

Is Mr. Kim a “Nuclear Madman” or a “Reasonable Leader”? Media Framing of Kim Jong-un’s Images in South Korean and U.S. Newspapers

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By content analyzing 2,045 news articles with images of Kim Jong-un, leader of North Korea, published in South Korean and U.S. newspapers, this study found that since 2012, the images have been framed more negatively than positively in both countries. When it comes to topics, South Korean newspapers covered Kim Jong-un’s image more frequently in terms of personality, lifestyle, and domestic politics of North Korea, while U.S. newspapers covered his image more frequently relative to foreign policy. South Korean conservative newspapers were more negative in tone than liberal newspapers in their portrayals, focusing more on topics of his lifestyle, infringement of human rights, and nuclear weapons. However, after the politically liberal Moon administration in South Korea came to power in 2017, news articles about Kim Jong-un in South Korea’s conservative newspapers have become significantly more positive.

Keywords: Kim Jong-un’s image, media framing, foreign policy, political affiliation of news organization

North Korea, one of the most reclusive countries in the world, and its leader have long been portrayed negatively both in South Korean and the U.S. news media (Gusterson, 2008; C. Kim, 1999; M. Kim & Kim, 2017). Until recently, for example, at the beginning of 2018, news media in the United States reported Kim Jong-un (hereafter referred to as Mr. Kim) as “short and fat” and “little rocket man,” quoting U.S. President Donald Trump (hereafter referred to as Mr. Trump) with reference to the North Korean leader. However, a shift of Mr. Kim’s images in the U.S. news media has been noticed. For example, the U.S. news

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media report that in public appraisals of Mr. Kim, Mr. Trump now refers to Mr. Kim as the "North Korean leader," describing him as "smart and gracious" and "very honorable" (Choe, 2018).

Following the historic April 2018 summit, when South Korea's President Moon Jae-In (hereafter referred to as Mr. Moon) and Mr. Kim met, bringing together leaders of the two Koreas for the first time in 70 years, a change in tone also occurred in South Korea's news media. Descriptions of Mr. Kim shifted from "dangerous" and "heinous" to "straightforward" and "honest" (Park, 2018). Those dramatic transitions in descriptions of Mr. Kim in the South Korean news media appear to have also changed the perceptions of South Korean people about Mr. Kim and North Korea; this is documented in recent surveys showing that greater numbers of South Koreans regard Mr. Kim as trustworthy (Han, 2018). Against that background, how the news media cover images of Mr. Kim as a leader have become an important issue that has received little attention.

To fill that research gap, this study examined whether and to what extent portrayals of Mr. Kim changed between 2012 (just after the death of Mr. Kim's father) and 2018. Also examined is the seven-year period between January 2017 (when Mr. Trump was inaugurated) and May 2017 (Mr. Moon's inauguration). The leaders of the three nations and their terms in office are included in the analysis because of recent diplomatic efforts to ease tensions between North and South Korea and negotiations regarding North Korea's nuclear weapons program, along with various other related topics.

This analysis is based on the concept of framing, which refers to the selection of some aspects of an issue or object that make those aspects salient (Entman, 1993). In particular, this investigation focuses on how the news media's framing of Mr. Kim's images changed by analyzing the use of descriptions of North Korea's leader in South Korean and U.S. media news between 2012 and 2018. Framing theory recommends methodological strategies or dimensions—including topic, tone (Ghanem, 1997), and depictions (Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem, 1991)—that provide a useful framework for exploring the types of specific images of Mr. Kim that have been salient in South Korean and U.S. news coverage.

Additionally, this study explores whether and to what extent Mr. Kim's images differed during the 2017–2018 time period depending on the political affiliation of news organizations and the foreign policies of the South Korean and U.S. governments toward North Korea. Previous research has shown that South Korea's conservative newspapers were more negative in framing North Korea as an aggressive and reclusive society and focusing on negative topics, such as nuclear weapons (Ha & Lee, 2012; K. Kim & Noh, 2011). Foreign policy concerns related to international issues, especially national security, were found to influence how leaders' images are framed by the news media because news organizations generally conform to their government's foreign policy stance (Balmas, 2017; Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Meyer, 1995; Wilbur & Zhang, 2014).

Through employing a content analysis of six newspapers from South Korea and the United States, this study contributes to the literature by indicating whether and how images of political leaders framed in news stories are associated with news organizations' political affiliation and what roles government policy plays in that process.

Framing a National Political Leader's Image

Many researchers view media frames as the structure that journalists employ to interpret and assign meaning to current events (Entman, 1993; Ghanem, 1997; Reese, 2003; Tankard et al., 1991). Image analysis serves as one of the most effective framing theory strategies (Tankard et al., 1991), particularly for interpreting the media's portrayal of a country or its leaders (Balmas, 2017; Buarque, 2015; Saleem, 2007). As used in this study, the term *image* means how a national leader is described in media content. In journalistic terminology, the concept of image is traced to Lippmann's (1922) definition of social and political images, described as "pictures in our heads." That is, an image is not only a depiction of an object or person, but also consists of affective traits ascribed to the object or person. An image can be captured by various types of media practices such as topics and tone (Balmas, 2017; Buarque, 2015; Eberl, Wagner, & Boomgaarden, 2017; M. Kim & Kim, 2017; Mao, 2014; Wilbur & Zhang, 2014). As Dennis (1991) points out, "images are multifaceted and vary widely depending on what media functions are being explored" (p. 53).

Not surprisingly, images of nations are also closely related to images of their leaders (Balmas, 2018; Ingenhoff & Klein, 2018; C. Kim, 1999). As previously documented, Western media depictions of North Korean leaders have reflected Westerners' perspectives of the nation of North Korea. *The New York Times*, for example, portrayed North Korea's two past leaders, Kim Il-Sung (grandfather of the current leader, Kim Jong-un) as a "communist dictator" and his son, Kim Jong-Il (father of the current leader), as a "reclusive and mysterious son" (C. Kim, 1999). In terms of topics of coverage by South Korean newspapers, the image of Kim Il-Sung (the grandfather) was constructed around the issue of inter-Korean relations, while the image of Kim Jong-Il (father) focused mainly on facets of his personal life. In recent years, the image of Mr. Kim has been depicted mainly in terms of North Korea's domestic political and economic situation (M. Kim & Kim, 2017).

