

Analysis on Media Coverage of Kim Jong-Un in the  
Norwegian newspapers, Aftenposten:

After emergence of Kim Jong-un in the North Korea from  
Sep 2010 to Des 2016

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# Abstract

The Propaganda Model claimed that the media collaborating the propaganda of state foreign policies, created manipulated public consents. In this thesis, I tried to find out whether or not the Propaganda Model can apply to a country which has no direct national interest, so relatively neutral like in Norway. I analyzed 289 news articles in Aftenposten, Norway's biggest newspaper, with the searching word 'Kim Jong-un' from Sep 2010 to Dec 2016. I focused to code news sources, the third filter in the Propaganda Model, in news articles and found out that the reliance on the dominant Western media and quotation from elites (i.e. governmental officers and experts) in on the dominant Western media in favor of South Korea was high in Aftenposten. In types of sources, the government related sources from the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan was 68 per cent, in contrary China and North Korea was only 2 per cent. When it comes to sorting out frequency of direct quotations, North Korea was merely 4.8 per cent as same as China while the US were made up the biggest 31.1 per cent. The sum of the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan was 61 per cent, while China and North Korea, 10 per cent. In line with earlier studies on the Propaganda model, arguments from North Korea were not minutely explored compared to the dominant Western, pro-South Korean voices. So the conclusion is that the Propaganda model is adaptable to explain the biased tones toward North Korea in Aftenposten.

# Acknowledgements

**To** those who had withered away as unworthy victims in the cruel world.

**From** the one who believes that the hope for the peace is not a sign of being naive.

Here are words which made me who I am.

«Three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind. These passions, like great winds, have blown me hither and thither, in a wayward course, over a great ocean of anguish, reaching to the very verge of despair.»

Bertrand Russell

Special thanks to my supervisor, Vladimir Tikhonov who taught me how the three passions of Russell could be illustrated in one's lives.

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# Preface

On 19 Dec 2011, it was the day when extra news edition of Kim Jong-il death were spread in the city. I was in the library at the university then. The final exam was not over. I noticed that the road were full of papers on the way to buy coffee. Papers with a picture of Kim Jong-il wearing sunglasses with holding his one hand up in the air were decorated with black, red and bold headline. People stop to walk and read the extra edition or talking by twos and threes. I hesitated what to do, but after a short thinking, I called my parents living in the countryside of South Korea and said I was all right in Seoul just like that was what I was taught to do in an instable national crisis. I remembered the day when my mom explained how it was when the South Korean dictator Park Jung-hee died. My mom was in school when the radio delivered that news, and all kids and teachers at school cried all together like it was South Korea country itself which was dead that day. Teachers sent every student home in case of war, so my mom came home in tears, thinking how long it would take for North Korean to come to her house and kill her family. ‘It was silly days with silly thoughts.’ added my mom. Kim Jong-il was dead. Yet I knew the war was unlikely to happen. Neither was a cancelation of my final exam. I borrowed more books to read at home and took a subway as a normal day as it always was.

Many foreign journalists said that South Koreans are very calm whenever North Korea intensifies the level of crisis by shooting a rocket or testing bomb. Are we? I thought I would not be deluded by the propaganda of South Korea government as much as by it of North Korea. However, I was frightened, to be honest, at that day of various colors’ extra edition was all over Seoul. Yet, I read for final exams though and normal day went on. Media might have more power than you think, and a much larger impact than you can recognize. That is why I found myself interested to know more about how media coverage about North Korea is and where it leads public to. Here in this master thesis, I am sending an answer to my curiosity.

# **Chapter 1. Introduction**

## **1.1 Background for choosing the topic**

### **1.1.1 Purpose of the Study**

Here in my master thesis I will be addressing how the propaganda model has an effect on setting agenda in news writings in the country, which does not seem to have the propaganda effect because of their non-direct national interests in the international matter. Norway as a non-EU member is considered as a neutral position internationally, built on the fact that it is the country which holds the Nobel peace prize Ceremony is and its well-known reputation of remarkable contribution to help built peace in several international conflicts. I will look into if the Propaganda Model, suggested by Herman and Chomsky in 1988, is actualized in Norwegian media by enumerating which news sources are retrieved in their news articles. Due to the limitation of huge volumes of news related to North Korea in diverse Norwegian newspaper companies, I selected the biggest newspapers Aftenposten for arguing my purpose of study.

## **1.2 The relation between Norway and the North Korea**

### **1.2.1 Historical view**

Norway is a member of NATO and the current general secretary is the former Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg, therefore Norway established a foothold closer to the Western. During the Korean War (1950-1953), Norway sent the Norwegian Mobile Army Surgical Hospital (NORMASH) to help the United Nations peacekeeping force, so Norway can be characterized as a relatively neutral to issues regarding North Korea compared to the US, which has established army bases at all times close to the border between South Korea and North Korea. The North Korean embassy was set up in Norway in 1973 followed by the bilateral diplomacy beginning in 1973, however all members of employees at the embassy were deported as a punishable action due to smuggling drugs, cigarettes, and alcohols. Similar actions were taken to the North Korean embassy in Denmark as well, after similar crimes were found. Even after

these events, the ambassador and some staffs remained resident in Norway, but in 1991 the embassy of North Korea in Norway was shut down allegedly due to economic reason in 1991, so now the North Korean embassy in Sweden is accredited as the embassy in Norway too, likewise the Norwegian embassy in South Korea covers the North Korea. Technically Norway participates in the economic sanctions against North Korea in a dimension of resolutions done by the United Nations (UN). Even though Norway is not officially providing the development assistance to North Korea, it has been steady giving aid to North Korea on humanitarian ground in form of distributing missions to the Norwegian Red Cross or The World Food Programme (WFP). (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea, 2012) The table 1 below shows that how much Norwegian aid has done so far from the year of 1995 to 2016.

95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Total
2.1	12.8	63.7	33.0	30.3	29.3	31.3	28.6	31.0	37.9	34.0	24.7	27.6	16.6	29.8	15.0	20.0	21.0	6.2	12.0	15.0	10.0	531.8

Table 1. Norwegian development aid in North Korea. (NORAD)<sup>1</sup> All figures in million NOK

### 1.2.2 Norwegian newspapers with propaganda against the North Korea?

Considering that Norway is a member of UN and NATO, Norway appears to be affected at some level by how these two big international organizations treat North Korea. I assume that the extent of propaganda influence in Media would not be as tremendous as the US and South Korea, especially considering its relatively neutral position in the North Korea conflicts. However the institutionalized media reporting customs do apply any reporters in foreign affairs sections at any countries as a result of the globalization in the media field. That is why my research is a meaningful attempt in that my finding would contribute to identify if the Propaganda model has had an impact in formatting ideological assumptions toward North Korea in Aftenposten and to what extent it does so if the impact does exist.

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<sup>1</sup> NORAD (Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation), Norwegian Aid Statistics 2016, <https://www.norad.no/en/front/toolspublications/norwegian-aid-statistics/?tab=geo>

## **1.3 Thesis structure and layout**

The thesis is structured by six parts overall: Introduction, Research Design, Theory of Contents Analysis, Findings, Text Analysis of articles in 6 years and Conclusion. I will elucidate the research method, the Propaganda Model, and the correlation news and news sources in Research Design. Then I will quantify how news sources are quoted and organized in news articles in Aftenposten in line with types of sources and the countries of which they originate in Theory of Contents Analysis and Finding part. At last in Text Analysis of articles in 6 years, I will go through how the Propaganda Model is implicated subliminally in news articles in Aftenposten and conclusion at the end.

# Chapter 2. Research Design

## 2.1 Method: The Propaganda Model (PM)

The origin of the word ‘Propaganda’ goes back all the way to 1622. (Miller, 2009) At that time the Pope Gregory XV was shocked to see the spread of Protestantism, so he established *the Congregatid de propaganda fide* (the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) with the purpose of carrying out efficient missionary work. The moment of the tremendous change in the meaning of his word ‘Propaganda’ was during the First World War. The war which made the strange word ‘Propaganda’ into a common word turned this once neutral word into a contemptuous word, ironically because of the success of the war propaganda. (Ibid., p.21) The war propaganda dichotomized the civilized and the modern savages and was systematized by the government ever since. The propaganda model suggested by Herman and Chomsky, first in 1988, explained how public consents could be manufactured by the propaganda by looking into how the structural bias in media accords with national ideologies and agenda. (Herman & Chomsky, 2008) Herman and Chomsky regarded the function of media as a tool of “mobilizing support for the special interests that dominate the state and private activity,” and argued that media had “the dual advantage of disguising the actual role of the media” by tenaciously collaborating to the propaganda topics of state policies. It worked in consequence of setting “the framework of assumptions” and “fundamental dissent,” which is both excluded and simultaneously permitted at a marginalized extent so that media served to a patriotic agenda. They concluded that these agenda setting patterns of shading, emphasizing, suppressing and selecting of contexts contributed to meet the needs of power groups or the government at large.(Ibid., Preface) Herman and Chomsky elaborated the five filters as the main constituents of the Propaganda Model which used as analysis tools in their researches.(Ibid., pp.2-33)

### 2.1.1 The five filters

1) *The size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media*

The rapid growth of newspaper enterprise and the associated, accompanied by an “industrialization of the press”(Ibid., p.3) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, brought about the expansion of the number of circulation, thus media emerged into the free market system where the pressures of stockholders, directors, and bankers to get more profits was entangled. Furthermore this trend has been accelerated as times goes by, leading to the closed ties between the media giants and the mainstream corporate communities.

