in Greece.[1047]

A Supporter

In contrast to the *domestic angle* metaphor of *supporter* in EU SED news items in the print newspapers, the internet versions described the EU as a supporter of environmental issues. For example, in *Chosun.com*, the EU was portrayed as a *supporter* of cleaning up the garbage in Naples, Italy.[1048] In *JOINS.com*, the EU was viewed as a *supporter* of initiatives to overcome ocean pollution.[1049] The EU was also seen as a *supporter* of actions curbing climate change.[1050]

[1044]   *Chosun.com, FIFA Chipaengwi "Woeguksŏnsu Ch'uljŏnjehan Gyujŏng Jiji,"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/28/2008052800493.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *Chosun.com, FIFA Apdojŏgin Chijisoge '6+5'an T'ongwa,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/30/2008053001216.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1045] *Chosun.com, Motmalinŭn Bulgaria Chop'ok EU Amnyŏkbulgu Gisŭng,*
http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/04/08/2008040801271.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *Chosun.com, Ssŭregi Daeran Nap'oli, Jumindŭl 'Ppulnatda,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/19/2008051900414.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1046] *JOINS.com, Bushi Onshilgas Gamch'ugane Binan Bonmul*, http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3115933 (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *JOINS.com," Sae Kihuhyŏbyak, Mi Taesŏnu T'agyŏl Chŏnmang,"* http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3096637 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1047]*JOINS.com, 'Ssŭregi Ch'ŏnguk' Kŭrisŭ… Pulpŏp Maeripji Nannip Momsal*,
http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3172939 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1048] *Chosun.com, "Nap'oli Ssŭregi Uriga Ch'iwŏjuma" P'algŏdŭn Dogil*,
http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/10/2008061000033.html(retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1049] *JOINS.com, [Hwangyŏng] Padae CO2 Hŭpssunŭngnyŏk Gyŏkgam, 1Ch'ŏn 500nyŏn Duikkaji Yŏnghyang*,
http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3114752 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1050] *JOINS.com, "Kihubyŏnhwa Dalsŏng Shihan Bulgwa 7 Nyŏn,"* http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3214298 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

Competition

This metaphor was used to describe the issue of low birth rates in EU Member States. *DongA.com* and *JOINS.com* reported the EU as a place for *competition* among its Member States where France was portrayed as a leading EU nation in the *competition* for birth rates.[1051]

Internet versions: reporting EU SED affairs from a domestic angle

The dominant metaphors found in print newspapers from a *domestic angle* were identical to the metaphors in their internet versions. In EU SED internet articles from a *domestic angle,* the metaphorical expressions projected positive imagery of the EU. In comparison with the previous case studies, the metaphors used in the EU SED news -- *supporter* and *argument* -- were similar to those in EU political news.

Authority

In the SED news reporting the EU from a *domestic angle*, the majority of the metaphors described the EU as a person with *authority*. For example, *Chosun.com* illustrated the EU as a *governmental assessor* in the issue of greenhouse gas emission.[1052] The EU was portrayed as a *teacher* of food safety relating to the US beef scandal in Korea.[1053] This version described the EU as a *wise man* who could teach Korea a lesson about food safety.[1054] The EU was seen as a *critical reviewer* in food safety.[1055] *DongA.com* also depicted the EU as a *governmental*

[1051] *DongA.com, Bul, 2 Nyŏn Yŏnsok Ch'ulsanyul 1 Wi,* http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080116/8534216/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *JOINS.com, P'ŭrangsŭ 2 Nyŏn Yŏnsok Ch'ulsan Changnyŏch'aekhyogwa,* http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3012591 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1052] *Chosun.com, "Hanguk, Onsilgas Ŭimugamch'uk Daesangsŏ Jewoedoeldŭt,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/09/2008090900260.html(retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1053] *Chosun.com, Soegogi P'adong Jaengjŏm "Mwolmitgo Gaebang?" Uriwa Nŏmudarŭn Gakguk Daech'ŏ,* http://businessnews.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/05/2008050500288.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1054] *Chosun.com, Tŭngppyŏ Wihŏmbuwinŭn Hangguge Andŭrŏond,* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/15/2008051501873.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1055] *Chosun.com, Oganik? Naech'urŏl? Ŏttŏnp'yoshiga Chinjja Yuginongiji? Tayangan Shikp'um Injŭngmak'ŭ Shikbyŏlbŏp,* http://danmee.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/14/2008051400292.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); *Chosun.com, Kŏmyŏk*

assessor in the issues of "greenhouse gas emission."[1056] In this version, the EU was viewed as an *assessor* of the "food safety" issue. [1057] In *JOINS.com*, the EU was seen as a *governmental assessor* in "aviation regulations."[1058] The EU was again described as an authority in the area of "food safety."[1059]

Argument

The metaphors of *argument* were employed in internet versions to describe the EU's environmental affairs. For example, *Chosun.com* and *JOINS.com* used this metaphor for portraying the EU *arguing* with the others in the issue of greenhouse gas emission.[1060]

A Supporter

This metaphor was utilised in *JOINS.com* to describe the EU's developmental actions. This version portrayed the EU as a *supporter* for North Korea.[1061] In addition, the EU was seen as a *supporter* to Myanmar.[1062]

Chukwŏn My ŏngmunwa Habŭi… Swoegogi Sat'ae Saegungmyŏn,
http://businessnews.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/05/19/2008051900940.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *Chosun.com, Hetgallinŭn Suip Yuginong Injŭngmak'ŭ Totbogi,* http://danmee.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/11/2008091101307.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1056] *DongA.com, Hanguk, Onshilgas Ŭimudaesangsŏ Chewoedwoeldŭt*, http://news.donga.com/3/all/20080909/8628488/1 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1057] *DongA.com, PPD? MSG? Hwahakch'ŏmgamul Ijen Gŭman!* http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200804210040 (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *DongA.com, Mi Tongmulsaryojoch'i Ganghwa…'Shinyung'man?* http://news.speeple.com/donga.com/2008/04/23/3.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1058] *JOINS.com, Inni Taet'ongnyŏng, 'Hanggonggi Ch'uihanggŭmji' E Yurŏp Sunbang Tto Yŏngi*, http://media.joinsmsn.com/article/821/3238821.html?ctg (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1059] *JOINS.com, Yakp'um Hŏga Susuryo 20nyŏnmane Insang..Shinch'ŏngnambal Ch'adan,* http://find.joinsmsn.com/Search_Link.asp?Total_ID=3128357&query=(retrieved on 24 October 2010); *JOINS.com, Mi Tongmulsaryojoch'iganghwa…'Shinyung'man?* http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3123002 (retrieved on 24 October 2010).

[1060] *Chosun.com, [Kijasuch'ŏp] 'Saengsaengnaegi' Yŏnbi Gaesŏnan*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/04/28/2008042800007.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).; *Chosun.com, Kihubyŏnhwa Taech'aek, Ijen Sajangnimi Nasŏl Ttae,* http://businessnews.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/07/2008060700079.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); *Chosun.com,G8 Chŏngsanghoei, "Segyegyŏngje Jungdaehan Shiryŏn Jingmyŏn,"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/07/08/2008070801812.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010); and, *JOINS.com, Onŭl Gaemakanŭn Jeneba Mot'ŏsyo…Tijel.chŏngi Ssŭnŭn Ch'a 'Alttŭl Haibŭridŭ Bum*, http://media.joinsmsn.com/article/474/3061474.html?ctg=(retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1061] *JOINS.com, Puk Chinanae EUe Gwailnamu Chiwŏn Yoch'ŏng*, http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3147906 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

[1062] *JOINS.com, Miyanma T'aep'ungch'amsae Kukjesahoe Chiwŏn Swoedo*, http://live.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=3136283 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).

Competition

The *competition* metaphor was used in internet versions to describe the EU's social affairs issues. For example, *Chosun.com* depicted the EU as a *competitor* in the area of health insurance [1063] *DongA.com* described the EU as *a match* for Korea in the *competition* of information technology. [1064] *JOINS.com* cited that the EU is *a match* for China in space technology. [1065]

To conclude, the print newspapers and their internet versions employed the conceptual metaphors to depict the EU's actions in the SED spheres projecting images of wisdom and authority. Despite limited news coverage of EU SED affairs, both versions used metaphorical means to offer distinct portrayals of the EU in social, environmental and developmental areas. The most visible metaphors used in the social affairs news -- *competition* and *authority* -- projected the imagery of the EU as *an authoritative and competent social affairs actor*. The EU environmental news contained numerous examples of the metaphors of *argument*. This suggests the imagery of the EU as *a vociferous environmental advocate*. In the coverage of EU developmental news, the metaphors of *a supporter* showed the EU as *a generous global developmental supporter*.

[1063]   *Chosun.com,   Kimsŏngi   Changgwan   "Kŏngangbohŏm   Minyŏnghwa   Kŏmt'o   Anae,"* http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/06/10/2008061001109.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1064] *DongA.com, "Chŏngbojukwŏn Seuja" GPS Gaebalgyŏngjaeng*, http://www.donga.com/fbin/output?n=200801050094 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1065] *JOINS.com, Ujujŏnggŏjang Gwangwange 200 Ŏgwŏn*, http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?ctg=12&total_id=3113352 (retrieved on 24 October 2010).

7.4 Visual Representations

This section deals with a detailed analysis of the visual images accompanying the EU SED verbal news coverage.

7.4.1 Representational Meta-function

As in the cases of EU political and economic news, the internet versions featured more visual images than their print versions: 24 vs. 14 respectively. Among the three print newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* (9) employed the largest number of visual images in EU SED news compared with *Dong A Ilbo* (3) and *Joong Ang Ilbo* (2). Among the internet versions, *Chosun.com* again had the largest number of visual images (10) than *DongA.com* (5) and *JOINS.com* (9). *Representational meta-function* investigates the EU's SED representations in terms of *people, places* and *things* (Figures 7.21 and 7.22).

Figure 7.21 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU SED News in the Print Newspapers

People
- a group of people: 5
- a male person: 5
- a female person: 3
- not appeared: 1
- 0

Places
- interview room: 4
- garden: 1
- urban street: 1
- theatre: 1
- swimming pool: 1
- school: 1
- remodelled book shop (cathedral): 1
- orchestra hall: 1
- no background: 3
- 0

Things
- EU or MS flags: 1
- not appeared: 13
- 0

number of items
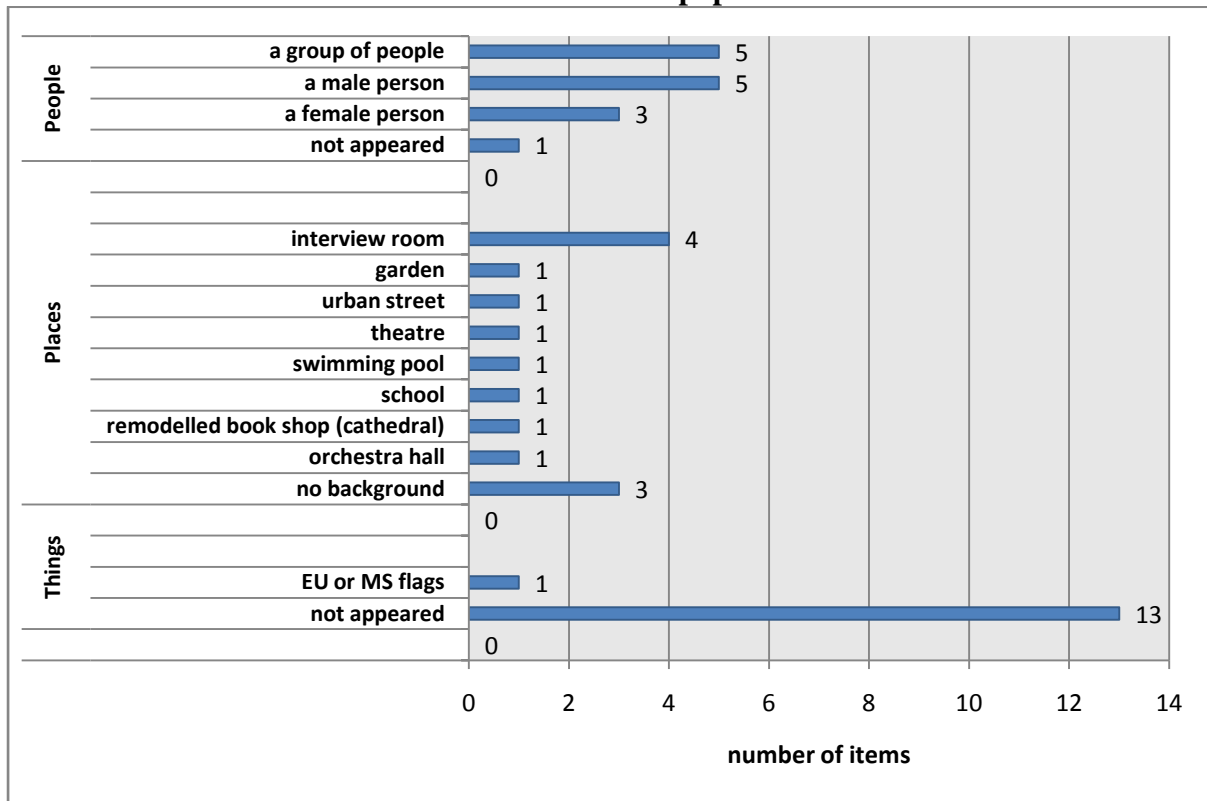
Figure 7.22 Representational Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers

People
- a male person: 9
- a group of people: 7
- a female person: 4
- male and female together: 3
- not appeared: 1
- 0

Places
- interview room: 6
- conference room: 5
- urban street: 4
- garden: 3
- theatre: 2
- school: 1
- swimming pool: 1
- bookshop (former cathedral): 1
- orchestral hall: 1
- 0

Things
- EU or MS flags: 1
- not found: 23

number of items
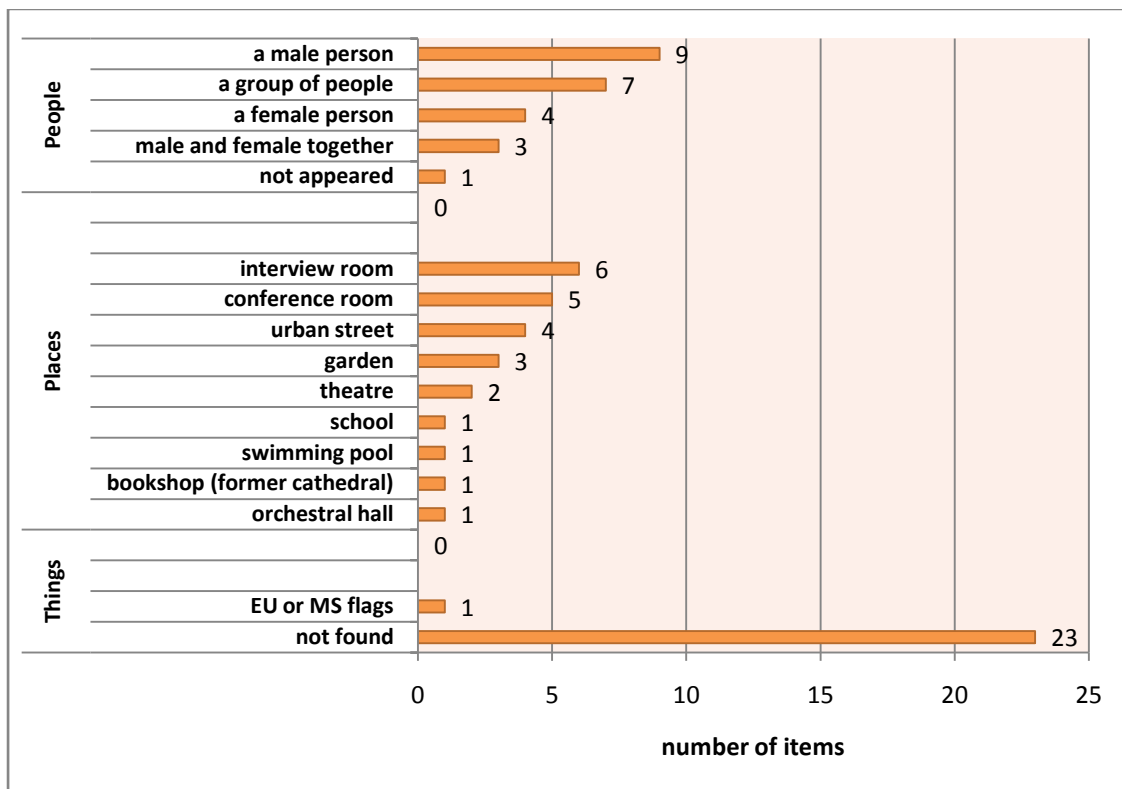
The two versions had a number of parallels when it came to the most visible *people*, *places* and *things* in the visual imagery For the *people* element, the EU was again represented by *a male person* and *a group of people*. While the print newspapers employed the same number of images of *a male person* and *a group of people*, the internet versions were more inclined to employ the images of *a male person* rather than those of *a group of people*. Similar to the case of EU political news, President Sarkozy was the only easily recognised person in the visual images of EU SED affairs. In contrast to the other case studies discussed, the EU SED news in both versions employed the images of *a female person*. Also of interest, the most representative participants in the category of *a group of people* (as well as in the category *a female person*) were anonymous members of general public. Images of the groups of ordinary people could arguably, convey cooperation and community, predictable themes in news on social affairs.

The most visible *place* where the EU's SED affairs were presented was the *interview room* − a setting that possibly conveys a meaning of a responsible authority. Other less visible *places* were familiar to the Korean readers, such as settings of an *urban street, garden, school* and *orchestra hall*. The setting of an *urban street* was employed by *JOINS.com* to illustrate the EU's developmental actions.[1066] *Chosun.com* used *the garden* as a setting to illustrate the EU's actions in environmental area.[1067] Both *school* and *orchestra hall* were used to illustrate the EU's actions in the social affairs.[1068] Arguably, the combination of these images carried the meaning of the EU as an authority responsible for its actions as well as an entity an average Korean reader could relate to.