Based on commonly agreed-on methodological devices for measuring an image in framing research and considering the uniqueness of North Korea's leader, this study conceptualized an image that consists of a depiction of a person plus topics and affective traits. North Korea and its past two leaders have been exclusively discussed by news media in the context of distinct topics, such as nuclear weapons, dictatorship, and deprivation of human rights (Gusterson, 2008; Ha & Lee, 2012; K. Kim, 2014; K. Kim & Noh, 2011; Lim & Seo, 2009), in a negative manner and as representing the country's and its leaders' deviant actions or characteristics.

These findings suggest that the composite images of Mr. Kim can be captured by examining a range of topics and tones selected by news media. Therefore, in examining images of Mr. Kim, as framed in South Korean and U.S. news media, the current study focused on the tone and topic of articles, guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: What tones related to Kim Jong-un's image have been presented in both South Korean and U.S. newspapers?

RQ2: What topics related to Kim Jong-un's images have been covered by South Korean and U.S. newspapers?

Framing a National Political Leader's Image and News Media's Political Affiliation

In some ways, news stories are considered an organizational product because the news media leadership decides which issues should be reported or omitted according to its organizational policies (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). An organization's political affiliation is recognized as a critical factor that ultimately affects news content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In particular, in South Korean media news, issues about North Korea have been covered in terms of political ideology, infused by social conflicts between conservative and liberal political camps in South Korea. In this regard, Mr. Kim's images represent a distinct ideological stance between conservative and liberal newspapers. Liberal newspapers have dealt with the Kim family by employing a variety of tones, including favorable, unfavorable, and neutral, whereas conservative newspapers have covered the Kim family in overwhelmingly negative tones, framing North Korea as a closed society, hostile, and aggressive (K. Kim & Noh, 2011; M. Kim & Kim, 2017).

In terms of topics, conservative newspapers in both South Korea and the United States reported more about North Korea's military and nuclear capability, as well as its political/economic/societal circumstances, than did liberal newspapers (K. Kim & Noh, 2011). When covering the livelihoods of North Koreans, South Korean conservative newspapers emphasized the perspective of suppression by the North Korean dictatorship, whereas liberal newspapers focused on North Koreans' quality of life in articles about shortages of food or medical supplies (Ha & Lee, 2012). In general, the U.S. news media tended to assume a stance similar to that of South Korea's conservative news media. In an analysis of *The New York Times'* and the *Washington Post's* coverage of the North Korean famine in 1995, Shim (2004) found that instead of focusing on humanitarian needs of North Korean citizens, those elite U.S. newspapers emphasized North Korea's suppressive regime, in accordance with the U.S. administration's hard-line policy toward North Korea.

Given findings of previous research that South Korean and the U.S. conservative and liberal news media framed North Korea and its leaders in terms of tones and topics, the present study poses the following hypotheses:

- H1a: Kim Jong-un's image is portrayed in a more negative tone by conservative newspapers of South Korea and the United States compared to coverage by their liberal counterparts.*
- H1b: There will be a significant difference between conservative and liberal newspapers in South Korea and the United States in topics related to Kim Jong-un's images.*

Framing a National Political Leader's Image and Foreign Policy

Images of leaders of other countries, as framed by national media, change along with the country's international foreign relations policy toward a particular country (Balmas, 2017; Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Wilbur & Zhang, 2014). Media framing of a nation or its political leader is a product of specific political or social circumstances that the respective country holds (S. Lee & Wang, 2016; Lim & Seo, 2009; Yousaf, 2015). Where international issues are concerned, especially national security issues, such as nuclear testing, war, and other crises, the news media generally conform closely to their government's foreign policy stance (Meyer, 1995). In fact, the indexing hypothesis, a primary model of

press-state relations, also suggests that the news frames amplify the government's official decision (Bennett, 1991; Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston, 2006). Specifically, Bennett and colleagues (2006) pointed out that "most of this event-driven news soon becomes constrained by the standard journalistic practice of tying, or indexing, story frames to the range of sources and viewpoints within official decision circles, reflecting levels of official conflict and consensus" (p. 468). "In other words, according to the indexing hypothesis," journalists, in covering an issue, "index" the range of opinion allowed in news columns to that expressed by official sources (Rowling, Jones, & Sheets, 2011, p. 1044). In that sense, a nation's relations and stance on North Korea are closely related to images framed by news media that depict what and how to think about North Korea's leader.

The U.S. news media's frames of national political leaders commonly align with the administration's foreign policies toward other countries (Lim & Seo, 2009; Powell, 2011; Wilbur & Zhang, 2014; Yousaf, 2015). For example, images of Islamic nations (Powell, 2011; Yousaf, 2015) and Venezuela's leader Hugo Chavez (Wilbur & Zhang, 2014) have been portrayed in an overwhelmingly negative manner in accordance with the U.S. war-on-terror policy. Importantly, frames of nations that threaten U.S. national security have been more hostile in U.S. media than frames of other countries (Yousaf, 2015). In particular, North Korea or its leaders have been negatively framed in the U.S. news media (Lim & Seo, 2009; Shim, 2004; Winfield & Yoon, 2002). This is mainly because there are decades-long unresolved diplomatic tensions with North Korea that threaten the national security interests of the United States. During U.S. President George W. Bush's administration, starting with his 2002 state-of-the-union speech soon after his inauguration, Mr. Bush described North Korea, Iraq, and Iran as the "axis of evil." Subsequently, an anti-North Korea frame dominated U.S. newspapers, in which North Korea was portrayed as evil and a hotbed of terrorism; images of a despotic state outnumbered positive images (Choi, 2010).

By contrast, in 2016, after South Korea's politically liberal Moon administration was sworn in, South Korea's efforts to pursue peace on the Korean Peninsula lessened the tension with regard to inter-Korean relations. In contrast to the previous South Korean administration, relations between the Moon government of South Korea and North Korea have been unusually favorable, especially with regard to the denuclearization process since Mr. Moon took office. Despite those changes in South Korea's relations with North Korea, the United States has continued to maintain a hostile relationship with North Korea. Although a historical summit took place in 2018 between the United States and North Korea a year after Mr. Trump took office, the Trump administration continues to maintain the same U.S. hard-line nuclear policy and political stance toward unresolved tensions with North Korea.

In sum, it can be expected that Mr. Kim's image in the contemporary news media is not fixed; rather, it has changed over time, reflecting fluctuation in the administration's international relationship with North Korea.