#### *2) Advertising, license to do business*

To put it simply, advertisings have acquired its absolute power to the media because they buy and pay for the media, which functions as if they are “patrons” who provided the media subsidy. (Ibid., p.15)

#### *3) Sourcing Mass-Media news.*

Here argued how the media’s reliance of experts corresponds to reshaping the propaganda. Herman and Chomsky said that “the media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest.”(Ibid., p.17) Given the fact that the media have a steady desire to seek new news materials, it is inevitable that sources play a major role in producing the news. The first reason of this symbiosis is that the reporters lack the capabilities to be everywhere at any time, when something that could be regarded as news could possibly happen. Since sources of news ought to be credible, turn reporters on those who they think are recognizable and in many cases they are government and corporate sources. The dependency on the official sources such as bureaucracies or top-ranking officials results in routinized reporting patterns, and accordingly, reporters become subject to be critical to the sources, unlike responsibilities they were expected to have of. In response to this news-making practice, the mainstream sources get the more attention than the non-routine or alternative sources. In this master thesis I will be addressing the relationship between the media and sources to identify if the Propaganda model applies to the Norwegian newspapers Aftenposten due to several reasons that I will elaborate in next sections, Research Design.

#### *4) Flak and the enforcers*

The Flak refers to “negative responses to a media statement or program.”(Ibid., p.24) They can be expressed as forms of lawsuits, petitions, phone calls, letters or withdrawal of advertising from unsatisfied readers, organizations or the target audience. These kinds of reaction against the news articles can discourage the critical standpoints of the media.

## 5) *Anti-communism as a control mechanism*

Last but not least, the final filter the ideology of anticommunism functions as dominant ideological elements in a sense of formulating public sentiment “us” against “enemy”. Communism is said to be “the ultimate evil” for property owners because it is a threat to “the very root of their class position and superior status.”(Ibid., p.27)

These five filters above put limitation on what are “big news” and so it serves to keep sustaining the propaganda campaigns. Herman and Chomsky argued as follow:

*By definition, news from primary establishment sources meets one major filter requirement and is readily accommodated by the mass media. Messages from and about dissidents and weak, unorganized individuals and groups, domestic and foreign, are at an initial disadvantage in sourcing costs and credibility, and they often do not comport with the ideology or interests of the gatekeepers and other powerful parties that influence the filtering process. (Ibid., p.29)*

Based on these five filters, they threw light on several studies: Worthy and Unworthy victims, Legitimizing versus Meaningless Third World Elections, the KGB-Bulgarian Plot to kill the Pole, and The Indochina Wars. They discussed with finality in conclusion that the media of the US is an “effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without significant overt coercion.”(Ibid., p.286) Even though the Propaganda model was established in 1988 at first, the model still yield an irrefutable power nowadays, even more so now than then.

## **2.2 Research design**

### **2.2.1 Why Aftenposten?**

Christiania Adresseblad was founded by Christian Schibsted 14 May in 1860. On 1 Jan in 1861 the name of newspaper was changed to Aftenposten as it is today. Aftenposten is one of the nationwide newspapers and the largest Norwegian newspapers with over 1.2 million readers every day. (Statistisk Sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), , 2016) The owner is ‘Schibsted Norge’ which is one of the biggest Norwegian media conglomerate. As seen in the figure 1

below, Aftenposten, the violet line, is ranked to have the biggest number of distribution according to Statistic Norway (SSB). It is worthy to notice that the second largest newspaper, VG (Verdens Gang) also belongs to ‘Schibsted Norge.’ In this sense, ‘Schibsted Norge’ could be considered to be the most powerful media corporate which is in the position of yielding the media power when it comes to agenda-setting in Norway. The consuming pattern of newspapers in Norway is known to have an active group of readers and a high rate of people reading newspapers regularly. According to SSB, in sum 73 % of population between 9 to 79 years old turned out to read the newspapers on a daily basis. Of 73% the use of paper newspapers accounted for 39, while the online newspapers 56. And the ratio of subscription of newspapers is also high at 44 %, even though it has decreased from 70 % of 2006, due to the development of internet. (Statistisk Sentralbyrå (Statistics Norway), , 2016) I chose to analyze news articles in Aftenposten because it is the most representative Norwegian newspaper considering both the amount of distribution and the long history. Aftenposten has an E-newspapers archive available online, from the very first published newspaper to today’s newspapers in accordance to its long tradition and reputation as the country’s best and largest newspapers, so it made my search easier. Here is a brief figure about Aftenposten below:

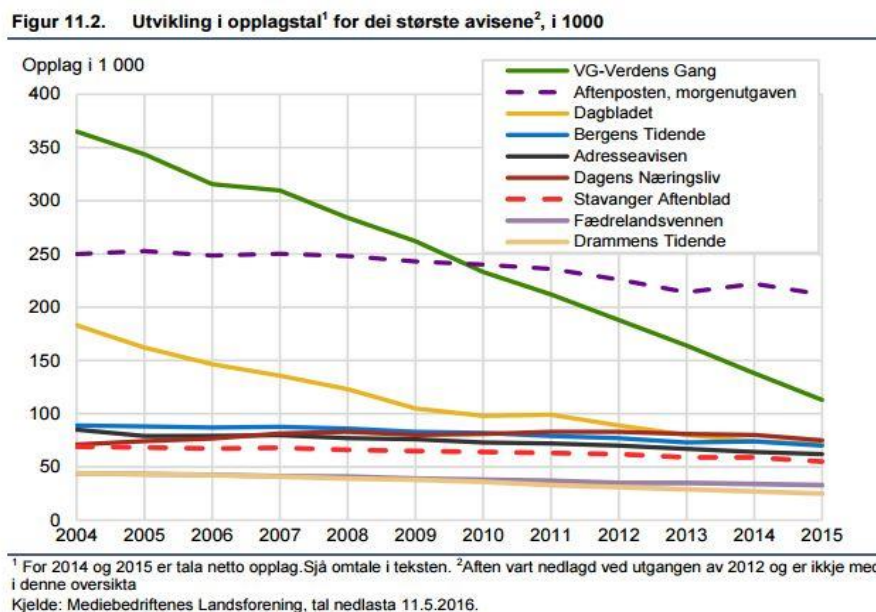


Figure 1. The development of the number of distribution (SSB)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Alice Steinkellner (red.), ‘Kulturstatistikk 2015’, SSB(Statistics Norway), [http://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/artikler-og-publikasjoner/\\_attachment/290748?\\_ts=1598d843568](http://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/artikler-og-publikasjoner/_attachment/290748?_ts=1598d843568)



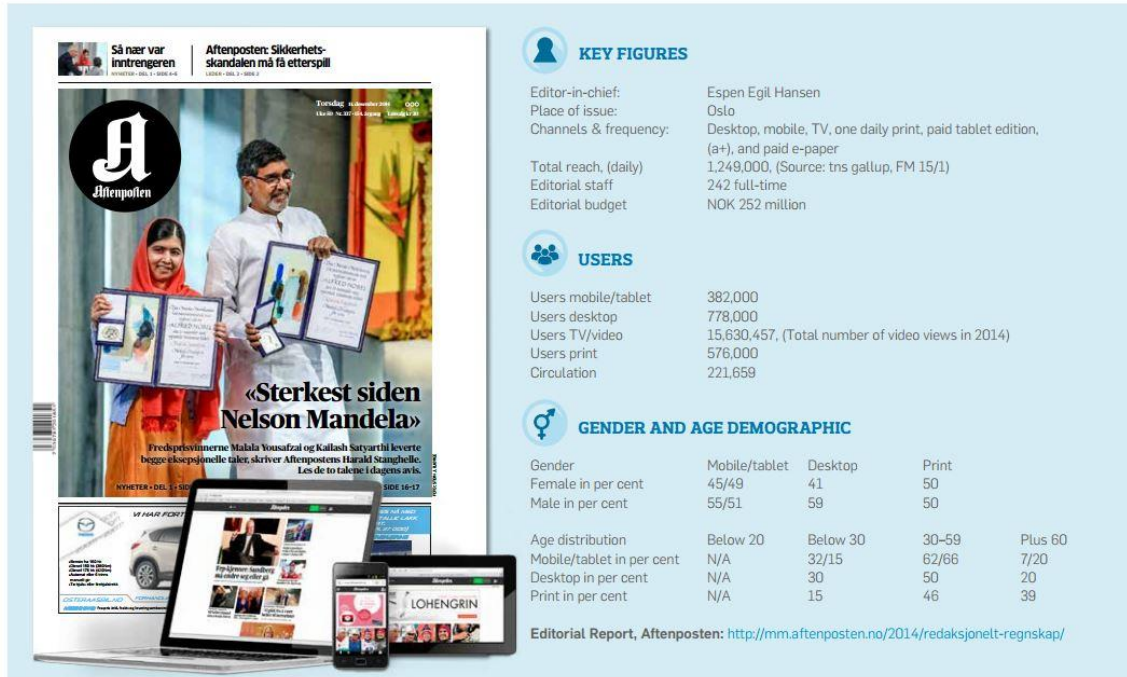


Figure 2. Key figures about Aftenposten<sup>3</sup>

### 2.2.2 The search keyword: Kim Jong-un

As I mentioned above, I will be focusing on which informants/sources are used in the media coverage in Aftenposten. I chose Kim Jong-un as a search keyword on the Archives section of the official website of Aftenposten. The Archives are not available for free, so I had to subscribe to get the digital access. The reasoning behind choosing Kim Jong-un as a searching keyword is that I want to find out how the media had been covering the then upcoming leader in the first place. Furthermore, I am certain that Kim Jong-un is a better keyword than just North Korea, since it was easy for me to sort out articles that are irrelevant to North Korea. When I searched Kim Jong-un on the website of Aftenposten, it came out almost to 1000 articles during an almost 6 year's period. So I had to read all articles through to verify how many of them were not news articles related to North Korea. First I ruled out some soft news or

<sup>3</sup>Schibsted Media Group, 'Schibsted Editorial report 2014', [http://www.schibsted.com/Global/SCHIBSTED\\_EDITORIAL\\_2014\\_REPORT.pdf](http://www.schibsted.com/Global/SCHIBSTED_EDITORIAL_2014_REPORT.pdf)

entertainment sections like *Did you get these news this week*, *Quotation of this week* and questions and answers in crosswords. These searched results did not include a reporter's name, so I decided not to consider these as news articles and so I ruled all of those sections out, which came up quite often. The second principle was contents of the articles, which means that the articles must be about North Korea. Among the searched results there were many of cases of using Kim Jong-un as a joke or a metaphor, for instance an interview with a Norwegian comedian who mentioned Kim Jong-un as the world best wired man or a metaphor which is used when describing a dismal or uncomfortable atmosphere in the theater scene. I excluded these cases as well to narrow down my analysis range.