[1066] *JOINS.com*, *Miyanma Ssaiklon Taech'amsa*, http://video.joinsmsn.com/channel/tv_player.asp?mov_id=2008_0506_183333 (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1067] *Chosun.com, T'opbabŭro Chŏngi Onsu Saengsan…"Koyuga Kŏkjŏng Anhaeyo,"*http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/03/04/2008030400200.html (retrieved on 28 October 2010).
[1068] *Dong A Ilbo*, *[Sekyenŭn Chigŭm Kyoyukhyŏngmyŏngjung]<5>Sŭweden Balingsŭnesŭ Ch'odŭnghakkyo*, 11-Feb-2008; and, *Chosun Ilbo*, *Sesang modŭnp'yŏngyŏnnoginŭn Sonyŏndŭre Hamoni*, 31-Jul-2008.

The element of *things* was found in the images of *flags of the EU* or *its Member States*. Those were the only symbolic objects of the EU's SED affairs. This was similar to other cases.

7.4.2 Interactive Meta-function

The second part of visual analysis in terms of the *interactive meta-function* explored the possible interactions between the visual images of the EU SED news and the news audiences (Figures 7.23 and 7.24).

Figure 7.23 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of the EU SED News in the Print Newspapers
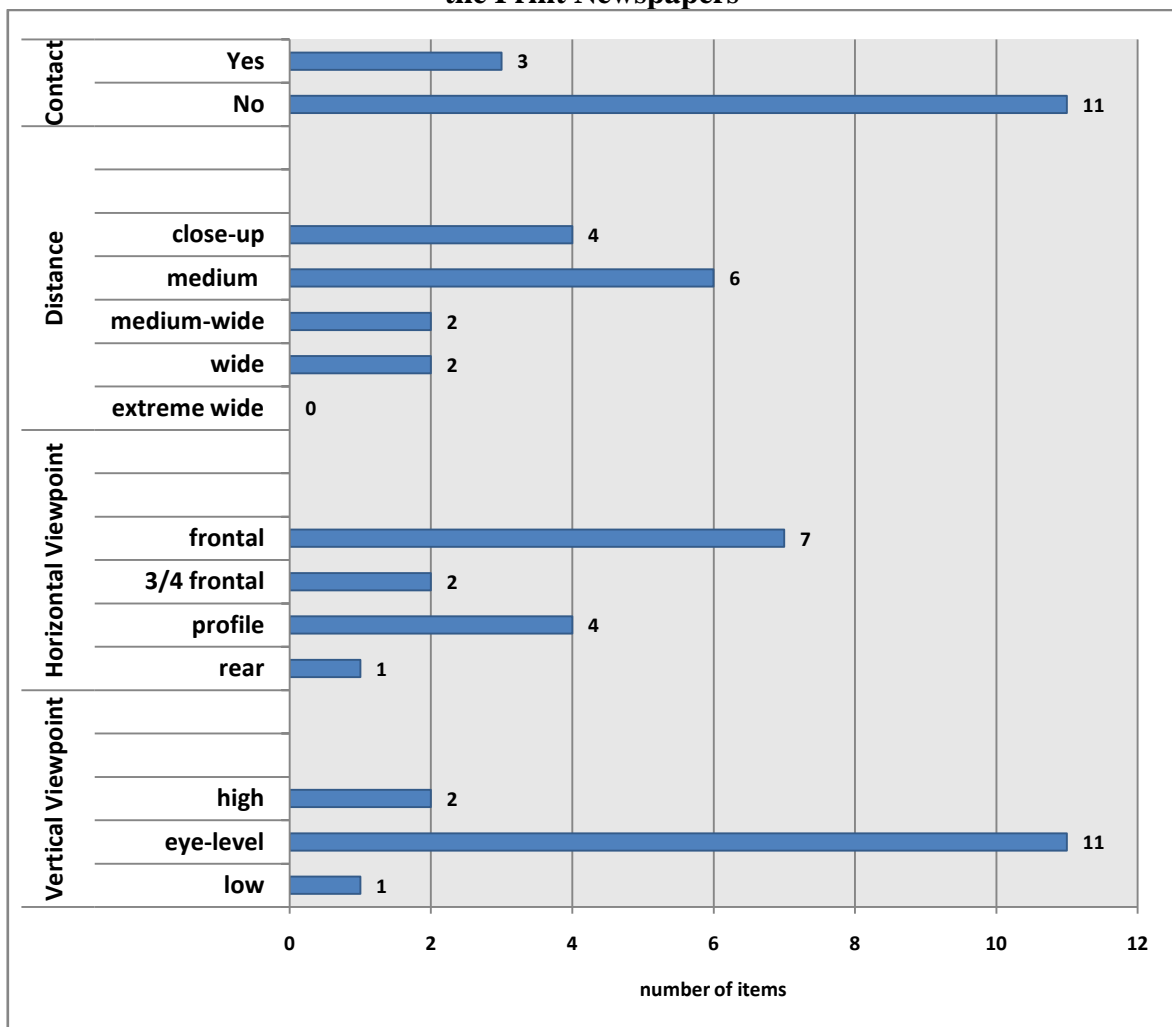
Figure 7.24 Interactive Meta-function in Visual Representations of EU SED News in Internet Versions of Newspapers
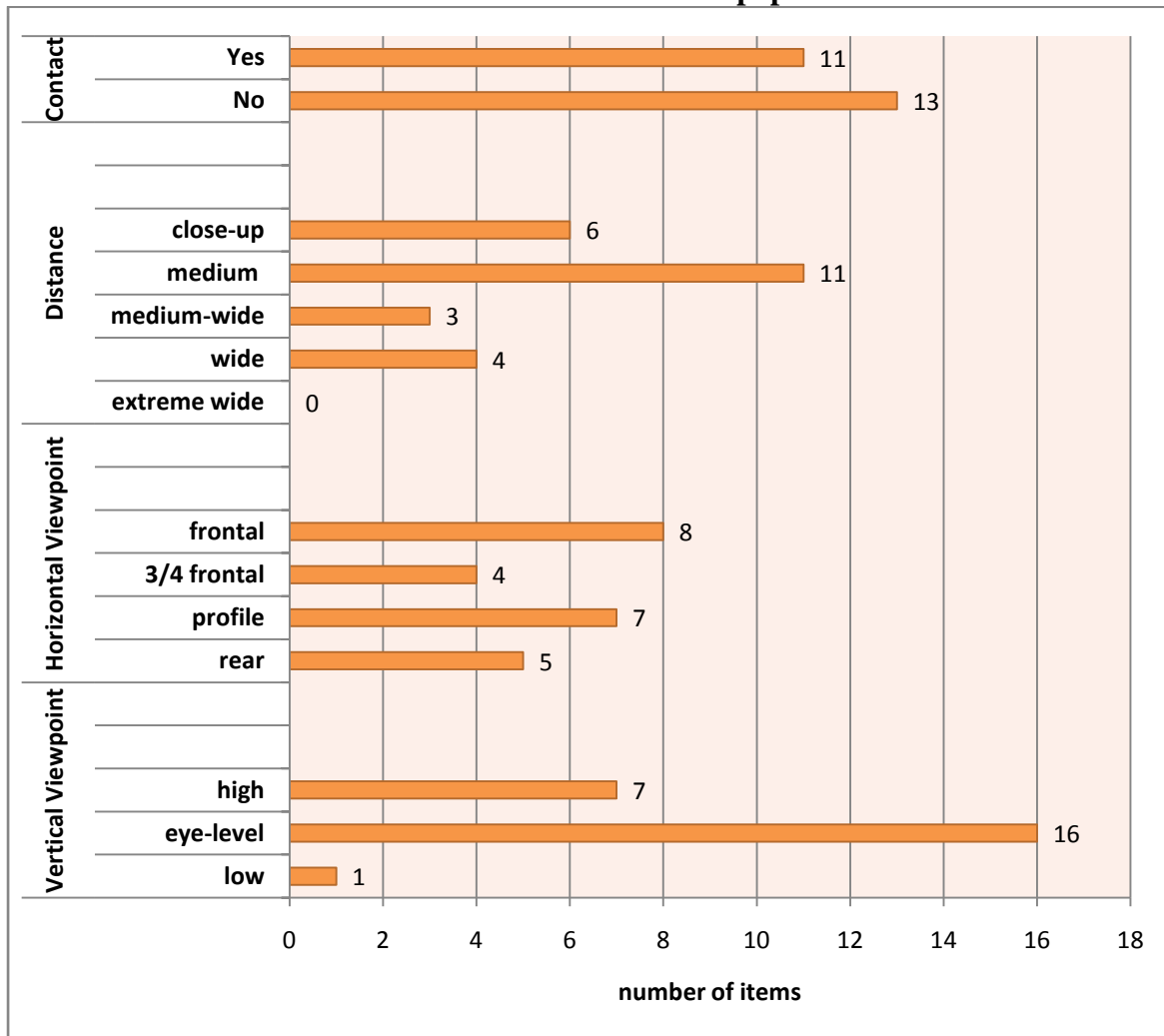
As in the previous cases, the visual images of the print newspapers bore a striking similarity to those in the internet versions. Assessing the *contact* element, the most visible participants in the visual images of the both versions did not make direct eye contact with the readers. This is was similar to the EU's visual images in the political and economic categories. As such, the conclusion is that most of EU visual images do not profile the EU and its actors as 'demanding' for the Korean readers.

Analysis of the *distance* element found that the majority of actors in the visual images in the both versions were shot in *medium* or *close-up* angles (69.2% for print and 68.2% for

internet). Such *distances*, resulting in viewing head and face only or head and shoulders when the readers may see the characters' subtle facial expressions, renders an idea of the EU and its actors being up close and personal to the Korean readers of EU SED news. This was similar to the visual images in the two other case studies.

Examination of the *viewpoint* element revealed that the pictures of the most representative participants were shot at *frontal* and *eye-level* angles. The *frontal* angle creates the impression of stronger involvement with the portrayed actor on the part of the viewer and implies that the depicted character has some connectedness with the viewers.[1069] The *eye-level* angle gives an impression that the depicted participant has equal power with a viewer.[1070] Thus, analysed from the viewpoint perspective, the EU SED visual images depict the EU as an international actor who connects with Korean readers and possibly involves them, and does so on an equal footing. These findings are consistent with the previous case studies.

Summarising the results of the analysis of the *interactive meta-function*, visual images of EU SED affairs rendered the impression of the EU's being close and possibly even friendly to the Korean readers. In contrast, they downplayed the images of EU as an authority.

7.4.3 Compositional Meta-function

The last part of the visual analysis of the EU SED news deals with *compositional meta-function* (Figures 7.25 and 7.26).

[1069] C. Harrison, "Visual Social Semiotics: Understanding How Still Images Make Meaning," *Technical Communication*, vol. 50, no. 1 (2003):46.
[1070] Ibid.

Figure 7.25 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of the EU SED News in the Print Newspapers
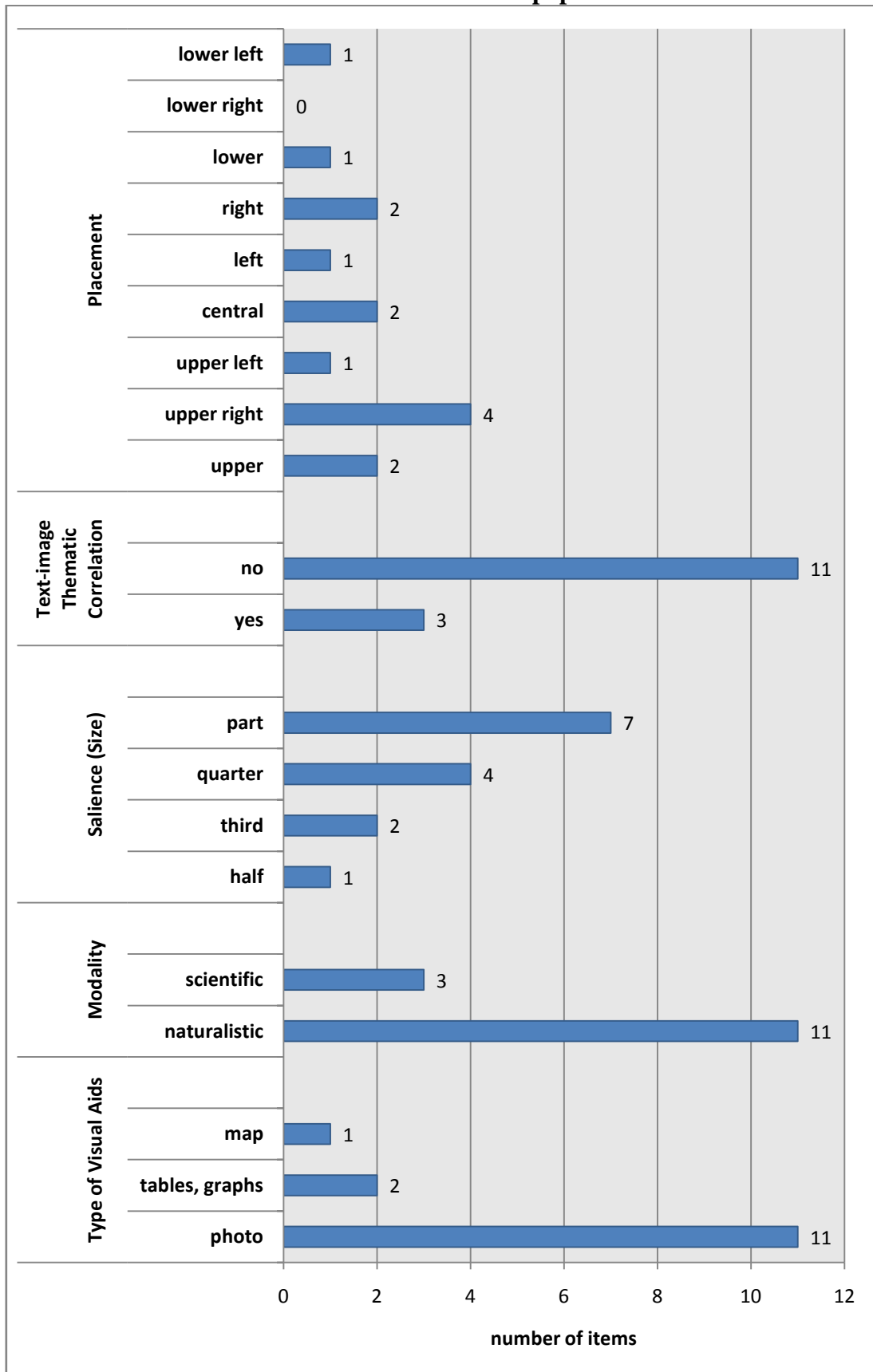
Figure 7.26 Compositional Meta-function in Visual Representations of the EU SED News in the Internet Versions of Newspapers
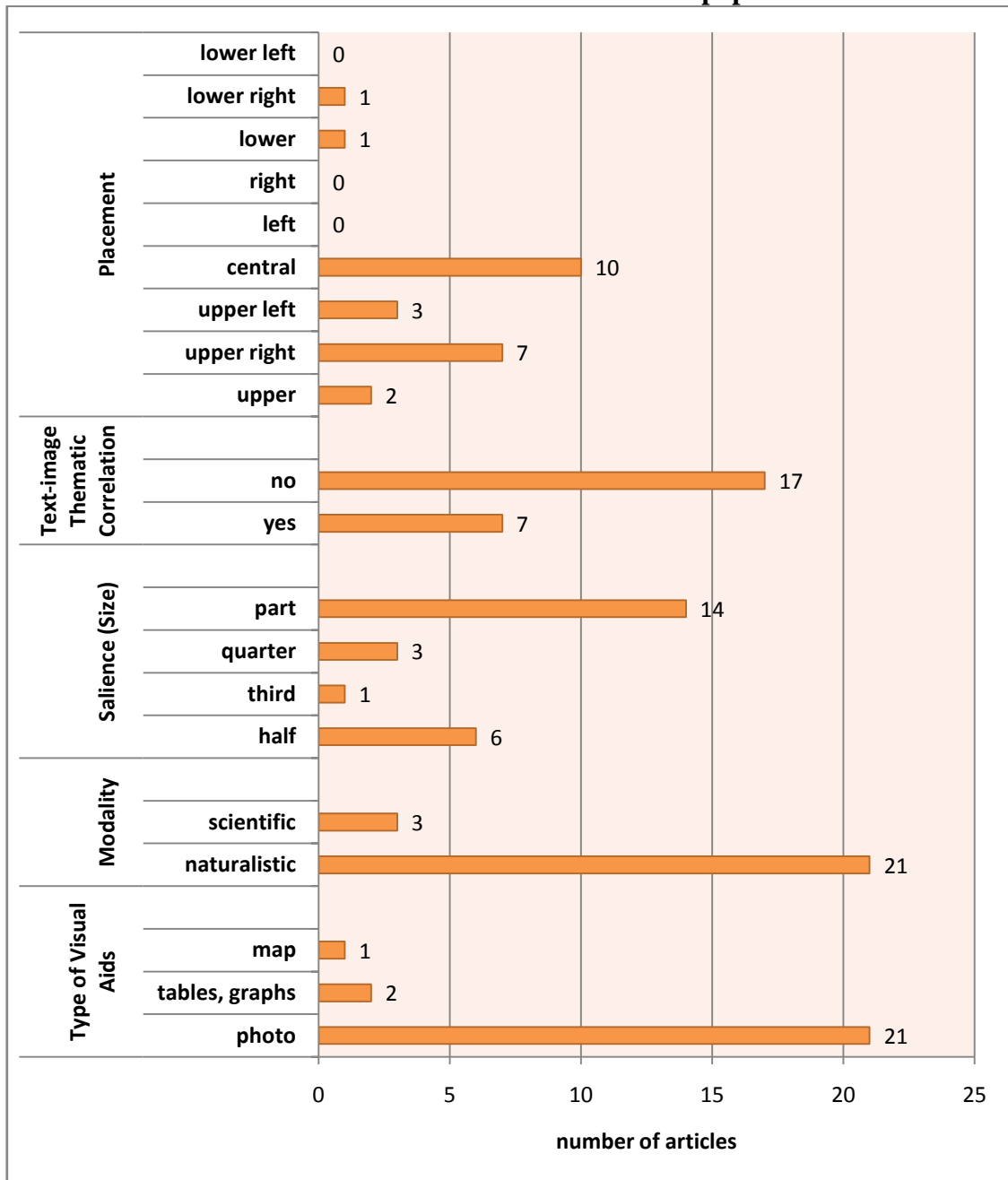
The main difference between the two versions was observed in the *types of visual aids*. In contrast to the print newspapers, the internet versions employed *videos* to show the EU's SED actions. These were not analysed in this thesis. Focusing exclusively on the still images, this study found a striking similarity between the visual images in the print newspapers and their internet versions.