Therefore, considering that political context, this study hypothesizes the news stories about Mr. Kim published in South Korean newspapers have become positive by following the government's favorable stances on North Korea after Mr. Moon took office in 2016, whereas similar changes are not expected in news stories published in U.S. newspapers. Thus, this study proposes the second hypothesis:

H2: Negative images of Kim Jong-un portrayed by both conservative and liberal South Korean newspapers were more prominent before the Moon administration took office (2012–2016) than afterward (2017–2018).

Additionally, with regard to topics, previous studies of South Korean media have shown that news topics about North Korea and Mr. Kim's family differed depending not only on the news organization's political affiliation (Ha & Lee, 2012; Shim, 2004), but also on the government's foreign policy stance (Balmas, 2017; Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Meyer, 1995; Wilbur & Zhang, 2014). South Korean news organizations may have conformed to the politically liberal Moon administration's pursuit of policy engagement with North Korea, in contrast to the previous conservative-leaning administration. Furthermore, the Trump administration continues to maintain the same U.S. hard-line nuclear policy as the previous U.S. administration, although soon after the Trump administration took office, Mr. Kim appeared on the international stage in ways that his father and grandfather never did.

In sum, based on an indexing hypothesis and framing research, news stories in South Korea's media about Mr. Kim would become more positive as the South Korean media followed their government's more favorable stance, the directions of change in topics were unpredictable. Thus, it is reasonable to pose the following research questions to examine what topics related to Mr. Kim have been dominant in conservative and liberal newspapers in South Korea and the United States depending on the administrations' respective policies toward North Korea:

RQ3a: Have there been any differences in the topics associated with Kim Jong-un's images in the South Korean conservative and liberal newspapers before (2012–2016) and during the Moon administration (2017–2018)?

RQ3b: Have there been any differences in the topics associated with Kim Jong-un's images in the U.S. conservative and liberal newspapers before (2012–2016) and during the Trump administration (2017–2018)?

Method

This study employed a quantitative content analysis of news stories about North Korea's leader Kim Jong-un for the purpose of investigating various aspects of Kim's images as portrayed in South Korean and U.S. media.

Sample and Data Collection

This study examined news stories published in four South Korean newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo*, *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Hankyoreh*, and *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, and two U.S. newspapers, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*. Articles published between January 1, 2012—when Kim officially assumed his leadership role following his father's death in December 2011—and November 30, 2018, were included in the analysis.

Daily newspapers analyzed from each country were chosen based on their political affiliation and size of readership. This study's classification of conservative versus liberal newspapers comes from the results of previous studies. Among U.S. newspapers, for example, a study that employed a computerized "text categorization" using partisan correlation of newspaper texts found that *The Wall Street Journal* was identified as having a conservative slant and *The New York Times* as having a liberal slant (Gentzkow & Shapiro, 2006; Ho & Quinn, 2008). In addition, a more recent study based on analysis of a large amount of political news ($n = 10,502$), which employed machine learning and crowdsourcing, concluded that the ideological ordering of news outlets is in line with prior research (Budak, Goel, & Rao, 2016). Furthermore, compositions of each newspaper's audience also indicate that people who read *The Wall Street Journal* are more consistently conservative compared with those who read *The New York Times* (Mitchell, Gottfried, Kiley, & Matsa, 2014). With regard to Korean newspapers, findings of content studies on political stance of different newspapers consistently support that *Chosun Ilbo*, *JoongAng Ilbo*, and *Dong-A Ilbo* represent conservative views, whereas *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang Shinmun* represent liberal perspectives (D. Kim, 2009; K. Kim & Noh, 2011; G. Lee & Koh, 2010).

According to the most recent report by the Korea Audit Bureau of Certification, of 166 daily newspapers in South Korea, conservative newspapers *Chosun Ilbo* (1,238,548) and *Dong-A Ilbo* (736,546) were found to have the largest and second largest paid circulation, while *Hankyoreh* (200,223) and *Kyunghyang Shinmun* (165,618), with rankings of seventh and ninth in circulation, were found to have the highest and second highest readership among South Korean liberal newspapers; these newspapers accounted for 17.18%, 10.22%, 2.78%, and 2.30% of the total paid circulation, respectively (Korea Audit Bureau of Certification, 2019). Similarly, *The Wall Street Journal* (1,011,200) and *The New York Times* (483,701) were chosen among the U.S. daily newspapers because they rank second and third in circulation, according to a recent report by the Alliance for Audited Media (Cision, 2019). As mentioned, circulation, as used in this study, indicates numbers for print copies; the relative significance of these newspapers' framing of public discourse increases when digital readership is considered. The two U.S. newspapers included in this study have the highest digital subscription rates: more than 1.7 million digital subscribers for *The Wall Street Journal* and 2.7 million subscriptions for *The New York Times'* digital news (Hagey, Alpert, & Serkez, 2019). Although digital subscriptions have been difficult for Korean newspapers to implement because of the influence of portal news, the proportion of South Koreans who read news online (83%)—most using news aggregators—surpasses that of those in South Korea who consume news on television (67%), according to the latest Reuters Digital News Report (S. Kim, 2019).

Search terms "Kim Jong Un" in Korean and "Kim Jong Un" and "Kim Jong-un" in English were used to compile a list of news stories about Mr. Kim posted on South Korean newspaper websites; for U.S. newspaper websites, the LexisNexis online database was used. Excluding columns, editorials, and news briefs, news stories that mentioned Mr. Kim in both the headlines and lead sentences/paragraphs that specifically focused on Mr. Kim were included in the sample. A total of 2,045 articles—1,699 from South Korean newspapers and 346 from U.S. newspapers—were analyzed.