### **2.2.3 The searching period: September 2010 ~ December 2016**

The very first article which the name 'Kim Jong-un' was mentioned in was from 9<sup>th</sup> Sep 2010. It was written by an Asian correspondent Torbjörn Petersson with the title 'Kim, Kim, Kim.' (Petersson, 2010) The articles wrote that Kim Jong-il had been ill for a long time and there were some speculation among North-Korean experts that Kim Jong-un might be appointed to as the third leader in the Kim dynasty. Correspondent Petersson unfortunately did not write which informants he got clues from; instead, he mentioned them as *Some sources, North-Korean experts* in Seoul when he delivered speculations around Kim Jong-un. Since the first article was published in September 2010, I chose the searching period from that month to the end of the year 2016, considering the fact that I will be submitting my thesis June in 2017.

### **2.2.4 Why focusing on the third filter: Sources and informants**

I decided to focus on the third filter, *Sourcing Mass-Media news*. The biggest reason is above all the limited pages of my master thesis. Secondly, from my earlier experience in reading articles in *Aftenposten*, it has had a significant amount of quotations when it comes to North Korea issues. It results from many reasons and one of them is the lack of possibilities to do direct reporting in North Korea. *Aftenposten* does not have a residing correspondent inside North Korea and its correspondent is rather the Asia-correspondent residing in Beijing, rather than the Korea correspondent. Given the circumstance of there not being frequent occasions which foreign journalists get permission to visit North Korea in person, the possibility of direct reporting diminishes inevitably. But I notice that there are too many quoted articles which did not include even one try to gather news sources. People might say that this is sort of habitual reporting method in the international section of the newspaper, but even so the journalists are

always obligated to find out the truth for themselves when delivering news to readers. So I thought it will be a meaningful research if I narrow down the range of analysis on the quotation method in *Aftenposten* in order to find out which informants Norwegian journalists quote, since it can show which political views or ideologies could have an effect on journalists in *Aftenposten*. Sources are “normative witness to events and are selected by normative criteria.” (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 283) Sources, as witnesses, have the power to recreate some pieces of truths in news articles since the reporter cannot be a witness themselves in every single news events. In that sources contribute to convince readers that an event is a fact and real by purveying information, achieving balance with different sources can be one of the criteria of measuring the objectivity of the news. As Manning said, “if one party’s version of reality is balanced by a competing account within the news text, then the objectivity of the report can be defended.” (Manning, 2001, p. 21) Therefore contents analysis on the use of sources in news can lead to a meaningful conclusion how North Korea is describe in *Aftenposten*.

Moreover, Norwegian authorities are not that concerned when it comes to North Korea. Norway has never been a very concerned party in the 6 party talks and the geographical distance is quite far from East-Asia regions, so it is difficult to say that Norway has a significant national interest in North Korean issues, even if nuclear threat is a global matters. This leads to another aspect that advertisements and the ownership can affect less on the attitudes against North Korea in Norway, compared to South Korean media and the U.S. media. However there are some relevant issues which can influence on *Aftenposten*’s opinions on North Korea, so I will be addressing some points briefly in the following paragraph. Last but not least, focusing on the sources and informants is a much clearer way to draw a conclusion throughout the quantitative research. I would like to enumerate statistical figures so that the result of analysis can come more visible.

### **2.2.5 *Aftenposten* and relevant issues on the Propaganda Model**

The first political parties in Norway were Venstre (the left party) and Høyre (the conservative party), established in 1884. Considering that *Aftenposten*, *Christiania Adresseblad* at that time, was started in 1860, it took about 25 years until the political party Høyre (the conservative party), which it had a strong tie later, was founded. In the period of 1860 to 1920, the number of newspapers in Norway had risen dramatically in accordance to the growth of the so-called middle classes, who were driven for the political movement, and many of them were connected,

at the that moment or a bit later, to the political parties. During the German occupation (1940-1945), Aftenposten served as sympathizers toward the Nazi ideology because of its critical attitudes towards socialism. (Davidsen, 2014, p. 11) Plus, the newspaper at that time was censored by the Nazi occupants, so they had to adjust towards Nazi ideology to survive, considering that newspaper companies were also the corporate in need for profit. As the modernization of society has come to Norway, well-educated journalists began to put important positions in the newspaper companies, and the conflict between professionalized journalists and the political party's ideology occurred, so this led to discordances in perspectives on some matters between news reporting and leading articles. (Ottersen, 2010, Quoted in Davidsen 2014, p. 12) Moreover, after the Norwegian European Communities membership referendum in 1972, doubt on the sound relationship between the newspapers and the political parties was ascended as the most of major newspapers, in sympathy with major political parties, were for the membership, however the result of referendum was no. With the change of times, the correlation weakened and Aftenposten discarded its belongingness to the conservative party in the 1980s. Based on its history as the party press, Davidsen questioned if the attitudes of Aftenposten toward North Korea were totally separated from that of the Conservative party after the de-politicalizing in 1980s. He employed rhetoric analysis on news articles in Aftenposten and concluded that there was not much of a difference from the time when it was the party press. Moreover the left-leaned newspaper Klassekampen had a different view of North Korea, as Klassekampen, which had a long tradition to anti-imperialism, defined the US as an obstacle for peace in Korea and required the immediate withdrawal of American troops while the US was a savior for South Korea in Aftenposten. (Davidsen, 2014) His findings appealed to me and made me wonder what the result would be if I convey quantitative contents analysis on articles about North Korea in Aftenposten. Regarding that North Korea is neither a neighboring country to Norway nor the countries directly involved, It would be interesting to use approaches of the Propaganda Model, as it can demonstrate well how the national interest and ideology are projected in the news articles.

### **2.2.6 Research questions**

My main research question is:

**Does apply the Propaganda Model to the newspapers in the country which does not have a direct national interest?**

And two sub questions:

- 1) **What are the frequent types of sources in the news articles in Aftenposten?**
- 2) **How do the selected sources shape the ideological perspective in articles in Aftenposten?**

There have not been many researches on how Norwegian Media describe North Korea, and little research I found that related to the Propaganda Model. I want to approach in a careful way, so that I cannot fall into a trap of prejudice. The most of earlier works on media analysis about North Korea indicate that national interest and newspaper's political views are projected in many different ways. It is understandable since most of the researches related to countries as the authorities concerned. I assume Norway as a country which gives the Nobel peace prize is in the neutral position and the relationship with North Korea is not bad, so to speak, considering that there are many NGOs residing in North Korea to do charity work. Even if it is, the attitude toward North Korea cannot be positive, I am certain. It is literally impossible to be benevolent to North Korean political system and their way of handling the basic human rights, regardless to say how miserable life quality is in North Korea. In some way or other Kim Jong-un in North Korea is to be described as a dictator, and he is. However, earlier researches show that the political views of the newspaper can give a different impression of whose fault it was in the first place when exploring the cause of conflict in North Korea issues, as Klassekampen saw the US as a starter of conflict in Korea that I explained above. Given that Aftenposten has been regarded as a conservative newspaper even after being independent from Høyre (the Conservative Party) in Norway, some of their views maybe reflect the views of conservative American media. To find out their views, the contents analysis was conducted, and I will explain some background theory of it in next chapter.

# Chapter 3. Theory of Contents Analysis

Contents analysis is most frequently used in the field of media analysis. Above all, news contents are “open and accessible for study” and they help to “infer things about phenomena that are less open and visible” and enable to predict its impact on readers. (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 23) On the other hand, Strentz argued that news content is not same as news influence. He admitted that “the way news is collected helps determine what is reported”, but also pointed out “potential consequences of coverage are weak criteria for news decision making.” Given that reporters must gather news from information news sources provide, reporters play a role as “an intermediary between news sources.” (Strentz, 1989, p. 3) Before starting to enumerate contents analysis I will go first deeper into the correlation between news and sources in the following paragraph.

## 3.1 News and sources

What is news? The definition of news can vary in different perspectives as of what makes news. When it comes to the authority, news is “a representation of authority” as “news represents *who* are the authorized knowers and *what* are their authoritative versions of reality.” (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989, p. 3) A piece of reality which represented in the reality in news articles is primary formulated by news sources, so news can be defined as “a product of transactions between journalists and their sources. (Ibid., p.377) Selecting sources in news writing is so critical that reporters and news sources become “an accompany in shaping and misshaping the news” and therefore representing some aspects of reality, or distortion, what Strentz called, is “inherent in news gathering simply because of condensation of information if not because of problems introduced by news reporters and sources.” (Strentz, 1989, p. 29) From this standpoint, the function of sources is bound to be “tailor-made for both their own purposes and the journalist’s purpose of news communication.” (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 9)

## 3.2 News shapers and sources

Soley argued that sources work as the news shapers in a different perspective from news makers, who are part of the news events. Soley explained that news makers may include criminals and victims, terrorists and their hostages and so on, so what they have said or done became news, meanwhile news shapers are presented as “detached analysts” such as political scientists, experts, or scholars in effect. And Soley added

*They are presented as non-partisan, even if they have long histories of partisanship. Some news shapers are former government officials; some are former politicians. Despite this, they are frequently described with impartial titles such as a specialist, journalist, or economist. What distinguishes news shapers from other individuals who appear on newscast are quoted in newspaper stories is that they are not part of the event. Their sole function is to provide commentary or analysis, although their statements are never described as such. (Soley, 1992, p. 2)*