Assessing the *horizontal placement* (excluding the images placed in *central* position), this analysis found that most visual images were placed on the *right*-hand side of the news articles in the both versions. Looking at the "given/new structure" discussed above, this placement may indicate that the information about EU-related SED issues was conceptualised by the newsmakers as not very familiar to the audiences. Assessing vertical placement, most visual images were situated in the *upper* position. Using the "ideal/real structure," this placement could be indicative that visual images were employed as pictorial supplements to the EU SED verbal news items. These placements are similar to the patterns of visual imagery found in the two previous case studies.

Examination of the *thematic text-image correlation* revealed that the EU SED news pattern was similar to the one of EU political news: most visual images did not have a thematic match to the verbal texts of EU SED news items (76.5% for the print newspapers and 74% for the internet versions). This thematic mismatch is argued to complicate readers' understanding of the EU's SED affairs.

Assessing the *salience* of the visual imagery, this thesis limited the measurement to investigating whether a visual image occupied *half, third, quarter* or *part* areas of the whole dimension of an article. The majority of visual images occupied smaller than a *quarter* of the area of the news article (58.8% for print newspapers and 63% for internet versions). Smaller size images may undermine the image's potential to attract readers' attention.

Finally, for *the type of visual aids*, both versions commonly utilised *photographs, tables, graphs* and *maps*. Similar to the previous case studies, both versions employed more

photographs as visual aids of EU SED news than any other means. Again, the majority of the EU's visual images in SED news pictured EU citizens, politicians and symbolic objects (such as flags). Hence most visual images conveyed *naturalistic modality*.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the images of *the EU as an SED actor* in the three Korean print newspapers and their internet versions. The analysis of the *formal characteristics* of EU SED news identified a number of differences between the two versions. Analysis of the *monthly distribution* patterns revealed that both versions had different 'peak' months. For the print newspapers, each outlet had its own 'peak' month (June for *Chosun Ilbo*, February for *Dong A Ilbo* and September for *Joong Ang Ilbo*). In contrast, three internet versions had the same 'peak' month of September. Considering the volume of EU SED news according to the *media outlet*, *Chosun Ilbo* and its internet version *Chosun.com* had the largest number of EU-related SED news items. Assessment of the *information sources* of the EU SED news demonstrated that the three Korean print newspapers relied on their own journalists to report the EU in the SED fields. By contrast, the internet versions depended heavily on *Yonhap News* (a leading domestic news agency for the Korean media which utilised foreign news sources). However, as discussed above, the details of the *information sources* of those news items borrowed from *Yonhap News* are unknown.

In terms of the *interactivity* element of the internet versions, *Chosun.com* provided the most options to maintain interpersonal interactivity between the newsmakers and their readers, indicated by the presence of correspondents' email addresses. Despite the limited news coverage, EU SED news items were quite successful in establishing contact with the news readers compared with EU economic news. Looking at *content interactivity*, the study once

again found evidence of the EU SED news items in internet versions being duplicated from their print outlets. This type of interactivity suggests that print editions may in fact have a broader outreach. The analysis also found evidence of the EU SED news items being duplicated in more than two internet versions. This underscores the important role the *Yonhap News* plays in shaping EU reportage in the internet versions.

In its analysis of the EU SED images in terms of *substantive characteristics*, this study observes some differences between print newspapers and their internet versions, with the exception of the element of *news values*. Using the category *focus of domesticity*, this study found that the print newspapers were more inclined to link reports of EU SED issues to Korean domestic discourses. This could mean that the EU SED actions are seen to be of direct relevance to the Korean readers. The analysis of the intensity of EU SED representations found the minor *degree of centrality* of EU SED news items in the print newspapers to be in contrast to a greater intensity to the EU's representations in the internet versions. Examining the *most visible topics* in both versions, the internet editions were found to cover a greater variety of topics than their print outlets. This was expected as the internet news media have far greater capacity to make large volumes of information available to readers. Leaving aside the *neutral evaluations*, the internet versions were more likely to portray the EU SED affairs in a *negative* light, while the print newspapers were more prone to give *positive evaluations* to these issues. Deduction of the possible *journalistic attitudes* behind the EU SED news demonstrated that the internet versions were more likely to profile *passive-neutral* attitude than the print outlets. Analysis of the *conceptual metaphors* describing the EU SED actions showed that the internet versions featured more diverse metaphors than their print outlets. Again this was to be expected due to the larger volume of

news items available. Similar to the EU political news, metaphorical expressions in EU SED news in both versions projected positive imagery of the EU.

In contrast to the content analysis of the verbal texts, the analysis of the visual images did not show the differences between the two versions. Assessment of the visual images according to the *representational meta-function* showed that for both versions images of *a male person, an interview room* and the *EU or a Member State's flags* were the most representative EU SED *people, places* and *things*. Importantly, those were the most visible images across the three case studies of this thesis. Arguably, they conveyed images of the EU as a responsible and responsive authority, masculine and virile, with formal attributes of power.

Examination of the *interactive meta-function* showed that the EU SED visual images emphasised closeness and intimacy in the presentation of the EU. However, for the *contact* element, the EU actors pictured were not found to make a direct eye contact with the readers and the shots were taken from close to medium *distance.* The *frontal* and *eye-level* angles in the *viewpoint* provided the viewer the sense of connection.

Finally, looking at the *compositional meta-function* indicators, the results suggest that the EU SED affairs remain novel to Korean readers, sometimes confusing and not always highly visible. The visual images were found to be more likely placed in the *right* and *upper* positions –*placements* that stress the novelty of information. The results of *text-image thematic correlation*, found a high ratio of thematic mismatches between textual and visual information, possibly causing a cognitive clash when the intertextual information is processed. The analysis of the *salience* element revealed that the size of most EU SED visual images was relatively small if compared with the size of the textual element. This suggests that a

small size of the visual aid could undermine the potential of a visual image to attract readers' attention. Both versions heavily relied on *photographs* as a visual aid in the news items featuring *naturalistic modality* of the EU SED images.

The combined reportage of EU SED affairs was least visible among the three case studies considered in this thesis. Nevertheless, the systematic analysis highlighted the peculiarities of EU SED images in comparison to EU political and economic representations. With EU-Korea cooperation in the areas of social affairs, environment and development becoming more intensive, future studies of Korean news media may pay greater attention to the EU SED actions from Korean newsmakers. The next section turns to the perceptions of the EU among Korean newsmakers. It also asks how the EU coverage is organised and whether there are any differences in news production between the print Korean newspapers and their internet versions.

CHAPTER VIII

Making the News: South Korean Newsmakers' Perceptions of the EU

8.1 The Necessity of Looking at South Korean Newsmakers' EU Perceptions

So far, this thesis has explored the images of the EU in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions according to three different information inputs (*the EU as a political actor*, *the EU as an economic actor* and *the EU as a social, environmental and developmental actor*). We shall now proceed to examine Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU.

As has been pointed out, asking for an interview with Korean newsmakers was the most challenging task for this thesis (an almost zero response rate— just two positive replies out of 305 newsmakers contacted). Holtz-Bacha claimed that "journalists do not appreciate having someone (an investigator) looking over their shoulder as they work."[1071] Consequently, we can speculate that the examination of newsmakers' perceptions has attracted little past attention as an object of critical observation, and in the light of above illustration, one can say that the newsroom perspectives deserve further scrutiny.

[1071] C. Holtz-Bacha, "Mass Media and Elections: An Impressive Body of Research," In *German Communication Yearbook* , edited by C. Holtz-Bacha and H. Brosius, (Cresskill: Hampton Press, 1999), 59.

Before we embark upon an analysis of Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU, it is necessary to discuss why the newsmakers' perceptions are of significance. This can be attributed to three reasons. First, Korean newsmakers' perceptions helped to offer a comprehensive account of the production process of EU images in Korean print and internet newspapers. According to Lau, news production factors can be characterised into external and internal aspects.[1072] External factors involve the restrictions placed on journalists in terms of news gathering and dissemination.[1073] Examples include the ownership of the media outlet, circulation and popularity of newspapers and government regulations (as discussed in Chapter 4). Internal factors impact upon journalistic autonomy,[1074] such as journalistic practices and newsmakers' ideologies concerning the news sources.

Second, as claimed in Chapter 3, the newsmakers' perceptions play a vital role in making decisions in the news production process. It has been argued that the newsmakers function as an editor who determines "what aspects of news material will be used along with accounts tailored for the purpose of news discourse by other sources."[1075] When newsmakers make the news, they collaborate and manipulate the sources of news with affection and distrust.[1076] Maltese has even asserted that journalists can "twist a story to one's advantage, using surrogates, press releases, radio actualities and other friendly sources to deliver the story in the best possible light."[1077] In a similar vein, the news is defined as "a product of transactions between journalists and their sources."[1078] Notably, as de Vreese has aptly observed,

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[1072] R. Lau, "Critical Realism and News Production," *Media, Culture, and Society,* vol. 26, no. 5 (2004): 694.
[1073] Ibid.
[1074] Ibid.
[1075] R. Ericson, P. Baranek and J. Chan, *Visualizing Deviance*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 6.
[1076] M. Gottlieb, "Dangerous Liaisons: Journalists and Their Sources," In *Columbia Journalism Review* (July/August 1989), 21.
[1077] J. Maltese, *Spin Control*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
[1078] M. Schudson, *The Sociology of News*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 135.

the processes underlying news stories are essential for understanding patterns and converting found in the content [of news]…Access to newsrooms [then] is a prerequisite for our knowledge about news production.[1079]

In this regard we have found that the newsmakers' perceptions of the EU have influenced the pattern of EU coverage as presented in the three case studies. The first example concerns the newsmakers' possible influences upon *information sources* (5.2.3, 6.2.3 and 7.2.3) and *content interactivity* (5.2.4, 6.2.4 and 7.2.4). It has been suggested that the newsmakers consider *Yonhap News* as a news agent which featured an abundance of news items translated from a variety of international wires. As is common in the previous case studies, the internet versions borrowed more than half of EU-related news articles from *Yonhap News* (on average 65.9% average of EU political news, 58.4% of EU economic news and 54.7% of EU SED news).[1080] Furthermore, this thesis was able to observe that a certain number of EU news items in the internet versions were borrowed from their print outlets. In order to address this assumption, we will examine the newsmakers' answers to the third question in the section of *internet newsmakers' perceptions* (8.2.3).

The second example is that the newsmakers' perceived boundaries of EU news coverage possibly influenced the *most visible topics* element in previous case studies (5.3.4, 6.3.4 and 7.3.4). We can illustrate this interaction by comparison with the interviewees' answers to the first question in the section of *coverage of EU news*.

[1079] C. De Vreese, *Framing Europe: Television news and European integration,* (Askant: Amsterdam, 2003), 15.
[1080] Superficially, *Yonhap News* was the main sources of EU news items from the sample. However, former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* claimed that *Yonhap News* mainly translated the news articles from variety of international news wires so the internet newspapers borrow these articles. For that reason, substantial sources of EU news for internet versions are unknown.

The third example is that the newsmakers' priority towards covering EU news might be reflected in predominant *news values* found in the previous case studies (5.3.6, 6.3.6 and 7.3.6). It has been demonstrated that *timeliness* was the major news value for EU news items. Except for EU political news, the second main news value for EU economic and SED news items was *human interest*. By examining the interviewees' answers to the ninth question of the section *coverage of EU news*, we can verify this statement.

The fourth example is that the newsmakers' predictions towards the future changes in the balance of foreign reporting would imply *journalistic attitudes* in reporting EU news (5.3.7, 6.3.7 and 7.3.7). Given the predominant *passive-neutral* attitude found in the previous case studies, the newsmakers might offer neither positive nor negative prediction toward this issue. The eighth question in the section of *coverage of EU news* addresses this issue.

The final example is that the newsmakers' perceptions of using video clips when reporting news items might have influenced the limited video support for EU news items in the internet versions (5.4.3, 6.4.3 and 7.4.3). The fourth question in the section of *internet newsmakers' perceptions* can provide evidence to illustrate this issue.

Turning to the third reason to study newsmakers' perceptions of the EU, these could provide helpful references for EU diplomats who work in South Korea involved in strategies for public diplomacy in Korea. The author of this thesis had an interview with a highly-ranked EU diplomat who was working in Korea, and subsequently drew out three typical problems

associated with advertising the EU in Korea. The first concerned the difficulties of selling EU news in Korea. The diplomat noted:

> The media people in Korea don't really understand about the EU…they are mainly focused on FTA… They seem to be confused about the issues about the EU… I've been to media conferences; I think media people cover EU news well in terms of number of reports…So not too difficult or not too easy to sell EU story…If it is not relevant for Korea, it is not easy to sell EU story…(it is easy to sell) EU story about climate change and North Korean issues.[1081]

Judging from this statement, we can infer that EU news items in the Korean media do not provide comprehensive information about the EU to their audiences. Newsmakers are only likely to accept limited information about the EU. In order to address this problem, it is useful to compare this comment with the tenth question of the section *coverage of EU news*.

The EU diplomat also commented on the internet media's agenda-setting power in Korea as follows:

> It depends on agenda. But it was a good question for us because I think (Koreans) read more news from the internet in general. It is necessary to think more about the impact of internet newspapers upon the Korean public.[1082]

Given these comments, the diplomat seemed unsure of the internet media influence upon the audiences in terms of setting agendas. As Chapter 3 suggested, the internet media's agenda-setting function is difficult to explore. However, it is necessary to re-examine the agenda-setting function of the internet by consulting the newsmakers' answers to this question.

The last one was about the potentials of the internet in Korea's future. As the diplomat points out, "internet newspapers diffuse more news…but, [I am] not sure about whether Koreans

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[1081] Anonymous, EU Delegation in Korea, interviewed over the phone, 27 December 2010.
[1082] Ibid.

would read EU news from there."[1083] In this regard, the diplomat is likely to show tentative

attitudes. As covered in Chapter 3, the Korean public prefer television and print newspapers

for obtaining information about the EU. However, in the future, the internet (for this thesis,

internet newspapers) might provide more information about the EU to Korean audiences.

Thus, it is worth examining the newsmakers' answers to the first question of the section of

internet newsmakers' perceptions.

Having discussed these significances, we will now proceed to describe the interviewees'

answers to the questions about South Korean newsmakers' EU perceptions. Following this,

we shall examine five assumptions regarding the newsmakers' possible influences upon the

pattern of EU coverage as presented in the three case studies. Subsequently, based on Korean

newsmakers' answers to the interview questions, we attempt to make some public diplomacy

suggestions about three previously raised problems.

8.2. South Korean Newsmakers' EU perceptions[1084]

In order to investigate South Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU, this thesis

conducted three interviews and drew upon the results of another two Korean interviews from

a 2009 research project entitled "The EU in the eyes of Asia."[1085] The first interviewee for

this project was Mr. Myungbok Bae, editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo*, and the second was

an anonymous writer for *Chosun Ilbo*. The Korean researcher of this project conducted a

face-to-face interview with Mr. Bae, and the journalist from *Chosun Ilbo* responded in

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[1083] Ibid.
[1084] Except the interview with EU diplomat to Korea, the author of this thesis conducted the interview with other interviewees in Korean language. The author transcribed and translated whole interviews.
[1085] EU External Perceptions, **T**he European Union in the Eyes of Asia, http://www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz/eyes/index.shtml (retrieved on 04 December 2010). Two interviews for this project did not include questions for internet newsmakers.

written form. A year after these interviews, the author of this thesis conducted four additional interviews, with Mr. Chang-gi Kim, former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com* currently chief editor of *Chosun Weekly* and *Monthly*; Mr. Kwang-il Kim, former chief editor of the international news section of *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com*; and Mr. Byounghak Cha, a former journalist at *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chosun.com* who currently resides in New Zealand and continues to publish freelance articles for this news agency. Mr. Chang-gi Kim participated in a phone interview, Mr. Kwang-il Kim responded in written form and Mr. Byounghak Cha participated in a face-to-face interview.

8.2.1 Personal Perceptions towards the EU[1086]

The interviewees were first asked whether they recognised the EU as a powerful international counterpart (the actual question was phrased *"Do you see the EU as a great power?"*). Most respondents answered positively. The editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo* replied.

> The EU still can be a great power because of European integration such as the Lisbon Treaty and its performance in diplomatic issues. The most significant factors that make EU a great power are obviously an economic integration and its widespread influence in the world.[1087]

The journalist from *Chosun Ilbo* noted that the EU is a great power because of its united economy and added that the EU's economic influence would increase.[1088] The foreign correspondent of *Chosun Ilbo* situated in New Zealand (hereafter NZ) commented that he certainly recognised the EU as a significant global economic and political power.[1089]

[1086] According to the interview questionnaire, fourth and fifth questions in the section of "personal perceptions towards the EU" dealt with the issues about ASEM. Since this thesis focuses on the EU, this thesis did not include the results of these questions.
[1087] M. Bae, editorial writer, *Joong Ang Ilbo*, interview conducted by the project researcher of "the EU in the eyes of Asia" in 2009.
[1088] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, interview conducted by the project researcher of "the EU in the eyes of Asia" in 2009.
[1089] B. Cha, a foreign correspondent to New Zealand, *Chosun Ilbo*, interviewed in Christchurch, 07 December 2010.