Coding Scheme

To identify the most significant and dominant image of Mr. Kim framed by these newspapers, the lead sentence/paragraph of each news story in which Mr. Kim was mentioned was examined and coded for tone and topic associated with Mr. Kim's image. Analysis of the lead sentence/paragraph, a part of news stories

commonly read and where an important summary, angle, or perspective of the article is often presented, has been effectively used for analyzing news content (Bennett & Lawrence, 1995; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Peake, 2007). When Korean newspaper articles were examined, many followed the inverted pyramid style or used straight news leads. Korean news stories generally had shorter leads—in some cases as short as one sentence—compared with those of U.S. newspapers. Yet, for some Korean news stories, it was possible to identify a salient frame from the lead sentence/paragraph because the writing style provided important information and perspectives up front, followed by contextual information and details. In fact, findings from prior research suggest that a majority of Korean news stories are written in the inverted pyramid style, with relatively short lead paragraphs (G. Lee & Jung, 2007; J. Lee, 2006). The focus of the rest of each article depends so much on the lead paragraph that journalism scholars have raised concerns that such a practice leads to salient news frames being placed up front, resulting in stories that are less likely to include different perspectives other than what is stated in the lead (Nam, 2008; Park & Lee, 2008). For the current study, the up-front focus facilitated the analysis process. In other cases, when a meaningful frame could not be found in the lead, subsequent paragraphs were analyzed until a salient frame was identified in the given news story—a rule applied to newspapers from both South Korea and the United States. In assessing the tone of Kim's image, this study followed coding schemes employed by previous studies (Ha & Lee, 2012; Peake, 2007). For example, the tone was coded (1) positive, if it provided facts or descriptions that reflected positively on Mr. Kim or was supportive of him or adopted North Korea's way of understanding the issue (e.g., some of the expressions from the sample include great personality, honorable leader, pioneering peacemaker, rational actor, skillful leader, very smart, young and candid strategist); (2) neutral, if the expression provided facts or descriptions that were neither positive nor negative; or (3) negative, if the expression provided facts or descriptions that reflected negatively on Mr. Kim or a framed issue was critical of North Korea (e.g., some of the expressions from the sample include brash and impulsive, brutal, inexperienced, madman, unpredictable and ruthless, wackadoodle dictator, young and untested leader). Based on previous research on images of political leaders, topics associated with Mr. Kim's image were divided by two dimensions—that is, politically relevant traits and personal or apolitical characteristics—which were coded as one of the nine categories listed next (Balmas, 2018; Ingenhoff & Klein, 2018; Pancer, Brown, & Barr, 1999; Sörensen, 2016). Among the topics, six were related to Mr. Kim's role as a political leader: (1) nuclear weapons and military, (2) economic policy, (3) foreign policy (excluding that with South Korea), (4) human rights, (5) domestic politics, and (6) inter-Korean relations. Three topics highlighted Mr. Kim's image as a person: (7) personality, (8) the Kim family and its hereditary succession, and (9) lifestyle. Finally, news coverage was analyzed before and after the present administrations, divided into two time frames—(1) 2012–2016 and (2) 2017–2018—for both South Korean and the U.S. news media as President Moon began his presidency in May 2017 and President Trump began his in January 2017.

Coders and Intercoder Reliability

Three authors of this study coded the newspaper articles. In an effort to exclude potential bias, all three coded an equal number of articles for each year and from the six newspapers in the sample. Using a random sample of approximately 10% of all the articles ($n = 208$), intercoder reliability was assessed using Krippendorff's alpha with an above-minimum acceptable level of at least .80 for all variables² (Krippendorff, 2004).

² Krippendorff's alpha for each variable indicated .81 for the tone and .84 for the topic.

Results

Overview

A total of 2,045 news articles were included in this study of Mr. Kim's image framed in South Korea and the U.S. news media. Among the six newspapers investigated, *Chosun Ilbo* carried the most news stories covering Mr. Kim's image ($n = 706$, 34.5%), while *The Wall Street Journal* had the lowest number of articles ($n = 162$, 7.9%). Between 2012 and 2018, the number of news articles related to the image of Mr. Kim was greatest in 2018 ($n = 758$, 37.1%), and lowest in 2015 ($n = 167$, 8.2%).

Tones and Topics of News Articles Portraying Mr. Kim's Images in South Korea and the United States

As a first step of analysis, this study examined which tones related to Kim's image were portrayed in both South Korean and U.S. newspapers (RQ1) and what news topics were covered in both countries (RQ2). There were no significant differences in the tone of news articles about Kim; the negative tone was prevalent in the coverage of Mr. Kim: $\chi^2(2, n = 2,045) = 4.95, p > .05$. In other words, more than 50% of the articles were negative, while positive articles constituted less than 20%.

However, regarding topics of news articles about Mr. Kim, there were significant differences in the topics about the North Korean leader: $\chi^2(8, n = 2,045) = 86.49, p < .001$. Specifically, as Table 1 shows, newspapers in South Korea frequently covered the topic of personality (12.8%), lifestyle (8.9%), and domestic politics (20.8%). In articles published by U.S. media, topics about Mr. Kim were fewer: 9.0% for personality, 4.3% for lifestyle, and 14.2% for domestic politics. By contrast, newspapers in the United States covered the topic of foreign policy (38.2%) more frequently compared with newspapers in South Korea (16.8%).

Table 1. Topics of News Articles Reporting Mr. Kim's Images in South Korean and U.S. Newspapers.

| | South Korea | United States | Total |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Personality | 218 (12.8) | 31 (9.0) | 249 (12.2) |
| Kim Family | 151 (8.9) | 33 (9.5) | 184 (9.0) |
| Lifestyle | 152 (8.9) | 15 (4.3) | 167 (8.2) |
| Nuclear Weapons and Military | 286 (16.8) | 47 (13.6) | 333 (16.3) |
| Economic Policy | 64 (3.8) | 10 (2.9) | 74 (3.6) |
| Foreign Policy | 286 (16.8) | 132 (38.2) | 418 (20.4) |
| Human Rights | 38 (2.2) | 4 (1.2) | 42 (2.1) |
| Domestic Politics | 353 (20.8) | 49 (14.2) | 402 (19.7) |
| Inter-Korean Relations | 151 (8.9) | 25 (7.2) | 176 (8.6) |
| Total | 1,699 (100.0) | 346 (100.0) | 2,045 (100.0) |

$\chi^2(8, n = 2,045) = 86.49, p < .001$

Tones and Topics of News Articles and Political Affiliations of Newspapers

This study also examined whether Mr. Kim's image was portrayed in a more negative tone by conservative newspapers of the United States and South Korea than by their liberal counterparts (H1a). With regard to tone, as Table 2 shows, among South Korean newspapers, there was a significant difference in the tones of news articles reporting Mr. Kim's image, depending on political ideology of the news organizations: $\chi^2(2, n = 1,699) = 114.74, p < .001$. In other words, conservative newspapers were more likely to cover Mr. Kim (61.0%) negatively than were liberal newspapers (36.5%). However, there were no significant differences in the tone of news articles in U.S. newspapers: $\chi^2(2, n = 346) = 4.17, p > .05$. Therefore, H1a was partially supported.