Tuchman (1978) concluded that that journalist’ methods of identifying and interacting with sources objectify and reify social events. (Quoted in Soley, 1992, pp.25-26) So Soley claimed that News shapers are reifying the world in sharing information with reporters and news shapers are essential in a process of reification of new events. They are like meteorologists who explain to the public what weather would be coming in the future. (Tuchman 1978, Solely 1992) If it was possible for the public to understand how to predict the weather from the meteorological signs, the necessity of experts will be minimalized. Gans (1979) described the symbiosis between journalists and sources as “tango” since “it takes two to tango,” with highlighting that “sources usually lead.” (Quoted in Franklin 2011, p.92) As a reformation of Franklin’s expression, the sources are namely feeling “a news-hungry press” (Ibid., p.96)

## 3.3 Deviance and authorities

That something normal which can happen every day is not considered to be news is a common sense. Then, how can the media tell us what is normal and abnormal? One way to demonstrate how this news selecting mechanism works is a term “Deviance.” Shoemaker and Reese shed a light on how the media decide the degree of importance “by portraying them frequently and in powerful positions, and marginalize others by ignoring them or presenting them less advantageously and outside the mainstream.” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 41) They claimed

that the treatment of political deviance should be put into the central features in ideological contents analyses of the press. Emphasis on the deviance has been argued in media contents analysis so far and one remarkable study was done by Ericson, Baranek, and Chan in 1987. They documented that journalists are subject to be drawn to limit themselves “the ‘performatives’ of news releases and interview quotations from source” even if there are tremendous ways to collect the news sources, for instance “official documents, academic texts, survey and trend statistics, and direct observation.” Deviance were furthermore enhanced when the news sources were narrowed down to some selected people such as spokespersons for particular bureaucratic organizations as accordingly the journalists have a tendency to look after stable and predictable sources in reporting routine. Ericson, Baranek, and Chan pointed out

*Reporters become conventional because of their reliance upon sources for ‘hard facts.’ A ‘hard fact’ appears to be information delivered as being disclosed by an ‘unimpeachable source’. The validity of sources is again the prerequisite of journalistic intuition. (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 119)*

The journalistic intuition tends to lend assistance to “establish factuality where statements can be quoted as fact.” (Ibid., p.282) But just any person will not be the right one who can legitimate the credibility of sources, so reporters had to use their intuition, acquired by news reporting textbooks or their experiences, to pick up and rule out the most recognizable sources. When it comes to the news related to North Korea, it is obvious that what North Korea does is deviant, so for such reasons the news values of their deviance increases in the perspective of the Western media. Unlike the admitted hereditary monarch in Saudi Arabia, the hereditary succession of power in North Korea is more visible and therefore behaviors or comments on North Korea are likely to be used as a tool of anti-propaganda at high values.



# Chapter 4. Findings

## 4.1 General overviews

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Amount	49	32	41	42	26	48	51	289
Percentage	17.0 %	11.1 %	14.2 %	14.5%	9.0 %	16.6 %	17.6 %	100 %

Table 2. The amount of news articles from Sep 2010 to Dec 2016.<sup>4</sup>

During the period I set on for my research, it turned out 289 articles related to North Korea were published in Aftenposten. As the table above shows, the highest percentage of articles of the total amount was the year 2010. Even if 2016 is ranked to the highest at 17.6% in the table, 2010 had much more media coverage about North Korea, in that the first articles about Kim Jong-un came in September in 2010, the 49 articles are as many as the whole year as the other years results. It is mainly caused by the regime change in North Korea, since it had more news values and got international attention from all over the world. After many articles about speculation who would be the third leader Kim, the first news article about the official announcement of Kim Jong-un as the next leader were published on 9th October in 2010. On the average, about 40 articles were published each year, but the amount in 2010 is noticeable since the data were retrieved from Sep in 2010. The regime change in North Korea had more news values due to its deviance; therefore it was more focus on North Korea that year.

Article types	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Straight	7 (14.3%)	4 (12.5%)	9 (22%)	1 (2.4%)	6 (23.1%)	11 (22.9%)	8 (15.7%)	46 (15.9%)
Features	30 (61.2%)	24 (75%)	23 (56.1%)	31 (73.8%)	20 (76.9%)	36 (75%)	38 (74.5%)	202 (69.9%)
Leading articles & Editorial & and Column	8 (16.3%)	3 (9.4%)	7 (17.1%)	8 (19%)	0	1 (2.1%)	4 (7.8%)	31 (10.7%)
Etc (Picture)	4 (8.2%)	1 (3.1%)	2 (4.9%)	2 (4.8%)	0	0	1 (2%)	10 (3.5%)
<b>Total</b>	49 (100%)	32 (100%)	41 (100%)	42 (100%)	26 (100%)	48 (100%)	51 (100%)	289 (100%)

Table 3. The types of news articles: *Straight, Features, Editorial and Column, and etc*

<sup>4</sup> Notice again that the data are selected from Sep in 2010.

Next I will address the reporting types. I divided the reporting types in 4: *Straight, Features, Editorial and Column, and etc.* (See table 3 above) Considering the fact that foreign news have less news values compared to domestic issues, the amount of straight news of foreign affairs are more limited in the newspapers. Here in my findings, straight articles means the short news which does not include any explanation of the background. As we see in the table above, the most of news articles were features types, which is natural due to characteristics of international affairs. Dijk organized three main sources in foreign news production: (1) national and especially transnational news agencies; (2) foreign correspondents or special envoys; and (3) self-produced background articles by editors or staff writers. (Dijk, 1988, p. 37) In the view of characteristics of foreign news, correspondents and editors usually deliver the background of news, while they are fallen into the overwhelming amount of news events observed and shaped by the news agencies. Agencies always do their jobs earlier than the reporters thanks to their mobility and accessibility when news events happen, so the news from agencies has been filtered in the news manufacturing process. (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, p. 20) Dijk (1988, p.38) clarified that agencies must be tailor making news to what their best clients the Western media so to speak, want in order to put their articles on sales. To make things worse, lack of competition is likely to make news more conventionalized both in format and contents. And he indicated a problem that the functions of correspondents are prone to be marginal in making foreign news. It means that they are not able to produce the total picture of international news due to insufficient capitals, in comparison to news agencies, even if they might fill in on some details and organize interviews. At this point, they are demoted to the secondary role while special envoys are put as primary role in new agencies. From now on I will discuss at what extent news agencies impact on news in *Aftenposten*.

## **4.2 Who will deliver news?**

Here are the types of reports sorted by *Correspondent, News Agency, Editor and etc.* When reporters' by-line was written along with the news agencies, it was organized as journalists' type. And cases of multiple journalists are regarded as 1 case, regardless of the number of writers. Types of correspondents were four types: Asia, Middle-Eastern, Russia and the US. The problem that I found is the ratio of dependence on news agencies accounted for 30.1 %, which is higher than correspondents. Even though the largest amount is the journalists, 39.4 %, in many cases articles were combined with names of news agencies. So from my point of view,

the most frequent article type would be news agencies. And all of the translated articles here are originally from dominant western media outlets such as the Washington Post or New York Times.

<b>Reports types</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>Total</b>
Correspondent	17 (34,7%)	6 (18,8%)	7 (17,1%)	9 (21,4%)	6 (23,1%)	5 (10,4%)	3 (5,9%)	53 (18,3%)
Journalists	9 (18,4%)	12 (37,5%)	12 (29,3%)	24 (57,1%)	9 (34,6%)	21 (43,8%)	27 (52,9%)	114 (39,4%)
News Agency	18 (36,7%)	10 (31,1%)	12 (29,3%)	3 (7,1%)	6 (23,1%)	21 (43,8%)	17 (33,3%)	87 (30,1%)
Outside Writers	1 (2,0%)	0	0	1 (2,4%)	3 (11,5%)	1 (2,1%)	2 (3,9%)	8 (2,8%)
Translated articles	1 (2,0%)	2 (6,3%)	4 (9,8%)	1 (2,4%)	2 (7,7%)	0	1 (2,0%)	11 (3,8%)
Leader articles	3 (6,1%)	2 (6,3%)	6 (14,6%)	4 (9,5%)	0	0	1 (2,0%)	16 (5,5%)
<b>Total</b>	49 (100%)	32 (100%)	41 (100%)	42 (100%)	26 (100%)	48 (100%)	51 (100%)	289 (100%)

Table 4. The types of reports: *Correspondent, News Agency, Editor and etc*

Considering the large amount of international news coming from the news agencies, somebody is bound to select which stories will be covered in the newspapers. Dijk pointed out that these choices are homogeneous according to several reasons. First, articles from the news agencies already shows which news should be treated better by the indication of urgency, length, and frequencies of news. Secondly, editors or writers share internalized professional routines of news selection, which form “their cognitive schemata very homogeneous.” (Dijk, 1988, p. 38) The thing I want to highlight is the ratio of having news agencies as writers itself is not the sole evidence that news in *Aftenposten* is dependent on agencies. As I mentioned above, journalists even correspondents, cooperate with sources in making news, so that is why the detailed analysis on the characteristic of news sources is necessary.