The second question asked whether the respondents saw the EU as a leader in international politics. Most felt negatively about the EU's political leadership (although the editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo* did not make any comment).[1090] The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* mentioned that he believed the EU was not a political leader.[1091] The journalist and the former chief editor of the international section of *Chosun Ilbo* claimed that France could be a leading political leader but not the EU.[1092]

The third question explored the EU's influence on Korea. The question was *"In your opinion, which issues in Korea-EU current relations have the most impact on Korea?"* All interviewees replied that economic issues have the most impact on Korea, although there were slight variations among the responses. The editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo*, the former chief editor and the anonymous journalist of *Chosun Ilbo,* for example, pointed out that the trade cooperation between the EU and Korea (particularly, the FTA) was the economic issue that had the greatest impact on Korea.[1093]

In a further question, the respondents were asked to assess the EU's importance to Korea. The question was *"On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to South Korea at present?"* The EU's current importance for Korea was ranked quite highly by the respondents - averaging 3.8. The journalist and the former chief editor of international section of *Chosun Ilbo* gave a rating of 3, the editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo* and the former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* a

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[1090] M. Bae, (2009) op. cit.
[1091] C. Kim, chief editor of *Chosun Weekly* and *Monthly*, interviewed by telephone, 29 October 2010.
[1092] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, op. cit; and, K. Kim, the former chief editor of international news, *Chosun Ilbo*, interviewed by questionnaire, 12 November 2010.
[1093] M. Bae, (2009) op. cit; C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and, Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.

4, and the foreign correspondent of *Chosun Ilbo* rated the importance of the EU for Korea as 5.

The last question of the personal perceptions section asked was designed to prompt their spontaneous images of the EU - "*When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what three thoughts come to your mind?*" Amongst the interviewed newsmakers, three broad groups of spontaneous images were noted. The first group concerned with the EU's economic influence. The *Chosun Ilbo* journalist simply said "[its] economy."[1094] The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* depicted the EU as the Euro.[1095] The foreign correspondent of *Chosun Ilbo* cited "the polarity between the Euro and the US Dollar" and he described the EU as "an economic bloc."[1096]

The second group was associated with diversity and conflicts in the EU. One newsmaker said that the EU was seen as "a heterogeneous mixture" and "[a group of] idealism" (in terms of settling disputes).[1097] The foreign correspondent pointed to "the discord between the UK and [the EU]."[1098] In the eyes of former chief editor of international section of *Chosun Ilbo*, the EU represented "linguistic diversity" and "racism."[1099]

[1094] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.
[1095] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1096] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1097] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.
[1098] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1099] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

The final group comprised responses related to travel. The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* stated "a region named Europe" and "unhindered access between EU member states,"[1100] with the EU seen as "a travel destination." [1101]

8.2.2 Coverage of EU news

Turning to the scope of EU news coverage, the newsmakers were asked: *"How is the coverage of the EU and European issues organised?"* (This question, however, was not asked of the two interviewees of "The EU through the eyes of Asia"). The respondents were somewhat perplexed by this question because of its seemingly broad scope. The former chief editor of the international section said, "I think it is a vague question…because we cover everything…everything about the EU can be covered."[1102] The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* also mentioned that "it is hard to explain. We cover extensive range of EU or European issues."[1103] However, he tried to explain the organisation of EU news coverage in Korean print newspapers and the internet versions, saying that there are three main areas of EU news: political, economic and social-cultural. In political terms, the Korean print newspapers and internet versions deal with the EU's internal political issues such as elections, changes of government (from left to right and *vice versa*) both at the EU and member state levels.[1104] In economics, internal EU economic issues and EU-Korea trade related issues are covered.[1105] Finally, for social affairs the range of issues varied considerably, involving issues of

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[1100] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1101] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1102] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1103] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1104] Ibid.
[1105] Ibid.

education, environment, labour, multi-ethnicity, human rights, science and technology, military, diplomatic, music and arts.[1106]

A second question explored the Korean journalists' preliminary preparations when they reported EU news. The question was *"Are special preparations made in advance?"* All interviewees answered that they do prepare in all circumstances. The journalist and the foreign correspondent of *Chosun Ilbo* explained that he read related news articles about the specific issue in advance,[1107] and the editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo* noted that he visited the place where the issue happened before making the news.[1108] The former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* commented as follows:

> Of course…it depends on the situation. For the snippets of news, the newsmakers would not prepare much in advance. For the news items which need professional knowledge, the journalists are devoted to the preparations.[1109]

The third question investigated the budget for covering EU issues. The question was *"Is a special budget allocated?"* All the interviewees gave negative responses for this question, saying that most Korean newspaper agencies do not allocate any special budget for covering specific issues. [1110] They cited that this is because the Korean newspaper agencies generally have a flexible budget system, which facilitates budget allocations according to the necessity to cover specific issues.[1111] The former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* quoted as saying,

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[1106] Ibid.
[1107] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit; and, B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1108] M. Bae, (2009) op. cit.
[1109] Ibid.
[1110] M. Bae, (2009) op. cit; Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit; B. Cha, (2010) op. cit; C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and, K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1111] Ibid.

If the agency needs to cover Europe more…we do not know what happens in the future. If necessary, the editorial board of international section invests more money in reporting European issues…if it does happen in that manner, the board invests less in covering the issues of other regions, so we can focus more on what we need [to cover].[1112]

The fourth question enquired about the further possibility of increasing EU-related or expert staff in Korean news agencies: *"Do you assign more staff and hire experts to cover specific EU issues should the need arise?"* Most interviewees answered in the negative, stating that news agents tend to make the most of internal staff rather than hiring additional staff. The foreign correspondent to NZ explained "it is not necessary to hire more staff; it is enough to set a team of internal newsmakers within the company and to interview the regional experts."[1113] The former chief editor mentioned that he might consider hiring part-time staff temporarily but did not think he would hire full timers to cover EU-related issues only."[1114] He also added that this practice is the same for all other regions.[1115] The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* elaborated further on this issue.

the company usually dispatches some chosen journalists from the international news department to EU headquarters in Belgium, and the journalists will get a three-month internship sponsored by the company…Subsequently, during the internship in Belgium, the company expects the journalists to collect information about the EU and to interview some significant political figures of the Union.[1116]

A fifth question asked about any perceptible limitations imposed by government for disseminating EU-related news articles in Korea: *"What is the officially formulated policy on covering foreign news (the news on the EU)?"* All interviewees denied the existence of any such formulated policy. The former chief editor of the international section of *Chosun Ilbo* added that this question is not applicable within the Korean media environment because the

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[1112] C. Kim, op. cit.
[1113] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1114] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1115] Ibid.
[1116] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.

news agency covers issues without guidelines or restrictions from the government.[1117] However, Chapter 4 of this thesis pointed out that there are three legal acts which suggest the difference between print newspapers and the internet versions and the government's supportive role for these newspapers.

The sixth question explored Korean news organisations' attitudes to news reporting by asking: "*Does the news organisation assume a reactive role or a proactive, initiating role?*" Most interviewees commented that the news organisations played a proactive role. The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* elaborated on this, saying "the news organisation assumes a proactive role because they investigate a variety of issues by dispatching their own journalists as foreign correspondents."[1118]

The seventh question involved the newsmakers' perceptions of EU-based information. The question was "*If the EU is proactive in disseminating news about itself, would your outlet be interested in considering such news?*" All interviewees answered "yes" to this question. The foreign correspondent stated that the journalists would be interested in EU-based sources because they always attempt to collect as many possible sources as they can.[1119] The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* was somewhat more cautious and noted that "I will think about EU-based sources as one of the possible sources of information."[1120] However, the respondents did not think that these sources would always be used to publish EU news items, commenting that "these sources cannot always be primary sources for the Korean media to cover the EU news"[1121]; and, "I cannot guarantee these news items will be published in the outlets."[1122]

[1117] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and, K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1118] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.
[1119] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1120] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.
[1121] Ibid.

The eighth question concerned the newsmakers' opinions on EU coverage in the future: *"Where do you see the balance of foreign reporting will shift in the future?"* None of the respondents made any prediction on this issue. The former chief editor of international section of *Chosun Ilbo* commented "I cannot anticipate such a thing because every region has the possibility of a spotlight in the future."[1123] The former chief editor claimed that the change of balance of foreign reporting can only be investigated from past records, but it could roughly be predicted by the role change of an international actor.[1124] He elaborated with the example of China:

> …in the past, the Korean media had no interests in China but, since China rose in influence, the Korean media have begun to concentrate on covering issues about China…likewise, if the EU obtained a leading role in the world, the focus of foreign reporting of the Korean media would be changed to the EU.[1125]

A ninth question asked *"When reporting the EU, what news values lead your selection of the news?"* Most interviewees' attention seemed to be directed to covering interesting, prominent and relevant news stories for the audiences. The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* claimed that "when I select the news, I always consider whether the news is easily readable, causing interest and also if it is informative to the readers."[1126] The foreign correspondent cited "in my opinion, the most significant value of selection of news would be the enormous influence of news upon Korean politics and the economy, whether the influences are beneficial or harmful to

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[1122] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1123] K. Kim,(2010) op. cit.
[1124] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1125] Ibid.
[1126] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.

the readers."[1127] The former chief editor contended that "the publishable news must be relevant to Korea and the situation of Korean readers."[1128] As such:

> Currently, the problems relating French pension reform bill such as strikes and conflicts have become big issues. Although these issues happened in France, this is relevant for us [Koreans]. For us, such problems might happen in our future. For this reason, [we] cover these issues as the Korean society may be interested in how the French government, political parties, labour and civil organisations react to these issues.[1129]

The last question enquired about the possible market value of EU news in Korea. The question was *"How difficult is it to sell an EU story?"* The respondents felt that EU news stories are not likely to attract predictable audiences. The editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo* stated "we are not sure whether the readers would have an interest in such (EU) issues."[1130] The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* contended that "the Korean readers have very low interest in international news."[1131] The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* mentioned "the readers are satisfied with a free EU story on the internet for getting the information and they don't want some professional information about the EU at all."[1132]

8.2.3 Internet Newsmakers' Perceptions[1133]

In order to assess internet newsmakers' perceptions of the EU, this thesis employed six additional questions addressed to three interviewees (the former chief editor, the former chief editor of the international section and the foreign correspondents of *Chosun Ilbo*). The first question dealt with the newsmakers' perceptions of the internet media's present and future impact upon Korean audiences. The question was "*internet editions of newspapers diffuse EU*

[1127] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1128] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1129] Ibid.
[1130] M. Bae, (2009) op. cit.
[1131] Ibid.
[1132] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, (2009) op. cit.
[1133] Only three interviewees (Mr. C. Kim, Mr. K. Kim and Mr. B. Cha) participated in this section of the questionnaire.

news. What do you think is the impact of this now and in the future?" All respondents expressed scepticism towards the influence of the internet media. The foreign correspondent mentioned that internet outlets could disseminate more news but the quality of the news items in internet media was generally low in terms of depth of research or variety of sources available.[1134] The former chief editor declared that "internet news outlets are not influential because the news from many internet outlets is borrowed from untested or unreliable sources."[1135] The former chief editor of the international section claimed that he had no opinion about the influence of international news in internet versions of newspapers, however, he thought that the influence of internet outlets was impressive when concerning the agenda related to soft news (such as sports, entertainment or gossip) because the newsmakers prefer soft news which draws the readers' interests.[1136]

A second question examined the agenda-setting function of the internet media in terms of EU-related issues. The question asked: *"Can the internet newspaper articles be more effective than those of print newspapers in terms of setting the EU agenda for the Korean public? If so, in what way?"* Most respondents did not agree with this function. The former chief editor of international section said "I am not sure"[1137], while the former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* denied any such internet newspapers' agenda-setting function.[1138] The foreign correspondent commented that this was because, in Korea, print newspapers are still more influential than internet versions of newspapers in terms of setting the agenda, [1139] and commented:

[1134] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1135] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1136] Ibid.
[1137] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1138] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1139] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.

...setting the agenda is a different story because the agenda cannot be set by the groundless stories...Koreans tend to trust the contents of print newspapers rather than internet outlets when they need to discuss international issues such as EU agenda....members of the public who set the public agenda are aged from late 30s to 50s and this age group in particular relies on print newspapers...[in addition] the articles of print newspapers have higher chances to contact the readers than those of internet versions...because the circulation of print newspapers is higher than the number of visits for each article [of internet versions].[1140]

The third question drew the distinction between the news production systems of both versions of newspapers - *"How does news production for internet EU news differ from print news production? If yes, what accounts for this? What are the implications of all these differences for news readers and news producers?"* Given the respondents' answers to this question, news production for internet EU news can be distinguished from that for print newspapers according to the manner of news delivery and originality. The former chief editor of the international section said that it is "just different in terms of way of distribution."[1141] The former chief editor and the foreign correspondent mentioned that "the news items of print newspapers were produced by journalists of their own media organisations with their thorough research for maintaining originality of the outlets." [1142] Conversely, the internet outlets produce the news items "by borrowing news articles from their print outlets and *Yonhap News.*"[1143]

The fourth question asked of Korean newsmakers during the interview was designed to prompt their prospects for the usage of video clips in internet versions. The question was *"Currently, there is a limited use of video support in EU internet reporting. How do you see a future trend in using video in internet EU news?"* All respondents predicted that video usage in internet newspapers will increase to a certain degree. The foreign correspondent said that

[1140]Ibid.
[1141] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1142] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and B. Cha,(2010) op. cit.
[1143] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

"Korea's excellent internet environment (in terms of speed and the conditions of provision) will lead to the increased usage of video clips in the future."[1144] The former chief editor mentioned that "As in the case of EU news, the newsmakers are more likely to use video clips for reporting other news in the future. Generally speaking, it will increase."[1145] The former chief editor of international section cited that "it will increase but there are limits to this increase."[1146]

The fifth question explored the newsmakers' perceptions of the readers' general preferences of versions of newspapers to read. The question was *"Do you think people read more news on the internet edition of your newspaper than in hard copy? What gets read more, news on the internet or in a hard copy?"* Most respondents pointed out that it depends on the age of the reader. The former chief editor of international section said that "younger people prefer internet versions of newspapers and aged ones prefer print versions."[1147] Similarly, the foreign correspondent stated "it is the matter of which newspapers are easier to read and to access…the internet is easier for younger readers to access, but the hard copy is easier for aged readers to access."[1148] Conversely, the former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* claimed that people are more likely to read EU news in internet versions rather than the print outlets. The passage below contains the elaboration of his point:

> In my opinion, people can use the internet without paying any money. This is the most significant reason for the Korean public's frequent contact with the internet. In addition, the internet is ubiquitous in Korea—it is in everywhere except where internet reception is impossible such as the countryside where people do not live. Consequently, as long as people in the country have their own laptops or computers, they can use the internet without restrictions.[1149]

[1144] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1145] C. Kim,(2010) op. cit.
[1146] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1147] Ibid.
[1148] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.
[1149] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

The last question is associated with the newsmakers' considerations of the targeted readership. The question was *"As an internet newsmaker, do you target younger demographics of your readers?"* The respondents felt that their news agent (*Chosun Ilbo*) targets a wide audience. The former chief editor stated that while the newsmakers in "*Chosun.com* may target younger demographics, they also focus on older ones as well."[1150] The foreign correspondent said "Not always, the newsmakers do not target younger or older readers…they are only concerned about the readability of the news articles for all readers…thus we rather cover all readers rather than a specific age group."[1151]

8.3 Conclusion

To summarise, this thesis has examined Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU in order to provide a comprehensive account of the production process of EU news images in Korean print and internet outlets (internal factors of EU news production in Korea); offers an illustration of the newsmakers' decision making processes towards EU news items; and, presents helpful insights for EU diplomats working in Korea.

If we compile the respondents' answers to the questions in the first section, we are able to identify that Korean newsmakers were more concerned with the EU's economic performance or impact than its political ones. The participating interviewed newsmakers only perceived the EU as a global power due to its economic impact. Looking at the respondents' spontaneous images of the EU, some of them were intimately linked with its economic performance (such as the Euro and economic unity).

[1150] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1151] B. Cha, (2010) op. cit.

Synthesising the answers to the questions in the second section, we are able to observe three main findings. First, the newsmakers in both versions felt that their agents assumed a proactive role. They made special preparations in advance such as reading previously-published news articles about EU affairs beforehand, dispatching their own journalists and foreign correspondents to the news sites or even conducting a pilot study. Second, both versions' unfettered newsgathering and reporting of EU-related issues were likely to be guaranteed. If we consider the respondents' answers to the question about special budget allocation, the flexible budget system in operation implies that there is no financial restriction in covering EU-related news. Furthermore, given the respondents' answers to the question about formal limitations, no official restrictions from government were identified. In fact, Chapter 4 pointed out that government regulations support the news media covering any issue they choose. Third, both the print and internet versions were likely to support their own newsmakers. The respondents showed neutral or negative attitudes towards hiring additional staff from the outside. Additionally, they felt that their news companies respected their own choice of news sources.

If we consider newsmakers' answers to the questions in the final section, two findings about internet newsmakers' perceptions can be identified. Firstly, the respondents had negative attitudes towards the internet media and exhibited scepticism towards its present and future influence. Likewise, they denied the agenda-setting function of the internet media. Furthermore, they pointed out that the internet outlets lack originality in their news coverage. Finally, while they perceived that readers have their own preferences towards the print or internet media, both versions target a wide audience.