Table 2. Tone of Mr. Kim's Images in Conservative and Liberal Newspapers of South Korea and the United States.

| | South Korea | | | United States | | |
|----------|---|-------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Cons. (%) | Lib. (%) | Total (%) | Cons. (%) | Lib. (%) | Total (%) |
| Positive | 138 (11.8) | 159 (29.9) | 297 (17.5) | 32 (19.8) | 30 (16.3) | 62 (17.9) |
| Neutral | 317 (27.2) | 179 (33.6) | 496 (29.2) | 30 (18.5) | 51 (27.7) | 81 (23.4) |
| Negative | 712 (61.0) | 194 (36.5) | 906 (53.3) | 100 (61.7) | 103 (56.0) | 203 (58.7) |
| Total | 1,167 (100.0) | 532 (100.0) | 1,699 (100.0) | 162 (100.0) | 184 (100.0) | 346 (100.0) |
| | $\chi^2(2, n = 1,699) = 114.74, p < .001$. | | | $\chi^2(2, n = 346) = 4.17, p > .05$ | | |

With regard to topics, this study expected that there would be a significant difference in topics related to Mr. Kim's images between conservative and liberal newspapers not only in South Korea, but also in the United States. (H1b). As Table 3 shows, among newspapers in South Korea, findings showed significant differences in the topic of how Mr. Kim's images were framed, depending on the political affiliation of news organizations: $\chi^2(8, n = 1,699) = 42.99, p < .001$. Specifically, conservative newspapers were more likely to cover Mr. Kim's images related to the infringement of human rights in North Korea (2.8%) and personal lifestyle (9.9%) than liberal newspapers (human rights, 0.9%, and lifestyle, 6.8%). By contrast, liberal newspapers were more likely to cover Mr. Kim's images related to foreign policy (22.6%), and inter-Korean relations (12.4%) than conservative newspapers (foreign policy, 14.2%, and inter-Korean relations, 7.3%). Therefore, H1b was supported.

In U.S. newspapers, there were also significant differences in how Mr. Kim's image was covered in conservative and liberal newspapers: $\chi^2(8, n = 346) = 27.3, p < .01$. For example, the politically liberal U.S. newspaper *The New York Times* was more likely to cover Mr. Kim's images related to personality (15.2%) and lifestyle (6.0%) than the conservative newspaper *The Wall Street Journal* (personality, 1.9%, and lifestyle, 2.5%). By contrast, *The Wall Street Journal* was more likely to cover Mr. Kim's family issues, such as inherited power transferred from his grandfather to his father and from his father to Mr. Kim (12.3%) than *The New York Times* (7.2%).

Table 3. Topics Related to Mr. Kim's Images in Conservative and Liberal Newspapers in South Korea and the United States.

| | South Korea | | | United States | | |
|------------------------------|--|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) |
| Personality | 159 (13.6) | 59 (11.1) | 218 (12.8) | 3 (1.9) | 28 (15.2) | 31 (9.0) |
| Kim Family | 115 (9.9) | 36 (6.8) | 151 (8.9) | 20 (12.3) | 13 (7.2) | 33 (9.5) |
| Lifestyle | 116 (9.9) | 36 (6.8) | 152 (8.9) | 4 (2.5) | 11 (6.0) | 15 (4.3) |
| Nuclear Weapons and Military | 204 (17.5) | 82 (15.4) | 286 (16.8) | 24 (14.8) | 23 (12.5) | 47 (13.6) |
| Economic Policy | 44 (3.8) | 20 (3.8) | 64 (3.8) | 4 (2.5) | 6 (3.3) | 10 (2.9) |
| Foreign Policy | 166 (14.2) | 120 (22.6) | 286 (16.8) | 63 (38.9) | 69 (37.5) | 132 (38.2) |
| Human Rights | 33 (2.8) | 5 (0.9) | 38 (2.2) | 1 (0.6) | 3 (1.6) | 4 (1.2) |
| Domestic Politics | 245 (21.0) | 108 (20.3) | 353 (20.8) | 29 (17.9) | 20 (10.9) | 49 (14.2) |
| Inter-Korean Relations | 85 (7.3) | 66 (12.4) | 151 (8.9) | 14 (8.6) | 11 (6.0) | 25 (7.2) |
| Total | 1167 (100.0) | 532 (100.0) | 1699 (100.0) | 162 (100.0) | 184 (100.0) | 346 (100.0) |
| | $\chi^2(8, n = 1,699) = 42.99, p < .001$ | | | $\chi^2(8, n = 346) = 27.3 p < .01$ | | |

**How the Tone of Mr. Kim's Images Changed After the Transfer of Government Leadership—
Depending on the Administration's Foreign Policy**

This study examined whether negative images of Mr. Kim portrayed by conservative and liberal South Korean newspapers were more prominent in the period before the inauguration of South Korea's Moon (2012–2016) compared with after (2017–2018). As Table 4 shows, a significant difference was found in the tone of Mr. Kim's images between conservative and liberal newspapers both before— $\chi^2(2, n = 982) = 37.76, p < .001$ —and after the Moon administration took office: $\chi^2(2, n = 717) = 83.77, p < .001$. In addition, findings showed that before the Moon administration, conservative newspapers were more negative in their coverage of Mr. Kim's images. After the Moon administration took office, a significant change occurred; negative news articles in conservative newspapers dropped dramatically, from 71.1% to 46.7%. Among liberal newspapers during the same period, the positive tone of Mr. Kim's image increased from 14.8% to 48.9%. Therefore, H2 was supported.