### 4.3 Whose voices will be heard?

Countries	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
The U.S.	4 (12.9%)	3 (12.0%)	7 (33,3%)	11 (29,7%)	7 (23,3%)	9 (15,3%)	7 (11,7%)	48 (18,3%)
The U.K.	3 (9.7%)	5 (20.0%)	3 (14,3%)	5 (13,5%)	1 (3,3%)	7 (11,9%)	8 (13,3%)	32 (12,2%)
South Korea	6 (19.4%)	3 (12.0%)	1 (4,8%)	2 (5,4%)	2 (6,7%)	18 (30,5%)	10 (16,7%)	42 (16,0%)
North Korea	4 (12.9%)	2 (8.0%)	8 (38,1%)	8 (21,6%)	9 (30,0%)	17 (28,8%)	18 (30,0%)	66 (25,1%)
China	5 (16.1%)	0	0	1 (2,7%)	1 (3,3%)	1 (1,7%)	4 (6,7%)	12 (4,6%)
Japan	1 (3.2%)	2 (8.0%)	0	0	2 (6,7%)	1 (1,7%)	0	6 (2,3%)
Norway	2 (6.5%)	4 (16.0%)	1 (4,8%)	3 (8,1%)	1 (3,3%)	3 (5,1%)	5 (8,3%)	19 (7,2%)
News Agency	6 (19.4%)	6 (24.0%)	1 (4,8%)	7 (18,9%)	7 (23,3%)	3 (5,1%)	8 (13,3%)	38 (14,4%)
Etc	0	1 (4.0%)	1 (4,8%)	3 (8,1%)	0	3 (5,1%)	0	8 (3,0%)
<b>Total</b>	31 (100%)	25 (100%)	21 (100%)	37 (100%)	30 (100%)	59 (100%)	60 (100%)	263 (100%)

Table 5. The types of quoted media based on countries

Here I sorted out countries of quoted media according to their roots. In case of China, Hongkong newspapers were included twice. The biggest amount is North Korea 25 per cent, yet it does not mean that North Korean's voices were heard above the other countries. Most of the cases of quotation used as an explanation of what the official North Korea media claimed and the news analysis to these assertion followed by other sources came from for instance the US or South Korea. Unlike North Korean media being the descriptive sources at large extent, there are many experts and top government officials from the US and South Korea. These results are from basically collecting the frequencies of the quoted media, not quoted claim or analysis on situation. This part will be discussed in detail later by explaining to what extent argumentation in favor of North Korea or North Korean's claims were included in Aftenposten. In case of South Korea media, the conservative newspapers were dominant with only one

exception of using Hankyoreh (10 Dec 2016). However, this reporting was about the president Park's scandal which led to impeachment and North Korea was used as no more than the description of chaotic political situation in South Korea during its scandal. The conservative South Korea media quoted in Aftenposten were these: Chonang daily, Chosun daily, and state-owned news agency Yonhap. The news agencies classified here are three international agencies such as AFP, AP and Reuters, three of the world's biggest news agencies. When it comes to the Norwegian media, most of the cases were from the Norwegian News agency NTB and there was one case of quotation from left-sided newspapers Klassekampen, when the Norwegian artist Morten Traavik, who held music events in North Korea, had an interview with them. There were 2 uses of quotations of VG, 4 uses of NRK, and one use of TV2, and all of the news cases were about Jørn Andersen who became a coach in the national North Korean football team. "Etc" here included the Russian, German, or French media.

As the Propaganda model suggested, the media are coherent to the political ideologies, set by the state. If we put the number by countries who share similar ideologies toward North Korea, it is clear that the frequency of quotation in Aftenposten is inclined to one specific standpoint. It is 49%, almost the half in sum of the US, the UK, Japan and South Korea, in contrast to 30% of China and North Korea. It is worth remarking that the Chinese media accounted for only 4.6 per cent considering the Asian correspondent of Aftenposten is present in Beijing, covering the most of the Asia region. I see this biased structure as supporting evidence that the Propaganda model proved powerful in Aftenposten, even though Norway is not a state which has a solid political status against North Korea. Manning explained that news were tied to news organizations as this stable relationship helped reporters to build certainty of news production and secured a routine news source which agencies initially "supply news copy as a commodity." Moreover, the copied reporting does reflect that journalists serve to repeat the same news frames, "associated with the commodification of news information in Western societies." (Manning, 2001, pp. 55-56) Now I will look into deeper classification of types of sources to demonstrate the relation between the source and the press.

## **4.4 The relationship between the Press and sources**

Here I will address the types of sources quoted in Aftenposten in the searched period. Many earlier studies tried to demonstrate how the inequality of sources in use. A FAIR (Fairness and

Accuracy in Reporting) analysis showed that NATO troops made up 30 per cent of sources on PBS's NewsHours and while on ABC's Nightline this group supplied a majority 55 per cent of sources. (Quoted in Ackerman and Naureckas, 2000.p.109) And another studies suggested that the occupations of guests were focused on government officials and professionals, who together make up nearly three-quarters of all guests and of them, women were less than 10 per cent by analyzing 865 Nightline program transcripts, which included 2,498 guests from Jan 1985 to April 1988. (Hoynes & Croteau, 1991, p. 27) According to CNN analysis about the Kosovo crisis, 61 % of the whole appearance was assigned to NATO -related representation, and only three of important dissident experts had short appearances at the same time. This unfair designation resulted in creating exclusion dissident voices against the war, so CNN served the role of spokesperson of NATO agenda as much as its spokesperson would elaborate their crisis solving plans without any challenges. On the contrary 3 dissident experts faced to defend their claims due to counter-arguments, and what is worse, their opinions were not explored thoroughly in the news where the "NATO's basic truthfulness was assumed." (Peterson & Herman, 2000, pp. 111-120) In line with, Sigal examined the Washington Post and the New York Times. American and foreign government officials accounted for three-fourths of all news sources. Furthermore, he identified almost 60 per cent of news stories originating through routine, source-controlled, channels: official proceedings, press conferences, and press releases. (Quoted in Pamela J. shoemaker, Stephen D. Reese, 1991, p.42) Sigal pointed out that the dependency on each other between the government and the press is "not idiosyncratic, but organizational in origin," since the news making process was dominated by "the relations of the men who govern with the men who write about them." (Sigal, 1973, p. 343) With this point of view, Timothy E. Cook declared that news media has changed and "are something more than a series of institutions" and even evolved into a *social* institution. (Cook, 1998) He came to this conclusion, given (1) how newsworthiness is inextricable from the journalistic methods in making the news; (2) the wide consensus on news processes routine and a wide range of media and modalities, and (3) the way in which both officials and the public turn to the news media. (Ibid., pp.63-84)

Herman and Chomsky(2008) differentiated sources into categories of professionals, academics, journalists, consultants, representatives of "conservative think tanks," and "other" professional. They were separately coded in employing studies on "MacNeil/Leherer NewsHour" and found out both former and current government officials appeared at the same level, accounted for 25.8 of the appearance. And the next common sources were academics and representatives of

“conservative think tanks” like the CSIS. And Hoon Shim analyzed news of New York Times and Washington Post about the famine in North Korea in 1994, and proved that the suffered North Korean became unworthy victims by the defining the hunger crisis as a political famine. According to his research, the US bureaucrat accounted for around 23 per cent in the coverage from 1995 to 2001, while South Korean bureaucrat 8 per cent, North Korean 5 per cent in Washington Post and 3 percent in New York Times. (Sim, 2004) According to Kim’s study, the most common sources in South Korean broadcasts evening news was press release with 27.8 percent, while bureaucrat 11.4 per cent, politicians 10.2 per cent. (Kim J. , 2003) I here tried to elaborate more in detail based on their coding method. I used quotation marks or expressions as a deciding factor in coding such as: according to, reported, had an interview with, said to, claimed and explained to that media and so on.

<b>Types</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>	
Government, Governmental officers, Politicians	26	12	12	19	5	12	29	115	41.7%	
Institutes, Researchers	3	7	9	13	2	10	9	53	19.2%	
Professors at the university	1	6	4	6	3	4	0	24	8.7%	
Journalists	2	3	1	0	0	1	2	9	3.3%	
NGOs	11	4	9	6	5	8	9	52	18.8%	
ETC	7	3						10	3.6%	
North Korean defectors		1	2	6	2	2		13	4.7%	
	<b>Total</b>								276	100.0%

Table 6. The types of sources related to quotations

The result shows that 41.7 per cent, almost the half of all the sources was assigned to government, governmental officers and politicians. This ratio is in accord with the findings of Herman and Chomsky (2008, but initially conducted in 1988), which is even higher at 25.8 per cent at that time. So the Propanda Model has proved to be adequate to explain the news in Aftenposten does have its political inclination. The total amount of experts (i.e., researchers and professors) is made up to around 28 %, which is remarkably lower than that of the governmental sectors.

NGOs here were namely the international ones such as Amnesty, the Red Cross, and UN and so on. I coded North Korea defectors separately since they happened to make their appearances frequently, which is interesting since they are neither legitimate nor reliable sources in the light of authorities. It is ironical that defectors who have the most appearance in media do not need to meet the expertise of delivering facts. This ironical situation was mainly discussed in South Korean media researches especially focusing their anonymity; however frequency of them as news sources in *Aftenposten* is outwardly low. It is because their appearances tend to be subliminal in the context as their stories come in a describing way with a remark of “according to this media” or “this media reported” et cetera. To identify which aspects of voices most heard, I coded the same data in more specific countries below.

	<b>Countries</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Government, Governmental officers, Politicians	The U.S.	11	2	5	9	1	3	12	43	15,6 %
	The U.K.		1		1	1		1	4	1,4 %
	South Korea	5		5	2		7	7	26	9,4 %
	North Korea		1	2	3	2	1	1	10	3,6 %
	China	5	1		4				10	3,6 %
	Japan	1				1		3	5	1,8 %
	Norway	2	2					1	5	10
Etc	2	5							7	2,5 %
Institutes, Researchers	The U.S.	1	1	4	3		6	4	19	6,9 %
	The U.K.		1						1	0,4 %
	South Korea			1	2	1	1	1	6	2,2 %
	North Korea								0	0,0 %
	China				1				1	0,4 %
	Japan				1				1	0,4 %
	Northern Europe	1	5	4	6	1	2	3	22	8,0 %
Etc	1						1	1	3	1,1 %
Professors at the university	The U.S.		2						2	1,1 %
	The U.K.								0	0,0 %
	South Korea		2		2	2	2		8	2,9 %
	North Korea	1					1		2	0,7 %
	China				1				1	0,4 %
	Japan				1				1	0,4 %
	Norway		2	4	2	1	1		10	3,6 %



	Etc								0	0,0 %
Journalists	The U.S.	2	1				1	2	6	2,2 %
	The U.K.		1						1	0,4 %
	South Korea		1	1					2	0,7 %
	North Korea								0	0,0 %
	China								0	0,0 %
	Japan								0	0,0 %
	Norway								0	0,0 %
	Etc								0	0,0 %
Organizations	The U.S.	4		1			3	2	10	3,6 %
	The U.K.								0	0,0 %
	South Korea	3		1	1				5	1,8 %
	North Korea								0	0,0 %
	China								0	0,0 %
	Japan								0	0,0 %
	Norway	1	2	2	1	1		3	10	3,6 %
	International NGO		1		1			4	6	2,2 %
	NATO	1							1	0,4 %
UN	2	1	5	3	4	5		20	7,2 %	
Etc, Ordinary people	7	3						10	3,6 %	
North Korean defectors		1	2	6	2	2		13	2,5 %	
<b>Total</b>									276	100 %

Table 7. The types of sources related to quotations in detail

Government, governmental officers and politicians at the “Etc.” included Russia and the UK. In the section of institutes and researchers, I remarked as Northern Europe including the Swedish and Danish institutes and “Etc.” included the Russian and the UK, same as before. International NGOs were included the Norwegian Red Cross and Amnesty International, and I coded the UN separately due to its frequent appearance. In the case of “Etc.” ordinary people were interviewed by South Koreans when asking their opinion of North Korea, a Korean living in Norway, a hacker who explained characteristic of hacking method in the Sony as a counterblast to the American comedy film ‘the Interview’, the American tourists visited North Korea via travel agency, and Chinese living in the border areas close to North Korea.