As mentioned above, this chapter suggested five assumptions about the influence of newsmakers' perceptions upon EU representations for both versions. Judging from the interviewees' responses to the questionnaire, these assumptions appear valid. The first one was that internet newsmakers' perceptions can be seen in their reliance upon *Yonhap News* and *content interactivity* (between print newspapers and their internet outlets). Looking at the respondents' answers to the third question in the section of *internet newsmakers' perceptions*, we are able to identify the newsmakers' dependence upon *Yonhap News*. In addition, the newsmakers also recognised that the internet versions borrowed a certain number of articles from their print outlets.

The second assumption was that the newsmakers' perceptions are cast in the *most visible topics* of EU news items in both versions. Obviously, both versions actually covered more varied topics about EU-related issues than the newsmakers' expected topics of these issues. For political news, both versions covered the EU's external political affairs in the EU's neighbouring countries (such as Serbia, Russia and Ukraine) and those in the countries in Korea's region (such as China, India and Myanmar). For economic news, both versions covered a more diverse range of EU economic topics other than merely trade: EU business or financial issues (such as mergers between two separate businesses in Europe and Korea, the Euro exchange rates and ECB interest rates); industrial issues (such as car and energy industries); reports about state of economy (either growing, declining or stagnating); and agricultural issues (such as the subsidies for the farmers). For SED news, both versions covered international crime or terrorism (such as Somali pirates and FERC in Latin America), health issues in terms of food safety, immigration issues and sports (such as Korean soccer players in Europe). Plus, both versions covered EU developmental issues, for example international aid to North Korea and Myanmar. However, in comparison, we are able to

identify that the newsmakers' perceived boundaries of EU news coverage and the ranges of *most visible topics* of EU news items in both versions were similar to each other. From all this it should be clear that the newsmakers' (those who are in highest positions) estimation roughly represent the structure of EU news coverage in both versions.

The third assumption was that the newsmakers' priority of reporting EU-related issues may be found in predominant *news values* (namely *timeliness, human interests* and *prominence*). Considering the respondents' answers to the ninth question of the section of *coverage of EU news*, we are able to observe that the newsmakers' attention was directed to cover the news items with these predominant values. The journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* stressed the significance of reporting the issues which capture readers' interests. The foreign correspondent claimed that he focused on covering issues that have significant effects on readers. The former chief editor emphasised the importance of covering issues associated with the readers' present circumstances.

The fourth assumption was that the newsmakers' forecasts of the future changes in the balance of foreign news reporting would reflect the predominant *journalistic attitude—passive-neutral*. If we consider the interviewees' responses, it is clear that the newsmakers did not offer positive or negative outlooks concerning the further increase of EU news coverage. Based on this minimal detail, we can speculate that Korean newsmakers were dedicated to delivering information about the EU to the audiences.

The last assumption was connected to the newsmakers' influence on the limited usage of video clips in EU internet news articles. The respondents suggested that although internet versions are more likely to employ video clips, only in a limited manner. Judging from the

respondents' comments, it seems that they were disinterested in using supplementary video material.

This chapter concludes by offering some suggestions to diplomats derived from the three abovementioned problems of advertising the EU in Korea. The first problem concerned the difficulties of selling EU news in Korea. The respondents have pointed out that Korean audiences prefer local news rather than international news. Possibly, the Korean public prefer the news items evoking readers' sympathy. However, some sectors of Korean society might have an interest toward the EU and its news: for example, representative interest groups such as the European Union Studies Association of Korea, the Korean Society of Contemporary European Studies, the Asia-Europe Perspective Association and Korean Institute of Economic Policy. Other interest groups in Korea may exist. Consequently, it could be useful if diplomats identified interest groups in Korea in order to find out what would make EU news more interesting to the Korean public. Thus, the diplomats might be able to obtain valuable feedbacks from these groups, contributing to the EU's public diplomacy.

The second problem concerned the internet media's agenda-setting power in Korea. It has been claimed that the internet media do not perform an agenda-setting function. However, this might not hold true for internet versions of the print media. Given the *most visible topics* of EU news in both versions, the majority of EU news items in the print outlets were virtually identical with those found in their internet editions. From this it might be deduced that the internet versions' agenda-setting function deserves further scrutiny.

The last problem considered the future potential of the internet media in Korea. The newsmakers' scepticism was displayed in their answers to the first question in the section of

internet newsmakers' perceptions. However, their answers to the fifth question reflected more a positive outlook for the internet media in Korea. The former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* cited that audiences were more likely to read the news on the internet. In addition, the other respondents claimed that younger readers preferred internet media. On balance, the potential of the internet media should be viewed with reservations.

CHAPTER IX

Discussion

9.1 Discussion of the Findings

9.1.1 Theoretical Reflections

In Chapter 3, this thesis covered several theories in order to establish a theoretical framework. In this chapter we shall consider how the findings from this study can contribute to the theories reviewed. The focus of media dependency theory is on how people use and become dependent upon the news media. It argues that the more a person relies on the content of the news media to fulfil his or her needs, the more power and influence it will exert over the individual.[1152] From what we have seen from the evidence pertaining to print newspapers and their internet versions presented in this thesis, we might expect to observe the Korean public's reliance on these for information about the EU (and the audiences' wider world). According to the public opinion surveys discussed in Chapter 3, the Koreans are rely on three types of news media (namely television, newspapers and internet) for their sources of information about the EU. Chapter 4 demonstrated that the three major newspapers chosen for this thesis had the highest circulation and subscription rates in Korea. In addition, Korean audiences, as noted in the same chapter, have chosen these newspapers as among the ten most influential and reliable news sources in Korea. Furthermore, in Chapter 8, the interviewees

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[1152] S. Ball-Rokeach and M. de Fleur, "A dependency model of mass-media effects." *Communication Research,* 1(1976): 3-21.

claimed that print newspapers are the most trusted and dependable source of information about the EU for Korean people.

Agenda-setting theory posits that the news media exercises an agenda-setting influence on the public by transmitting salient issues between the media agenda and the public agenda. In conjunction with this theory, this thesis suggests a common knowledge paradigm, showing how the public is influenced by the news media as it helps form the audiences' common knowledge about specific issues. This thesis does not contribute to this theory and paradigm since the thesis primarily focuses on the media agenda. However, the thesis does illustrate that these concepts serve as logical grounds for analysing the contents of the news media.

The results of this thesis can provide, however, some commentary on McComb's inter-media agenda-setting theory that argues media agenda-setters are major sources of information for news stories, other news organisations and journalists' norms and traditions.[1153] By taking a closer look at the predominant *information sources* of EU news items in both versions, we are able to speculate that journalists' norms and traditions acted as the agenda-setters of three major print newspapers and that *Yonhap News* was an agenda-setter for their internet versions. Considering the results of the interviews in the previous chapter, these norms produced news items that satisfied the audiences' interests. According to the three case studies, while more than half of the EU news articles in the internet versions from the sample were borrowed from *Yonhap News,* the actual EU news sources in *Yonhap News* were unknown. One of the interviewees said that the internet outlets usually borrow the articles from *Yonhap News*

[1153] M. McCombs, *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*, (Maiden: Blackwell Publishing Inc, 2004). In Chapter 3, this thesis has very briefly covered this theory in conjunction with agenda-setting theory.

because it featured translated articles from various international wires.[1154] Seen in this perspective, *Yonhap News* cannot be a substantial agenda-setter for the internet versions.

The notion of interactivity illustrates that the internet media allows for two-way communication between the readers and writers. It has been suggested that there were two dimensions of interactivity (namely *interpersonal* and *content interactivity*). The proof of interactivity was observable throughout the three case studies discussed in this thesis. For *interpersonal interactivity*, internet versions from the sample provided some options for the readers such as the writers' email addresses at the beginning of some articles and a small forum at the end of each article. For *content interactivity*, some EU news items were simultaneously published in print newspapers and their internet outlets. A significant number of EU articles from the sample were replicated across the internet versions (approximately 25% across two internet versions and 7% across three internet versions).

The main thrust of gatekeeping theory is that the news items that appear in the media are dependent on the choice of the gatekeepers of the news.[1155] In Chapter 8, evidence was presented concerning the newsmakers influence across five areas of EU news coverage (*information sources, most visible topics, news values, journalistic attitudes* and *compositional meta-functions*—limited usage of video clips). According to Bass's theoretical model, there are two types of media gatekeepers: newsgatherers (such as foreign correspondents, low-ranked journalists and editors) and newsproducers (such as chief editors, highly-ranked editing journalists and translators of the news articles).[1156] In the light of this, we are able to identify news-gatherers and news producers from the five interviewees in this

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[1154] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1155] D.White, "The "Gatekeeper": A Case Study in the Selection of News," In *People, Society and Mass Communication,* edited by L. Dexter and D. White, (New York: Free Press, 1964); and, A. Bass, Redefining the gatekeeper concept: A U.N. radio case study, In *Journalism Quarterly* 46 (1969): 59-72.
[1156] A. Bass, (1969) op. cit.

thesis. The foreign correspondent and the journalist of *Chosun Ilbo* can be considered as news gatherers who collect information from various sources of information (such as the internet and other prestigious news media), visit the places where the issues happened and conduct separate investigations in advance.[1157] The editorial writer of *Joong Ang Ilbo*, the former chief editor and the former chief editor of international section of *Chosun Ilbo* are news producers who are always concerned about readers' interests when they publish news items in their print outlets and on their websites.[1158]

In Chapter 3, this thesis employs CDA as a methodology of investigating the representations of the EU in Korean print newspapers and their internet versions. Among several applications of CDA, this thesis chose two applications - namely the application of Cognitive Linguistics and that of social semiotics in CDA. An application of Cognitive Linguistics in CDA helped this thesis uncover the ideological representations of the EU behind the verbal texts in the news items. Within this application, this thesis has analysed linguistic framing and conceptual metaphors. Linguistic framing has been applied to establish the structure of three case studies—political, economic and SED affairs of the EU. Analysing conceptual metaphors (CMA) allowed us to explain the ideological structure behind metaphorical expressions about the EU in a describable way.

The sharp contrast between EU images found in three areas of EU affairs is enhanced by two different types of analyses (*most visible topics* and *conceptual metaphors*). For the case study of EU political news, both versions focused on covering the issues regarding the EU's unity and power (such as *European integration* and *the EU's negotiating role in global politics*).

[1157] Anonymous, *Chosun Ilbo*, interview conducted by the project researcher of "the EU in the eyes of Asia" in 2009; and, B. Cha, a foreign correspondent to New Zealand, *Chosun Ilbo*, interviewed in Christchurch, 07 December 2010.
[1158] M. Bae, editorial writer, *Joong Ang Ilbo*, interview conducted by the project researcher of "the EU in the eyes of Asia" in 2009; C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and, K. Kim, the former chief editor of international news, *Chosun Ilbo*, interviewed by questionnaire, 12 November 2010.

Given the metaphorical expressions employed in EU political news items, both versions projected positive imagery of the EU as a peacekeeper.

For the case study of EU economic news, both versions were devoted to reporting the issues illustrating the EU's business and financial influences (such as the *Euro*, *interest rates*, *business and investment in Korea*). By closely examining the metaphorical expressions employed in EU economic news, we were able to observe that the imagery of the EU as a dictatorial authority in its trade affairs was stressed.

For the case study of SED news, both versions were concerned with illustrating the EU's authority and power in the areas of international crime and food safety. By taking a closer look at the conceptual metaphors employed in this news, three separate images of the EU were apparent: the EU as *an authoritative social affairs official*; as *a vociferous environmental advocate;* and, as *a generous global developmental supporter*.

In Chapter 3, this thesis considered that an application of social semiotics in CDA could be useful for identifying the difference between print newspapers and internet versions. However, *representational* and *interactive meta-functions* could not draw any distinction between print newspapers and their internet versions. Therefore, judging from *compositional meta-function*, it was more successful in showing the contrast between both versions.

Through a close examination the results of the *people* and *places* elements of *representational meta-function*, we are able to observe the differences among the three case studies. For the *people* element, President Sarkozy appeared very frequently as a representative participant in visual images in EU political and SED news items in both

formats. Conversely, Mr. Hurtiger (former president of EUCCK) was the most frequently featured representative participant in the visual images found in EU economic news in both versions. For the *places* element, the *urban street* was the typically used background for visual images for EU political news. In contrast, the *interview room* and *conference room* were the generally used background visual image used in EU economic and SED news in both print and internet versions. In comparison with the results of *interactive meta-function* in three case studies, the visual images were structurally analogous to each other. Visual images in EU news items projected the EU as a friendly and intimate international counterpart to Korea.

In the juxtaposition of the results of *compositional meta-function*, the visual images in EU news items across three areas bear a common similarity. However, on closer inspection of EU economic news, differences between print newspapers and their internet versions are revealed. If we consider the element of *text-image thematic correlation*, in opposition to the print newspapers, we can see that the visual images and the verbal texts are thematically matched in the news items of the print newspapers. In addition, when the element of *salience* is considered, the visual images for EU economic news items found in the internet versions had greater salience than those in print outlets.

9.1.2 Answering the Research Questions

Main Research Question

The main research question of this thesis addresses the investigation of EU images generated by Korean internet media outlets (namely the web versions of three prestigious newspapers) and compares them with EU images formed by their print versions. In order to explore and

present the EU images, this thesis has analysed linguistic texts and visual images in EU-related news items in both versions. In the overall perspective, these images reflect the EU's actual performances in the political, economic, social, environmental and developmental areas.

By taking a closer look at the results of the case studies, we are able to observe several areas illustrating differences between both versions. For *formal characteristics* of EU images, we have identified three areas of differences. First, the internet versions produced more EU news items than their print outlets. Second, print newspapers and their internet versions relied on different kinds of domestic sources in order to report EU news. Print versions were more inclined to depend on their own journalists. By contrast, internet versions mainly borrowed EU-related news items translated by *Yonhap News*. Third, considering *content interactivity*, we were able to identify that almost one-third of EU news items were duplicated in at least two internet outlets. Conversely, no duplicated EU news items were found across the print outlets.

For *substantive characteristics*, we have observed two areas of differences. First, EU news items in internet versions were more inclined to show *passive-neutral* attitudes than those in print outlets. Second, internet versions featured a more diverse spectrum of dominant metaphorical expressions of the EU in their articles than their print versions. For the analysis of visual images, as mentioned above, differences were found in the elements of *text-image thematic correlation* and *salience* in *compositional meta-function*.

Hypothesis

This thesis hypothesises that EU images generated by internet versions of newspapers will be similar to those provided by their print outlets despite the difference in the types of news media. Except for the abovementioned differences, EU images in print newspapers bear a clear resemblance to those in their internet versions. In *formal characteristics*, both versions preferred *domestic sources* rather than *international* ones. By comparison with the results of most elements in *substantive characteristics*, EU images in the print newspapers were virtually identical with those in the internet versions (*focus of domesticity, degree of centrality, actors, evaluation, news values*, *journalistic attitudes* and *conceptual metaphors*). In visual analysis, print newspapers and their internet versions are structurally analogous to each other: in *representational meta-function* (*people, places* and *things*), *interactional meta-function* (*contact, distance* and *horizontal* or *vertical viewpoints*) and *compositional meta-function* (*placement* and *modality*). On the evidence evaluated, the hypothesis of this thesis has proved to be true.

Sub-questions

The first sub-question considered the differences between those EU images in print newspapers and their internet editions (where the EU is framed as a political, economic or SED actor). To a large extent, EU images presented in print newspapers were virtually identical with those in their internet versions. Internet versions of newspapers featured comprehensive information about the EU - there were numerous EU news items, covering diverse topics of EU-related issues and employing varied metaphorical expressions. However, the internet versions' scope of EU news coverage was similar to each other. In contrast with the internet versions, each print newspaper prioritised different topics of EU-related issues. For political news, the findings for *most visible topics* illustrate that *Chosun Ilbo* was more

inclined to cover political issues (Schengen Treaty and the EU's Military Actions) at the EU-level, while other print newspapers covered those at the member state level. For economic news, whilst *Dong A Ilbo* was more likely to cover the state of three stock market indices in the EU (United Kingdom FTSE 100, Germany DAX and France CAC 40), *Chosun Ilbo and Joong Ang Ilbo* paid more attention to the EU's role on the global economy (featuring participation in World Economy Forum).

Concurrent with this, it is necessary to recall three possible factors—ownership patterns, political orientations and the sources of information for each outlet. However, the first two factors might not be that relevant to this thesis. As outlined in Chapter 4, the three newspapers had the same ownership pattern (family business). In addition, it is also difficult to pinpoint whether these newspapers were politically liberal or conservative. At present, we are only able to identify that *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong A Ilbo* concentrate on publishing editorials on political issues, and *Joong Ang Ilbo* was more likely to publish editorials on economic issues.

Presumably, the print newspapers' own prioritised topics were dependent on the sources of information. It is clear from the above that print newspapers rely significantly on their own journalists for covering EU issues. As has been noted earlier in Chapter 8, each print outlet's attention was directed to promote the originality of news articles by supporting the newsmakers' independent decision making process in reporting EU-related news. The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* commented that print newspapers generally promote originality, which could be their strength.[1159] The former chief editor of international section of *Chosun Ilbo* also declared that the newsmakers can cover anything they want in order to post the

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[1159] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

articles on their own print outlet.[1160] Like print outlets, the newsmakers of internet versions might be encouraged to promote the originality of the news articles. However, internet versions are capable of publishing more news items from more varied sources of information because of the unlimited storage capacity of the internet. Thus, the internet versions could touch a more diverse range of EU-related issues than could the print versions.