Table 4. Changes of Tone of Mr. Kim's Images Before and After Mr. Moon's Inauguration.

| | South Korea | | | | | |
|----------|--|-------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | Before | | | After | | |
| | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) | Cons. (%) | Lib. (%) | Total (%) |
| Positive | 40 (5.8) | 44 (14.8) | 84 (8.6) | 98 (20.3) | 115 (48.9) | 213 (29.7) |
| Neutral | 158 (23.1) | 97 (32.7) | 255 (26.0) | 159 (33.0) | 82 (34.9) | 241 (33.6) |
| Negative | 487 (71.1) | 156 (52.5) | 643 (65.0) | 225 (46.7) | 38 (16.2) | 263 (36.7) |
| Total | 685 (100.0) | 297 (100.0) | 982 (100.0) | 482 (100.0) | 235 (100.0) | 717 (100.0) |
| | $\chi^2(2, n = 982) = 37.76, p < .001$ | | | $\chi^2(2, n = 717) = 83.77, p < .001$ | | |

How Topics of News Articles Reporting Mr. Kim's Images Changed After the Transfer of Governments—Depending on Foreign Policy

Finally, this study examined whether any differences occurred regarding topics related to Mr. Kim's images in the South Korean conservative and liberal newspapers before (2012–2016) and after the Moon administration assumed power (RQ3a). As Table 5 shows, no differences were observed in the topics regarding Mr. Kim's images before the Moon administration: $\chi^2(8, n = 982) = 11.18, p > .05$. However, after Mr. Moon's inauguration, significant differences were found between conservative and liberal newspapers: $\chi^2(8, n = 717) = 39.86, p < .001$. Specifically, liberal newspapers covered inter-Korean relations (20.9%) more frequently than conservative newspapers did (10.4%). By contrast, conservative newspapers gave more frequent coverage to personal topics such as Mr. Kim's lifestyle (6.0%) and family issues (6.4%) than liberal newspapers (lifestyle, 1.7%, and family issues, 2.1%).

Table 5. Change of Topic of Mr. Kim's Images Before and After Mr. Moon's Inauguration.

| | South Korea | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| | Before | | | After | | |
| | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) |
| Personality | 77 (11.2) | 29 (9.8) | 106 (10.8) | 82 (17.0) | 30 (12.8) | 112 (15.6) |
| Kim Family | 84 (12.3) | 31 (10.4) | 115 (11.7) | 31 (6.4) | 5 (2.1) | 36 (5.0) |
| Lifestyle | 87 (12.7) | 32 (10.8) | 119 (12.1) | 29 (6.0) | 4 (1.7) | 33 (4.6) |
| Nuclear | 96 (14.0) | 41 (13.8) | 137 (14.0) | 108 (22.4) | 41 (17.4) | 149 (20.8) |
| Weapons and Military | | | | | | |
| Economic | 26 (3.8) | 12 (4.0) | 38 (3.9) | 18 (3.7) | 8 (3.4) | 26 (3.6) |
| Policy | | | | | | |
| Foreign Policy | 56 (8.2) | 40 (13.5) | 96 (9.8) | 110 (22.8) | 80 (34.0) | 190 (26.5) |
| Human Rights | 27 (3.9) | 5 (1.7) | 32 (3.3) | 6 (1.2) | 0 (0.0) | 6 (0.8) |
| Domestic | 197 (28.8) | 90 (30.3) | 287 (29.2) | 48 (10.0) | 18 (7.7) | 66 (9.2) |
| Politics | | | | | | |
| Inter-Korean Relations | 35 (5.1) | 17 (5.7) | 52 (5.3) | 50 (10.4) | 49 (20.9) | 99 (13.8) |
| Total | 685 (100.0) | 297 (100.0) | 982 (100.0) | 482 (100.0) | 235 (100.0) | 717 (100.0) |
| | $\chi^2(8, n = 982) = 11.18, p > .05$ | | | $\chi^2(8, n = 717) = 39.86, p < .001$ | | |

Whether there were any differences in topics covered regarding Mr. Kim's images in the U.S. conservative and liberal newspapers before (2012–2016) and after the Trump administration (2017–2018) took office was also examined (RQ3b). Before Mr. Trump's inauguration, no difference was observed in topics related to Mr. Kim's images as reported by U.S. conservative and liberal newspapers: $\chi^2(8, n = 50) = 15.38, p > .05$. However, as Table 6 shows, after the Trump administration took office, liberal newspapers covered more frequently personality issues (16.5%) than did conservative newspapers (2.3%), while conservative newspaper gave more frequent coverage to the topic of family (10.6%), foreign policy (43.9%), and North Korea's domestic politics (12.9%): $\chi^2(8, n = 296) = 19.84, p < .05$.

Table 6. Change of Topic of Mr. Kim's Images in the United States After Mr. Trump's Inauguration.

| | Cons.(%) | Lib.(%) | Total (%) |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Personality | 3 (2.3) | 27 (16.5) | 30 (10.1) |
| Kim Family | 14 (10.6) | 13 (7.9) | 27 (9.1) |
| Lifestyle | 4 (3.0) | 6 (3.7) | 10 (3.4) |
| Nuclear Weapons and Military | 22 (16.7) | 22 (13.4) | 44 (14.9) |
| Economic Policy | 3 (2.3) | 5 (3.0) | 8 (2.7) |
| Foreign Policy | 58 (43.9) | 65 (39.6) | 123 (41.6) |
| Human Rights | 0 (0.0) | 2 (1.2) | 2 (0.7) |
| Domestic Politics | 17 (12.9) | 13 (7.9) | 30 (10.1) |
| Inter-Korean Relations | 11 (8.3) | 11 (8.3) | 22 (7.4) |
| Total | 164 (55.4) | 132 (44.6) | 296 (100.0) |

$\chi^2(8, n = 296) = 19.84, p < .05$

Discussion

North Korea's threat to launch nuclear weapons has repeatedly convulsed the world, yet how the news media covered North Korea and its current leader Kim Jong-un has remained underexplored. As findings of this study attest, over the past seven years (2012–2018), the images of North Korea's succession of leaders (from Kim Il-Sung, to Kim Jong-Il, to Kim Jong-un) changed dramatically, especially subsequent to Mr. Kim's 2018 summit meetings with President Moon of South Korea and with President Trump of the United States. The puzzling question is, what factors have played a role in transforming Mr. Kim's image in the news media? To answer that question, the present study examined the extent to which Mr. Kim's images in South Korean and the U.S. newspapers changed. Additionally, this study investigated to what extent political affiliations of news organizations and foreign policy have also played a role in allowing those changes to happen.

Confirming findings of the existing literature (Choi, 2010; Gusterson, 2008; K. Kim, 2014; M. Kim & Kim, 2017; Lim & Seo, 2009), this study found that both South Korean and U.S. newspapers covered Mr. Kim more negatively than positively (RQ1). With regard to topics related to Mr. Kim's images, South Korean newspapers focused on personal issues, such as personality and lifestyle, and domestic politics of North Korea (RQ2). By contrast, newspapers in the United States highlighted North Korea's foreign policy as it related to U.S. foreign interests. For example, images related to Mr. Kim's personality and lifestyle represented in South Korean newspapers included descriptions such as "far more aggressive than Kim Jong-Il," "obesity, diabetes-induced health problems," and "extravagant lifestyle" (see the appendix images), whereas newspapers in the United States used descriptions such as "Kim responded to President Trump's vow" and "landmark meeting between President Trump and Kim Jung-Un."