Among 115 appearances of government friendly sources, the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan accounted for 68 per cent, while China and North Korea was only at 9 per cent. These extreme biases were applied to the institutes, the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan accounted for 51 per cent, while China and North Korea was only 2 per cent. Actually there was only one case of Chinese expert in 2013. When it comes to the Norwegian government side it made up to 9 per cent, while Norwegian institutes, such as Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) and Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) was 42 per cent, which is the next highest frequency. Related to professors, the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan accounted for 50 per cent, and the next amount was Norwegian professors (Mostly Vladimir Tikhonov in University of Oslo) 42 per cent, in contrast to China and North Korea only 4 per cent. Likewise, journalists rely on experts due to their insufficient expertise in international matters, so when they quoted analysis of experts (i.e., researchers and professors), experts' biased political ideology tend to accompany with their statements. For instance, experts in the Sejong institute or the Korea Institute for National Unification are often taken as news sources in the Western media, yet the fact that these institutes are state-owned in South Korea is deliberately or subliminally omitted. In the section of organizations, both of the US and South Korea was 29 per cent, and Norwegian was 19 per cent. Norwegian organizations were generally about interviews with the Norwegian Red Cross and Amnesty International, which performed humanitarian assistance in North Korea. This result proved that the partial dependence on sources who shared same propaganda ideology made news in *Aftenposten* and used as a reinforcing tool to the political propaganda set by the Western media.

Spokespersons for bureaucracies or officials in the government are taken to be credible sources "as fact without attribution," so reporters are drawn to the trap of acceptance of their statements as facts due to their position on "the ladder of credibility" and "a strategic position of authorized knowledge." (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1987, pp. 287-288) Then who are those power elite, prestige officials and experts? In along with their argument quoted in news, Soley defined reporters as a part of "Washington's revolving door":

*..., which moves elite members from one part of the elite network to the other. Reporters become think tank analysts, governmental officials, and reporters, and think tank analysts become reporters, professors, and government officials. (Soley, 1992, p. 143)*

As I mentioned earlier, it is worthy to look into the frequency of direct quotations or arguments, since it delivers opinions and points of views on a certain matter, which make

political ideology more convincible in news. As documented above the appearance of quoted North Korean media was 25 per cent. However their voices were not properly assigned and we can see the frequency of direct quotations of sources. North Korean media tend to appear with the reference mark, such as ‘according to, KCNA reported, official newspapers claimed.’ Here I do a closer examination by coding more specific analysis or quotations such as actual phrases, full sentences, the contents of claims, and counter-arguments.

<b>Countries</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>Total</b>
The U.S.	18 (38,3%)	6 (17,6%)	10 (31,3%)	12 (26,1%)	1 (7,7%)	13 (40,6%)	20 (44,4%)	80 (32,1%)
The U.K.	0	3 (8,8%)	0	1 (2,2%)	1 (7,7%)	0	1 (2,2%)	6 (2,4%)
South Korea	8 (17,0%)	4 (11,8%)	10 (31,3%)	13 (28,3%)	5 (38,5%)	12 (37,5%)	8 (17,8%)	60 (24,1%)
North Korea	1 (2,1%)	1 (2,9%)	2 (6,3%)	3 (6,5%)	2 (15,4%)	2 (6,3%)	1 (2,2%)	12 (4,8%)
China	5 (10,6%)	1 (2,9%)	0	6 (13,0%)	0	0	0	12 (4,8%)
Japan	1 (2,1%)	0	0	2 (4,3%)	1 (7,7%)	0	3 (6,7%)	7 (2,8%)
Norway	4 (8,5%)	11 (32,4%)	10 (31,3%)	9 (19,6%)	3 (23,1%)	4 (12,5%)	11 (24,4%)	52 (20,9%)
Etc	10 (21,3%)	8 (23,5%)	0	0	0	1 (3,1%)	1 (2,2%)	20 (8,0%)
<b>Total</b>	47 (100%)	34 (100%)	32 (100%)	46 (100%)	13 (100%)	32 (100%)	45 (100%)	249 (100%)

Table 8. Types of countries which direct quotations come from

The findings are significant, direct quotations or arguments from North Korea were merely 4.8 per cent, as same as China, while the US made up the biggest percentage at 31.1 per cent. Sorting countries into same political ideologies, the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan accounted for 61 per cent, while China and North Korea 10 per cent. Like earlier studies, the standpoints of North Korea were not minutely explored, on the contrary pro-South Korean sides or Western media would take profoundly. The biased source use leads to homogeneous news and convergence of sources, resulting in rotating the same standpoints by revolving

sources, along with the high use of news agencies. In the case of Norway, the frequency of direct quotations is high, 20 per cent due to its accessibilities to get quotations from Norwegian sources inside Norway.

## **4.5 Homogeneous news and convergence of sources**

Government, politicians and experts can be categorized as elite with power to express their opinions in media easily, as well as their biased perspective. As a matter of fact, biased source use and the degree of dependency of international news agencies is indistinct and inseparable in shaping homogeneous news and convergence of sources. Biased news sources used in news agencies go back to international news section in *Aftenposten*. Convergence happens rather at the institutional level than at the individual level of reporter itself, because it is evident that the pattern of sustaining authorities among the elites is institutional. Media elites are indivisible from the power elites in the government and corporate bureaucracies, because it is them who set the “knowledge structure of society” and display “authorized knowledge.” (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989, p. 5) So far, I have demonstrated how much news articles in *Aftenposten* are coherent to the US media or pro-South Korean media by categorizing types of news sources and their state-roots. Needless to say, articles in *Afteposten* follow the Propaganda Model. Then how much are sources biased to the elite’s credibility?

## **4.6 Source credibility and firsthand reporting**

Reich (Reich, 2011) conducted a study on news sources credibility and associations between credibility and other source characteristic by face-to-face reconstruction interviews with reporters who were dependent on 1840 news sources. What was interesting in his findings was the most credible sources was “reporter’s observation”, measured 80%. This was even higher than the second most credible sources, which is "Other (Media publication, document, and archive etc.) 78%, while Senior sources (Heads of corporations, chairman of parliamentary committees etc.) 47%, and Spokespersons and PR 39%. (Ibid., p.28) When it comes to highly credible sources by sectors in society, “Other” sectors such as academic sources, messages published by other media, PR sources were ranked to be most highly credible with the number of 75%, in contrast to 46% credibility of Government and 31% of Political sector. His studies

indicated that reporters' firsthand witnessing rarely used in news writings, in spite of its credibility perceived as highly credible sources. And the other way around, using spokespersons as news sources were frequent at a large extent despite of lower credibility of them compared to that of reporters' firsthand observation. So I sorted out the number of firsthand reporting among 289 news articles during 6 years from Sep 2010 to Dec 2016. Here I define firsthand reporting as an attempt of journalists to do the direct interview or get the quotations from new sources themselves. I included for instance even one direct quotation from the Norwegian government officials as a firsthand reporting no matter how much other news sources were lent from other media in one news article.

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total	%
Total articles of 6 years								289	100
Firsthand reporting	9	5	8	13	7	10	12	64	22.1
Direct observations among those	7	2	3	6	1	2	5	25	8.7
The rest								225	78

Table 9. The frequency of firsthand reporting and the direct observations

The ratio of firsthand reporting was only approximately 22 per cent, 64 times of 289, I found it very compelling since it means roughly to say almost 80 per cent of claims and analysis were rooted in other media in other countries. Negligence in firsthand reporting will consequently undermine the credibility of news as Reich's founding showed. On the purpose of finding more meaningful reporting attempts, I coded differently the occasions of direct observation, which means that reporters were at the place in which the news were made. Correspondents were in Seoul several times, especially in 2014 when the regime change happened, to conduct interviews how South Korea embraced the dramatic shift in North Korea and there were several occasions of reporting direct observation in China focused on the border regions nearby North Korea. The direct interviews in Norway with a Norwegian who had worked in North Korea in the NGOs were considered to be direct observation here as well. Among 22 per cent of firsthand reporting, only 8.7 per cent was solely news products made by Norwegian journalists on their own. Here I will elaborate what kinds of direct observation news were:

2010	interviews with Koreans living in Norway 1 times, news from reporters in Seoul 6 times
2011	a lecture of a defector at Oslo Free Forum 1, interview with the Red Cross in North Korea 1 times (the only direct report done by a Norwegian journalist in North Korea)
2012	interview with the Red Cross 1 times defector Shin Dong-hyuk visited Norway 1 times
2013	interview with the Red Cross 1 times, interview with a defector 1, and a Korean scholar 1 times, reports in China 2 times, at the border area in China nearby North Korea 1times
2014	story of travel experience in North Korea written by a Swedish journalist Staffan J. Thorsell 1 times
2015	in China 1 times, at the border area in China nearby North Korea 1 times
2016	about a Norwegian football coach hired in North Korea 5 tiems about Norwegian team in Judo champions league in North Korea 1 times

Table 10. Kinds of direct observation news

The objective way to report news is acquired through the selection of new sources to establish credibility of news events. Palmer said that “the distinction between ‘credibility’ and ‘truth’ is central to journalism, because the objective method of news reporting asserts (implicitly) that it is credibility that establishes the regime of truth in question.” (Palmer, 2000, p. 123) Unless journalists put an effort on verifying the trueness, the news becomes literally the quoted journalism. I maintain from my founding that the firsthand reporting and direct observation is way much lower, compared to other articles even though journalists are obliged to perform direct observations in making news.