The second sub-question referred to the role of newsmakers in shaping their own EU images in web and print versions. As was suggested above, it is clear that the newsmakers play a gatekeeping role. On closer inspection of the newsmakers, we are able to observe two subordinate roles – as news gatherers and as news producers. Consistent with the role of news producers, the newsmakers or editors determine which external sources (such as *Yonhap News*) would be appropriate for their own news coverage. The former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* said that "the editors including me in *Chosun Ilbo* carefully use the articles from *Yonhap News* when we post these articles into *Chosun.com*."[1161]

The last sub-question concerned the positive contribution made by studies of EU images - generated by the internet versions of print newspapers and capabilities of the internet (namely limitless information, high speed of dissemination, multi-mediality and interactivity) - to EU public diplomacy efforts. Firstly, the limitless capacity of the internet media allows the EU to develop a special internet archive of EU information about for the Korean public. As we have seen, internet versions presented a greater diversity of EU-related issues to the Korean audience, as well as in detail and in volume. If such an internet archive becomes well-known in Korea, it will be a helpful source of public information, especially for those who desire to learn more about the EU, such as newsmakers or scholars. Secondly, the high speed of

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[1160] K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.
[1161] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

dissemination allows the public to receive the most up-to-date news about the EU. Based on this evidence, we can speculate on closer cooperation between the EU and Korea. Thirdly, multimediality of the internet (the result of convergence of media modalities such as texts, audio and visual components) might lend support to enhancing the effective illustration of the EU and its affairs to the Korean public. Such multimediality may positively contribute to the creation of more informed representations of the EU in SED areas. Fourthly, interpersonal interactivity suggests that the EU could participate in forums provided by the internet media and thereby facilitate the greater exchange of information about the EU with the Korean audience.

Possible Contributions

As mentioned in Chapter 2, exploring EU images in the internet media constitutes a gap in European political identity studies. To fill this research void, this thesis investigated EU images in the online versions of three major print newspapers and compared these with the EU images produced by their print outlets. In order to find an optimum methodology for this study, Chapter 4 reviewed empirical methodologies of content and visual analyses: based on this literature survey, the rigorous methodology for media (content and visual) analysis developed by Chaban and Holland was employed in this thesis.

Drawing on the results of this thesis, four contributions to European political identity studies (specifically EU external perceptions) are presented. First, this thesis offers further evidence for a comprehensive investigation of EU images in Korean media and a comprehensive overview of EU-Korea relations featuring the latest information and various perspectives (political, economic, social, environmental and developmental areas). Despite the prominence of evaluations of EU external perceptions, there is a surprisingly modest literature on Korean

perceptions of the EU.[1162] With this mind, this study will help to return EU scholars' attention back to the South Korean case and advance the scholarship of EU-Korea relations.

Second, this thesis has presented a study of EU external media imagery in the internet versions of newspapers and undertaken comparative analysis (print versus internet editions). This, as observed above, had not been examined to date. This thesis deserves attention for some of its interesting findings. Despite the difference in the number of articles between the two formats, the EU images investigated in both versions of the newspapers were found to be similar to each other. Given the results of *content interactivity* in the three case studies and Korean newsmakers' perceptions, we were able to conclude that EU news articles published in the print newspapers were reproduced in their internet versions and that the editors of both formats applied identical criteria to both editions of the newspapers. Another intriguing finding was a remarkable similarity in EU image production found in the three internet versions due to a dependency on the same source of news. Furthermore, this thesis found a high degree of dependence by Korean print newspapers on local correspondents when it comes to EU news production. Consequently, this thesis contributes to the development of new perspectives for studying EU imagery on the internet.
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Third, this thesis reviewed a wide range of content analysis (discourse analysis, social constructivist analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric analysis and conversation analysis) and visual analysis (visual anthropology, visual cultural studies, visual semiotics/iconography, social semiotics, ethnomethodology and video analysis). From this review, it was apparent that no rigorous methodology was yet available for EU external perception studies other than

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[1162] S. Park and Y. Seo, "Impaired Vision? The EU in the Eyes of Korea," In *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* edited by M. Holland et al., (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007); S. Park and S. Yoon, "EU perceptions through the FTA lens: main results of interviews among the Korean elites," In *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2010): 177-191; and, S. Yoon, N. Chaban and S. Chung, "Trading Giant' and 'Economic Powerhouse'?: Images of the EU in Korean Television News, In *Journal of Contemporary European Studies (Yurŏbyŏngu)*, vol. 28 no. 3, (2011): 283-329..

that devised by Chaban and Holland. As shown by the review of publications on EU external perceptions studies in Chapter 2, scholars are inclined to work independently. In order to accelerate the development of this research field, this thesis recommends scholars work cooperatively by forming forums, research networks or academic conferences on a larger scale that share empirical methodologies for exploring these perceptions.

Finally, this thesis contributes to the knowledge base of the studies of EU external media perceptions. While this study did not employ an original methodology for the content analysis of EU media representation, it has introduced several new categories dealing with the notion of interactivity (when applied to internet versions) to Chaban and Holland's original content analysis (especially for analysing the formal characteristics of EU imagery). Likewise, whilst this thesis adopted Bain's visual analysis methodology, it develops it further and extends this methodology by incorporating categories originating from social semiotics approach (*interactive* and *compositional meta-functions*). Curiously, as noted earlier, despite the rise of content analysis of EU external media perception studies, few have attempted to analyse visual images in EU-related news items. In the light of this, this study draws attention to an application of the methodologies for content and visual analyses of traditional and new media.

9.2 Implications for Practice: Recommendations to Two Parties

9.2.1 The EU

Having presented the reflections on the theoretical context and answered the research questions, the discussion now turns to a consideration of a country-specific strategy in EU public diplomacy efforts, especially when it comes to raising the EU profile in local, non-EU media (for this thesis, the Korean media). This thesis makes two recommendations to the EU.

First, the EU has to conduct interviews or surveys about the newsmakers' perceptions about itself and its related issues. Even though this thesis undertook only a small number of interviews, the results of Chapter 8 provide a useful feedback for EU diplomats to Korea. However, , conducting the interviews was the most challenging research task due to the lack of any personal networks or connections with newsmakers. In the light of this, it is suggested that individual interviews, while desirable, might not be a practical approach for investigating Korean newsmakers' EU perceptions. The same is true for the EU Delegation in Korea. The Delegation, then, could cooperate with the Korea Press Foundation—a public research organisation in Korea established to support journalism industry—for conducting surveys or interviews.[1163] In addition, if possible, this thesis also suggests that the EU contact the newsmakers of other major types of media in Korea such as television and original internet newspapers.

Second, EU imagery in the internet media deserves to be monitored due to its influence in Korea. In Chapter 8, most interviewees disagreed that the internet has agenda-setting function. However, this seems implausible. By comparing the *most visible topics* of EU news items in both formats, we were able to observe that there was considerable overlap between the two. As is well known, print newspapers have an agenda-setting function in Korea. Consequently, it is quite plausible to suggest that internet versions of print newspapers might have an agenda-setting function.

Given the findings for the *interactivity* elements of the three case studies, the internet versions' influence on the audience were also found in the *interpersonal interactivity*

[1163] Korea Press Foundation is a non-profit and nonpartisan organisation dedicated to promoting professional journalism in Korean media. The foundation focuses on the development of the media industry not only by assisting the activities of journalists and management of media companies, but through independent, top-notch programs such as journalists training, research and survey, periodicals, news articles and other comprehensive information services throughout state-of-the art database system(KINDS). For more information, see the website of Korea Press Foundation, http://www.kpf.or.kr/

category (the number of the readers, daily rankings of news articles and the form of discussion between the readers and the writers of the articles), as well as for *content interactivity* (the sharing of articles among other internet outlets). As we have seen, this thesis found that *Yonhap News* was the most prominent news supplier for the internet versions of Korea's major newspapers. However, substantial sources of information of the news items in *Yonhap News* were unknown. Hence, further investigation of the key informants for the internet media needs to be carried out.

9.2.2 Korea

Recently, EU-Korea relations have markedly improved. In the last decade, EU trade and investment has grown in South Korea.[1164] In May 2010, the two signed an upgraded Framework Agreement and FTA,[1165] while in October of that year, their summit decided to upgrade the level of their relations into a strategic partnership.[1166] In the following month, Korea hosted the G20 summit in Seoul.[1167] The EU-Korea FTA, which was activated in July 2011, is designed to improve bilateral market access.[1168] In this regard, it is necessary for Korea to pay more attention to the EU, even though EU-related issues do not currently hold the Korean public's interest. Nonetheless, the newsmakers of the Korean media have to re-evaluate the EU and its cooperation with Korea to uncover and disseminate beneficial information about the EU to the audiences.

[1164] Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, *Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,* http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_korea/documents/news/factfile2012.pdf (retrieved on 11 June 2013).
[1165] EU-ROK Political Relations, The Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, http://www.delkor.ec.europa.eu/home/relations/rokrelations/political.html (retrieved on 11 June 2013).
[1166] EUROPA, European Union External Actions, South Korea, http://eeas.europa.eu/korea_south/index_en.htm (retrieved on 9 February 2011).
[1167] On 14-15 November 2008, the first G20 summit was held in Washington D.C. in the US in order to overcome the financial crisis in November 2008. G20 consisted of 20 major economies, namely 19 countries and the EU. There have been five G20 summits and the most recent one was the Cannes Summit in November 2011. For more details, see http://www.g20.org/index.aspx
[1168] Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, *Fact File 2012 EU-Korea Trade and Investment Relations,* http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_korea/documents/news/factfile2012.pdf (retrieved on 11 June 2013).

From what we have seen from the findings of three case studies, this thesis offers two suggestions for the newsmakers of both formats. First, the newsmakers have to re-examine which information sources they employ when covering EU news. To judge from the results of previous case studies, the newsmakers of both versions relied significantly on local sources (*Yonhap News* for internet versions) or local correspondents (the journalists' own research for print newspapers) when it comes to EU news production. As is well known, the print newspapers rely on their own journalists' work in order to maintain originality in their news coverage. For internet formats, the former chief editor of *Chosun Ilbo* pointed out that the internet versions rely on *Yonhap News* when covering EU news because it featured numerous translated articles from various international wires - such as ASP and Reuter.[1169] Thus, the newsmakers of both versions may consider consulting EU experts (such as EU diplomats to Korea or EU scholars residing in Korea) when covering EU-related issues.

Second, the newsmakers should not ignore the internet media's influence upon Korean audiences. As has been mentioned in Chapter 8, the respondents disagreed about the influence of internet media even though they published articles in their internet versions. If we consider the internet media's capabilities (namely storage of limitless information, high speed of dissemination, multimediality and interactivity) and potential (younger audiences' preference), the internet media can be an influential media in Korea. Thus, the newsmakers have to pay more attention to how the internet media delivers EU news to audiences.

[1169] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

9.3 Recommendations for Further Research

Recommendations for further research fall into six categories. Namely: EU images in *Yonhap News*; EU images in North and South Korean media; EU images in different types of internet media (online versions of newspapers versus original internet newspapers); comparative analyses between EU images and the representations of other significant countries for Korea (namely the US, China and Japan) in the Korean media; comparative analysis of EU images in Northeast Asian media (China, Japan and South Korea); and, EU images in the media of other minor locations in East Asia.

Looking at each of these six categories individually, the first case considers the investigation of EU images in *Yonhap News* (its website and television channel named *YTN*). As is typical for the case studies, Korean internet versions of newspapers rely substantially on *Yonhap News*. Indeed, EU imagery generated from this news agency alone deserves further study. This investigation provides two contributions to the studies of EU external media perceptions. First, it offers EU diplomats residing in Korea and Korean political practitioners with valuable references about the significant information sources for the biggest domestic news supplier for Korean internet versions of newspapers (and perhaps original internet newspapers, too). Additionally, it opens up new perspectives for studying the visual images in EU news items by carrying out a comparative analysis between online media and television.

The second case involves a comparative analysis of EU representations in the North and South Korean print newspapers. North Korean media perceptions of the EU have never been analysed by EU scholars due to the difficulty of data collection. This investigation is

noteworthy as an innovative contribution to EU external perception studies. In addition, its findings could provide useful feedbacks to the EU concerning its peacekeeping role in the Korean peninsula. The third case explores EU images in the internet versions of print outlets and original internet newspapers. This possibly brings us another significant step forward in our understanding of EU images in the internet media. The findings of this case could stimulate a range of important questions in the study of internet media such as agenda-setting functions and the potential of internet media.

The fourth case examines media representations of Korea's four significant international counterparts in the media (namely, the US, China, Japan and the EU) for comparative purposes. According to the public opinion survey of the EU external perceptions research project, the US, China and Japan were three unchangeable significant global actors for Korea.[1170] Its outcome would probably be the most useful reference work for EU diplomats to Korea in terms of illustrating how these three countries have become significant international counterparts to Korea. The fifth case investigates EU representations in the Northeast Asian media (namely China, Japan and South Korea). In order to succeed, scholars must be culturally competent in all three countries. The results would represent an important contribution to the study of the inter-regional cooperation between the EU and the Northeast Asia.

The last case explores EU external perception in other locations in the East Asian region (such as Mongolia, Myanmar and Cambodia). As we have seen in the literature review chapter, empirical EU external perception studies have covered EU perceptions in a majority of East Asian locations. However, the question of EU perceptions in other minor locations

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[1170] N. Chaban and M. Holland, eds., *The EU Through the Eyes of the Asia-Pacific Public Perceptions and media representations,* (NZ: NCRE, 2004); and, M. Holland et al., eds., *The EU through the Eyes of Asia,* (Singapore and Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2007).

remains unexplored and unexplained. The findings from such a case study would close the current gap in EU external perception studies.

Up to now, we have looked at how the findings of this thesis can feed back into the underlying theories. Similarly, this chapter has answered the research questions based on the findings of this thesis and pointed out the contributions of this thesis to EU external perception studies. Then, it has provided recommendations for EU officials working in Korea leading the EU's public diplomacy. Likewise, it also proposed recommendations for the Korean newsmakers in order to provide information about the EU to the Korean public. Finally, the results of this thesis point to several promising avenues for future investigations. It is to be hoped that this chapter will stimulate other examinations of EU external perceptions at the regional level and provide helpful insights for EU officials residing in Northeast Asia.

Conclusion

Summary

To summarise, this thesis has led to several observations. First, EU-Korea relations have remarkably improved in the last 20 years. Given the overview of the history of Europe-Korea relations, we are able to observe that Europe had little or no relations with Korea due to the influence of its regional neighbours (China and Japan). At the beginning of 20th century, Korea became Japan's protectorate after the conflicts involving external powers (China-Japan and Russia-UK). Overviewing EU-Korea relations, Korea has been overshadowed by the EU's other strategic regional partners - China and Japan. Additionally, since the Korean War, the EU was also overshadowed by the influence of China, Japan and the US on Korea. However, the recent development of EU-Korean relations has been structured around political and economic cooperation between the two parties. In a similar vein, taking an overview of the current studies of EU-Korea relations, we are able to observe that scholastic attention is focused on EU-Korea economic or political cooperation. Relatively little attention was paid to EU-Korea cooperation in social affairs, environmental and developmental areas.

Second, exploring European political identity deserves consistent attention by the community of EU scholars. As has been mentioned in Chapter 2, European political identity is a significant concept because it supports the EU's existence, legitimacy and influence. To judge from an overview of pertinent literature, European political identity studies consist of two main groups - internal and external (media, public and elite) perceptions of the EU. In the

366

past decade, European political identity studies have attracted the attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines (such as political science, sociology, linguistics and media studies). Nevertheless, there are aspects that remain unexplained. As already argued, this thesis has noted that examination of EU representations in internet media constituted a noticeable gap in European political identity studies.

Third, when establishing an optimum research methodology, we have to bear in mind that a thorough revision of various empirical methodologies (content and visual analysis) is essential. After considering the current trends of studies of EU media representations, we were able to conclude that each analyst employed his or her original methodologies for their investigation. After undertaking both quantitative and qualitative options, this thesis has not adopted an original methodology but selected Chaban and Holland's methodology because of its' advanced and systematic approach for the analysis of EU media representations. However, this thesis has incorporated several categories dealing with the notion of interactivity (*interpersonal* and *content interactivities*) for detecting internet-specific attributes of EU media representations.

Likewise, for the visual analysis, this thesis has used Bain's methodology based on visual semiotics because of her innovative approach for the analysis of visual aspects of EU representations. However, her methodology was not the optimum methodology for this thesis because it did not cover examination of visual images when accompanied by verbal texts. After surveying a wide range of empirical methodologies for visual analysis, we found out that the synthesised methodology between visual semiotics and social semiotics was the most appropriate. Consequently, this thesis incorporates categories originating from social

semiotics by exploring *interactive meta-function* (how the participants in the visual images interact with the viewer in terms of eye contact, distance and points of view) and *compositional meta-function* (how the visual images of the EU positioned in terms of position and the size of the visual images within the articles) of visual images. As commented in the previous chapter, this thesis has suggested that scholars of EU media perception studies establish a research network to share their ideas about the methodologies for content and visual analysis.

Fourth, we have to keep in mind that not all EU news items were communicated to the media audiences. As was usual for the three case studies, internet versions featured a high volume of EU news items covering numerous topics of EU-related issues. If we consider some aspects of *interpersonal interactivity* (*number of visits* and *daily rankings* of EU news), we see that 76 % of EU political news items, 54.4 % of EU economic news items and 65.9 % of EU SED news items in *Chosun.com* were read by at least one reader. In this regard, this thesis calls for the publication of a comprehensive report of EU representations in the Korean media on a regular basis.

Fifth, newsmakers' perceptions of the EU have provided some helpful suggestions for EU diplomats in their public diplomacy efforts. As discussed in Chapter 8, we are able to observe three typical problems of raising the EU's profile in Korea. The first problem concerned the difficulty of disseminating EU news in Korea. As an EU diplomat mentioned, it is difficult to sell an EU story if it is not relevant to Korea.[1171] It has been pointed out that the newsmakers were devoted to covering EU-related issues that are interesting and relevant to the

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[1171] Anonymous, EU Delegation in Korea, interviewed on 27 December 2010.

audiences.[1172] Subsequently, this thesis has proposed further investigations into which EU news items could be more easily be sold in Korea.