Findings of this study partially supported the hypothesis that conservative newspapers were, in general, more negative in their tone of Mr. Kim's images as portrayed in both South Korean and U.S. newspapers (H1a). As expected, conservative newspapers in South Korea were more negative than liberal newspapers, but there was no significant difference in the tone between liberal and conservative newspapers

in the United States. Regarding topics related to Kim's image in South Korea, the conservative newspapers were more likely than liberal newspapers to cover personal issues of Mr. Kim's life, such as his family, lifestyle, and appearance, whereas liberal newspapers were more likely to cover foreign policy and inter-Korean relations. Specifically, images with descriptions such as "the disclosure of his wife," "a beer buff," "the murder of his uncle" (see the appendix), and "fat" were frequently carried in the conservative newspapers, whereas images using descriptions such as "his full-scale diplomatic activity" and "Kim's will to improve inter-Korean relations" (see the appendix) were found in the liberal newspapers. In the United States, a different pattern emerged: That is, the liberal newspaper more frequently covered Mr. Kim's personality, whereas the conservative newspaper focused more frequently on Mr. Kim's family and North Korea's domestic politics. Therefore, in line with findings of previous studies (Ha & Lee, 2012; K. Kim & Noh, 2011; M. Kim & Kim, 2017), this study confirmed that portrayals of Mr. Kim in South Korean newspapers were significantly related to political affiliations of the news media outlets, since attitudes toward North Korea are crucial clues to political ideology among South Korea's conservative and liberal camps. South Korea's conservative newspapers, which express more hostile attitudes toward Mr. Kim than their liberal counterparts do, may tend to point to North Korea's nuclear threats and his family background as responsible for Mr. Kim's deviant characteristics. On the other hand, liberal newspapers may tend to highlight Mr. Kim's lifestyle, foreign policies, and the relaxing of diplomatic tensions within inter-Korean relations because of their hopes for new levels of peaceful cooperation on the peninsula.

In addition, this study confirmed the hypothesis that negative images of Mr. Kim framed by conservative and liberal South Korean newspapers were more prominent before the inauguration of the Moon administration (H2). For example, before the Moon administration, negative images such as "the imitation of Kim Il-Sung" (see the appendix), "the murder of his brother," and "an immoral person" were more prominent, whereas after Moon took office, positive images, such as "frank and pragmatic attitudes" and "succeed in highlighting his vanishing presence to the world" (see the appendix) were frequently used. The findings may suggest that the images of political leaders provided by frames of South Korean media were influenced not only by the news organizations' political stance, but also by the foreign policy of the South Korean government (Ha & Lee, 2012; M. Kim & Kim, 2017; S. Lee & Wang, 2016). In other words, in support of the indexing hypothesis, the findings of this study may suggest that the influence of the stance of the South Korean government was more important than the political affiliation of the news organizations when journalists in South Korea covered issues of North Korea and Mr. Kim.

With regard to topics related to Mr. Kim, there were no differences between conservative and liberal newspapers before the Moon administration, whereas significant differences were found after Mr. Moon's inauguration (RQ3a). In other words, after the Moon administration assumed power, liberal newspapers in South Korea were more likely than conservative newspapers to cover more positively foreign policy and inter-Korean relations, whereas conservative newspapers were more likely to cover Mr. Kim's lifestyle and family issues in mostly negative ways. In the United States, before Mr. Trump was inaugurated, there were no significant differences in topics related to Mr. Kim's image in conservative and liberal newspapers (RQ3b). However, after the Trump administration assumed power, the U.S. conservative newspaper *The Wall Street Journal* became more focused on issues of nuclear missiles and foreign policy, while the U.S. liberal newspaper *The New York Times* highlighted the topic of Mr. Kim's personality.

These findings confirm arguments of previous studies that news media have often covered foreign affairs in accordance with national foreign policies and have used the stance of their own countries as the standard when interpreting international issues (Choi, 2010; Dalton, Jung, Willis, & Bell, 2015; S. Lee & Wang, 2016; Lim & Seo, 2009). Over a long period, it can be expected that Mr. Kim's image in the contemporary news media is not fixed; rather, it has been, and still is, open to change, reflecting fluctuations in relationships with North Korea influenced by changes in the administrations of South Korea and the United States. Although North Korea has been consistently regarded as a threat to South Korea and the United States, North Korea has been treated more strongly as a hostile country by the United States compared with South Korea. Issues concerning Kim have been viewed negatively by the U.S. political establishment not only as issues of U.S. foreign policy, but also as domestic issues regarding North Korea's leadership threat to U.S. national security.

The findings and limitations of this study suggest promising opportunities for future research. First, the analysis of the four South Korean and two U.S. newspapers cannot be generalized with regard to Mr. Kim's images as framed by all the media of the two countries. Although the newspapers selected for this study are representative of South Korea and the U.S. media companies, future studies need to consider a research design that includes other newspapers or broadcast news media that might interpret Mr. Kim's image differently. Second, this study analyzed only the lead sentences/paragraphs in the examination of Mr. Kim's images as presented in newspaper articles. This study chose leads because the initial sentence or paragraph of a news article commonly provides the most important information about the story; however, future studies should take into consideration the entire article in order to examine more diverse images presented throughout. Finally, the contrast with previous political communication research that analyzed the image of a leader mainly in terms of personality and professional competence (Balmas, 2018; Ingenhoff & Klein, 2018), this study examined topics and tone associated with his images and included his personality and professional competence in one of the topics. Although previous framing research on images of country or its leader have been operationalized with topics or tone (Balmas, 2017; Buarque, 2015; Saleem, 2007), future studies are necessary to analyze Mr. Kim's images in greater detail by focusing on personality and professional competence.

Limitations notwithstanding, this study strengthens previous research that media coverage of political leaders depends largely on a nation's foreign policy stance and the political affiliations of its news media organizations.