## 4.7 Sources and anonymity

In this part I will discuss the problem of anonymous sources. This issue is one of the most common research subjects in media studies in South Korea. Expression such as ‘North Korea expert said’ (23 Dec 2011, Ingeborg), ‘according to report papers from South Korea’ (11 Sep 2012, Samuelsen), and ‘experts in Seoul’ (8 April 2013, Petersson) were coded. According to

Kim’s research the anonymous sources in South Korean broadcast evening news accounted for 17 per cent. (Kim J. , 2003) And it was 21.3 per cent in Kim’s study on New York Times from 1988 to 2013. (Kim S. , 2014) As below, the amount of using unnamed sources in Aftenposten was extremely low 9, 9 per cent, which is more problematic. What I noticed was that unnamed sources, specifically North Korean defectors or so-called North Korean experts tend to become a fact itself in reporting in Aftenposten. The specific designation of unnamed sources was changed into a fact which the subject explains. There were only two cases of the appearance of word ‘anonymous’ showed up in Aftenposten: 1) the interview with ‘anonymous officials’ in the US in AP (11 Feb 2016, NTB), and the quotation from ‘anonymous Reuters’ source’ about alleged execution of North Korean top general (24 April 2016, Lohne) In other cases, unnamed sources appeared to be subjects in explanation such as ‘one North Korea expert in Seoul’(9 Sep 2010, Petersson), and ‘North Korea observator’ (28 Dec 2011, Glionna).

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total	%
Unnamed sources	5	4	7	5	1	1	3	26	9

Table 11. Unnamed sources

Even if the direct observation reporting and rechecking a fact inside North Korea is not easy, journalist should try the best they can, maintained Ishimaru Jiro, the chief of the North Korean team in Asia Press. His team managed to build the cooperator groups who were able to get information or to film in North Korea since 2003, and pointed out the danger of using anonymous North Korean sources because their information turned out to be wrong. He added that it was possible to verify information in different ways before reporting to be exact. (Choi , 2015) Furthermore, most of the anonymous sources were originally from the governmental side. Jang found out that 50 per cent of news coverage in 6 days after Kim Il Sung’s death in 4 of the biggest international news agencies were quoted from South Korean media, not from the North Korea. (Jang, 1994) This news from international news agencies were quoted again in South Korean media, attributed to their incapability of getting direct facts from North Korea. Jang called it “the boomerang phenomenon” in terms of recirculating same unidentified information continuously. And what is worse, this boomerang moving back and forward left quite a lot of wrong reporting and speculation about North Korea.

# Chapter 5. Text analyses of articles in 6 years

## 5.1. Analysis on leading articles in 6 years

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	Total
Leading articles	3	2	5	4			1	15

Table 12. Amount of leading articles

Here I translated headlines of leading articles.

Date	Title of a leading article
12 Oct 2010	Father and Son
23 Nov 2010	Cold Calculation
25 Nov 2010	A challenge for China and the US
27 Aug 2011	Tactician Kim Jong-il
22 Dec 2011	North Korea challenges both the US and China
3 Mar 2012	A foundation to build on
14 Apr 2012	North Korea has not changed
18 Jul 2012	After well-known recipe
4 Dec 2012	A precise shot
15 Dec 2012	Rocket in play
13 Feb 2013	Blackmail is something North Korea contains
2 Apr 2013	North Korea requires to be respected and feared
13 Apr 2013	Nervous war toward climax in Korea
15 Dec 2013	North Korea even more unforeseeable
18 Sep 2016	North Korea play loudly – and succeed

Table 13. Headlines of leading articles.

A leading article does not have a journalist name by all means since it show literally the attitude on a matter of the newspaper company. As I have shown through this study the Propaganda model applied to articles in Aftenposten, news articles in Aftenposten have a consistent attitude on North Korean issues. As there are not many media analysis on Aftenposten in English, I organized all the headlines of leading articles from 2010 to 2016 above so that it is visible to see the coherent perspective about North Korea. Aftenposten keeps



holding the critical approach based on doubt of North Korea's statement, and defining North Korea as an unpredictable state out of control.

The first leading article during the search period came in 12 Oct 2010 with the title of 'Father and Son.' The article delivered the fact that Kim Jong-il and Kim Jong-un stood together for the first time at the podium in the 65 years celebration of The Workers' Party of Korea and interpreted as "a clear signal how determined these political leaders were get full support from the military power." At the same time, it was pointed out that "North Korea was willing to use all military means to defend their fatherland and analysis on this declaration as 'no sign for regime change to ease warlike language usage.'" And the next leading article (23 Nov 2010) began with worries from American atom physician Siegfried S. Hecker. Leading article clarified that "North Korea played provocation cards to achieve politic and economic profits." Plus, it was said that the US, "Japan and South Korea did not have any other choice than to go in a new negotiation with North Korea, and it did not take huge ability of foresight that the requirement from North Korea would high from the experience." The third leading article (25 Nov 2010) wrote that the bombardment of Yeonpyeong island in South Korea was a challenge for China and the US and claimed that "both countries should have the same interests to ease the level of conflict, by inwardly accusing China's reluctance to join the economic sanction against North Korea." Aftenposten has a tendency to lay down the US and China as countries of responsibility for settling down the conflict with North Korea, while discounting South Korea as a country of concern. (25 Nov 2010, 22 Dec 2011)

And a critical attitude toward North Korea was not concealed in accusing North Korea for not being changed. (14 Apr 2012) Moreover, even to the positive news like a prediction of new leader Kim's reform mentioned by intellectual, it was written that "we would hope that these optimistic predictions are right, however unfortunately it is as much as possible that Kim's hidden motivation is to control his power." (18 Jul 2012) North Korea is described as unforeseeable, aggressive and rebellious consistently. Even when North Korea was positive to holding the 6 parties talk about the issue of inspections of nuclear plants done by the UN, in exchange of food aids from the US, the leading articles warned people that "they should be careful to interpret this development as a hope for two reasons: insufficient action to fix famine and using nuclear weapon as a tool to suppress the international society." (3 Mar 2012) A reading article on 14 Apr 2012 begun to say "Hope that a leader change in North Korea would lead the closed country to a new course doesn't seem as wish" after a rocket shooting experiment in North Korea as if they recognized there was any hope from it from the first place.

Short before, on 22 Dec 2011, a leading article criticized Kim Jong-un's regime for its rejection of capitalistic experiment which China wanted to implement, and claimed that "this was openly a huge irritation for China." Obviously Aftenposten doesn't consider North Korea as something countable to have any negotiation at all as it was said:

*Discouraging experiences has been given in negotiation with a state which lack in respect for contract. It is not said therefor it is wrong to try, but man must not just have an illusion what is achievable. (18 Sep 2016)*

## **5.2. Voyeuristic journalism: Victims = public lives of private persons.**

Even if the collapse scenario is only used among extreme conservative media in South Korea, there were several cases assuming the collapse of North Korea regime in Aftenposten. (13 Feb 2013, Rønneberg , Skjervold, & Ask) (18 Dec 2013, Staveland)(18 Feb 2014, Dokka) (2 Jan 2015, Samuelsen) How do these right-biased attitudes impact on human stories in Aftenposten? Røn explored characteristics of coverage on the Kosovo war in Norwegian newspapers and found that every and single newspaper supported the war in its editorial column with one case of exception, left-side newspaper Klassekampen, which had a circulation of only 6,500 at the time. She added that the media took a pro-war stance in spite of the absence of national interest of Norway, and concentrated on ethnocentrism such as news with title "Norwegian children fear the war," so at this point Norwegian children were put first rather than real victims of NATO. An ethnocentric approach turned up again in the description of refugee in the headline such as 'Thank you God! Thank you Norway' and 'from Hell to Norway.' (Røn, 2000) Her research is in parallel with the Propaganda model in that the media served a pro-military agenda and dichotomized worthy victims verse unworthy victims.

In line with this impersonalizing of real victims, I want to mention the report of correspondent Lohne in 10 May 2015. The articles was a feature report visiting Dandong in China, the border area near and the title was 'Hurry up with the photos, make it quick! Says the Chinese sailor a bit harshly.' The article begun with a portray of the Yalu river alongside North Korean border: "Obediently I raised a camera to reach to get the impression of man and women sitting in riverside and wash clothes in ice-cold water" The overall tone of news were full of suspense with quotations of Chinese shipman who kept saying 'Hide!', 'Don't look, soldier over there'

and ‘hurry!’ Lohne went to a North Korean restaurant with that Chinese shipman and directly quoted his saying “I have no friends in North Korea. ... They don’t dare to have friendship. Neither do I.” Then following sentence was “No pictures!” from the North Korean waitress. This feature reports is basically voyeuristic journalism as it impersonalizes real victims, along with ethnocentrism as Røn (Røn, 2000) explained above, North Korean in this case, by objectifying them as disparate, foreign and powerless. Journalist took a picture of people who were not able to say yes or no in a distance, across the river in this case, and their behavioral expression of avoiding camera became something to write in this reports. The Propaganda Model maintained that the media persistently portray people in enemy states as *worthy* victims, whereas those abused by government or client of non-enemy state will be *unworthy*. (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p. 34) That is why North Koreans washing their clothes in ice cold water are likely to be noticed in the media coverage of the Third World. Their unfriendly attitude is deviant and even exotic, even though it seems that being taken a picture of without permission on a daily basis would cause the unfriendly attitude to everyone at any places the world. The way of portraying North Koreans like in this reports showed that North Koreans are worthy victims to report and their private aspects became public lives by being objectified and impersonalized.