A further problem concerned the internet media's agenda-setting function in Korea. As mentioned in Chapter 8, the interviewed EU diplomat said that the impact of internet media on Korea deserved full attention. However, most other interviewees claimed that the internet media does not have agenda-setting impacts in Korea. However, it seems implausible. An agenda-setting role of the internet media, as has been mentioned in Chapter 3, is an issue that remains to be explored. Given the *most visible topics* of EU news items presented in three case studies, it should not be surprising to discover a significant overlap between two formats. Hence, at a minimum, the agenda-setting function of the internet media might be observable in the internet editions of the print media.

Finally, what is the internet media's potential in Korea's future. As discussed previously, the EU diplomat and Korean newsmakers exhibited scepticism towards this potential. However, the internet, as has been noted earlier in Chapter 3, is one of the three preferred sources of information about the EU for the Korean public. In Chapter 4, the number of visitors for three internet editions in the sample (approximately 16 million hits) is about 2.5 times bigger than the daily circulations of their print outlets (approximately 6 million readers). If we consider the extensive range of EU-related issues covered by the internet versions (Chapters 5 to 7), the internet media's role as an archive of information about the EU in Korea, can clearly be seen. Taking a current look at *interactivity* of the internet versions, we found that the audiences can exchange opinions about the content of articles by contacting the newsmakers

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[1172] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit; and, K. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

directly by email or leave comments on the discussion forums placed at the bottom of the articles. Furthermore, it has been also suggested that the Korean public's dependency on the internet is expected to grow when the current younger demographic ages.[1173] From all this it should be clear that the internet media can offer brighter prospects for the EU's public diplomacy efforts.

Despite these findings, there remain three basic limitations inherent in this approach. The first limitation was that this thesis could not cover the examination of EU news items in original online newspapers. At the beginning of this thesis, this study envisaged drawing a sharp distinction between EU representations in both versions. However, given the results of all three case studies, it was found that EU imagery in the internet editions did not differ greatly from that in print outlets. Unfortunately, we are only able to measure the differences between the two versions in the area of *compositional meta-function*. In Chapter 8, a former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* said that there is little difference between the production of print newspapers and their internet editions, since the newsmakers of the newspapers simultaneously publish the articles in their print and internet forms.[1174] If a future study explores EU imagery in original online newspapers, the results will be able to show any disparity between the print and internet media. However, we should bear in mind that original online newspapers might feature higher volume of EU news items than internet versions of print media.

The second limitation was that this thesis could not address any other features of online media than interactivity. As we have seen in introduction, there are three main features of online journalism: hypertextuality, multimediality and interactivity. As has been noted in Chapter 4, hypertextuality refers to an ability to make interconnection with the text. This

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[1173]M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit.
[1174] C. Kim, (2010) op. cit.

feature allows us to explore the internet media's mechanism of high-speed dissemination the news articles. There were two different types of hypertextuality, namely internal and external hypertextualities. However, it would be impossible to find out external hypertexts of the EU news items because the internet media updates its front page very frequently as evidenced by former editor of *Chosun Ilbo* who said that "*Chosun.com* [the internet version] updates several times a day."[1175] Instead, a future study might investigate internal hypertexts of the EU news articles in internet newspapers. Multimediality refers to a convergence of media modalities (textual, audio and visual components). This feature permits investigations on how EU news items were presented in the internet media in a diverse way. In the future studies, the analysts could explore whether EU articles in the internet media possess all three components of multimediality.

A final limitation worth commenting on was that some approaches for the visual analysis methodology used in this thesis had weaknesses (analysing *salience* of *compositional meta-function* and the snapshots of video clips). Chapter 4 shows that this thesis could not measure the actual size of the visual images in both formats (in centimetres or inches). In fact, we can never know whether readers adjust the sizes of photos or video clips. In addition, the readers might use different sizes of computer screen for reading articles from the internet. Consequently, this thesis could not compare the salience of visual images in both versions. As discussed in Chapter 4, this thesis could not conduct video analysis since this approach has several limitations.

[1175] Ibid.

So What? : Why EU Images in Korean Print and Internet Versions of Newspapers Matter

This thesis has attempted to explore EU images that appeared over the year 2008 in three major Korean print newspapers and their internet versions. Certainly, this thesis was limited in scope so further studies on different large-scale assessments are needed. However, the results of this thesis will be useful as a reference work for the EU, Korea or EU external perceptions scholars. In addition, the results offer some useful insights into establishing sound relations between the EU and Korea. For the EU, EU images in print and the internet media have provided some useful perspectives regarding its political identity. From what we have seen of the description in three case studies, we are able to observe the EU's influence upon political, economic and social, environmental and developmental areas. The findings of the case studies also illuminated EU-Korea relations in various areas of cooperation. Based on Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU, this thesis offered suggestions to EU diplomats located in Korea for their public diplomacy efforts (raising the EU's profile in Korea).

For Korea, this thesis would be a useful reading for Korean political practitioners who are working towards developing EU-Korea relations. Chapter 1 has reviewed the historical background of EU-Korea relations (Europe-Korea relations and EU-South Korea relations respectively) and has pointed out the gaps in the studies on EU-Korea relations. The introductions of all three case studies have illustrated the areas of concentration in EU-Korea relations over the last 50 years. Chapter 5 argued that existing channels of EU-Korea political cooperation were focused on ensuring peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. Chapter 6 pointed out that the EU-Korea FTA and overcoming the recent global financial crisis were the main elements in EU-Korea economic relations. In addition, Chapter 7 suggests that EU-

Korea SED relations were devoted to overcoming environmental challenges (such as the reduction of greenhouse gas). From what we have seen of the description, we might expect further improvements in Korea's relations with the EU.

For EU external perception studies, this thesis has pioneered new areas of research in terms of dealing with online media (internet versions of print newspapers) and shedding new light on visual analysis (extending previously established methodology for visual analysis). At the very least, the new areas treated in this thesis should be pursued. Investigating EU representations on the internet is a promising area for future investigations on Korean media perceptions of the EU. Since 2008, due to the rise of the smartphone, people have easier access to the internet.[1176] Additionally, as has been noted in Chapter 8, younger demographics prefer to read news on the internet. With this in mind, we can speculate that people's dependence on the internet will increase. Hence, the direction of future studies can be developed further into exploring EU representations across a more extensive range of major Korean online media: online versions of the print media (*Chosun.com*, *DongA.com* and *JOINS*), original internet newspapers (*My Daily, edaily* and *Dailian*), web portals (*Daum, Naver* and *Nate*) and other individual blogs dealing with the information about the EU.[1177]

In comparison with the verbal aspects of EU media imagery, its visual aspects have received far less rigorous analysis. To date, only Bain's study and this thesis have addressed this

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[1176] ZDNet, Smartphone vs. feature phone arms race heats up; which did you buy? http://www.zdnet.com/blog/gadgetreviews/smartphone-vs-feature-phone-arms-race-heats-up-which-did-you-buy/6836 (retrieved on 13 April 2011); *Deloitte*, Smart phones: how to stay clever in a downturn http://www.deloitte.co.uk/TMTPredictions/telecommunications/Smartphones-clever-in-downturn.cfm (retrieved on 13 April 2011); and, *Naver, Neibŏkaesŭt'ŭ [IT Sesang] Chŏn Segye Hyudaep'on Shijangŭl Chaep'yŏnhan 'Ttokan Chŏnhwagi' Sŭmat'ŭ P'on*, http://navercast.naver.com/contents.nhn?contents_id=4128 (retrieved on 13 April 2011). A smartphone is a mobile phone that offers more advanced computing ability and connectivity than a contemporary feature phone. With a smartphone, the people can connect to the internet. Globally, the high demand for smartphone is in growth in an astonishing rate since 2008. By October 2010, in South Korea, there are five million users of smartphone which are approximately 10% of whole Korean population and this demand is expected to grow in the future.
[1177] M. Choi and Y. Cho, (2007) op. cit. Major Korean internet media were chosen according to their research based on the number of visitors, number of journalists and the scale of finances of the company. At the moment, it is still difficult to explore which blogs cover the issues about the EU. However, when identified, it will be more helpful for the future research of EU external perceptions studies.

aspect recently. Leeuwen and Jewitt's typology of methodologies for visual analysis, offers some helpful insights for future studies. An approach from visual anthropology would be useful when analysts want to investigate the representations of EU citizens and their experiences in visual images. A visual cultural studies approach would allow analysts to examine visual advertisements about the EU. Ethnomethodology would lend much support to analysing visual phenomena in an actual communication within moving images of the EU (such as debates in EU institutions such as the European Parliament). However, concerning this approach, we should keep in mind the six areas of limitations of such visual analysis.[1178]

On 27 May 2013, the EU Delegation to the Republic of Korea celebrated the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the EU-Korea relations.[1179] Over the half-century, EU and Korea have had different objectives in their diplomatic relations. In the past three years, EU-Korea relations have rapidly upgraded. Consequently, the two parties are at the crossroads of predominantly trade-based relations and a more active and broad-based cooperation. In order to cope with the changes, the EU and Korea have to enhance their mutual understanding. Sooner or later, we might anticipate a brighter future for EU and Korea relations, based on closer friendship and prosperity.

[1178] B. Schnettler and J. Raab, "Interpretative Visual Analysis: Developments, State of the Art and Pending Problems." *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* vol. 9, no. 3 (September 2008). http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1149/2555#g43 (retrieved on 8 October 2011).

[1179] Delegation of the European Union to the Republic of Korea, *Press Corner,* http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/south_korea/press_corner/events/2013/20130527_en.htm (retrieved on 11 June 2013).

Appendix I
Content Analysis Framework (Example Shown)

Formal Characteristics											
Dynamics of Coverage			**Volume**	**Sources**					**Interactivity**		
News-paper	**Date**	**Place-ment**	**Length (by character)**	**Inter-national Wire**	**Foreign Correspondent**	**Local Correspondent**	**Local Sources**	**N/A**	*Print-Internet Text Reproduction/ Internet-Internet Text Reproduction*	**Newsmakers' e-mail addresses**	**Popularity-- rankings/ number of visits**
디지털 조선일보	2008-10-02	사회	1812			박수찬 기자			O (P-I Text Reproduction)	soochan@**chosun** .com	

Substantive Characteristics													Actions
Focus of Domesticity	Degree of Centrality	Topic (in your own words)	Actors										
			EU/European Union	EU Officials	EU Bodies	EU Member States	EU MS Officials	EU MS Bodies	EU ENL Candidate	EU ENL Officials	People Generic	Others/NGOS	
Local	Minor	한국의 돈육농가가 금융에 눈을 떠서 사업의 규모를 넓힘	유럽연합										1.캐나다•유럽연합 등도 선물•옵션•농산물 보험 등 농업 관련 금융이 다양하게 발달해 있다. 미국의 경우 농산품 파생상품 거래자의 10%가 농민인 것으로 알려져 있다.

Substantive Characteristics (Continued)									
News Values	Journalistic Attitudes	Conceptual Metaphors		Local Actors	Evaluation	Framing		Installation	Number of Installation
		Human Beings	Artefact/ Nature/ Substances			Information Input	Subframe		
Human Interest	Passive-Neutral				Neutral	Economic	Agriculture	Financial supports for the farmers	1

Appendix II
Visual Analysis Framework[1180] (Example Shown)

Visual Analysis							
People				Places		Things	
Description	Identified	Clothing/ Feature	Action	What is Setting the Scene	Key Feature	What Objects are seen?	Text?
An old man	Bernard Kouchner	black suit/ blue tie	making a phone conversation	airport in Baghdad	planes		

Visual Analysis continued							
Interaction			Composition				
Contact	Distance	Point of View	Information Value (Placement)	Text-image thematic correlation (both text and visual images were thematically matched?)	Salience (Size)	Modality	Type of Visual Aids
No	Medium shot	horizontal (frontal), vertical (eye-level)	central right	Yes	part	naturalistic	Photograph

[1180] *Chosun.com, [why] Kukyŏngŏpnŭn ŭisaesŏ Kukyŏngŏpnŭn Janggwanŭro*, 'http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/22/2008022201021.html (retrieved on 22 December 2010)

APPENDIX III
Categories of Distance of Visual Analysis[1181]

1.   *Extreme wide shot* shows a broad view of the surroundings around the character and conveys scale, distance, and geographic location. (example—a landscape)

2.   *Wide shot* shows an entire character from head to toe. (example—a group of people)

3.   *Medium wide shot* shows a character usually cut off across the legs above or below the knees. It is wide enough to show the physical setting in which the action is taking place, yet it is close enough to show facial expression. (example—one or two people)

4.   *Medium shot* shows a character's upper-body, arms, and head. (example—part of body)

5.   *Close-up shot* shows a character's face and shoulders. It is close enough to show subtle facial expressions clearly. (example—face)

6.   *Extreme close-up shot* shows only a part of a character's face. It fills the screen with the details of a subject. (example—part of face)

[1181] Elements of Cinematography, the Advanced Computing Center for Arts and Design, Ohio State University, http://accad.osu.edu/~midori/Materials/camera.html (retrieved on 25 of June 2010); and, N. Lacey, (1998) op. cit. Compared with Lacey's works, the Ohio State University offers more satisfying account of the conception of the terms of the categories of distance.

APPENDIX IV
Categories of Angles of Visual Analysis [1182]

1.   *Horizontal camera angles*—moving the camera around the subject horizontally while aiming at the subject creates different camera angles below:
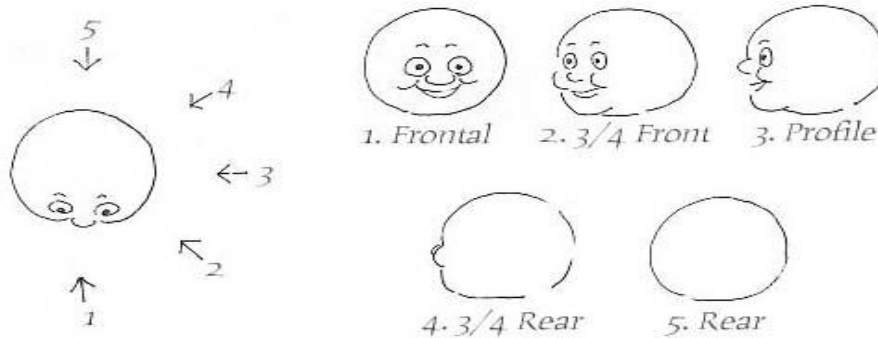
- **Frontal.** The frontal angle tends to flatten the three-dimensionality of facial features and environments.
- **Three-quarter front.** The three-quarter front angle is more often used than the frontal angle or profile because it shows more depth and volume.
- **Profile.**
- **Three-quarter rear**
- **Rear.**

2.   *Vertical camera angles*. Moving the camera around the subject vertically while aiming at the subject creates different camera angles below:
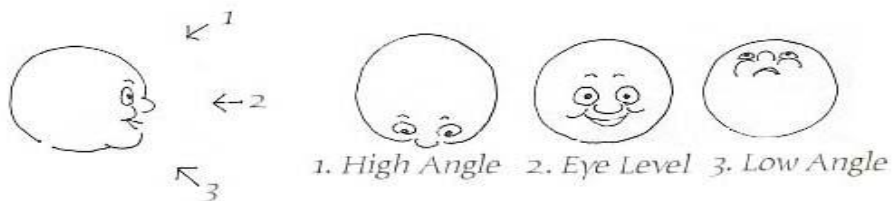
● **High angle.** The camera is placed above eye level, looking downward. A high angle shot can make a character look smaller, younger, weak, confused, or more childlike.

● **Eye level.** Most commonly used.

● **Low angle.** The camera is placed below eye level, looking upward. A low angle shot can make a character look bigger, stronger, or more noble. It also gives the impression of height.

[1182] Elements of Cinematography, the Advanced Computing Center for Arts and Design, Ohio State University, http://accad.osu.edu/~midori/Materials/camera.html (retrieved on 25 of June 2010). The pictures and the texts were drafted from the website.

APPENDIX V
Example of Content Analysis[1183]

Title of News Article → 세르비아 의회, 독립 선언 무효결정 승인

코소보 세르비아계 지역 폭발사고 잇따라

Source of News: *Yonhap News* → 연합뉴스

Interactivity: not found from this article

Focus of Domesticity
3rd news, Serbia Focused (Serbia—세르비아, Kosovo—코소보, 보이슬라브 코스튜니차 총리—PM of Serbia, Vojislav Koštunica, 세르비아 국민—citizens of Serbia, 세르비아 의회—Serbian parliament)

Actors: 유럽연합 (EU)

Conceptual Metaphors: oppressor. (복종하다 active form should be changed into passive form 복종시키다 when this indicate the EU) (복종시키다—make someone submissive or obey)

Characters of News
Timeliness
Conflict

Evaluation: Neutral. It is because the writer of this article did not take any position when reporting the EU.

Primary Framing: Political News
Sub-framing: External Political Affairs

세르비아 의회는 18일 밤 긴급 회의를 열고 코소보의 독립 선언에 대한 정부의 무효 결정을 승인했다고 B92 라디오가 보도했다.

이날 표결에 참가한 234명의 의원 가운데 225명이 찬성표를 던졌으며, 자유민주당과 헝가리 소수민족 대표 등은 불참했다.

보이슬라브 코슈투니차 총리는 표결에 앞서 가진 연설에서 "세르비아의 모든 영토에서 헌법 및 법률 질서를 되찾기 위한 장기간의 투쟁이 시작됐다"며 세르비아는 이를 반드시 성취할 것이라고 다짐했다.

코슈투니차 총리는 이것이야말로 세르비아 미래 국가 정책의 가장 중요하고도 영속적인 목표가 될 것이라고 선언했다.

그는 그러나 이 과정에서 폭력에 의존하지 말고 평화 속에서 현명하게 위엄과 힘을 보여줄 것을 세르비아 국민에게 촉구했다.