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Appendix: Images

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2013-06-20 03:00:00 편집 프린트 닫기

김정은... 공포와 사치, 독재자의 두 얼굴

주민들엔 질책 행보... 자신은 80억 요트 즐겨



5월 28일 김정은 북한 노동당 제1비서의 '8월25일수산사업소' 방문 소식을 보도한 조선중앙통신 사진. 오른쪽에 고급 요트의 뒷모습이 보인다. 전문가들은 "갑판의 난간과 지붕, 레이더의 위치가 영국 프린세스요트사의 '프린세스 95MY' 모델과 똑같다"고 분석했다. 아래 사진은 프린세스 95MY의 전체 모습. 조선중앙통신 연합뉴스

김정은 북한 노동당 제1비서가 현지지도에서 담당 책임자와 주민들을 야단치는 모습을 잇달아 노출하고 있다. 당 원로나 간부, 핵심 일꾼도 문책당할 수 있음을 보여 줌으로써 정권 및 사회기강을 다잡으려는 의도적인 연출이라는 분석이 많다. 반면 자신은 최고급 요트를 타며 여유로운 생활을 즐기고 있다. 이에 대해 대북 소식통들은 "자신에겐 한없이 관대하고, 인민들에게는 엄격한 독재자의 두 얼굴을 그대로 보여주고 있다"고 말했다.

Figure A1. Photograph embedded in article titled, "Fear and Luxury, the Dictator's Two Faces" represents Kim's image related to the topic of Kim's lifestyle. Source: Dong-A Ilbo, June, 20, 2013. (<http://www.donga.com/news/article/all/20130620/55985425/1#replyLayer>)

dongA.com

2013-12-04 03:00:00 편집

프린트 닫기

北 김정은, 2인자 장성택을 숙청하다

국정원 “張 실각... 핵심측근 2명 11월말 공개처형 확인” 北 ‘김정은 충성교육’ 실시... 권력투쟁-내부동요 커진 듯



김정은 연설 중 떠난 장성택 1월 30일 제4차 북한 노동당 당비서세포대회에서 김정은 노동당 제1비서가 연설하는 동안 최영림 내각 총리(왼쪽에서 두 번째)와 최룡해 인민군 총정치국장(왼쪽에서 세 번째)이 정면을 응시하고 있는 것과는 대조적으로 장성택 국방위 부위원장(오른쪽)은 다른 곳을 쳐다보며 떠난 채 피우고 있다. 조선중앙통신

김정은 북한 노동당 제1비서의 고모부이자 북한의 '2인자' 역할을 해온 장성택 국방위원회 부위원장이 최근 실각한 것으로 알려졌다. 김정은의 후견인으로서 사실상 섭정을 해온 장성택이 김정은의 집권 2주년을 앞두고 전격 숙청된 만큼 북한의 권력구도가 크게 흔들리는 것은 물론이고 북한의 향후 대남, 대외 정책이 더 강경해지는 쪽으로 영향을 받게 될 가능성이 크다.

Figure A2. Photograph embedded in article titled, "North Korean Leader Kim Jong-un Purges No. 2 Jang Song-Taek" represents Kim's image related to the topic of Kim's personality. Source: Dong-A Ilbo, December, 4, 2013. (<http://www.donga.com/news/article/all/20131204/59317754/1#replyLayer>)

김 위원장, 파격적 의전에 깎듯한 예우 '솔직 리더십'

등록 :2018-09-21 05:00 수정 :2018-09-21 11:16

증

2박3일 '최고의 의전' 환대

공항 트랩까지 나와 영접하고
차량 오른쪽 뒷좌석 상석 배려
마지막날은 삼지연 공항서 배웅

15만 평양시민 앞 연설 기회 주고
백두산행 소원 화답 천지 동행
"사진 찍어드릴까요?" 친화력 발휘
솔직·당당...자신만의 '리더십' 알려



문재인 대통령과 김정은 국무위원장이 20일 오전 백두산 천지에서 서서 대화하고 있다. 평양 사진공동취재단/김정효 기자 hyopd@hani.co.kr

김정은 북한 국무위원장이 18~20일 평양에서 열린 남북정상회담 기간 '파격 리더십'을 통해 정상국가 지도자로서의 면모를 보이는 데 주력했다는 평가가 나온다. 북-미 협상의 '중재자' 문재인 대통령을 향한 신뢰와 비핵화 의지의 진정성을 드러내면서 향후 미국과의 대화 재개 의지를 피력했다.

Figure A3. Photograph embedded in article titled, "Kim, Strength of Courtesy With Unconventional Protocol, 'Frank Leadership'" represents Kim's image related to the topic of inter-Korean relations. Source: Hankyoreh, September 21, 2018. (http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/politics_general/863084.html)

dongA.com

2013-12-10 03:00:00 편집 프린트 닫기

안경 쓴 김정은... 김일성 따라하기

【北 장성택 숙청】 정치적으로 계산된 '이미지 메이킹'



8일 장성택 북한 국방위원회 부위원장을 체포한 당 정치국 확대회의에 참석한 김정은 노동당 제1비서. 안경을 낀 모습이 이례적이다. 사진 출처 노동신문

김정은 노동당 제1비서가 8일 열린 정치국 확대회의에서 안경을 낀 모습으로 등장했다.

Figure A4. Photograph embedded in article titled, "Kim Jong-un in Glasses. Follows Kim Il-Sung" represents Kim's image related to Kim family portrayed in a negative tone. Source: Dong-A Ilbo, December 10, 2013. (<http://www.donga.com/news/article/all/20131210/59444623/1#replyLayer>)

경향신문

[북-미 '세기의 대화']트럼프 '탱크 같은 전용차' 자랑에...김정은, 웃으며 구경

심윤지 기자 sharpjim@kyunghyang.com
입력 : 2018.06.12 22:07 | 수정 : 2018.06.12 22:58

'야수' 별명 캐딜락 원
미국 언론 "이례적인 일"



도널드 트럼프 미국 대통령(왼쪽)이 12일 싱가포르 카펠라호텔에서 북-미 정상회담을 마친 뒤 김정은 북한 국무위원장에 '야수'라 불리는 대통령 전용 리무진 차량을 보여주고 있다. 싱가포르 | AP연합뉴스

도널드 트럼프 미국 대통령이 12일 싱가포르에서 열린 북-미 정상회담 도중 김정은 북한 국무위원장에 자신의 '야수(비스트)'를 구경시켜줬다. 야수는 미국 대통령 전용 차량 '캐딜락 원'의 애칭이다.

Figure A5. Photograph embedded in article titled, "Trump Bragging About His Tank-Like Private Car. Kim Jong-un, Laughing and Watching" represents Kim's image related to foreign affairs portrayed in a positive tone. Source: Kyunghyang Shinmun, June, 12, 2018. (http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201806122207015&code=910303)