### **5.3 The image of North Korea: Entertainment**

When the 70th anniversary of the Workers' Party of North Korea occurred 10 Oct 2015, Kjetil Hanssen reported a news article ‘7 signs of special celebration in North Korea.’ Interestingly the first sign was that Bashar al-Assad, the Syrian president sent a celebration card to North Korea, although he was not the only leader who sent congratulation messages. On the other hand, the most of South Korean media covered the fact that Chinese leader Xi Jinping’s congratulation messages did not include the word ‘comrade’ that time. I assume this reporting structure gives an impression that North Korea and Syria are alike each other, and it cannot be taken as a positive foreign relationship, considering what Europe faced to deal with the wave of refugees from Syria. In a matter of shaping images on the Third World, according to Dijk, the media have a tendency to describe them as ‘homogenous block despite vast cultural, regional, political, and ideological differences among different countries.’ Dijk claimed that Third world had news values in terms of their deviance from Western by highlighting mainly them as undemocratic. (Dijk, 1988, p. 451) And yet, putting Syria crisis and North Korea’s

anniversary day in the same position was hardly seen in South Korean media, so it was a special equivalence in Aftenposten articles.

The second sign in news article was that Kim Jong-un mentioned his father and grandfather in his official statement and this resulted in confining North Korea as a not legitimate hereditary monarchy. And more frequent electricity cut down, jet flying over in the city, party mood and practices, decorating the city and critical comment on the US and South Korea were followed one by one. More interestingly this exact article was re-uploaded as digital news only available on the internet site on 6 Jan 2016, even with the explanation that the ceremony would be held on 8<sup>th</sup> 2015, the exact day when North Korea conducted 4th nuclear test and claimed to be successful in hydrogen bomb test ahead of Kim Jong-un's 33th birthday ceremony on 8 Jan 2016. The one possible way to explain this re-upload was likely to attract more readers to Aftenposten's website to increase the access, which turns in profit in the newspaper company, in the situation of not being able to write any new news reports on coming Kim Jong-un's 33th birthday ceremony, using their own resources. This reports looked like a typical soft news in its structure and headline such as '7 signs of ...' and failed to deliver what was the most important thing to see in the ceremony for the 70th anniversary of the Workers' Party of North Korea. Degrading news about North Korea at entertainment level found commonly in news coverage in Aftenposten during 6 year's analysis period. North Korea is obviously considered as a threat and urgent crisis in the US and South Korea, along with pictures of missile and military march scenes, it is portrayed as an exotic, alien, and even funny news in an orientalism's way, assigned with pictures of Kim Jong-un's smiling faces in front of soldiers and exotic field guidance in Norway. (Andreassen, 2012)(3 Oct 2012, Andreassen), (21 Oct 2015, Andreassen) (09 April 2016, Hanssen)

# Chapter 6. Conclusion

## 6.1 Discussion

The Propaganda Model explored that the media, collaborating the propaganda of state foreign policies, created public consents manipulated in specific ways, such as the five filters: ownership, advertising, sources, flak, and anti-communism. (Herman & Chomsky, 2008) As a consequence of reliance on governmental elites and experts as news sources, biased and assumption of experts were delivered to public in news.

I so far demonstrated that the Propaganda Model applied to Norway, which can be considered relatively neutral to North Korea, and to what extent news articles in *Aftenposten* depended on international news agencies, the media in state considering North Korea as enemy, and quotations of sources which had same interest and attitude in North Korean issues. Given that most of media analysis on North Korea has focused on the US media and South Korean, this attempt to find out whether the Propaganda Model yields power in Norwegian Media was meaningful. It is a shame that it was not possible to compare contents in leftist Norwegian newspaper such as *Klassekampen* in this research due to shortage of pages and time. The Propaganda Model shed light on the correlation between the media and the national interests, at this point the findings in this thesis were recognizable because it was demonstrated that the Propaganda Model seemed to be applied, even in a country which has no direct national interest. It was reliance on specific sources in favor of specific standpoint of countries that made it visible.

By doing text analyses of leading articles and some articles in chapter 5, moreover, it was proved that *Aftenposten* has a critical perspective to North Korea based on continuous doubt on North Korea's hidden motivation, speculations on not so optimistic results anyway. In spite of the tone in common with the dominant Western media, specially the US, there were some noticeable differences from the Western media. Unlike North Korea as an actual threat and urgent crisis in the US and South Korea, North Korea was seen rather as eye-catching, extremely exotic and entertaining in Norway with using non-threatening pictures such as Kim Jong-un's smiley face, and his inspection photos and so on. Byeon had done research on how pictures of Kim Jong-un from North Korean official media were different those of his father

Kim Jong-il. He concluded that a young leader Kim Jong-un put emphasis on his real and candid aspect by more frequently being physically closed to people, standing in rain and wearing suits, not only Mao suits. (Byeon, 2013) It would be interesting what types of pictures will show up in the future and how they will be used in reports, and how they can be analyzed as well in this sense.

## **6.2 Summery of findings**

In total 289 articles of the searching result of almost 1000 during the period from Sep 2010 to Dec 2016 were selected to be examined. The most common article type was features, 69.9 per cent, which is commonly typical in foreign news section in newspapers. The most frequent writer type was journalists 39.4 per cent and next frequent type news agency. However, many cases of journalists were accompanied with news agency together in byline, so it does not prove that Aftenposten has little dependence on quoting journalism. So the country distribution coding was conducted to find out which countries' media were most quoted in news contents. It was 49%, almost the half in sum of the US, the UK, Japan and South Korea, in contrast to 30 % of China and North Korea. The Chinese media accounted for only 4.6 per cent, which was extremely low considering the Asian correspondent of Aftenposten is present in Beijing. There is another point that North Korean media was the most frequent quoted media, accounted for 25 per cent. Yet this does not mean that claims from North Korea were well taken in news as many of them were about just news events and facts, not conveying their statement.

Given the difficulties of observing news event inside North Korea, it seemed inevitable not to quote the North Korean official media to say what was happened in North Korea in news before analyzing. When it comes to sources types, government friendly sources was up to 42 per cent, and especially the government related sources from the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan was 68 per cent, in contrary China and North Korea only being 2 per cent. Besides frequency of news sources, argument types of sources were good to look into since the content of what is delivered is as important as who is delivering. In order to find out that which claims, analysis, and arguments was assigned, categorizing quotations type accordingly based sources' counties was done. The result was significant, direct quotations or arguments from North Korea were merely 4.8 per cent, the same as China, while the US made up the biggest 31.1 per

cent. The sum of the US, the UK, South Korea and Japan was 61 per cent, while China and North Korea, 10 per cent. In line with earlier studies, arguments from North Korea were not minutely explored compared to the dominant Western, pro-South Korean voices. These biased news reports resulted in creating homogeneous news due to convergence of sources since institutionalized elites as ‘revolving door’ in authorities keep maintaining their opinions again and again. The firsthand reporting, including even one try to get the quotation in person, was accounted for only 22.1 per cent. Among those 22.1 per cent, direct observation reporting was 8.7 per cent. This is a compelling tragedy as reporter’s observation is considered the most credible news sources according to Reich’s study. (Reich, 2011)

In the next chapter, the text analysis was done. Analysis on leading articles in the span of 6 years showed Aftenposten’s persistent standpoint of North Korea, regarding North Korea as steady discouraging actor in international society. One example of direct observation report (10 May 2015, Lohne) presented as voyeuristic journalism, which impersonalized North Koreans by turning private persons to public voyeurism. Furthermore, the image of North Korea was used as a source of entertainment. News from North Korea was easily considered deviant, exotic and funny. North Korea gets portrayed as a real threat in the US and South Korea, compared to Norway where news about North Korea often presented similar to entertainment.

## 6.3 Closing words

In April 2016, the Norwegian Prime minister Erna Solberg visited South Korea and dropped by the Joint Security Area (JSA), a meeting point of the two Korea, in demilitarized zone (DMZ) where both Korea soldiers were on guard. On 15 April 2016 the headline of news related to her visit, was “Here «spy» North Korean soldiers on Erna Solberg’ with pictures of North Korean soldiers looking at Solberg through windows on the North Korean territorial side and taking pictures of her. And Prime Minister Solberg’s comments were directly quoted:

*“It is weird experience that some came and took a pic of me as if I am an animal in a cage. And it is clearly best to be here on this side [South Korean territory in this context, I added]” (15 Apr 2016, Barstad, NTB)*

Headline like this was definitely attractive for Norwegian leaders to read because of its eye-catching word ‘spy,’ and feeling like an animal in a case was stressed in reports. I wonder if the Prime Minister had not once mentioned something serious and meaningful for the peace in

Korea during her official visit. She would have said something. News articles about her visit in South Korean media rather wrote the fact that the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg was attended at UN sustainable development goals forum at The National Assembly of South Korea. This aligns with what Shoemakers and Reese called 'manipulating reality.' (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991, p. 33) A news articles singled out some aspects of reality, by doing this, news were necessarily manipulated including imposing their own logic, and emphasis on certain stereotyping of people's behaviors. To those who were responsible of standing as border guards in North Korean territory, it would be naturally their duty to identify who visited joint area, and watch what's happening on the border is routine for soldiers basically. Nevertheless, their way of serving in the military was taken as spying from a Norwegian perspective. It is true that the mainstream of media is controlled by several developed countries, and therefore it is natural that the news about the Third World are biased, stereotypical, and ethnocentric. (Dijk, 1988, p. 41) Parenti defined this tendency as "Many voices, One Chorus." (Parenti, 1993, pp. 30-37) Highly centralized homogenous opinion in the fact always call the tune.



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