코슈투니차 총리는 또 유럽연합(EU)이 경찰 및 사법 요원을 코소보에 파견하려는 계획을 최종 승인한 것과 관련, 세르비아는 이 같은 임무를 수행하는 EU나 다른 어느 누구에도 복종하지 않을 것이라고 강조했다.

의회의 긴급 회의가 열리는 동안 베오그라드 의사당 주변에는 대규모 경찰 병력이 만약의 사태에 대비, 삼엄한 경계를 폈다.

한편 코소보 내 세르비아계 주민 거주 지역인 미트로비차와 인근 마을에서는 밤새 3곳에서 폭발 사고가 발생, 긴장을 고조시켰으나 인명 피해는 없었다.

현지 경찰에 따르면 이날 밤 미트로비차의 유엔 빌딩 인근에서 소형 폭탄이 터져 주차해 놓은 여러대의 자동차가 파손됐으며, 알바니아계 주민이 살던 폐가에서도 수류탄이 터졌다. 또 미트로비차 인근의 한 마을에서도 주차된 유엔 차량이 폭발했다.

입력 : 2008.02.19 19:33 ← **The date of article published (on 19th of February 2008)**

[1183] *Chosun.com, Serŭbia ŭihoe, Dongnip Sŏnŏn Muhyo Kyŏljŏng Sŭngin*, http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/02/19/2008021901701.html (retrieved on 27 February 2008).

Representative Meta-function	*Interactive Meta-function*	*Compositional Meta-function*
People Description: two men Identified: Yes (Nicolas Sarkozy and Dmitry Medvedev) Clothing: Suits Action: Giving a speech with gestures **Places** Not Identified **Things** Not Found	**Contact** No **Distance** Medium **Viewpoint** Horizontal: ¾ frontal Vertical: eye-level	**Placement (Information value)**: Upper Right **Text-Image Thematic Correlation (with the EU)**: Yes **Salience (size)**: part (occupied less than quarter area of the article) **Modality**: Naturalistic **Type of Visual Aids**: Photograph

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[1184] *Chosun Ilbo*, *Bul Sarkozy 'Oegyoryŏk binnatta,* 14-August-08.

APPENDIX VII
Interview Letter and Questionnaire

01-04-10

 Sae Won Chung

c/o National Centre for Research on Europe
4th floor, Commerce Building
University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800
Christchurch
New Zealand

Dear,

RE: REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW FOR THE RESEARCH RELATED TO "EUROPEAN UNION THROUGH THE EYES OF ASIA" PROJECT
"아시아의 눈으로 본 유럽연합" 프로젝트에 연관된 연구를 위한 인터뷰 요청

The title of this research is "*EU Ilbo* (Daily): the images of the EU in South Korean print and Internet newspapers which measures the perceptions of the EU in Korean internet and print newspaper. For this research, from 2004 to 2008, 1867 EU articles were collected and analysed from prestige Korean print newspapers (Chosun Daily, Dong A Daily, Joong Ang Daily, Korea Herald, Korea Times and METRO). On top of that, for the year 2008, I collected and analysed 4809 EU articles from three prestige Korean dependent Internet newspapers (Chosun.com, DongA.com and JOINS.com). So far, I have finished the literature review, theoretical frameworks and methodology for the research. And, I am working on the presentation of data results. This research is related to the trans-national comparative project "The European Union through the Eyes of Asia-Pacific" supported by Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF)'s "European Studies in Asia (ESiA)" network. European Commission, New Zealand European Union Centres Network and National Centre for Research on Europe (NCRE), the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. Since 2002, this research project has explored the media, public and stakeholders' perceptions of the European Union in 21 Asia-Pacific locations, including South Korea (for more information please, see www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz).

 본 논문의 주제는 "한국의 종이신문과 인터넷 신문에 나타난 EU 의 이미지" 입니다. 본 논문을 완성하기 위해서, 한국의 종이 신문과 인터넷 신문에 나타난 EU 에 관련된 묘사 및 표현들을 연구하고 있습니다. 본 논문을 위해 저는 연구수집 팀과 함께 2004 년부터 2008 년까지 한국의 주요 종이신문(조선일보,동아일보,중앙일보,코리아헤럴드,코리아타임즈와 메트로)에서 1867 개의 EU 관련기사를 수집 및 분석하였으며, 2008 년에는 추가로 한국의 주요 인터넷신문 (Chosun.com, DongA.com 그리고 JOINS.com)에서 4809 개의 기사를 수집, 분석하였습니다. 본 논문의 진행 상황은 문헌고찰, 이론적 분석 및 이론적 틀 구축, 연구 방법 파트들을 끝낸 상태이고, 현재 자료분석에 따른 결과를 정리하고 있습니다.

또한 본 논문은, 아시아 유럽재단(ASEF)의 "아시아 내의 유럽학 (ESiA) 네트워크", 유럽집행위원회, 뉴질랜드 캔터베리 대학교의 국립유럽연구센터(NCRE) 그리고 뉴질랜드 EU 센터의 지원을 받는 공식 프로젝트 "아시아-태평양의 눈으로 본 EU"와 연관되어 있으며, 본 프로젝트는 지난 2002 년부터 한국을 포함 아시아 태평양 21 개국(한국, 중국, 일본, 싱가포르, 태국) 의 미디어, 일반 대중 그리고 의사결정권자들의 EU 에 관한 인식을 연구해오고 있습니다.

(기타관련사항은 저희 프로젝트 웹사이트에 방문해 주시기 바랍니다.)
www.euperceptions.canterbury.ac.nz)

An identification of a wide range of perceptions and attitudes towards the EU among Korean political, business, civil society and media elite representatives is a crucial part of the project. I would be extremely grateful if you would have some time to have a telephone interview with me at a convenient
time of your choice. The expected length of the interview is 25 minutes. If you do not have time for the interview over the phone, I would appreciate if you could answer the questionnaire provided in written form in an e-mail.

이 프로젝트의 주요 쟁점은 한국의 정치계, 경제계, 사회 및 언론계에서 선택된 엘리트 들의
 EU 에 관한 광범위한 인식 및 태도를 발견하는 것 입니다. 이와 관련하여 이사님의 편한 시간에 전화 인터뷰를 정중히 부탁 드리고 싶습니다. 만일 응해주신다면, 진심으로 감사 드립니다. 예상 인터뷰 시간은 25 분이며, 만일 전화 인터뷰가 곤란하시면 제공된 인터뷰 설문지에 이메일을 통해 서면으로 답해주셔도 좋습니다.

If you wish, the questionnaire of the interview may be sent to you in advance. If you have any questions abou this research project and its findings up to date, I will be happy to provide further information. For further correspondence, please, contact project supervisors Prof. Martin Holland (martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) or Dr. Natalia Chaban (natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz).
만일 필요하시다면, 인터뷰 설문지를 미리 보내드리도록 하겠습니다. 또한 혹시 이 연구 프로젝트와
 최근 연구 결과에 관련한 질문이 있으시면, 기꺼이 추가 정보를 제공해 드리도록 하겠습니다.

추가서신에 관하여서는, 프로젝트 지도교수인 Martin Holland 교수
(martin.holland@canterbury.ac.nz) 와 Natalia Chaban 교수
(natalia.chaban@canterbury.ac.nz)에게 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

Thank you for your kind attention. I look forward to your positive reply.
귀하의 친절한 관심에 깊은 감사를 드리고, 긍정적 답변을 기다리겠습니다.

Best wishes,
진심으로 감사 드립니다.

Sae Won Chung	Prof. Martin Holland
PhD Candidate	Director
National Centre for Research on Europe	National Centre for Research on Europe
University of Canterbury	University of Canterbury

Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in interviews about Korean newsmakers' perceptions of the EU. The aim of this research project is investigating the images of the EU in South Korean print and internet newspapers. This research analyses the media texts from the chosen prestige print and internet newspapers (video clips for internet newspapers). And, it presents the results of the interviews. This project has been reviewed and approved as part of the UC HEC PhD & Staff Low Risk Approval process.

귀하는 한국 저널리스트들의 유럽연합에 대한 인식에 관련한 인터뷰를 위해 초대되었습니다. 본 논문의 목적은 한국의 종이와 인터넷 신문이 가지는 유럽연합에 대한 이미지를 탐구하는데 있습니다. 본 연구는 한국의 종이신문과 인터넷 신문(동영상 기사 포함)의 EU 관련기사를 분석하며, 또한 본 인터뷰의 결과도 논문의 일부분으로 포함될 것입니다. 본 논문에 관련된 연구 및 인터뷰는 캔터베리 대학교의 연구윤리위원회에서 저 위험 승인 (PhD & Staff Low Risk Approval process) 단계의 일부로 검토 되었고, 또한 인정 되었음을 알려 드립니다.

Before the interview, the questionnaire will be given to each participant in advance by email. The participation of this interview is always voluntary which means that the participants can withdraw this interview at any time. This interview is only conducted on the telephone so the participants can allocate the most suitable time for themselves. If they do not have the time for this interview, they can give the interviewer written answers for the questionnaire given in advance.

인터뷰를 시작하기 전, 모든 참가자들께 인터뷰 설문지를 전자메일로 사전에 보내 드립니다. 본 인터뷰는 자발적 참여를 바탕으로 하기 때문에, 참여자께서 원하신다면 언제든지 인터뷰를 중단할 수 있으며, 전화로 진행이 되기 때문에 참여자께서는 참여자 본인의 가장 적합한 시간에 인터뷰를 하실 수 있습니다. 만일 시간이 되지 않는 다면, 인터뷰 진행자에게 서면으로 답을 하실 수 있습니다.

During the interview, the participants will be asked 23 questions about their perceptions of the EU based on their professional experiences (17 questions used in Asia-Pacific Perceptions Project and 6 additional questions focused on newsmakers of internet newspapers). The participants do not need to answer every question it means that they can answer the comfortable questions for themselves. Estimated total duration of the interview is 25 minutes.

인터뷰가 진행되는 동안 참여자는 참여자 본인의 전문적인 경험을 바탕으로 총 23개의 EU에 관한 인식에 관련된 질문에 답을 하게 될 것입니다 (Asia-Pacific Perceptions 프로젝트에서 쓰여진 17개의 질문과 인터넷 신문생산자들에게 맞추어진 6개의 추가질문이 있습니다). 귀하께서는 설문지에 있는 모든 질문에 답변을 하실 필요가 없고, 답변하기 편한 질문에만 답을 하시면 되겠습니다.
예상 총 인터뷰 시간은 약 25분 입니다.

Before starting the interview, participants will be asked permission for digital recording. And, they will be asked whether they would like to participate by anonymous. The researcher is the only person who will transcribe whole interview. The recordings will be stored securely in researcher's private place. Soon after finishing the transcription of the recording, the transcript will be sent back to the participants by email. After this PhD research, the related data (transcripts and audio files) of the interviews will be stored securely for five years for the further publications relating to this research. The access for the data is only limited to the researcher (Sae Won Chung) and the research supervisors (Prof. Martin Holland and Dr. Natalia Chaban).

인터뷰를 시작하기 전에, 참여자들은 디지털 녹음 가능 여부에 관한 허가와 무기명 참가에 관한 질문을 받게 됩니다. 그리고 오직 연구자만 인터뷰 전부를 필기 할 것 입니다. 또한 녹음된 파일들은 연구자의 사적인 공간에 안전하게 보관 됩니다. 인터뷰 스크립트가 완성되는 즉시 참가자들에게 전자메일로 전송하게 되며 박사 논문 후, 향후 5년간 인터뷰 관련자료들(스크립트와 오디오파일)은 추후에 있을 학술논문에 쓰여질 예정입니다. 본 데이터는 연구자 본인(정세원) 과 연구 지도 교수들 (Martin Holland 교수, Natalia Chaban 교수)만 접근 할 수 있음을 알려드립니다.

Sae Won Chung
saewon.chung@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
01 April, 2010

Questionnaire 설문지

Personal perceptions:
(개인적 인식)

1. Do you see the EU as a great power?
   귀하께서는 유럽연합(EU)이 강국이라고 생각하십니까?

2. Specifically about politics, do you see the EU as a leader in international politics?
   특히 정치적 측면에서, EU 가 국제정치의 선두주자라고 보십니까?

3. In your opinion, which issues in Korea-EU current relations have the most impact on Korea?
   귀하의 견해로, 현재의 한-EU 관계 에서 어떠한 이슈가 한국에게 가장 큰 영향력을 미친다고 보십니까?

4. How would you describe the impact of the ASEM process on interactions between the EU and Korea?
   귀하는 ASEM 회의가 EU 와 한국 상호간에게 미치는 영향력을 어떻게 설명하시겠습니까?

5. In 2008, there was an ASEM meeting in Beijing in October. How would you describe the effect of that meeting on Korea?
   지난 2008 년 10 월, 중국 베이징에서 ASEM 회의가 열렸습니다. 이 회의가 한국에게 미친 영향에 대해서 설명해 주시겠습니까?

6. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is not important at all and 5 is very important, how would you rate the importance of the EU to South Korea in the present?
   현재 한국에게 EU의 중요성을 점수로 매긴다면, 어떤 점수를 매기시겠습니까?
   (1점부터 5점까지 중에서, 1점은 절대로 중요하지 않다, 5점은 매우 중요하다)

7. When thinking about the term 'the European Union', what three thoughts come to your mind?
   '유럽연합 (EU)' 이라는 단어를 떠올렸을 때, 떠오르는 세가지 생각은 무엇입니까?

EU Coverage:
(보도범위)

1. How is the coverage of the EU and European issues organised ?
   유럽 혹은 EU 에 관련된 주제의 보도범위가 어떻게 구성되나요?

2. Are special preparations made in advance?
   그에 관한 사전 준비는 이루어집니까?

3. Is a special budget allocated?
   그의 관한 특별예산이 책정되어있나요?

4. Do you assign more staff and hire experts to cover specific EU issues should the need arise
   반드시 필요 하다면, EU 에 관한 특정 주제들을 보도하기 위해서 좀 더 많은 직원들을 배정하고, 전문가들을 더 채용해야 하시겠습니까?

5. What is the officially formulated policy on covering the foreign news? The news on the EU?
   국제뉴스 혹은 EU뉴스 보도에 관련해 공식적으로 세워진 정책이 있나요? 혹시 있다면 그것은 무엇입니까?

6. Does the news organisation assume a reactive role or proactive, initiating role?
뉴스 기관이 대응적이거나 주도적 혹은 선도적인 역할을 맡고 있습니까?

7. If the EU is proactive in disseminating news about itself, would your outlet be interested in considering such news?
만일 EU가 EU자신 에 관한 뉴스를 주도적으로 배포한다면, 귀하의 신문사에서 그러한 뉴스들을 관심을 갖고 참고해 보시겠습니까?

8. Where do you see the balance of foreign reporting will shift in the future?
귀하는 미래에 어느 부분에서 해외뉴스보도의 균형이 바뀔 것으로 보십니까?

9. When reporting the EU, what news values lead your selection of the news?
EU를 보도하실 때, 어떠한 뉴스가치가 귀하의 뉴스로써의 선택으로 이어집니까?

10. How difficult is it to sell an EU story?
얼마나 EU 에 관한 기사를 판매하기 힘든지 말씀해 주시겠습니까?

Additional Questions about News Production of Internet Newspapers:
(인터넷 신문의 뉴스생산에 관한 추가 질문)

1. Internet editions of newspapers diffuse more EU news. What do you think is the impact of this now and in the future?
본 조사에 따르면, 인터넷 신문이 더 많은 EU 뉴스를 배포하고 있습니다. 이 사실의 현재와 미래의 주어지는 영향력이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

2. Can the Internet newspaper articles be more effective than those of print newspapers in terms of setting the EU agenda for the Korean public? If yes, could you please explain in what way?
인터넷 신문기사들이 종이신문기사들 보다 한국국민들의 EU 에 관한 어젠다를 형성하는 측면에서 좀 더 효율적이라고 보십니까? 만일 그러하다면, 어떠한 면에서 효율적인지 설명해 주시겠습니까?

3. How does news production for Internet EU news differ from print news production? If yes, why is this the case? What are the implications of all these differences for news readers and news producers?
인터넷 신문의 EU 뉴스 생산이 종이 신문의 EU 뉴스 생산과 어떻게 다릅니까? 만일 다르다면, 왜 그렇다고 생각하십니까? 뉴스의 독자들과 뉴스생산자들에게 이 모든 차이들의 암시하는 것이 무엇 입니까?

4. Currently, there is a limited use of video support in EU Internet reporting. How do you see a future trend in using video in Internet EU news?
현재, 인터넷에 보도된 EU 관련 뉴스들 중 동영상이 한정적으로 사용되고 있는데요. 미래에 EU 관련 뉴스들의 동영상 사용의 경향은 어떻게 될 것이라고 보십니까?

5. Do you think people read more news on Internet edition of your newspaper than in hard copy? What gets read more, news on Internet or in a hard copy?
귀하께서는, 사람들이 인터넷 신문과 종이신문 중 어느 쪽으로 더 많이 뉴스기사들을 접한다고 보십니까? 어떤 요인이 인터넷 혹은 종이신문을 더 읽게 합니까?

6. As an Internet news maker, do you target younger demographics of your readers?
인터넷 뉴스 생산자로써, 귀하께서는 독자 중 젊은 층을 타깃으로 하고 있습니까?

APPENDIX VIII
Approval Letter from Human Ethics Committee

Ref: HEC 2010/01/LR-PS

12 July 2010

Sae Won Chung

National Centre for Research on Europe

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Sae

Thank you for forwarding to the Human Ethics Committee an amendment to the low risk application you have recently made for your research proposal "The EU Ilbo (Daily): the image of the EU in South Korean print and internet newspapers".

I am pleased to advise that this amendment has been reviewed and approved.

With best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

Dr Michael Grimshaw

Chair, Human Ethics Committee

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